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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

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S 15

THE RIGHTS OF THE UNDERPRIVILEGED

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At last year's Annual Meeting the members of the Task Force on Legal Forms decided to invite contributions from members on the subject: "The Laws concerning the Underprivileged: Form, Setting and Function" for this year. Since I have categorized a portion of these laws in my article, "Casuistic Law Governing Primary Rights and Duties" (JBL 92[1973], 180-184), I thought that I would focus these results on our topic. I shall review my thesis and extend it to other laws concerning the underprivileged.

The approach I took to legal forms in my JBL article was to correlate the style of formulation with legal concepts employed in the theory of law. I do not propose to raise this approach to the level of a fixed methodology, for the correlations depend upon intuitive connections and then marshalling whatever arguments and evidence one can think of to support one's hunches. I am sceptical of any procedure that claims to resolve exegetical problems a priori. Form criticism should not be employed to avoid intuitive exegesis, but should train one to be sensitive to certain aspects of texts and provide one with useful arguments for supporting intuition.

I made my discovery of the distinction between casuistic primary and casuistic remedial law while reading a primer on legal theory, D. Lloyd, The Idea of Law (Baltimore: Penguin, 1964). Lloyd points out that legal theory recognizes a distinction between primary rights, entitlement to be or do something, and remedial rights, entitlement to seek relief, compensation or retaliation, for violation of primary rights. Others owe duties to one's primary rights, and the owner of rights himself owes certain duties to the community that grants him his rights. If someone does not honor his duties, a "breach of rights" has occurred and remedial law comes into play. The owner of rights can force others to honor them and/or demand compensation or retaliation. In "developed" legal systems the community (or state) identifies itself with the owner of rights in cases of serious breach of rights, and the breach becomes a crime against the public order as well as against another's primary rights. Hence, there arises the distinction between criminal and civil law.

It occurred to me that this distinction between primary and remedial rights could illuminate the divergent tendencies of casuistic law. Most casuistic laws describe a violation of rights in the protasis and prescribe a remedy in the apodosis. However, some casuistic laws describe a legal relation in the protasis and prescribe the terms of the relation in the apodosis. The former is remedial and the latter primary law. Alt obscured the differences between these two types of casuistic law by describing the apodosis as enunciating the "legal consequences" of the case described in the protasis. He assimilates all casuistic law to remedial law in other statements: "Once [the case has been described] ..., the necessary details of the penalties to be imposed in the particular case can be summarized in the main clauses" ("The Origins of Israelite Law," Essays on Old Testament History and Religion [Oxford: Blackwell, 1966], 90). This slip

demonstrates the danger of treating all casuistic law as one type.

I

Many of the legal formulations concerning the disadvantaged are casuistic laws governing primary rights and duties. The laws governing "Hebrew" slavery and slave-wives (Exod. 21:2-6, 7-11) are primary law. In each the initial protasis describes the legal relation under consideration, and the apodosis enunciates the rights and duties of each party in the relationship. Along with the description of the legal relation, the slave law has a ritual for making slavery permanent, thwarting as it were the rights to release (Exod. 21:5-6), and the slave-wife law has quasi-remedial provisions for dissolving the relationship (Exod. 21:8, 11).

The two laws governing loaning to the poor in the Covenant Code (Exod. 22:24-26) are also casuistic laws governing primary rights and duties. Here we encounter the stylistic tendency of most Biblical primary law: personal address to the stronger party of the legal relation, and an abundance of motive clauses to persuade the addressee to comply. Nevertheless, we have real law governing precisely defined legal relations. The lawgiver intends to keep an owner of capital from earning interest out of another's distress or causing distress by keeping a cloak as security when it is needed. He also seeks to protect the debtor from social disgrace.

In Deuteronomy we find a large number of casuistic primary laws protecting the disadvantaged:

1. Slavery (15:12-18).
2. Loans to the poor (24:6, 10-13, cf. 22:20-21).
3. The rights of a captive wife (21:10-14).
4. The rights of a first-born son of a despised wife (21:15-17).
5. The right of an escaped slave to freedom (23:16-17).
6. The right of the needy to gleanings (24:19-22).

These constitute a large portion of Deuteronomy's celebrated "humanitarian" laws.

II

In the Covenant Code the observance of the Sabbath and the Sabbatical Year are justified in terms of the need of the weak for rest (Exod. 23:12b) and food (Exod. 23:11). It is rather surprising but true that the Biblical law-givers consistently enunciate the right of the destitute to food, clothing, and housing and the duty of the substantial members of the community to provide them.

In Deuteronomy the Sabbatical Year has been reformulated as a release from debts (Deut. 15:1-6). This becomes the occasion for the law-giver to require those with means to loan to the poor when asked, even if it means the loss of one's capital (Deut. 15:7-11).

The tendency to make the sacred times based upon sabbatical time divisions into duties toward the disadvantaged reaches its climax in H's Year of Jubilee (Lev. 25:8-55). Indeed, the Year of Jubilee is devised to renew a whole series of primary rights that have been abrogated by those who have lost property and

freedom due to the exigencies of economic life. Those who have lost their family estates will recover them (25:13-17, 28, 29-33), and those who have lost their freedom will regain it (25:50-55).

The law-giver of the Holiness Code takes the opportunity to enunciate a number of other laws governing rights and duties in this section:

1. Sabbatical Year (25:18-22).
2. The right to redeem property (25:23-24, 25-27, 29, [30], 31-33).
3. Inalienability of village commons (25:34).
4. Loans to the poor (25:35-38).
5. Prohibition of enslavement of Israelites by Israelites and permission of enslavement of foreigners (25:39-46).
6. The right to redeem Israelites enslaved by non-Israelites at any time (25:47-49).

Most of these laws are for the benefit of the disadvantaged, for they were the persons who had to sell their land and homes and work for others to gain a livelihood.

III

The laws governing primary rights and duties seek to protect the weaker party of legal relations. When one party is a slave, a poor man, or a widow or orphan (resident aliens come into the scope of concern of these laws only on the margins), the law seeks to protect this person's rights by imposing duties upon the stronger party. The rights of the stronger are only enunciated enough to describe the kind of legal relation under consideration. It is apparently assumed that he will exercise his rights without the need of specific permission.

What kind of rights do the weaker parties have? In the Covenant Code the slave has the right to freedom after his term of service and the right to his wife and children, if he was married before he entered slavery. The slave-wife has the right to marriage with her owner or his son and to decent treatment in the home. The poor man has the right to borrow without interest and not to be subject to social disgrace or physical deprivation by his creditor. The broader community owes the poor and destitute time to rest and an opportunity to gain the necessities of life.

Deuteronomy and the Holiness Code augment the rights of the disadvantaged. The legal relation of slave-wife seems to be eliminated by Deuteronomy, and the master is encouraged to shower gifts on the slave as he or she departs. Moreover, returning an escaped slave is prohibited, putting slavery on an essentially voluntary basis. Not only is interest prohibited in loans to the poor, but in all loans to Israelites, and the well-to-do are required to loan to those who need aid. The idea of supporting the poor through gleanings is expanded. The rights of vulnerable persons (captive wife, son of despised wife) are protected from arbitrary abrogation.

The Holiness Code tries to eliminate the enslavement of Israelites, and to protect the right to redeem persons and property at all times. If even these measures fail to preserve the poor in their property and freedom, the Jubilee Year is meant to restore to them their rights as Israelites.

The primary laws concerning slaves and the poor are interrelated. If a person loses his land, he loses his livelihood and must hire himself out or enslave himself or his children to live. Loans to the poor and rights to gleanings may keep the poor from the loss of freedom. The law-giver wants to preserve the freedom of as many of the poor as possible, and to protect the right of slaves to return as free citizens. Deuteronomy and the Holiness Code try to lay the basis for a society in which no Israelite is a slave (one has the suspicion that their legislation was utopian).

IV

Thus far we have described the logic of casuistic primary law and surveyed the examples of it concerned with the disadvantaged. Now we need to draw out the function and setting from the form and logic of this type of law.

Albrecht Alt traced the origin of all casuistic law to the court process (op. cit., 91-92). The impersonal style and drive for precision of casuistic law indicates that it was formulated by judges for judges. The observations of other scholars support this setting too: D. Daube (Studies in Biblical Law) has shown how the casuistic law was formulated with legal process in view, and G. Liedke (Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze) has described how simple it would be to move from the record of an actual court decision to the more abstract casuistic formulation. Though there may be open questions about the purpose and legal force of ancient Near Eastern "codes," the thesis that casuistic law originated in court rulings and was intended for court decisions is sound.

Casuistic primary law as well as remedial law must have arisen from court decisions. The ancient Near Eastern collections of law contain primary as well as remedial law (see my JBL article, 182-183). In the course of unusual remedial cases the court would have had occasion to clarify the rights and duties of parties to legal relations. The primary law could subsequently be used to resolve disputes and draw up contracts.

Many of our Biblical examples of primary law have parallels in the ancient Near Eastern codes. This suggests that in Israelite court process too the court would clarify the rights and duties of parties to legal relations. However, the examples preserved have been consistently modified: They are formulated in personal address and have a strongly moral cast. Casuistic primary law must have undergone a secondary development in Israel from technical law toward moral persuasion.

The legal motive behind the reformulation of primary laws is apparent: The rights protected by these laws were difficult to enforce in remedial law, so the law-giver sought to give them additional force by appealing to the conscience of the stronger party of legal relations and threatening divine punishment for non-compliance (e.g., Exod. 22:26b). This requires an opportunity for appealing to the consciences of the populace. There must have been, in other words, a social setting for the oral proclamation of divine law and exhortation to obey it. I believe that the setting Alt hypothesized for apodictic law is also the setting for the casuistic primary law as it is formulated in the Bible.

V

These observations lead me to the next stage of my argument. The other laws concerned with the disadvantaged in the Old Testament are formulated as personally addressed prohibitions and commandments. This type of law too governs primary rights and duties: The addressee is the potential violator of rights. The apodictic laws concerning the disadvantaged address the stronger party, the person who might oppress the widow, orphan or resident alien. These prohibitions seek to secure the rights of the weak by stopping violation by the stronger members of the community.

The personal address and moral tone of the apodictic laws concerning the disadvantaged indicate that the law-giver is supplementing the remedial law by appealing to the consciences of the people to honor their rights. The remedial law was probably incapable of adequately enforcing penalties for exploiting the weakness of the widow and orphan or taking advantage of the alien's legal and social vulnerability. The law-giver took recourse to exhortation to overcome this flaw in the legal system (a kind of flaw which can be expected in every legal system).

There is one major distinction between apodictic prohibitions and casuistic primary law: The latter govern specific legal relations, while the former are general and somewhat vague. In the section of the Covenant Code in which we find both collected together (Exod. 22:20-26), the apodictic laws simply warn against "wronging" resident aliens and "oppressing" widows and orphans, while the casuistic primary laws prescribe the exact terms of loans to persons in distress. Apodictic law achieves a higher level of generality at the expense of specificity. One could never be sure when he violated the apodictic laws, but he knew exactly what the casuistic primary law required.

Because casuistic primary law is more precise, the laws concerning the poor, slaves, and similar precise legal relations take this form, while the apodictic laws concern persons who are in a generally vulnerable position. These latter come into casuistic primary law only in cases where a practice is advocated which would benefit the destitute (Deut. 24:19-22, parallel to the enactment for the poor in Exod. 23:11). Likewise, the poor and slaves are seldom the beneficiaries of apodictic prohibitions.

The search for the origin of apodictic law should not blind us to the legal function of laws protecting the disadvantaged. These have a clear place in Biblical law alongside of casuistic law governing primary rights and duties. When the subject is the disadvantaged, both attempt to persuade the stronger members of the community to honor the rights of the weaker and to attempt in every feasible way to save them from destitution, enslavement and starvation. Such an attempt at persuasion reflects a setting in which the members of the community were exhorted to obey the divine will.

VI

The fact that the Biblical law-givers formulated primary law protecting the disadvantaged means that Israel possessed the concept of every member of the people being endowed with "inalienable rights" by the Creator. Yahweh was the direct

source and guarantor of the rights of those who lacked the power to force others to respect them. Job 31:13-15 enunciates the rationale for this class of Biblical law:

> If I refused to hear the claim of my slave
> or my maid-servant's suit against me,
> what will I do when God is aroused?
> How will I reply when he makes an inquiry?
> Didn't my Creator create him also?
> Isn't he who fashioned us both one?

The Creator cares for the rights of all of his creatures equally, the slave, the poor, the widow, the orphan, the naked, and the sojourner, as well as the master, the well-to-do and the one with weight in the community. It is this fundamental equality of creatures before their Creator or equality of Israelites before their divine lord and law-giver that made it a responsibility of men of Job's position to honor the rights of those subordinate to or dependent upon him.

S 16 ISRAEL'S UNDERPRIVILEGED AND GEMSER'S MOTIVE CLAUSE

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In 1953 Berend Gemser (d. 1962) published an article on the importance of the motive clause in OT law.[1] Within the law collections of Tanach he had observed the presence of what he termed a "motive clause," i.e., of a grammatically subordinate sentence in which motivation for obedience was supplied to a particular commandment or prohibition. For his article Gemser examined "the five most easily discernible" law collections[2] of the Pentateuch with the following results: he noted a clear and very considerable increase in the frequency of motive clauses as one moved from the older to the larger, more recent law collections; he observed that formally the motive clauses were not all of one and the same type; with respect to content, he detected four or five kinds of motivation; when he found not a single instance of a motive clause in any extant ancient Near Eastern collection, he concluded that the motive clause was a phenomenon peculiar to Israelite law; the reason for this uniqueness he attributed, not to a more primitive, less developed technique of lawmaking in Israel, but rather to the democratic character and spirit of Israelite law practice; and finally he argued for the antiquity of the use of motivating sentences and in this connection suggested a close association with the wisdom tradition.

Gemser's article on the motive clause is as insightful as it is pioneering. Like Alt and the phenomenon of apodictic law in Israel, Gemser points to an equally fascinating and intriguing feature of Israelite law: the phenomenon of motivated law. To this writer, Gemser's inquisitiveness can only be vindicated and his initial effort extended, although a number of corrections and modifications of his work may be necessary, including his claim for the uniqueness of Israel's motive clause within ancient Near Eastern law.

I

Certainly more may be said concerning the definition and description of Israel's "motive clause." The motive clause, as a secondary feature, is a clause of single or multiple motivation, which is attached to a particular commandment, prohibition, or series of such directives; as such, it constitutes a complete subordinate sentence or sentences, although subject/verb therein may be implied. The motive clause is characteristically introduced by a variety of single or composite conjunctions, although it may also be introduced asyndetically, i.e., without any formal conjunction at all. Along with Gemser I would include under the designation "motive clause" also material of a purely informative or explanatory content. As to position and order, the motive clause normally follows the legal injunction with which it is so intimately involved, although in a few instances the motive clause may be found to precede the law![3]

In the law collections of the Pentateuch generally acknowledged to be early, namely E_1 and E_2, R_1 and R_2, C, and perhaps Sh, the delineation of motive clauses is relatively easy and clear cut in comparison with the difficulties encountered in the more recent collections D, H, and PC.[4] In these latter collection the borderline between law and motive clause is more difficult to draw. Yet one cannot fail to sense even in these more complex collections the presence of legitimate motivating sentences.

The motive phenomenon is quite extensive. In my dissertation[5] on the motive clause I noted a total of 219 motive clauses in the five collections examined by Gemser distributed as follows: E_1 (4 motive clauses); E_2 (5); R_1 (6); R_2 (2); C (9); Sh (1); D (99); and H (93). In support of Gemser's aforementioned claim, the percentage of law motivated may be seen to increase in frequency with the size and more recent dating of the law collections. E and R have quite a large motive segment in comparison with C and Sh but none of these collections matches the extent of legal paragraph motivation in D (88%), H (83%), or PC (60%).

In the Pentateuchal collections at least seven basic types of law are motivated: casuistic law (Exod 21:2ff; Deut 22:8); apodictic command (Exod 23:12a; 20:12a); apodictic prohibition (Exod 22:17E; Lev 19:15); the participial formula (Exod 21:12), the relative construction (Lev 20:10); the jussive command/prohibition (Deut 19:15); and the curse pattern (Deut 27:18). Except for D the apodictic command outnumbers the prohibition and the singular outnumbers the plural formulation. In the oldest collections the type of law motivated is significantly the apodictic genre. The secondary collection D, in particular, appears to represent a turning point in the history of the motive phenomenon, as in D for the first time casuistic law (60%) comes to be extensively motivated, even more so than the apodictic law present (40%).

Likewise, it is true that motive clauses are introduced in a variety of patterns. In some of the larger, multiple motives one must be prepared to find more than one conjunctive pattern. Common to all collections and best represented is the kî introduction. Contrary to Gemser, the most frequent motive is not kî but the asyndetic connection, although this type is almost exclusively confined to the later collections D, H, and PC. Third in frequency is the Waw introduction; the l^{e}ma'an introduction is fourth in numerical frequency but it is confined essentially to the early collections and particularly D. In all, twenty-three different kinds of motive introduction are present whether in primary, secondary, tertiary, or even quaternary position within the individual motive clauses. It must be said that D displays the most variety in the modes of introduction, with seventeen out of the twenty-three different kinds utilized. D's creativity is unsurpassed either by the collections before it or after it: E_1 (5); R_2 (2); C (4); D (17); Sh (1); H (8); and PC (7). In this aspect also D appears to be a turning point in the history of the motive phenomenon in Israel.

In Gemser's short article space did not permit much comment on the stylistic, structural aspects of the motive clause. Gemser did take note of the metrical dimension in some of the clauses. More work can be done on the question of rhythmic patterns and structural symmetry.[6] For my part, I did observe disturbing stylistic inconsistencies within the motive phenomenon. Although the relationship between parent law and motive clause is normally one of structural unity and conformity of style, it appears, with the exception of Sh, that no law collection is without some stylistic pronominal inconsistencies between law and motive clause or within the motive clause per se.[7] Both old and more recent collections exhibit passages which are inconsistent with respect to the first and third person references to Yahweh or with respect to number in the second person pronouns of the addressee. As this pattern of stylistic inconsistency is not confined to earlier or later law collections, and occurs not only without but within the motive clauses themselves, the phenomenon is not

very convincingly attributed to the craft of secondary editors or to some primitive cultic rhetorical device. It is just as conceivable that it is simply part and parcel of the little-known method and technique of ancient Hebrew speech and composition.[8]

In his article Gemser discerned four kinds of motivation in the law collections he examined. In doing so, however, Gemser does not appear to realize that there is a difference between the kind of motivation given and the area appealed to for the motivation. Gemser does not seem to work with such a distinction as he more often speaks of the area appealed to as a kind of motivation. Furthermore, Gemser does not give an adequate view of the full range of subjects chosen for motivation.

It turns out that the majority of the motive clauses motivate subjects in the religious/cultic sphere. Significantly, the subjects treated in the earliest law collections are nearly all cultic matters. This suggests a close connection between the earliest motive clauses and the Israelite cult. The most comprehensive span of subjects motivated occurs in D. Here beside the religious/cultic sphere, subjects belonging to the family, civil, and even military spheres are motivated. Again D seems to exhibit the most breadth and interest.

The study of the motive clauses themselves convinced me of three basic thrusts: the desire 1) to warn, 2) to incite/encourage, and 3) to explain/justify. The most frequent intention of the clauses in the collections was to justify/explain an action or a situation. The least represented thrust is the desire to warn. The stress would appear to be upon the positive rather than the negative.

Numerous areas are appealed to in support of the various motivations given in the collections. On one hand the hearer is confronted by the world of man: 1)the evidence of logic, reason, ratio, common sense, 2)the instinct and desire for self-preservation, blessing, and general well-being, and 3)the dictates of conscience, ethical or humanitarian concerns as well as the necessity for ecological responsibility over against the world of nature; on the other hand, the hearer is confronted by the world of Yahweh: namely, the authority and witness of tradition as to Yahweh's person, word, and acts. A study of the motive clauses brings this result: the appeal to the intellect accounts for about 42% of the whole. Reference to the person and activity of Yahweh amounts to 35% of the whole. About 12% of the clauses appeal to the human longing for personal well-being and blessings. D is particularly strong in this direction of appeal. Nearly 10% of the clauses appeal to the conscience, ethical sentiment, or humanitarian concern. Only 1% reflect a feeling for ecology or the proper stewardship of God's creation.[9] This latter appeal is unique to R and D. Also unique to D are a number of passages which appeal to the authority of Moses![10]

Gemser was not so willing to attribute all motive clauses to secondary redaction. He was inclined rather to speak of the antiquity of the motive phenomenon and suggested a common ground in the activity of wisdom. To this writer a different hypothesis suggests itself, namely, that the motive clauses of the earliest collections originated in the practice of recitation and inculcation of sacred history and law in ancient Israel. Indeed the common opinion has been to regard the motive clauses of the Pentateuch as secondary literary additions. Yet a number of observations appear to support the hypothesis that the motive clauses of E_1, R_1, C (the apodictic section), and Sh originated

in connection with the recitation of sacred law: 1) the earliest motive clauses are attached to apodictic law, which suggests a close link between the motive clauses and Israel's cultus; 2) the content of the apodictic law motivated in the collections is largely cultic, which likewise links the law and its motivation to Yahweh's worship; 3) the substance of the early motive clauses is pre-Deuteronomic, which demonstrates that Deuteronomic editors could only presuppose, not compose the clauses; and 4) the personal, direct rhetorical style of the older clauses appears to demand a spoken rather than a secondary and unexplained literary origin. It is further noted that Sh is the only law collection for which the original scene can be recovered with any degree of confidence from its present literary context, and that context claims that Sh and its lone motive clause (Deut 27:20aβ) were recited by Levites before the assembly of Israel. Indeed the recitative phenomenon was part of the warp and woof of the fabric of Israel's life and worship. Evidence of its actuality in private and public life is ample.[11] In the light of the Hittite suzerain-vassal treaties and Hittite "instruction genre" no one can seriously argue that recitation and instruction in Israel must be viewed as a fabricated fiction concocted by a later age.[12]

On the other hand, the motive clauses of the later collections are undoubtedly of written origin on the whole. The motive clauses of E_2 (additions), R_2 (addition), D, H, and PC are part of the secondary process of redaction(s) undertaken to reactivate Israel's precious legal heritage for a new situation. This claim is supported by a number of observations: 1) the motive clauses of E_2 and R_2 presuppose the wording of the motive clauses of E_1 and R_1; 2) the motive clauses within D, H, and PC are essentially united within themselves in each collection as to style, content, and interests; 3) these same features within the motive clauses are demonstrable in the secondary framework of D, H, PC lying outside the motive clauses; and 4) the motive expansions with D, H, and PC are not as clear cut and able to be sequestered as in the earlier collections; precise legal genres have given way to broader prose parenesis and commentary.

Potential composers of the secondary motive clauses of R_2, E_2, D, H, and PC are the following: behind R_2, the J/E editor; behind E_2 and D, the Deuteronomic school; behind H, the Zadokite priesthood because of obvious links with Ezekiel; and behind PC, the Aaronide Jerusalem priesthood because of the necessity of broadening the base of the post-exilic priesthood. D (8-6th century) appears to be the first concerted effort to make the past speak anew and seeks to recall its readers to the Mosaic faith of the 13th century. In fact, D's extensive program of motivation seems to be a creative, yet imitative extension of the older cultic practice above. H and PC represent subsequent priestly redactions undertaken for the benefit of the exilic and post-exilic community.

But Gemser's claim for the uniqueness of the Israelite motive clause may have to be modified to admit the presence of an explanatory motive clause in extra-Biblical casuistic law. An explanatory motive clause in casuistic law, such as in C (Exod 21:8b; 21:21b), it seems to me, is paralleled in at least one extant ancient Near Eastern lawcode, the Hammurabi codex.[13] Yet the motive clause attached to apodictic law (and related subtypes) still remains unique to Israel. I would attribute this extraordinary phenomenon in Israel to a number of factors: the Yahweh-centricity and theocratic character of Israelite law; the uniqueness of the I-Yahweh/thou-Israel pattern of address in

Israelite law; and the necessity of and the persons and means employed for the promotion of Israelite law. In short, the uniqueness of the motive clause is intimately tied up with the uniqueness of the second person apodictic genre in a law-code.[14]

Laws and motive clauses dealing with Israel's underprivileged, to be sure, represent only a fraction of the motive material available to us in the Pentateuch. Yet this segment of the motive phenomenon can provide a concrete opportunity to view the motive clause and test and validity of some of the claims above. The laws and motive clauses involving Israel's underprivileged prove to be quite instructive, illustrative, and supportive.

II

Israel's underprivileged need identification. My dictionary defines the adjective "underprivileged" as "denied the enjoyment of the normal privileges or rights of a society because of low economic and social status."[15] The word is our word and subject to our manipulation. In studying an ancient people there exists the twin dangers of either reading our social awareness into a past culture or of becoming insensitive and closing our eyes to the full dimension of that older society. Such eisegetical or myopic tendencies are best minimized to the extent that the ancient texts can speak for themselves.

Israel's underprivileged and less fortunate par excellence were the poor and needy, the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow.[16] Combining E_1, E_2, and D one arrives at the following pecking order in ancient Israel: paterfamilias, son, daughter, manservant, maidservant, ox, ass, cattle, Levite, sojourner, fatherless, and widow.[17] The wife is closely associated with her husband (Exod 20:12; Deut 21:18-21) and yet is considered a member of his household possessions, ahead of the manservant, maidservant, ox, ass, and other property. The married woman or the betrothed virgin is under the authority of her husband or bridegroom while the unmarried daughter is under the control of her father.[18] Next to woman, another level of bondage, and not always totally unpleasant (Exod 21:5 ; Deut 15:16), was the position of the bondservant and bondmaid and hired servant both native and foreign.[19] The poor often had to sell themselves into slavery to survive or their very own children to cover their debts.[20] Israel's underprivileged and unfortunate can also be extended to include the feeble (aged, dying), the divorced, the disabled and misbegotten (lame, deaf, blind), sick (leper), and outcast (eunuch, bastard, Ammonite, Moabite, Edomite, Egyptian).[21] In short, Israel's underprivileged in the broadest sense may be defined to include nearly all who were not male and between the ages of twenty and sixty years. The prices stated on the commutation of vows are instructive as to the relative value of persons in Israel (Lev 27:2-7). The priority of the Israelite male is equally underscored in the matter of census taking, purification after childbirth, and worship.[22] It is the male who is the addressee of Israel's law.

Further insight into the full identity of Israel's underprivileged is provided in Job's profession of loyalty before the Almighty.[23] In the face of earlier charges (Job 22:6-9) and the ways things were (24:3-12,21), Job cites an impressive list of uncommitted sins (Job 29-31). Job speaks of his commendable role over against the poor (29:12a,16; 30:25; 31:16a, 19-20), the sojourner (29:16b; 31:32), the fatherless (29:12b; 31:17-18,21),

the widow (29:13b; 31:16b), the dying (29:13a), the blind (29:15a), the lame (29:15b), the manservant and maidservant (31:13), women (31:9), land-tenants (31:38-39), falsehood (31:5), wealth (31:24-25), idolatry (31:26-27), and homosexuality (31:31).

Accordingly, I have chosen to define Israel's underprivileged in the broadest sense possible in the pages to follow, to wit: the poor (ʾebyōn/dal/mūk) and needy (ʿānî), the sojourner (gēr/tōšāb/gūr), fatherless (yātōm), widow (ʾalmānāh), married/betrothed/unbetrothed woman, manservant (ʿebed), maidservant (ʾāmāh), hired servant (śākîr), Levite, aged, blind, deaf, lame, sick, and socially outcast.

In the Pentateuchal law collections there are ninety-four separate law cases or paragraphs dealing directly or indirectly with the situation of Israel's underprivileged as defined in the broad sense above. The distribution within the individual law collections is as follows:

E_1 (3) Exod 20:8-11 (sabbath: manservant, maidservant, sojourner); Exod 20:12 (honoring aged? parents);[24] Exod 20:17 (coveting: manservant, maidservant);

E_2 (3) Deut 5:12-15 (sabbath: manservant, maidservant, sojourner); Deut 15:16 (honoring aged parents); Deut 5:21 (coveting: manservant, maidservant);

R (2) Exod 23:10-11 (sabbatical year: poor); Exod 23:12 (sabbath: son of handmaid, sojourner);

C (16) Exod 21:2-6 (Hebrew slave); Exod 21:7-11 (daughter sold into slavery); Exod 21:15 (parents); Exod 21:17 (parents); Exod 21:20-21 (beaten slave); Exod 21:22-25 (miscarriage); Exod 21:26-27 (maltreated slave); Exod 21:28-32 (goring ox: slave); Exod 22:15-16H (rape of unbetrothed virgin); Exod 22:20H (oppression of sojourner); Exod 22:21-26H (affliction of poor, widow, and fatherless; lending money to poor; garment in pledge); Exod 23:2-3 (impartiality in a suit); Exod 23:6 (justice for poor); Exod 23:7 (justice); Exod 23:8 (bribery); Exod 23:9 (oppression of sojourner);

Sh (4) Deut 27:16 (dishonoring parents); Deut 27:18 (misleading blind); Deut 27:19 (justice for sojourner, fatherless, widow); Deut 27:25 (bribery);

D (30) Deut 12:8-12 (sacrifice: manservant, maidservant, Levite); Deut 14:3-8, 9-10, 11-20, 21abc, 21d (unclean meat: sojourner); Deut 14:22-29 (eating of tithe: Levite, sojourner, fatherless, widow); Deut 15:1-11 (sabbatical year of release: poor and needy); Deut 15:12-18 (Hebrew slave); Deut 16:9-12 (feast of weeks: Levite, sojourner, fatherless, widow); Deut 16:13-15 (feast of tabernacles: manservant, maidservant, Levite, sojourner, fatherless, widow); Deut 16:18-20 (justice and impartiality); Deut 18:1-8 (Levitical portion); Deut 21:10-14 (captive woman); Deut 21:15-17 (firstborn son, child of hated wife); Deut 22:13-21 (wife's virginity); Deut 22:23-27 (rape of betrothed virgin); Deut 22:28-29 (rape of unbetrothed virgin); Deut 23:2, 3, 4-7, 8-9H (exclusion from assembly: sexually maimed, bastard, Ammonite, Moabite, Edomite, Egyptian); Deut 23:16-17H (escaped bondservant); Deut 24:1-4 (divorce); Deut 24:6 (pledges); Deut 24:10-13 (pledges); Deut 24:14-15 (oppression of hired servant); Deut 24:16 (execution of children); Deut 24:17-18 (justice for sojourner, fatherless, widow); Deut 24:19 (grain

harvest: sojourner, fatherless, widow); Deut 24:20 (olive harvest: sojourner, fatherless, widow); Deut 24:21-22 (grape harvest: sojourner, fatherless, widow); Deut 25:5-10 (levirate marriage); Deut 25:11-12 (wife's immodest defense of husband); Deut 25:13-16 (just weights); Deut 26:1-11 (offering of firstfruits: Levite, sojourner); Deut 26:12-15 (third year tithe: Levite, sojourner, fatherless, widow);

H (20) Lev 17:8-9 (sacrifice: sojourner); Lev 17:10-12 (eating blood: sojourner); Lev 17:13-14 (eating blood: sojourner); Lev 17:15-16 (eating what dies of itself or is torn by beasts: sojourner); Lev 18:24-30 (general exhortation: sojourner); Lev 19:3 (revering parents); Lev 19:9-10 (harvesting: poor, sojourner); Lev 19:13 (wages of hired servant); Lev 19:14 (blind, deaf); Lev 19:15-16 (impartiality); Lev 19:20-22 (sexual intercourse with a betrothed slave); Lev 19:32 (honoring aged); Lev 19:33-34 (loving sojourner); Lev 19:35-36 (just balances); Lev 20:2b-5 (child sacrifice: sojourner); Lev 20:9 (cursing parents); Lev 22:18b-20 (offering: sojourner); Lev 23:22 (harvest: poor, sojourner); Lev 24:15-22 (blaspheming God, murder, disfiguring fellow man: sojourner); Lev 25:2-7, 8-12, 13-17, 18-24, 25-28, 29-34, 35-38, 39-46, 47-55 (sabbatical year, year of jubilee: male and female slaves, hired servant, sojourner, poor, Levites);

PC (16) Exod 12:1-20, 43-49 (Passover, unleavened bread: slave, sojourner, hired servant); Exod 30:12-16 (atonement money: poor); Lev 5:7-10, 11-13 (guilt offering from poor); Lev 12:2-8 (purification after childbirth by poor); Lev 13:1-46 (leper); Lev 14:21-32 (cleansing of leper who is poor); Lev 16:29-34 (fasting on day of atonement: sojourner); Lev 27:2-8 (commutation of vows by poor); Num 5:12-31 (wife suspected of adultery); Num 9:10-14 (second Passover for unclean: sojourner); Num 15:2-16, 18-31 (offerings: sojourner); Num 19:2-10 (red heifer: sojourner); Num 27:8-11 (inheritance by daughters); Num 30:3-17H (vows and pledges of unmarried, married, widowed, divorced woman); Num 35:2-8, 10-15 (Levitical cities and cities of refuge); Num 36:6-9 (inheritance by daughter).

The motive clauses within the law collections E_1, E_2, R, and C supportive of laws involving Israel's underprivileged are easy to isolate: E_1 (2) Exod 20:11; 20:12b; E_2 (2) Deut 5:12b, 14c-15; 5:16aβ-b; R (2) Exod 23:11aβ, b; 23:12b; C (7) Exod 21:8bβ; 21:21b; 22:20bH; 22:22-26H; 23:7c; 23:8b, c; 23:9b. With two exceptions all the laws motivated here are apodictic laws. The two exceptions occur in C (Exod 21:8bβ; 21:21b) and deal with regulations concerning slavery. As casuistic law, even with an occasional explanatory clause, is not unique to Israel and is not commonly associated with Israel's cult, these clauses need not concern us. The multiple motive clause (Deut 5:12-15) attached to E_2's apodictic sabbath command with reference to manservant and maidservant, is interesting, as it displaces a different motive clause in E_1 (Exod 20:11).

It is commonplace to regard E_1 as an interpolation into its present literary context in Exod 19-24. The recognition of this fact has one important consequence. One is not permitted to use the present literary setting as the only clue to E_1's original provenance and date. With respect to the motive clauses of E_1 (Exod 20:5b-6; 20:7b; 20:11; 20:12b), it has been the general opinion to regard the clauses as secondary literary additions. Underlying this frequent judgment has been the presupposition that E_1 presently is not the original in structure or wording. Time and time again in the reconstruction of the conjectured Ur-Decalogue the short apodictic prohibitions of E_1 (Exod 20:13ff) have been made to serve as the idealic model for the rest of the commandments.[25] This assumption is questionable. As Gerstenberger and Fohrer[26] point out, the diversity of patterns in Exod 20 (positive/negative; long/short; imperfect/infinitive) deserve a better explanation. In line with Gerstenberger and Fohrer this would be to suggest a potpourri character for E_1 from the day of its inception. In all likelihood E_1 represents a model code of precepts chosen from a larger collection of apodictic material available.

One observes that all the motive clauses of E_1 are confined to the first part (Exod 20:2-12); the last part (Exod 20:13-17) contains no motive clauses. How is one to account for the fact that the motive clauses do not continue through to the end of the commandments? If the motive clauses were indeed secondary additions to a more primitive decalogue text one might have expected the editors to supply motive clauses uniformly to all the remaining laws. But if E_1 were a secondary gathering of once original, separate apodictic laws, some with motive clauses, some without, the resultant structure and organization would be what E_1 now exhibits.

The attempt has been made to see Exod 20:8-11 as en bloc dependent upon P's creation account, especially Gen 2:2-3. Granted this premise, the motive clause of Exod 20:11 is confidently dated with P in the exilic period when sabbath and circumcision become the status confessionis of incipient Judaism. Admittedly there are some significant word parallels between Exod 20:8-11 and Gen 2:1-3 in the verbs ʿāśāh, qādaš, and bārak and also the noun meleʾkāh. Still, more notice should be made of the divergencies encountered, such as the use of nūhᵃ for P's šābat and the difference between the longer phrase in Exod: "The LORD made the skies and the earth, the sea, and all which is in them" as compared with P's thought and phrasing with the verb kālāh: "And the skies and the earth, and all their host were completed." In short, the claim for dependence on P is debatable. The similarities between P and Exod 20:8-11 can be accounted for just as well in terms of P's dependence upon E_1.

The content of E_1 is not all of one kind. The first commandments (Exod 20:2-6,7-11) are commandments regulating the cultic life. Commandments such as these could only have come into being with the birth of the covenant relationship between Yahweh and Israel. It is not inconceivable to see them as part of the cultic recitation of sacred covenant law. Yahweh's presence is deeply rooted in these passages.

The second half of E_1 (Exod 20:12-17) contains commandments which regulate social behavior, rules which guard the very structure of any society. The prohibitions against murder, adultery, theft, kidnapping, and false witness recognize an order given to man, not created by Yahweh's covenant. They presuppose a social order which antedates all historical beginnings and simply warn not to violate the given order. Such rules are not temporary agreements; they are bound to particular persons, historical groups, and nations. They are universal and timeless. Such commandments are preserved and transmitted within the society which they have sought to protect for centuries long past. The original guardians of such precepts are not priests but the fathers, the tribal leaders, and the wise men of antiquity.[27]

The social prohibitions of E_1 accordingly antedate Yahweh's covenant with Israel at Sinai. The principles enunciated go back to the semi-nomadic days of Israel's nebulous pre-history. At some point in the history of Israel though, these two diverse kinds of law were combined and came under Yahweh's lordship and covenant. If such a step could not have taken place before the events of Sinai, it could not have occurred after the eighth century prophet Amos either because Amos interpreted Israel's "social crimes" as sins against Yahweh.[28] The period of transition was undoubtedly the period of the tribal confederacy.

From this perspective it is interesting to note to what degree the lordship of Yahweh has been extended beyond the cultic into the social sphere. The taking of Yahweh's name in vain and the sabbath are under his domain, but the filial relation in E_1 is also under his watchful eye. Yet more must be noticed about this extension of the covenant obligation. The means by which the cult of Yahweh comes to assert its enlarged authority and concern in the social realm is via the motive clause. This fact suggests a very close link between the motive clause and Israelite cultus. The covenant ideology cannot be made responsibile for having created all of the commandments which we find in E_1, but the cult of Yahweh may be considered responsible for having created all the motive clauses in E_1.

If the motive clause on the sabbath in Exod 20 originated in cultic recitation, the same cannot be said of the corresponding motive clause involving Israel's bondservants in Deut 5:14c-15. This motive clause, to the degree that it replaces, modifies, and extends E_1's clause, is a secondary literary production. Nielsen points out that E's motive clause concludes with a sentence which is inappropriate.[29] Whereas E_1's motive clause reiterates the pattern of the parent law, E_2's clause does not. In E_1 and E_2 the sabbath command is constructed of three elements: 1) the basic command to keep the sabbath holy, 2) the clause concerning work on the other six days, and 3) the insistence upon the fact that the sabbath is a holiday on which all should rest. The motivation in E_1 follows this sequence. In E_2, for some reason, the maidservant and manservant are singled out for attention from the foregoing list of those for whom work on the sabbath is forbidden. The idea of rest for these servants then leads over to the thought of Israel's redemption from servitude in Egypt. E_2's sequence of thought is thus strange; the last part of the composite motive clause builds upon the first part and not upon the parent law being motivated! Another indication that E_2's sabbath motivation is built upon E_1's lies in the wording of the last line. Deut 5:15b

presupposes E_1's more original clause when it continues to retain some of E_1's key words: ʿal-kēn, Yahweh, et-yōm, and haššabbāt. Equally secondary is the next motive clause in Deut 5:16b. Whereas E_1 (Exod 20:12b) reads: lᵉmaʿan yaʾᵃrikūn yāme(y)kā ʿal hāʾᵃdāmāh ʾašer-Yahweh ʾᵉlōhe(y)kā nōtēn lāk, E_2 (Deut 5:16b) reads: lemaʿan yaʾᵃrīkun yāme(y)kā (ūlᵉmaʿan yîṭab lāk) ʿal haʾᵃdāmāh ʾašer-Yahweh ʾᵉlōhe(y)kā nōtēn lāk. The addition of the three words in parenthesis is more easily explained by the dependence of E_2 on E_1 than vice versa. Moreover, the expression in parenthesis "that it may go well with you (sg)" is a common Deuteronomic sentiment. The same goes for the motive addition in Deut 5:12c and 5:16a: "as the LORD your (sg) God commanded you (sg)."

The secondary Deuteronomic origin of the sabbath motive clause may also help explain the change in the sabbath command from E_1's zākōr to E_2's šāmōr. The change reflects how the passage of time brought with it a more developed authoritarian dimension to the sabbath. The same authoritarian atmosphere pervades the phrase "as the LORD commanded you (sg)." The increased humanitarian interest expressed in the concern for manservants and maidservants, yes, even the addition, "your ox and ass," plus the reversal of the order of the neighbor's wife in the final prohibitions (Exod 20:17/Deut 5:21), should also not go unnoticed.

What is to be said for the origin of the two motive clauses (Exod 23:11aβ,b; 23:12b) on the underprivileged attached to apodictic law in R_1? Are these clauses secondary literary additions?

The clauses belong to a complex of cultic regulations (Exod 20:(22)23-26 + 23:10-19) into which, as into a mantle or cloak, C (Exod 21:1-23:9) has been inserted. All of the laws and motive clauses of R_1 are pre-Deuteronomic and this goes even for the appendix (Exod 23:18-19) to the cultic calendar (Exod 23:14-17). This is easily demonstrated by an examination of Exod 20/23.

There can be no doubt about the pre-Deuteronomic character of the altar statutes (Exod 20:23-26). The call for an altar of earth presupposes some very simple conditions. The phrase "in every place where I cause my name to be remembered" is pre-Deuteronomic as it presupposes numerous cultic shrines in the land. Later in D with its call for centralization of cultus such a situation would not be envisioned. Exod 20:25-26 may be interpreted as a concession made to the older law of 20:24 later, to accommodate the desire to build altars of stone in imitation of Canaanite cultus, yet without the Canaanite display of nakedness in the performance of cultic acts. That the concession is earlier than Deuteronomy is attested in Deut 27 and Josh 8. Moses is reported to have referred to this very law on the plains of Moab (Deut 27:4-7). Joshua reportedly built such an altar in accord with what was written in the law of Moses (Josh 8:31). From the dimensions of height given for the altar of burnt offering (2 Chron 4:1) Solomon apparently constructed an altar with steps and apparently did so by his time without censure. Solomon antedated the Deuteronomic movement by more than three centuries.

The section Exod 23:10-12 is dominated by the numerals six and seven just as the calendar section which follows it is dominated by the number three. These sections are much later than Exod 20:24-26 as both the laws and the accompanying motive clauses presuppose an ongoing agricultural economy. There is mention of sowing and harvesting, vineyard and olive orchard. As both motive clauses in deference to Israel's poor, enslaved, and alien here are humanitarian, the thought may arise that these motive additions are derived from the Deuteronomist because the same sentiments are expressed in the Deuteronomist's motive clause above on the sabbath command (Deut 5:14).

A comparison of the passages involved, however, again suggests the very opposite direction of dependency: that E_2 (the Deuteronomist) is in fact dependent upon R_1. It appears that E_2 derived its own sabbath motive clause from R_1 for a number of reasons. In Exod 23:12b the thought is that ox and ass may rest (yānūḥ^a) and that the son of the handmaid and resident alien (gēr) may be refreshed (wᵉyinnāpēš). In Deut 5:14c the phrasing is "that your (sg) manservant and your (sg) maidservant may rest (yānūḥ^a) as well as you (sg)." In R_1 the verb nūḥ is employed with ox and ass and nāpaš with servant and alien, but in E_2 nūḥ^a is used with reference to the latter. But more than the thought of rest is borrowed by E_2. In Deut 5:14b E_2 adds "your (sg) ox, or your (sg) ass, or any of" to the list of E_1 and also the secondary historical motivation observed above. This unexpected historical motivation in E_2 is reminiscent of the historical motive clause of R_1 found a verse or so later in 23:15bɣ: "for in it (Abib) you (sg) came out of Egypt." The phrase "as I commanded you (sg)" in 23:15bα, moreover, serves equally well as the inspirational source for E_2's twice-occurring phrase: "as the LORD your (sg) God commanded you (sg)." So many coincidences between R_1 and E_2 are unlikely. The comparison hints that much of the Deuteronomist's creativity over against E_1 was actually derived from what he found available to him in the R_1 tradition.

The pre-Deuteronomic character of the "cultic calendar" (Exod 23:14-17) is certain. The three festivals of the calendar presuppose the settlement in Canaan and represent agricultural festivals adopted from Canaanite culture. The antiquity and Canaanite background for these feasts is confirmed in the mention of the old Canaanite name for the month, "Abib." Although the Passover seems to be the topic of discussion in the appendix to the calendar (23:18-19) it is not mentioned in the calendar proper. In short, it is not yet the pilgrimage festival of Deut 16. The reference to not boiling a kid in its mother's milk seems to refer to a contemporary threat of some Canaanite fertility rite.[30] Deut 16:7 later sees no theological problem with boiling the intended Passover victim.

The Deuteronomist also presupposed other traditions underlying Exod 23, as in his updating of the Passover celebration in Deut 16. He took over Exod 23:17 (=Exod 34:23) in Deut 16:16a and put 23:15d at the end of all the calendar feasts in Deut 16:16c instead of after the first feast (unleavened bread) as in R_1. He also worked in Exod 23:15(34:18) and the first two appendiced directives of Exod 23:18 (=34:25) into the phrasing of Deut 16:3-4. The third directive (23:19a = 34:26a) he recorded in the special ceremony described in Deut 26:1-11 to

be observed around Passover (?) time; the fourth directive (23:19b = 34:26b) he attached, in ignorance of its true significance, as a conclusion to the section on dietary laws, Deut 14:21b! In the light of the foregoing discussion the case for a secondary Deuteronomic origin for the underprivileged motive clauses of R_1 is not very convincing.

In R_1 one observes the same intense I/thou relationship which was characteristic of E_1. With the exception of Exod 23:17 and 19a, throughout R_1 Yahweh is heard to speak in the first person to an audience. Throughout, the hearer is addressed in the second person. The second person singular pronoun is used consistently with the only departures being Exod 20:23 and 23:13a, bα, neither of which involves a motive clause.

In retrospect, the same elements are present here in R_1 as in E_1. The laws are apodictic. The content is cultic. The "I" of Yahweh is deeply rooted in the laws and in the motive clauses. There is a personal character about the laws. None of the laws or motive clauses can legitimately be attributed to the Deuteronomist. All this suggests that the origin of the motive clauses on the underprivileged in R_1 approximates that of E_1: that these apodictic laws together with their appropriate motive clauses were originally part of Israel's early worship and instruction.

In C there occur five motive clauses involving the underprivileged of Israel and they are by far the most challenging. In C at least three different series of law are present: in Exod 21:1-11 and 21:18-22:16H we encounter a casuistic series; in Exod 21:12-17 we observe a participially-formulated series; and in Exod 22:17H-23:9 we meet with an apodictic series.

C as a whole is old. With respect to the casuistic section a terminus ad quem in the period of the settlement is indicated.[31] One can expect as much for the apodictic section where the motive clauses on the sojourner, widow, fatherless, and poor are located. Naboth's unjust condemnation to death (1 Kgs 21:10) and Elijah's killing the prophets of Baal (1 Kgs 18:40) in the ninth century presuppose Exod 22:27H and 22:19. Eighth century Amos (2:8) seems to know Exod 22:25H and perhaps vs 26H as well!

Beyerlin[32] observes that the motive clauses of C with reference to deity are confined exclusively to the apodictic series (22:17H-23:9). Again, throughout this apodictic series Yahweh speaks very personally and directly in the first person, except for 22:19H, a third person reference. Indeed it may be said that of all the places so far where Yahweh does speak in the first person the apodictic section of C is unsurpassed in intensity or color! We have but to look at Exod 22:22-23H + 27H to appreciate emotion and rhetoric at its best on behalf of Israel's underprivileged par excellence. This is hardly the kind of address to be expected of secondary Deuteronomic editors. As Beyerlin comments, the "why" and "wherefore" of such a theory of secondary redaction itself remains unexplained.[33]

Admittedly, a closer look at the content of the motive clauses does reveal a connection with Deuteronomy. One can

cite here such aprallels as that between Exod 22:30H and Deut 14:21a, between Exod 23:1-3, 6-8 and Deut 16:18-20, between Exod 22:20-26H/23:9 and Deut 24:10-15, 17-18/23:19-20/27:19/10:19. Yet, as Beyerlin points out in detail, the order of dependency is the reverse: in every case Deuteronomy is shown to be secondary, using and modifying the C tradition.[34]

In summary, the same pattern detected in E_1 and R_1 is present in the last series of C. The law motivated is apodictic law. The claim for a Deuteronomic origin for the motive clauses on the basis of style, content, and kind of motivation is disallowed after careful comparison. The rhetorical style and emotion are much better explained upon the background of the give and take between a speaker and his audience than between an editor and his reader. These factors suggest that the origin of the motive clauses on Israel's underprivileged in C also originated in connection with the cultic inculcation of Yahweh's will.

Yet one monumental difficulty remains. Laws and motivations with respect to justice and protection of the poor and disfranchised are social concerns and social concerns are difficult to relate to the cult of the tribal confederation. Such laws antedate the covenant at Sinai. Yet the presence of this kind of material in C perhaps only demonstrates again, as in E_1 with regard to the filial relationship, to which extent social and clan responsibilities were combined with and rapidly became part of Israel's covenant obligation. Perhaps Beyerlin is correct in explaining the phenomenon by analogy with the ancient Near Eastern practice of placing the protection of orphans and widows under the authority of the king.[35] In Israel's cult Yahweh was affirmed as king and as such he became the protector of Israel's widow, orphan, and poor.[36]

Of all the law collections with motive clauses devoted to the cause of Israel's underprivileged D is by far the most remunerative. D is replete with motive material: Deut 14:21c; 14:27b, 29; 15:4-6, 10b-11; 15:14b-15, 18b,c; 16:12; 16:15b; 16:19cβ-20; 18:2b, 5: 21:14bγ; 21:17aγ, b; 22:19aγ, 21aγ,b; 22:24aγδ, b, 26b-27; 22:29aγ; 23:5-6, 8aβ, 8bβH; 24:4b; 24:13aγ, b; 24:15aγ, b; 24:16b; 24:18; 24:19b, c; 24:20b; 24:21b-22; 25:6b; 25:12b;25:15b-16; and 26:12d. These motive clauses on the underprivileged breathe the idealic spirit which pervades D as a whole. In general, the motive clauses cited above are attached to unenforceable rather than policeable laws. One can command someone "to rejoice" (12:7,12,18; 14:26; 16:11; 26:11), "not to forsake the Levite" (14:27), "not to harden one's heart or shut one's hand against a poor brother" (15:7), "not to have a base thought in one's heart" (15:9), "not to be grudging" (15:10), "not to seek the peace of the Ammonite or Moabite" (23:7H), "not to abhor an Edomite or Egyptian" (23:8H), "not to go into a man's house to fetch a pledge" (24:10), "not to oppress a hired servant" (24:14), "not to pervert the justice due to the sojourner, fatherless, or widow (24:17), "not to reap the grain, olive, or grape harvest" (24:19-21), but can one enforce or regulate such directives?

The sheer volume and variety of motive clauses in D on the underprivileged make it the perfect model to illustrate the divergent patterns of motivation. The three basic thrusts discernible within the whole motive phenomenon come to full

fruition in D.

There is the desire to warn: Deut 24:4b
Deut 24:15aγ,b[37]

Much more frequent is the desire to incite/encourage:

Deut 14:29b
Deut 15:4b-6, 10b-11
Deut 16:15b
Deut 16:20
Deut 24:13aγ,b
Deut 24:19 c
Deut 25:15b[38]

Yet the most common thrust is the desire to justify/explain:

Deut 12:12b
Deut 14:27b,29a
Deut 15:14b-15
Deut 16:12
Deut 16:19cβ
Deut 21:14bγ
Deut 21:17aγ,b
Deut 22:19aγ,21aγ,b
Deut 22:24aγδ,b,26b-27
Deut 22:29aγ
Deut 23:5-6,8aβ,8bβH
Deut 24:16b
Deut 24:18
Deut 24:19b
Deut 24:20b
Deut 24:21b-22
Deut 25:6b
Deut 26:12d[39]

In the clauses cited one may note one recurrent motive theme reiterated at least four times in D: "You (sg) shall remember that you (sg) were a slave in the land of Egypt." It is applied to a variety of subjects: Hebrew slave (Deut 15:12-18); feast of weeks (Deut 16:9-12); justice for sojourner, fatherless, and widow (Deut 24:17-18); and grape harvest (Deut 5:12-15) and is the most poignant appeal that D ever makes on behalf of Israel's less fortunate.

D is illustrative of the four areas appealed to in support of motivation also. It contains numerous appeals to logic or common sense: Deut 15:18b; 16:19cβ; 21:17aγ,b; 22:24aγδ, b, 26b-27; 22:29aγ; 23:5-6, 8aβ, 8bβ; 24:16b.[40] Equally in evidence is the appeal to self-preservation, blessing, and general well-being: Deut 14:29b; 15:4b-6, 10b-11; 15:18c; 16:20; 24:19c; 25:15b.[41] The appeal to conscience, ethical and humanitarian concern: Deut 12:12b; 14:27b, 29a; 21:14bγ; 22:19aγ; 24:20b; 26:12d.[42] And finally there is the appeal to Yahweh's person, word, and work: Deut 15:14b-15; 24:4b; 24:15aγ, b; 24:18; and 25:16.[43]

The "sermons" in Deuteronomy are addressed by Moses to a people about to possess the land. G. von Rad writes: "This fiction is maintained consistently throughout the whole of Deuteronomy. But it really is a fiction. In fact, these sermons are addressed to the Israel of the later period of the monarchy."[44] The actual sermonizers von Rad would locate in the priestly and Levitical circles of the day, and in support of von Rad's claim, one must confess D is surely preoccupied with the responsibilities and liabilities of the Levite![45] Carmichael believes that critical scholarship has indeed tended to underestimate the importance of the D fiction of purporting to be Mosaic legislation and consequently has misunderstood the archaic character of the work. In his mind D creates the ancient aspect of his laws. D is concerned to commend Israel's heritage to her children much in the manner of Jacob's so-called "farewell speech" in Gen 49. Carmichael sees the influence of the wisdom movement on D and is inclined to place the writer of D very close to the wisdom circle.[46]

The origin of most, if not all, of the motive clauses in D, in my mind, lie on the secondary level of creative

archaizing. The Moses who speaks throughout D speaks within the motive clauses in the same manner as he speaks outside the motive clauses. At least fourteen times the pronoun "I" occurs in D referring to Moses.[47] In Deut 17:3 the same is true of the verb. With the exception of Deut 18:15-20 the pronoun "I" in D does not refer to Yahweh. In nine of the above instances the position of the pronoun "I" is immediately preceding or within the motive clause itself. Surprisingly, the "I" as a reference to Moses is more frequent in than outside the motive clauses.

In the portions of D not motivated Israel is consistently viewed as on the plains of Moab about to enter Canaan. A goodly number of pericopae begin with phrases anticipating the conquest and settlement: 12:20; 12:29; 17:14; 18:9; 19:1. One observes the same fiction perpetuated in a number of the motive clauses: 19:9-10; 21:23b; 23:21bH; 24:4b. What is more, not a few of the motive texts are devoted to the herem and the Holy War ritual which are to accompany this conquest.[48]

The close connection between Moses in D as a whole and the motive clauses is maintained in the choice of historical references which turn up in the motive clauses, some involving Israel's underprivileged. In them there is mention of Moab, Balaam, Edom, Egypt, Miriam, Amalek, and Horeb/Sinai. Not one of the historical events cited from Israel's past in the motive clauses is out of step with the fictional historical setting maintained throughout the rest of D of a people recently come from Egypt about to enter the promised land.[49]

Throughout D the intended audience is the people of Israel who are assembled seemingly on the plains of Moab. This audience is evident in the motive portions too. The audience addressed here is the people, not the leaders, the prophets, priests, Levites, or judges. The place which the LORD will choose is to be out of all the tribes; there Israelite father, mother, son, daughter, manservant, maidservant, and Israel's truly underprivileged, the Levite, sojourner, fatherless, and widow shall rejoice.[50] Other relevant motive clauses emphasizing the people are: 22:24; 22:22; 14:1-2; 24:18. As outside the motive clauses, so within them, when the discussion turns to the appointed leaders of Israel, the discussion is about the leaders; the address is not to them: 16:18; 17:15-20; 18:1, 5.

The underlying unity of theme and stereotyped expression between so many motives clauses themselves, underscores a common origin. The reader may note the frequency with which the very same motive formulae occur: 12:25b and parallels 12:28b; 19:13b; 22:7b; 14:29 plus 15:4b-6, 10b-11, 14b-15, 18b; 16:15b; 23:21bH; and 14:2 with 14:21b. Those motive clauses pertaining to Israel's underprivileged have been underlined in this paragraph and likewise in the two paragraphs to follow.

Not so stereotyped but certainly part of the sentiment of the motive clauses as a whole are such clauses as: 25:15b-16; 16:20b; 16:3b; 14:23b; 20:17b-18; 17:19b-20; 24:13b; and 13:18b-19H.

Other motive formulae that occur consistently include: 13:6bH; 17:7b; 21:9; 22:21b, 24b; 24:7b; its variant 22:22b and 19:13b; its sister formula: 13:11b-12H; and both in combination: 17:12b-13 plus 19:19b-20; 21:21b. Another frequent motive

clause is that defining an abomination to the LORD: 17:1b; 18:12; 22:5b; 23:19bH; 24:4b; and 25:15b-16. These motivations are appended to apodictic and casuistic precepts alike and are scattered uniformly throughout the code. The common direction they take is one of material retribution for faithfulness and obedience.

The foregoing observations about the motive clauses of D are sufficient evidence to indicate that their origin is essentially one with D in its present redaction. The motive clauses share a uniformity of setting, content, and sentiment within themselves and with the rest of D outside the clauses. The motive clauses with reference to Israel's underprivileged are part of the whole process. The evidence points to a later, secondary written origin for D's motive clauses and not to a cultic origin as with the earlier collections.

The reason for the motive phenomenon in D lies in the purpose of D as a whole. If D is correctly understood as a kind of archaizing return to the religion and ideals of the Mosaic/amphictyonic age as part of the program of reform under the Judean kings Hezekiah and Josiah, then the imitation of an older cultic practice is equally understandable. The person(s) responsible for the motivating phenomenon in D was (were) only carrying through to its logical conclusion a practice begun long ago. The person(s) extended the motivation to include casuistic law, but all was now done on a literary level.

The preceding, however, dare not exclude the possibility that some of the older oral cultic motive clauses may have survived within D. As examples of apodictic law with possibly more original cultic motive clauses still attached, I would suggest the following on the basis of unusual variations in style and expression from that observable elsewhere in D: Deut 16:19; 16:22; 22:9; 23:8H; 24:6; 24:16. Most of these citations come from the second part of D. It is a fact that the latter portion of D (Deut 21-25) is not as heavily reworked with parenesis as the first part. In fact, what D may have done in a few instances is simply to modify or add a second motivating phrase to an older law already motivated. Thus Deut 24:13b may be a supplement to the older 24:10-13a and the phrase "whether he is one of your (sg) brethren or one of the sojourners who are in your (sg) land within your (sg) towns" a secondary addition to 24:14-15. In addition to the double change from a more original "sojourner" (gēr) to the present wording "slave" (ʿebed)(where it does not make much sense) 24:18b and 24:22 may be supplements to 24:17-18a and 24:21 respectively, and the phrase 24:19c to 24:19ab. The one time originality of the explanatory motive clause "it shall be for the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow" is not only hinted at by Deut 24:20 and 24:21 but also by the parallels in H (Lev 19:9-10; 23:22). In the light of the earlier parallel in Exod 23:6-9 Deut 16:20 may well be another of D's motive expansions, this time to the more ancient Deut 16:19.

The motive clauses with reference to Israel's underprivileged in H are of two kinds. One kind is the recurrent formula of H (almost 50 times in all!): "I am the LORD your God" and variants. This Selbstvorstellungsformel occurs ten times in connection with laws involving the underprivileged: Lev 19:3b; 19:10b; 19:14b; 19:32b; 19:36b; 23:22bβ; 24:22b; 25:38; and 25:55; also, an exhortative epilogue (Lev 18:24-30) to the

sexual prohibitions of Lev 18:6-23 concludes with the same formula. Exceptions to this motive pattern are the clauses: Lev 17:11-12; 17:14; 19:20bβ; 20:3; 20:9b; 22:20b; 25:23aβ, b; 25:33b; 25:34b; 25:36b; and 25:42.

H in its present form also represents a redaction of older law. Details vary from scholar to scholar but in general at least three stages are postulated: 1) the Ur-H stage, when diverse original, once-autonomous material was brought together; 2) the H redaction stage during the late pre-exilic or exilic period, in which the material was reactivated and given a new thrust; and 3) the P redaction stage, in which the H redaction was incorporated within PC.

Historically, it was von Rad who called particular attention to the second stage, the H redaction. His interest in the parenetic element in D led him to examine the parenetic element in H. In 1947, he devoted the second chapter of his Deuteronomium-Studien to a form-critical examination of H.[51] He noted that H stands much nearer to D than it does to P. Yet he observed differences: H is not, like D, instruction for the community throughout but comprises a constant alternation of instruction for the community and instruction for priests; unlike D, H is presented as the utterance of God in its present form and not as an address of Moses. As in D, von Rad discovered that the traditions behind H were also being updated or reactivated for a new situation.

In 1961 Reventlow proposed a much more radical thesis to explain the parenetic dimension within H.[52] His research led him to conclude that Lev 17-20 grew up around the "decalogue" at the heart of Lev 19. The long process of growth about this apodictic core he attributed to the oral liturgical preaching which took place in connection with a festival of covenant-renewal. He assumed essentially the same story of development for Lev 21-26, with the important difference that Lev 21 is based on private, professional priestly lore. The more recent effort of Thiel to underscore the "preaching" dimension of H is much more credible.[53] His claim that the motive elements belong to the second stage makes sense. Not so convincing is his belief that the composers of the motive elements belong to the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic movement, thereby forging a link with von Rad's proposal of Levitical preachers behind D's parenesis. The one thing that Thiel does not explain satisfactorily is the preaching style of H in the first person. Whereas the Predigt of D is Predigt Moses, the Predigt of H is Jahwerede.

The formula "I am the LORD" must be traced to its use in Israel's worship.[54] The formula carries with it the authority and atmosphere of the cult. The short form "I am the LORD" may have been employed as a liturgical abbreviation for the longer "I am the LORD your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt," or it may represent the incipit for some fuller liturgical recitation or confession. Gemser understood the phrase as the congregational antiphon to the priestly recitation of the law at the sanctuary, similar to the response "Amen" by the people in Deut 27. The use of the cultic formula in H is perhaps an extension of its use in pre-exilic times.

Motive clauses with specific reference to the situation of Israel's underprivileged in PC are few: Num 18:20b-24, 31b;

30:6b, 13b, 15bH. Understandably PC is inclined to cultic rather than to moral or social problems. Thus one confronts ritual, priestly instruction and procedure, and such secondary features as introductory formulae, priestly legend, summaries, declaratory formulae, atonement formulae, and institutionalizing formulae.[55] Perhaps the one point that PC does make of significance for the purpose at hand is the frequent statement: "there shall be one law for the native and for the sojourner who sojourns among you" (Exod 12:49; Num 9:14b; 15:15-16,29. Also noteworthy is the provision made for the poor in connection with the commutation of vows (Lev 27:8) or offerings involving some expenditure (Lev 5:7, 11; 12:8; 14:21-22, 30). As with H, it is clear that PC has reworked older traditions. The motive clauses are part of the complex tradition history behind PC and owing to their paucity need not detain us any longer.

III

The function of the motive clause in Israel is tied closely to the function of law in Israel in general. The object of law in any society is to maintain peace and promote the common welfare of society. In the case of Israel the law served more than just to establish and maintain peace. More importantly, it served to protect and maintain the covenant relationship with Yahweh. This enterprise required two kinds of law to work: 1) policy law or apodictic law, which provided the general principles under which Israel was to operate, and 2) procedural or casuistic law, which supplied the procedures by which the aforementioned policies could be implemented and regulated.[56]

The law to Israel was not an enemy but a friend, not a code of justification but an opportunity to demonstrate loyalty. A basic presupposition of Israelite law was that it could be kept or not kept. This fulfillment, to be sure, involved a qualitative and not a quantitative understanding of the law. Israel was called to wholehearted commitment and not to some kind of sinless perfection. Israel's keeping of the law did not earn Yahweh's grace and blessing; it only allowed both to continue, to succeed according to plan.

Israelite law was covenant law. The individual laws were relative and adaptable to the changing times and situations, to the degree that there was no departure from the primal principles governing the life of the community. The laws were not absolute or eternal but conditional and indeed required repeated modification to make them live. Indeed "unless we appreciate the Biblical principle that Truth requires change in order to remain unaltered, men who live in dialogue with past, present, God and the future, will always be opposed by those whose orthodoxy is the reiteration of a once relevant, now irrelevant message."[57]

It is against such a background that the purpose of the motive clause is discerned. It attempted to underscore certain areas of Israel's covenant obligation as of vital concern, such as the sanctity of Yahweh's name and the manner of his worship, and to spell out those spheres of activity absolutely forbidden. But the motive clauses also spoke to those areas hard to regulate, where secular justice was powerless to intervene, on areas easily neglected or where there were no formal spokesmen to defend, such as the lot of Israel's underprivileged.

In 1953 B. Gemser truly underscored a significant and remarkable phenomenon in ancient Israelite law. He believed that in the motive clause of Pentateuchal law he had found a feature which was uniquely Israelite. By contrast the real significance of the motive clause may still be appreciated. That would be to suggest that the earliest motive clauses originated in a cultic (not a literary) setting and therefore constitute a kind of early cultic "preaching" -- not unrelated to the task of the contemporary preacher who seeks to explain, to warn, and exhort, as he addresses himself to issues of the day, and that the motive clauses of the later law collections originated in a secondary literary setting in the repeated attempt to return Israel to the pristine faith and practice of the fathers -- a task not unrelated to the function of contemporary programmatic or devotional literature. We usually associate the first preaching with Jewish synagogue and the first Christians. It may be that the roots of Jewish and Christian preaching lie much farther back than we have hitherto ever imagined and that the preaching-exhortative phenomenon itself, in continuity with the I/thou pattern of Israelite law, is another precious gift from ancient Israel.

Gemser himself comments on the absence of motive clauses outside Israel:

> The "Sitz im Leben" of these lawcodes probably also has to be taken into consideration here. Their intrinsic connection with the cultic life of the people must be kept in mind. The big gatherings of the people or of the amphictyony of a group of tribes at the sanctuaries undoubtedly were the occasions of their promulgation and of their recitation and reenactment. There is certainly historical truth in the tradition which connects all the principal lawcodes with one or other general assembly of the people at a place of epiphany, revelation or guidance of God.[58]

Gemser himself might have moved more in the direction of Israel's cult rather than wisdom for a clue to the origin and function of the motive clause were it not for one mistake. He discounted any connection between the motive clause and the recitation of sacred apodictic law because he found motive clauses attached to both apodictic and casuistic law in the collections. D in particular was his undoing. Had he been able to see that the earliest motive clauses actually accompany only apodictic law and related sub-types a number of his ideas about the antiquity of the motive clause might have coalesced.

NOTES

[1]Berend Gemser, "The Importance of the Motive Clause in Old Testament Law," VTSup 1 (1953) 50-66; reprinted now also in Adhuc Loquitur: Collected Essays of Dr. B. Gemser (eds. A van Selms and A. S. van der Woude; Leiden: Brill, 1968) 96-115.

[2]The five collections utilized were the Elohistic or Ethical Decalogue, the Yahwistic or So-Called Cultic Decalogue, the Book of the Covenant, the Deuteronomic Code, and the Holiness Code.

[3]Cf. Exod 22:30aH; Deut 14:1a; 25:17-18.

[4]E = the Classic or Ethical Decalogue (E_1 = Exod 20:2-17; E_2 = Deut 5:6-21); R = the So-Called Cultic or Ritual Decalogue (R_{1a} = Exod 20:22-26 + R_{1b} = Exod 23:10-19; R_2 = Exod 34:17-26); C = the Book of the Covenant (Exod 21:1-23:9); D = the Deuteronomic Code (Deut 12:1-26:19 + 28:1-69H); Sh = the Shechemite Dodecalogue (Deut 27:15-26); H = the Holiness Code (Lev 17:1-26:46); and PC = the Priestly Code (Gen 9:1-7; 17:9-14; Exod 12:1-20, 43-49; 13:1-2; Exod 25:1-31:18a; Lev 1:1-7:38; 11:1-15:33; 16:1-34; 27:1-34; Num 5:5-6:27; 9:9-14; 10:1-10; 15:1-41; 18:1-32; 19:1-22; 25:10-18; 27:8b-11; 28:1-30:16; 31:21-24; 35:1-34; 36:7-9. On the less common breakdown of R_1 and C, see Eduard Nielsen, The Ten Commandments in New Perspective (SBT 2/7; Naperville: Allenson, 1968) 52-53.

[5]The Motive Clause in Old Testament Law (Unpublished dissertation, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1973).

[6]Cf. Calum M. Carmichael, The Laws of Deuteronomy (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1974) 37-52. In defense of the wisdom dimension of D Carmichael demonstrates the parallelism and symmetry in D's laws. He speaks of and illustrates "the reward and the condemnatory clause" and "the typical D positive-negative formulation."

[7]Cf. Exod 22:20H; 22:21-26H; 23:9; 30:16; 30:36-37; Lev 19:9-10; 19:33-34; 21:8; 23:22; 25:16-17; 25:35-38; Deut 12:9; 13:4H; 14:1-2; 19:19-21; 23:5-6H; 24:9b; 25:17. The Vulgate and Septuagint as a rule support the MT. Very often these versions complicate matters through the introduction of further inconsistencies.

[8]Solomon Goldman, The Ten Commandments (ed. M. Samuel; Chicago: University of Chicago, Phoenix Books, 1956) 11.

[9]See Deut 22:6-7; 20:19b-20; Exod 23:11b, 12b.

[10]Deut 13:18-19H; 15:5, 10b-11; 15:14b-15; 19:6-7; 24:18; 24:21b-22.

[11]Exod 10:1-2; 12:25-27; 13:7-8, 14-15; Deut 6:20-25; 26:5-10a; 25:13b-15; 27:14-26; 31:11; Josh 4:6b-7; Ps 50:16; 78:2b-7; 81:8-13.

[12]Cf. George E. Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," BA 17 (1954) 50-76; reprinted in BAR 3 (eds. Edward F. Campbell, Jr. and David N. Freedman; Garden City: Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1970) 25-53; idem, "Covenant," IDB (ed. George A. Buttrick; New York-Nashville: Abingdon, 1962) I, 714-723; Klaus Baltzer, The Covenant Formulary (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971); Delbert R. Hillers, Covenant: The History of a Biblical Idea (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1969); Dennis J. McCarthy, Old Testament Covenant, A Survey of Current Opinions (Richmond: John Knox, 1972); Moshe Weinfeld, "The Origins of the Apodictic Law," VT 23 (1973) 63-75.

[13]In law 136 of the Hammurabi code we read: "If, when (šumma awilum) a seignior deserted his city and then ran away, his wife has entered the house of another after his (departure), if that seignior has returned and wishes to take back his wife, the wife of the fugitive shall not return to her husband, because he scorned his city and ran away (motive clause underlined) (aš-šum URU(=âl)-šu i-zi-ru-ma in(it)-na(ta)-bi-tu)." Translation taken from ANET, 171. This law in the Hammurabi codex is dependent upon Eshnunna law 30: "If a man hated his town and his master and fled, another indeed took his wife - whenever he returns, he shall have no claim to his wife." On the clause Yaron comments:

> In the formulation of the two sections there are indeed some differences, but enough similarities remain which tend to show that the draftsmen of Hammurabi had before them either the actual text of LE 30 itself, or a comparable one from a source not available to us. The political aspect of the provision underwent further dilution, by means of two changes. The awkward belum was cut out altogether, and the introductory statement of facts, the protasis, was also altered: where LE 30 had izirma ittabit - "he hated ... and fled", CH 136 has iddima ittabit - "he abandoned ... and fled". The word alum, standing in CH 136 by itself, had lost all significance, and by now the section had altogether changed its character, had become a provision dealing only with the desertion of a wife by her husband. This went too far, so the draftsmen restored "hatred of his town" to the apodosis, inserting it by means of an explanatory clause: the wife is not to return to the fugitive come home, "because he has hated his town and fled" (aššum ališu iziruma ittabit). The efforts at reformulating the section have also led to some verbosity: CH 136 conveys in 27 words no more than LE 30 does in 16.

Reuven Yaron, The Laws of Eshnunna (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1969) 74-75. From Yaron's comments one gains the impression that the explanatory motive clause in law 136 of the Hammurabi code is more accidental than normative. Other explanatory motive clauses in the Hammurabi codex are found in laws 107: "because he had a dispute with his trader"; 146: "because she bore children"; 194: "because she made a contract for another son without the knowledge of his father and mother"; and 232: "because he did not make the house strong which he built and it collapsed." Then there is also the fragmentary law 78: "because he made the tenant move out of his house while his term was (still) incomplete."

[14]Cf. Shalom M. Paul, Studies in the Book of the Covenant in the Light of Cuneiform and Biblical Law, VTSup 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1970) 118-124.

[15]The Random House Dictionary of the English Language (ed. Jesse Stein; New York: Random House, 1966) 1545.

[16]Cf. Ps 82:4-5; 109:9-13; Amos 2:6-7; 4:1; 5:11-12; 8:4-6; Isa 1:17, 23; 9:17; 10:2; Jer 5:28; 7:6; 22:3; Ezek 22:7bc, 25, 29; Zech 7:10; Mal 3:5; Lam 1:1; 5:2-3.

[17]Cf. Exod 20:10b; Deut 5:14b; 12:12, 18; 14:29; 16:11, 14; 24:17, 19, 20, 21; 26:11, 12, 13.

[18]Cf. Num 5:19-29; 30:4-6, 7-9, 14-17H; Exod 22:15-16H; Deut 22:15, 19, 21; 22:29.

[19]Cf. Exod 20:10b, 17b; Deut 5:14b, 21b; Exod 21:2-6; Deut 15:12-18; Exod 21: 20-21; 21:26-27; Deut 23:16-17H; 24:14-15; Lev 19:13b; 19:20-22; 22:10-11.

[20]Cf. Lev 25:25, 35, 39-41, 44-46, 47-50; Exod 21:7-11; Neh 5:5; 2 Kgs 4:1; Amos 2:6; 8:6.

[21]Cf. Lev 21:7, 14; Num 30:9-12; Lev 19:14; 21:18ff; Deut 27:18; Lev 13-14; Lev 22:4; Deut 23:2, 3, 4H; on the aged see n. 24 below.

[22]Cf. Num 1:3; 3:15; 3:40; 4:2, 22, 29; 26:2; 2 Sam 24:9; Lev 12:2-5; Exod 23:17.

[23]Compare also Deut 26:13ff.

[24]One concern of Exod 20:12/Deut 5:16 was the fear of neglect of aged parents whose capacity for work and leadership had diminished (Lev 27:7). See discussion in Johann J. Stamm, The Ten Commandments in Recent Research (SBT 2/2; tr. with additions by Maurice E. Andrew; Naperville: Allenson, 1967) 95-98. For related passages cf. Exod 21:15, 17; Deut 27:16; Lev 19:3; 19:32; 20:9; Prov 19:26; 20:20; 28:24; 30:11, 17; Mic 7:6; Mal 1:6.

[25]Cf. Karlheinz Rabast, Das apodiktische Recht im Deuteronomium und im Heiligkeitsgesetz (Berlin-Hermsdorf: Heimatdienstverlag, 1949) 30, 35-38; Pierre Buis and Jacques Leclercq, Le Deuteronome (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1963) 63-73; Nielsen, 84-93; Anthony Phillips, Ancient Israel's Criminal Law (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970).

[26]Cf. Erhard Gerstenberger, Wesen und Herkunft des "apodiktischen Rechts"(WMANT 20; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965) 40-88; Georg Fohrer, Introduction to the Old Testament (Nashville-New York: Abingdon, 1968) 67-69.

[27]Erhard Gerstenberger, "Covenant and Commandment," JBL 84 (1965) 46-51.

[28]Cf. Amos 2:6-8; 4:1; 5:11-12; 8:4ff.

[29]Nielsen, 39-41.

[30]See "Shachar and Shalim" text in G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends (Old Testament Studies 3; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956) 121, l. 14-15.

[31]Paul, 44-45.

[32]Walter Beyerlin, "Die Paränese im Bundesbuch und ihre Herkunft," in Gottes Wort und Gottes Land (Hertzberg Festschrift, ed. by H. G. Reventlow (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965) 19.

[33]Ibid., 13.

[34]Ibid., 13-17.

[35]Ibid., 22. As shepherd of his people the ancient Near Eastern king sought to execute justice and deliver from the hand of the oppressor, and uphold the rights of the orphan and widow. Cf. the Sumerian Urukagina inscription, the Ur-Nammu law code (prologue), the Lipit-Ishtar lawcode (prologue and epilogue), the Hammurabi lawcode (prologue and epilogue), and the Ras Shamra Ugaritic Keret and Aqhat texts. For Israelite kingship see Jer 21:12; 22:2-3, 15-17; 23:1-6; Ezek 34; Isa 9:7; 11:3b-5; 16:4b-5.

[36]Cf. Deut 10:17-18; Ps 10:14, 17-18; 68:5; 94:5-7; 146:5-9.

[37]Cf. also Exod 22:22-26H; 23:7c; Lev 18:24-30; 20:3.

[38]Cf. also Deut 5:12b, 16aβ,b; Exod 20:12b.

[39]Cf. also Exod 20:11; Deut 5:14c-15; Exod 23:11aβ,b; 23:12b; 21:8bβ; 21:21b; 22:20bH; 22:26aH; 23:8b,c; 23:9b; Lev 17:11-12; 17:14; 19:20bβ; 19:34b; 20:9bα; Exod 12:17aβ,b; Lev 16:29-34a; Num 9:13aβ; 18:20b-24; 18:31b; 30:6b, 13b, 15bH; 35:12b, 15c; 36:7b, 8b-9.

[40]Cf. also Exod 21:21b; 22:26aH; 23:8b,c; Lev 19:20bβ; 20:9bα; Num 9:13a; 18:31b; 30:6b, 13b, 15bH; 36:7b, 8b-9.

[41]Cf. also Exod 20:12b; Deut 5:16b; Exod 30:16b.

[42]Deut 5:14c; Exod 23:11aβ,b; 23:12b; 21:8bβ; 22:20bH; 23:9b; Lev 19:34b.

[43]Exod 20:11; Deut 5:15; 5:12b; 5:16aß; Exod 22:22-23, 26H; 23:7c; Lev 17:14; 18:24-30; 19:3b; 19:10b; 19:14b; 19:32b; 20:3; Exod 12:17aβ,b; Num 18:20b-24.

[44]Gerhard von Rad, Deuteronomy: A Commentary (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966) 28.

[45]Ibid., 24. Deuteronomy is the only book which adds the Levite to the personae miserabiles known from the Tetrateuch. I count sixteen references to the Levite in D: 12:12, 18; 12:19; 14:27; 14:29; 16:11; 16:14; 17:9; 17:18; 18:1, 6, 7; 24:8; 26:11; 26:12; 26:13. Cf. also 17:11-12; 21:5; 20:2ff. A Levitical priestly origin behind D and its secondary expansion would explain the touching humanitarian spirit and the fraternal empathy exhibited for those less fortunate, without landed property and means; likewise, it would account for the presence of priestly instruction (Deut 14), the concern for personal holiness, proper performance of vows and offerings, clarification as to what constitutes abomination before Yahweh, plus the criteria and regulations for entrance into the assembly of Yahweh (Deut 23). A Levitical priest, too, might be inclined to choose Moses as his advocate and spokesman. Whereas Aaron could speak only for the priesthood, Moses could speak for all Israel. He was the founding father of Israel and a Levite.

[46]Carmichael, 23, 33, 256-258.

[47]Outside the motive clause area the "I" wording varies between the finite verb and the participial construction: Deut 12:11; 12:14; 12:21; 13:1H; and 24:8b. The phrasing within the motive clause portions are consistently participial, but do vary between the initial conjunctions and conclusion: 12:28; 13:19H; 15:5; 19:9a; 15:11; 19:7; 15:15; and 24:18, 22.

[48]Cf. Deut 20:1, 4, 5d, 6c, 7c, 8d, 17b-18, 19b, 20b; 21:14d; 23:15H; 24:5b; 25:17-18.

[49]Cf. Deut 23:5-6H; 23:8bH; 13:6bH; 13:11b-12H; 15:14b-15; 16:1b, 3b, 12a; 17:16b; 20:1b; 23:8bH; 24:18, 21b-22; 24:9; 25:17-18; 18:16.

[50]Cf. Deut 12:7b, 12, 18b; 14:29; 16:11-12, 14-15.

[51]Gerhard von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy (SBT 9; tr. by D. Stalker; Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1953) 25-36.

[52]Henning G. Reventlow, Das Heiligkeitsgesetz formgeschichtlich untersucht (WMANT 6; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961).

[53]Winfried Thiel, "Erwägungen zum Alter des Heiligkeitsgesetzes," ZAW 81 (1969) 40-73.

[54]Cf. Walther Zimmerli, "Ich bin Jahwe," in Geschichte und Altes Testament (Alt Festschrift; Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 16; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1953) 179-209; Karl Elliger, "Ich bin der Herr-euer Gott," in Theologie als Glaubenswagnis (K. Heim Festschrift; Hamburg: Furche-Verlag, 1954) 9-34.

[55]Cf. Rolf Rendtorff, Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift (FRLANT, 44; 2nd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963); Klaus Koch, Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bid Leviticus 16 (FRLANT 71; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959); Diether Kellermann, Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1^{1} bis 10^{10} literarkritische und traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht (BZAW 120; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1970).

[56]Walter Harrelson, "Law in the OT," IDB (ed. George A. Buttrick; New York-Nashville: Abingdon, 1962) III, 77.

[57]H. D. Beeby, "Confessing the Faith in the Old Testament," South East Asia Journal of Theology 8 (1966) 31.

[58]Gemser, 62.

S 18

THESES FOR BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS
(With Special Reference to Gen. 25-35)

by the Task Group on Methodology and its History
Martin J. Buss, Editor

(The theses are tentative at this point, submitted for further discussion among members of the group and with the public.)

I. "Communication and Interpretation" (M. J. Buss)

Biblical interpretation is a particular form of the process of interpretation involved in the human response to human expressions. Interpretation itself is a special form of learning, i.e., the modification of activity in the response to a stimulus. A theory of interpretation is an examination of what is an appropriate response. The value of information can be measured in terms of its potential impact on the recipient's orientation and activity. Information or communication theory utilizes statistical models which are also the most adequate available conceptualizations for understanding any natural or historical process--combining pattern and individuality. The notion of communication integrates physical with spiritual reality; a genre is a species of communication.

The parts of a continuing organization or pattern are marked by mutuality of relations. "Structure" describes the relation of parts to each other. The "function" of an entity marks its effect on a larger whole. "Goal" expresses the directionality of a pattern evidenced by its internal dynamic organization. "Purpose" or "intent" designates the desired response or result. "Intention" refers especially to the mental or ideal form of which a given sign or work is a symbol or approximation. Every structural study is relative to the observer's interest.

Perception (and activity in general) proceeds most efficiently by means of binary or other simple oppositions operating along several dimensions; genres also reflect such organization. The meaning of words and constructions resides first in their relational intension (e.g., "brother") and secondly in their extension or designation (e.g., a particular person); the former aspect is especially important for literary materials which are used more than once. Meanings participate in semantic fields; similarly, genres are related to each other in complementary fashion. The understanding of words, genres, etc., gains from a recognition of anthropological (including psychological and sociological) processes which are present in them.

The sagas of Genesis include both achievement-oriented ("wisdom") elements and receptive ("mythic" or "legendary") aspects. Finite realities are related by faith to an over-arching framework. Micro-history studies the small-scale relations between events in terms of their sequence and immediate causality; macro-history sets a given event into its universal human context. Developmentally, the biblical canon reflects the employment of writing as an important social step. The internal organization of the canon largely reflects complementary genres. For investigating the transferability of patterns--for understanding or application--the concept of analogy (A is to B as C is to D) is crucial, allowing for the combination of structural-functional and historical considerations.

II. "The Text Is the Medium" (Wolfgang Roth)

An understanding of the Jacob stories can be aided by applying a synthesis of exegetical method outlined by Paul Ricoeur in his essay "The Contribution of the Reflection on Language to a Theology of the Word," written for the September 1969 meeting of the French Catholic Association for the Study of the Bible (A.C.F.E.B.), and published in Exégèse et Herméneutique, Roland Barthes and others (Collections "Parole de Dieu"; Paris: Seuil, 1971), 301-19. Ricoeur's three exegetical levels emerge in the following three aspects: (1) "The Text as Frozen Language," corresponding to the structural-linguistic level, where the text is approached through the study of its form; (2) "The Text as Interplay of Languages," corresponding to a phenomenology of the word where the use of language is approached through its intention to say something about something; and (3) "The Text as Invitation," corresponding to an ontology of discourse in which language is approached as a mode of being.

The method makes it possible (a) to hold in dialectical tension the synchronic and the diachronic approach: each Jacob of the Pentateuchal strands both stands in his own right and interrelates with the other Jacob images, and (b) to make biblical interpretation open-ended: it calls here and now for the act of violent creativity which makes and marks the poet, thinker and theologian.

III. "Sociological Analysis/Synthesis as a Component of Biblical Interpretation" (Norman K. Gottwald)

1) Sociological analysis/synthesis of biblical tradition depends in the first instance on the recognized literary and historical disciplines for reconstructing the object of study.

2) Sociological analysis/synthesis goes beyong the standard literary and historical disciplines in its deliberate focus on the social structures of the reconstructed object, both in its internal relations and in the external relations of the social entity with other social entities.

3) Sociological analysis/synthesis of the object requires a hypothetical model of the social entity that is dependent both on the sociological data in the traditions (the social foreground) and on literary-historical-sociological comparative knowledge of types and functions of traditions and institutions within a range or spectrum of social entities (the social background).

4) Sociological analysis/synthesis of biblical traditions develops hypothetical models of the internal-external social relations of the object that are synchronic (the social relations in cross-section at a given moment or stage) and diachronic (the social relations in their trajectories of change over a specified time span).

5) Sociological analysis/synthesis of the patriarchal or "family stories," following the above desiderata, will make controlled observations and construct revisable models that locate the "patriarchal" social entities (e.g., extended families? exogamous clans? ʿapiru or Shosu bands? tribal eponyms? cultic conventicles? etc.) within the history of Late Bronze-Early Iron Syro-Palestinian social forms, including (1) pre-Israelite or proto-Israelite social forms (e.g., Ugarit, Alalakh, Amarna) and (2) early Israelite confederate social forms (definitely not to be restricted to an amphictyonic design).

IV. "Political Exegesis" (Dale Patrick)

A cynic surveying the use of biblical texts to support all sorts of political causes and prejudices through church history might ridicule the application of biblical texts to live political issues. However, one can observe a reciprocal influence between biblical interpretation and the political judgments of exegetes. The Bible is not only relevant to theological formations, but also to political theory and practice. The biblical God makes a claim on all of life and the exegete must find ways to make this claim effective in order to lead the Christian church to witness to God's action among us. The Old Testament should play a central role in political exegesis, for it is Israel that took on the vocation of living out God's demands for national political and religious life.

How do we expound texts politically? We must reject the "proof-texting" method that ignores the historically conditioned nature of biblical literature. Likewise we must reject any exegesis that simply supports political commitments and prejudices rather than seeking the actual meaning and implications of biblical texts. Positively, political exegesis should proceed in analogy to legal exegesis to abstract principles from cases to apply to analogous cases.

The political exegesis of the Jacob stories encounters serious difficulties because these stories are pre-national, family stories. The dynamics of family life are sufficiently different from political life to disqualify the application of principles drawn from it to political issues.

National life in Israel began with the exodus, covenant, and conquest, and political exegesis is appropriate to them. Black liberation theology has based its case on the exodus tradition: the nation of Israel was born out of a liberation movement and its unique understanding of God was based on his liberating action in this event. I believe that liberation theology is well-founded in its contention that God identifies with and empowers the powerless. Historically it was the escape from Egyptian slavery and liberation theology of the exodus that inaugurated Israel's national life. Theologically a compelling case can be made for the universal significance of this event and its claims about God. Jacob's refusal to accept the arbitrary structures of primogeniture and God's acquiescence in his theft finds its home in the theology of liberation too.

V. "The Role of Rebecca" (Christine Garside Allen)

On the basis of an interpretation of part of the Jacob Cycle (Gen. 24-28), drawing out some of the religious and social dynamics of the figure of Rebecca, I propose that Rebecca is more truly a link between Abraham and Jacob than is Isaac, her husband, in specific reference to the interaction between God and the world. She responds to a call (Gen. 24:58), suffers (Gen. 25:22), offers herself to protect her husband (Gen. 26:7), directs Jacob in obtaining the blessing from Isaac (Gen. 27:5-10), offers herself as reparation if the plan fails (Gen. 27:13), protects Jacob from possible death (Gen. 27:43), arranges to have Jacob sent to meet Rachel at which time Jacob receives his own call (Gen. 28:10-17). These extraordinary qualities are not seen in Isaac, nor in Sarah or Rachel. On the other hand, the pattern of a call, a test, and eventual evidence of divine providence is seen in both Abraham and Jacob. The woman interpreter can not help but be sensitive to certain elements in this text because of her immediate identification with Rebecca.

VI. "The Typical Versus the Unique" (Roy Melugin)

Without doubt the unique is more important than form critics normally assume. But the typical deserves more attention than J. Muilenburg gives it. What is needed is a study of the relationships between traditional patterns of speech (Gattungen) and individual creativity.

Observations: (1) Both form criticism and rhetorical criticism are needed in order properly to understand an individual unit of speech. (2) Some units have departed so far from traditional patterns of speech that rhetorical criticism is of far more value than form criticism. (3) Form critical analysis is often more useful than rhetorical criticism in discovering the beginning and end of units; but this is not always the case. (4) Rhetorical criticism is particularly useful in analyzing the arrangement of units by redactors.

VII. "The History of the Text: Diachronics" (John T. Willis)

A continuous line leads from historical events and subjects to their tradents and from these to the final editors or redactors, so that sharp distinctions cannot always be made. Similarly, the dividing line between textual criticism and tradition criticism is not altogether sharp.

One kind of tradition history seeks to recover the process by which a particular tradition reached its final form. A minimum of five stages must be considered: (1) the background, including available speech forms; (2) the event, such as a public happening or the creation of a song; (3) its preservation, by persons with motivations of their own; (4) complexes of materials, sometimes formed early; (5) the intention of a completed writing as a whole, with the function of the particular tradition within it. Investigation must begin with the final stage and is hazardous.

Another kind of tradition history traces the history of a tradition in the various texts where it appears throughout the OT. This procedure discovers the impact of traditions on Israelite thought and occasionally sheds some light on the original event.

The work of the redactors was creative; they (1) preserved data with various degrees of freedom, (2) sought to make the meaning of the tradition or of individual items clear to their readers, (3) frequently omitted items, and (4) gave coherence or order to the materials. More than one process of editing or redacting can have taken place. The theological position of the final shape is strongly reflected in the text as now available. Tradents and redactors presumably considered their tradition important, but--or therefore--expressed it in terms suited to their situation.

VIII. "A Structural Approach to the Old Testament Narrative" (Hugh C. White)

Form criticism today is incapable of dealing with the material structure of long narratives in a rigorous way because the length of the narrative structure transcends the framework of any possible life setting. In this case the basis of the structure must be sought in the character of the process of writing

itself (Barthes) or in the structure of the thought process (Lévi-Strauss, Greimas).

Lévi-Strauss has proposed a method based on structural phonological theory by which the semantic content of myths can be reduced to pairs of binary oppositions which reflect the fundamental logical structure of human thought processes. This reveals the underlying meaning of myth to be the struggle of a culture to find ways to mediate logical contraditions inherent in their traditions as well as in their psyche. This methodology has been applied to the earlier materials of Genesis by E. Leach and others, and this work has shown that, e.g., Gen. 1 and 2 are complementary at the semantic level.

A. J. Greimas has developed phonological binarism into a semantic theory with the help of the narrative functionalism of V. Propp and has related this theory to narrative syntax showing that the diachronic structure of the narrative is also generated by logical binary oppositions at the semantic level. The personages or actants of the narrative (which are "mythical" representations of logical operations) can be reduced to a standard actantial model. The relations in many biblical narratives correspond well to this model.

Roland Barthes' starting point is the problem of the subject-actant of the narrative which has been excluded by Lévi-Strauss totally, and has only a "mythic" status in Greimas' system. He understands the subject linguistically as an instance of discourse which is tied to the act of writing the narrative itself by the author-subject. Writing is a free act accomplished between fixed Oedipally determined linguistic codes and socially determined literary codes. When it does not surrender to closed, socially sanctioned or Oedipally determined meaning, its language acquires an emancipating power, personally and socially. Barthes thus seeks to understand the structure of the narrative in terms of its "difference" rather than its conformity to a fixed model, and it is the psychoanalytic "paradigm of the difference" that accounts for this aspect of its structure.

The approaches to Lévi-Strauss (Greimas) and Barthes thus confront the biblical critic with the possibility of dealing systematically with the semantic level of the biblical narrative and understanding the structure of the narrative as the outgrowth of a paradigmatic "generative" model. The choice between these two approaches is a choice between a binary semantic paradigm which excludes the historical subject and one which portrays the generative structure of the historical subject. The latter Barthesian approach seems more appropriate to the deepest level of meaning in the OT narrative, though a combination of these approaches is not to be ruled out.

IX. "Theological Interpretation" (John Gammie)

My interpretation is descriptive of the theological content at three stages of development: oral tradition, written Pentateuchal sources, and redaction. When appropriate, allusions are made to analogous contemporary problems which require theological reflection and commitment.

There are difficulties in the task of recovering theological thought of ancient transmitters of tradition. Historical and sociological reconstruction is hypothetical. The canonical form of Scripture is distant from the life struggles of the human originators and transmitters of the sacred tradition. Contemporary reflections must to some extent attempt to be controlled by

theological meaning apparent in one or more stages of development into Scripture.

Outstanding literary and thematic features include the:

1) element of the comic and tragi-comic (e.g., Jacob's deception of Isaac, comic; Jacob's unawareness he was sleeping with Leah instead of Rachel, comic; Jacob's sons' deception of the Shechemites, tragi-comic),

2) focus on sibling rivalry (Esau-Jacob; Leah-Rachel),

3) focus on Israel's rivalry with kin and neighbors (Jacob vs. Laban; Jacob vs. Esau; Israelites vs. Shechemites; Israelites vs. pre-Philistine inhabitants of the Negeb),

4) abundance of folk etymologizing (esp. in chs. 29 & 30),

5) journey motif (cf. Blenkinsopp, Pentateuch).

The following theological themes recur:

1) frank (almost blunt) portrayal of human weaknesses and foibles (favoritism in parents, old age, fear, feminine wiles, anxiety, greed, backing out of commitments, excessive retaliation, etc.), begotten of a strong faith, namely that nothing can be (or is) hidden from Yahweh.

2) retribution (Jacob the trickster and deceiver is himself deceived and tricked; Simeon and Levi are punished for their slaughter of the Shechemites).

X. "The Function of Text-Rhythms in the Hermeneutical Process" (Ann M. Vater)

Various "text-rhythms"--initiated by either a certain form (genre form), a certain Leitwort, or other means of literary structure--play a role in the process of truly understanding and appropriating a text, that is, in the hermeneutical process itself. Analogies for the functioning of rhythms appear in the experience of women's consciousness-raising groups, the Catholic Mass, and the setting of a sacred story within canonical literature itself. These demonstrate the importance of the basic notion of "rhythm" for the hermeneutical process.

In a study of Old Testament messenger speeches, I have tried to uncover the literary rhythms which are as close as possible to "genre-rhythm." Eight texts from the family stories in Genesis (Gen. 32:3-5, 16-19; 37:32; 38:25-26; 45:9, 26-28; 45:17-23; 50:4-6; 50:16-17) can be used to illustrate what is meant by literary rhythm and "genre-rhythm."

Further, by reflecting upon and analyzing a poem using Gen. 38:25-26 as the "text," I demonstrate the basic carrying function which rhythm plays in our really understanding a text. The poem is the putting into words of the experience of women in consciousness-raising groups, the liturgical experience of the Catholic Mass, as well as the experience of the canonical community in their appropriation of a sacred story.

S 42

THE ORACLES AGAINST THE NATIONS
A FORM-CRITICAL ANALYSIS

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Composing a large block of material in all the major prophetic books save Hosea, the so-called oracles against the nations (hereafter OAN) have not received much attention in Old Testament scholarship. Biblical scholars have found it easier to dwell on high-minded admonitions like Mic 6:8 rather than on jingoistic-sounding condemnations of Israel's neighbors. This situation is, however, changing with the recent appearance of three dissertations devoted to the OAN as well as monographs, chapters, and articles examining individual texts.[1] Because the form-critical method looms large in much of this work, it seemed appropriate to devote a session of the Form-Criticism Seminar--Task Group on Prophecy--to a discussion of the OAN. In this working paper, I have elected: (1) to examine the current state of research by rehearsing the major arguments of the three aforementioned dissertations, materials which are not readily accessible, (2) to attempt a form-critical cross section of the OAN, (3) to study one OAN text in detail, and (4) to offer some programmatic conclusions as a way of suggesting further avenues for research as well as noting the significance of the OAN for the study of Israelite prophecy.

I

A. John Hayes, The Oracles against the Nations in the Old Testament; their Usage and Theological Importance. Th.D. Thesis, Princeton, 1964.[2]

The dissertation begins with a valuable introduction to classical scholarship on Israelite prophecy and on the OAN focusing particularly upon the work of Gunkel and Gressman, scholars who believed the OAN to be the oldest of the prophetic oracles because they were essentially predictive, non-moral, and implied beneficence for Israel. Hayes then proceeds to a study of the function which the OAN had in Israelite society: war, monarchy, cult (lament), and foreign policy (treaties).

In studying the martial context, H. sketches the structure of the holy war as an amphictyonic institution and then raises two questions about later Israel: (1) is there a role for a charismatic distinct from the battle leader? (2) what function did the OAN itself have? In answering the first query, H. moves to the Dtr. history and points to Elijah, Elisha, Micaiah and anonymous prophets "within the context of warfare" (51). Disagreeing with Bach who contends that the ninth century is the first instance in which prophets functioned in a martial context,[3] H. argues that war in pre-monarchic Israel was conducted under a charismatic "of a prophetical type" (55), a style of charismatic performance which had a reflex in the ninth century prophets. As a way of substantiating this suggestion, H. points to an analogous northern continuum in the style of political leadership as represented by the amphictyonic leader and the king. Since there are no pre-monarchic

prophets, H. proposes Deborah and Samuel as "charismatic-prophetic types." As for the second question, H. identified three basic types of OAN: curse (e.g. Balaam oracles), omen (e.g. 2 Kgs 13:14-19), and judgment oracle (e.g. 2 Kgs 20: 26-30). The first two of these literary types have significant parallels in other ancient Near Eastern cultures (Curse of Agade, Egyptian Execration texts, Hittite battle purification rituals, Mesopotamian omen literature). The function of these types within the military context was to imprecate and, in so doing, to affect the course of battle, to discern the appropriate time to fight, and to provide a rationale for military action.

Moving to the Israelite royal ideology, H. focuses on the so-called royal psalms (e.g. Ps 72) which view the Jerusalemite king as sovereign over all nations--a view markedly different from the historical narratives. The setting for expressing such sentiments was probably the accession ceremony (see Ps 2; 9; 110), a part of which apparently constituted warnings to other kings (Ps 2:10-12). Hence H. contends "when the prophets addressed themselves to the nations of the world they shared a practice known from royal ritual" (121).

Also within the sphere of cultic activity, the national lament includes OAN material (e.g. Ps 83). Foreign nations are decried as Yahweh's as well as Israel's enemies; and a "double request" is made, for defeat of the enemy and for victory of one's own nation. Within the national lament, an oracle was presented in response to a plea (e.g. Ps 60:8-10). H. contends that presenting such oracles could well be a prophetic task, a suggestion which he sustains by appealing to Isaiah's activity recorded in 2 Kgs 19.

The final social locus to which H. points is international politics as represented in the ancient Near Eastern treaties. After examining the Sefire and Esarhaddon texts, H. notes similarities between the curses and imagery of the OAN (e.g. Isa 34:11-15) and argues that the classical prophets, though probably not performing any specific role in a treaty context, were consciously borrowing from the treaty idiom.

The second major section of the dissertation constitutes a survey of OAN texts in the prophetic books. Diversity is the keynote here since OAN occur in several contexts and numerous forms. After commenting on Amos, First Isaiah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Exilic/Postexilic oracles, H. reaches several conclusions, two of which are cited here:

> (4) The multiplicity of speech form--messenger speech, woe oracle, lamentation, war oracle, etc.--utilized in the oracles against the nations shows that the prophets draw upon a wide area of common material in their preaching. This makes it difficult to determine the exact nature of the earliest form of the oracle type. Perhaps the oldest form of address was merely a pronouncement of doom and destruction. The oracles against the nations are no literary Gattung in themselves (301).

> (5) The organization of the prophetical books (especially Isaiah, Jeremiah [LXX], Ezekiel, Micah, and Zephaniah) into the scheme--judgment upon Israel, judgment upon the nations, salvation for Israel, represents the continuation of an older perspective present in the warfare oracles in which the destruction of the enemy was proclaimed as the prediction of salvation and peace to Israel (301-302).

Hayes' basic argument may be characterized by the following statement: OAN occur in numerous Sitze im Leben but constitute no specific form.

In response to H.'s work, two comments are in order: (1) The connection between the various Sitze and the prophetic OAN is not wholly clear. One wonders if indeed the classical prophets were simply dipping into one and then another institutional pot for material against the nations. Why were the classical prophets issuing forth oracles against the nations, and in what context? Do the answers to these questions depend upon the social locii which H. has identified? (2) Only one social locus is proffered as a place in which the prophetic role is crucial--war. In the other contexts, the prophet is either borrowing traditions or performing like an oracle priest. Although Deborah and Samuel are entered as prophetic types, the argument for the importance of prophets in the martial locus rests on the northern ninth century prophets. "Prophets played a decisive role in the wars of the monarchic period"; (68) but precisely what was that role? Slogans (2 Kgs 2:12; 13:14) do not define a function. Didactic legenda (2 Kgs 6) and complex narratives (2 Kgs 3:4-27) tell us less about the prophets in a martial context than they do about the prophets as holy men (see below, II.B). Further, one wonders if the judgment oracle (1 Sam 15:2-3; 1 Kgs 20:26-30) does indeed belong to ninth century prophetic performance in warfare or whether it is an anachronism, a problem H. recognizes (75-76, n. 82). In sum, though it is clear that, as P. Miller says, "the ninth century prophets are closely associated with the traditions of holy war,"[4] we know less about their actual function in this context than we might like to admit.

B. Barry Margulis, Studies in the Oracles against the Nations. Ph.D. Thesis, Brandeis, 1967.

Margulis' goal is clearly stated: "What needs to be established is whether or not the OAN represents a distinct literary tradition, with characteristic motifs, expressions and forms" (9). After surveying German, Scandinavian, and American scholarship, M. cites with approval recent Israeli scholarship, especially M. Haran, I. Seeligman, and Y. Kaufmann. These scholars apparently understand "the OAN material as the result of a historically continuous process of literary creativity reaching far back into Israel's history" (16). Thus Haran contends Isa 15-16 and Jer 48 elaborate an archaic fragment in Num 21.[5] Seeligman understands OAN to derive from war prophecy and to be traditional material, not the personal creation of the prophets.[6] Kaufmann argues that much of the OAN literature predates the books in which it is found (e.g. Amos 1-2; Jer 48:1-49:27) and is dependent upon a Mošlim tradition which includes Num 21:27-29, the Balaam

oracles, and the patriarchal blessings.[7] As a part of a larger continuum, Day of Yahweh (YY) traditions are universalized OAN. In order to discuss the OAN and following the lead of these three scholars, M. proposes to study the YY tradition, war motifs, the term maśśā', and two form-critical issues: the Begründung of the judgment oracle and a new form, the oracle against a foreign ruler (OAFR).

When dealing with the first topic, M. distinguishes two traditions: YY--characterized by "collective enumeration of foreign nations," and "metaphysical (i.e. cosmic upheaval) orientation," and OAN--characterized by specific enumeration of nations and pragmatic orientation. Contending that although these traditions were later conflated (e.g. Isa 34; Joel 4; Obd), the YY originated in the holy war context and apparently influenced the later OAN tradition which grew out of secular war literature, the Mošlim. The phrase yôm yahweh is, not surprisingly, understood to be the "characteristic and identifying idiom of the YY tradition" (45) along with other "technical terms," yôm nāqām (we-šillēm), yôm-'ēd, bayyôm ha-hû', and along with theophanic descriptions. M. understands the YY to have been an institution of the amphictyony which then died out in the monarchy, a time in which court prophets, especially in the ninth century, preserved the YY tradition; the same tradition preserving circle which passed on OAN traditions, a fact which explains the merging of YY and OAN traditions in later prophetic books (67).

Treating the war motifs, M. argues that there is a definable relationship between OAN and Num 21:27-29, a paradigmatic example of Mošlim literature which provides a "stylistically stereotypic form of expression" used later in prophetic OAN texts; there is a "single literary tradition" (81). To make this argument, M. studies four different subjects:

I. "Fire, Captivity, Exile" (Since the case for a single literary tradition is crucial to M.'s case, I summarize one of the arguments.) The motif of fire is present in Num 21:28 and likewise a constant (structural and lexical) motif in Amos 1:2-2:5. "Beginning with the similar, we note that both employ 'fire' as a motif of destruction carried out against enemy cities, with the names of the cities in synonymous parallelism. In both we find the idiom of consuming fire..." (85). After noting stylistic differences M. concludes:

> All of which suggests that, in contrast with the inner discrepancies of Amos 1 itself, the differences between Num 21 and Am 1 cannot be reduced to "stylistic variants." The two texts are not reflexes of one and the same stereotype. On the other hand, it is virtually certain that Num 2:28 is the ultimate source of the fire motif in Amos 1 and the OAN generally; this conclusion seems warranted in the light of the totality of Mošlim tradition influence in the OAN--in the case of the "captivity" motif--the Mošlim Song specifically (86).

After suggesting Judg 9:15ff to be an intermediate step between the Numbers and Amos texts, M. traces the post-Amos

development of the "fire" motif. As regards the "captivity" motif, M. makes much the same argument for the dependence of Jer 48:46 on Num 21:29.

II. The yrš motif. M. points to several texts (Num 24:18; 32:21; Gen 22:17; 24:60; Jer 49:2; Ob 7; Gen 24:10) which contain yrš and the word š/š-ʿ-r (*Seir), an occurrence he explains on the basis of literary dependence on one source, a source which dealt with Edom and which was transmitted through the Balaam oracles to the OAN.

III. The ʾabd motif. ʾAbd, a word which occurs frequently in the prophetic OAN, is taken to be "a lexicographical feature of Israel's ancient war literature and as a stereotypical item used against enemies," (157) and a term which the Moabite inscription, Sefire treaties and Nerab inscription used in similar fashion.

IV. Lament Motifs. The wailing tradition as defined by (1) terms for wailing (yll, hôy, (qol) s/zᵉʿāqāh), and (2) combined with šdd is another characteristic element in both Mošlim and OAN. Referring to Eissfeldt's work,[8] M. contends that the Song of the Mošlim was a taunt song, a genre which, when preserved in the prophetic literature, became "mock-laments" (Isa 34; 37; Ezek 27; 28; 32). This genre early on incorporated the lament motifs cited above (e.g. Num 21:29; 24:13) and later lost the lament elements (Ezekiel), the latter development constituting a new form-critical type, the OAFR.

Moving to the rubric which often introduces OAN, M. argues that maśśāʾ "is the only prophetic term which is, by definition and without further qualification, an oracle of doom" (202).[9] 2 Kings 19:25 presents the idiomatic prototype of the term's use, an idiom which was apocopated in later prophetic usage. "In its prophetic usage--originally maśśāʾ yahweh, the term reflects an idiom associated with taunt and lament forms" (220), and constitutes a way of speaking developed by the ninth century prophets. The use of the term in prophetic OAN preserves an old prophetic usage, and is not, as many have suggested, a new development.

As for form-critical matters, M. first examines the motivation component of the OAN, an element which Westermann has argued was either not present (2 Kgs 20:1) or atypical of the motivation in the judgment oracle. In agreeing with Westermann, M. states: "Whereas Israel's actions are defined and evaluated within a context of covenant ideology, with pronouncements of doom conceived as punishment for covenantal violation; the actions of foreign nations in the OAN are grasped in the almost secular context of international relations with pronouncements of doom conceived not as punishment but as recompense" (241).

Based on Kaufmann's argument, that the events referred to in Amos 1:2-2:8 are of ninth century origin, M. argues for a typology--the Judah and Israel oracles are non-historical, concerned with social-moral problems whereas the oracles concerning other nations are "specific-historical," and concern political-military matters. The latter type represents a pre-classical prophetic style, a thesis M.

defends by examining the "expansion" motif in Amos. There is, however, a development in the motivation for judgment in OAN; the use of moralistic criteria (the hubris motif) as well as a "universal" orientation provide a new style of Begründung in later prophetic OAN.

In the final chapter, M. argues for a new form, the OAFR, (Isa 14; Ezek 28; 31; 32) which is compared to the OAN from four perspectives: (1) kingship, (2) motivations, (3) use of mšl and qinah motifs, (4) the use of mythologically-colored allegory. (1) Mention of kings in Amos' OAN is simply a way of mentioning a nation's leadership whereas in later OAN, specific kings or dynasties are intended (Isa 34; 19:10; Jer 49). (2) Motivation in early OAN was political whereas later it is moralistic and theological (the hubris motif). (3) The prevalence of mšl and qinah language in late OAN represents a revival of taunt and lament elements from the earliest traditions. (4) Mythological allusions, especially to Canaanite material, are much more frequent in OAFR than in either the Mošlim or in early OAN. The Gattung of the OAFR has the following structure (295-298):

a. Direct address to the ruler, frequently in stylized lament form — Isa 14:12
b. Myth-like allegory describing the "state of grace" and the inevitable "fall" frequently introduced as a direct quotation — Isa 14:13-15
c. Begründung, this element is generally introduced by the standard prophetic motivation openings (yaʿan, kî) — Isa 14:17
d. the punishment element is expressed both as mašal and nimšal — Isa 14:19
e. the prophetic maxim — Isa 14:16

The form is present as A (the fully-elaborated type: Isa 14.12-20; Ezek 28:12-20; 31:2-15); B (the incomplete type: Isa 14:4-11; Ezek 28:2-10; 31:15-18; 32:2-15); and C (the mixed type: Ezek 29:2-12). M. proceeds to analyze briefly all these texts.

A final chapter of conclusions asserts that the earlier chapters are confirmed by what we know of ninth century prophets and by what we know of Jeremiah as a prophet to the nations, a function which he probably had in common with the classical prophetic tradition with which he asserts his commonality.

M.'s work raises a number of important issues. Perhaps the most debatable point is that of a single literary tradition extending from Num 21:27-29 to the late monarchic prophetic texts. A first reaction is that we know little enough about the source and its place in the Israelite narratives. Hanson's contention that it was originally an Amorite victory song later appropriated by Israel is quite convincing.[10] Secondly, do lexical similarities used to describe wars denote a tradition? ʾAbd is a rather natural choice to describe destruction of any sort. Thirdly and most importantly, even if striking similarities in lexicography, formulae, theme, and motif exist between two texts, must the relationship have been a literary one? At this point,

one must be aware of the tenacity of oral tradition and the methods of oral composition.[11] Further, a key link in M.'s literary tradition extending from Num 21 to the OAN is the classical prophetic books is the ninth century prophets. This remains an unexamined relationship. Do the texts suggest that prophets like Elijah or Elisha were either uttering or passing on an OAN literature like Num 21? Finally, if M.'s case for the existence of an OAFR is to be accepted, one wishes to know something about a putative Sitz im Leben. Presumably the fixity of the form is the result of some practice. What might that be? the royal cult?

C. Duane Christensen, Studies in the Oracles against the Nations: Transformations of the War Oracle in Old Testament Prophecy. Th.D. Thesis, Harvard, 1971.[12]

Christensen's dissertation, the most recent study of the OAN literature, is a work which is self-consciously form-critical. "The focus of this study is the various forms of prophetic speech which constitute the war oracle in ancient Israel" (20). By way of definition, C. identifies four basic types of war oracle in the period of the league: (1) divinatory responses to specific military questions, (2) prophetic oracles of defeat or victory in battle, (3) summons to battle in defense of the league, and (4) summons to flight. Although what follows is a summary of C.'s basic argument, much of the dissertation is a detailed text-critical and philological examination of OAN texts.

In examining the four basic types of early war oracles, C. contends that oracle divination, used in the league and early monarchy, was "displaced by the authoritative prophetic words." The last two Balaam oracles are understood to be the paradigm for prophetic oracles whereas the first two appear to be the results of divinatory practices. After surveying the only four recorded pre-monarchic instances of prophetic war oracles (Exod 17:14; Num 21:34; Josh 5:13-6:5; Judg 4:9), C. concludes the tradition of prophet as messenger of oracle of victory or defeat to a military or political leader is not at home in pre-monarchic Israel (42). Only with the ninth century prophets, with a revival of holy war traditions, do prophetic war oracles occur (e.g. 1 Kgs 20:28;--unnamed prophet; 1 Kgs 22--Micaiah; 2 Kgs 3:16-19--Elisha; 2 Chr 20:1-37--Yaḥ^{a}zî'ēl). As for the other two types, the summons to battle is present in two basic periods (Exodus/Conquest and the League) whereas the summons to flight is not common in the pre-Amos texts.

As a way of further defining holy war material which supposedly influenced prophetic OAN, C. surveys war songs: fragmentary (Exod 17:16; Num 10:35-36; Josh 10:12-13; Num 21:14-15; Ps 68:8-9; Dt 32:2-3), and entire (Exod 15:1-18; the Balaam oracles, Num 21:27-30, and Judg 5).

The Amos OAN provide the first of two major focii for the dissertation. In order to explain the raison d'être for the particular nations included in this collection, C., following Wright and Cross, appeals to the Davidic empire as "an extension of the earlier covenant league of tribal groups around a central sanctuary to a league of nations centered in Jerusalem under Yahweh" (84). Based on an incisive study of

the Amos OAN (though many of C.'s translations will be much debated, e.g. Amos 2:1 "because he burned a sacrifice to a demon"), C. concludes that "they contain genuine material from a single composition" (81) apparently a hedge toward Kaufmann's position. The first transformation of the OAN may be summarized as follows: "He (Amos) has taken the earlier speech forms of a war oracle, in the form of a judgment speech against a specific nation or group (cf. 1 Kgs 20:28) and transformed it into a judgment oracle against Israel" (104). The first transformation is a change in audience.

Following an extensive survey of the history of Judah in her ancient Near Eastern context during the eighth and seventh centuries, C. examines the war oracle as it is found in the psalter (Ps 83; 60) and in the various prophetic books (Isaiah, Zephaniah, Obadiah, Nahum, and Habakkuk). Though C. draws no conclusions in this section, the following developments seem important. (1) Beginning with Isaiah, nations other than the Syria-Palestinian states are included in the OAN, a development justified by a revival of the older view of Yahweh as sovereign divine warrior. (2) Lament imagery increases. (3) A liturgical usage is often apparent, especially in Nahum and Habakkuk.[13]

In the final chapter, C. deals in detail with the Jeremiah OAN collection. To set the context for this work, he argues (1) that the holy war traditions are dominant throughout the book and (2) that the relationship of Jer 25 to the OAN collection, chapters 46-51, must remain moot because of the severe textual and traditio-historical problems which Jer 25 presents. When examining the Jeremiah collection, C. makes an interesting variation on Bardtke's thesis of two stages in the prophet's career.[14] C. divides the oracles into two groups: Jeremianic and archaic. The Jeremianic OAN include 47:1-7; 46:2-12; 46:13-24; 49:28-33; 49:34-39, oracles which as a group are relatively independent of earlier OAN and have few parallels within the book of Jeremiah. C. dates the first three to c. 609-604, the fourth to c. 609-598 and the last, the Elam oracle, to the exilic period. The archaic OAN include 48:1-47; 49:1-6; 49:7-22; 49:23-27, oracles which C. takes to be much earlier, spoken during the period of Josiah's political expansion.

Jer 50-51 represent a new development, a broaching of early apocalyptic at the hand of a classical prophet (Jer 51:25-40, c. 593; Jer 51:44-57, c. 597-587; Jer 51:1-14, c. 590-580). And it is here that C. notes the second major transformation--one which echoes Habakkuk and the Jeremianic Elam oracle. The prophet has shifted from the world of contemporary events to the visionary world. Further, "the focus of the announcement is no longer the judgment which the enemy nation faces but the assurance of salvation to Israel" (352). Old forms are revised, a summons to flight becomes a summons to return to Jerusalem; and new forms develop, the "eschatological oracle of war, judgment and salvation."[15] Finally, there is a new purpose, to exhort the people, "to get them to think Jerusalem," to preserve the people of Israel (353-354). If the first transformation was essentially a change in audience, the second transformation is much more drastic, comprising a change not only in genre but also in Weltanschaung and intent.

On the basis of C.'s argument, one may raise the following issues for discussion. (1) Perhaps the most serious problem is one of definitions. After stating that the war oracle is the subject matter of the study, C. states four basic forms are present as the war oracle in the league. But precisely what is a war oracle? Is this in fact a form-critical term? a genre encompassing genre? What passes for war oracle material in the league includes divinatory oracles and actual commands within the military context. And in later literature, laments, judgment oracles, and war songs are reckoned under the rubric war oracle. One wonders if the term "war oracle" has not become a hedge for any saying uttered before, during or after a war. However, presuming that Cross and C. are working along similar lines, Cross has written, "There are oracles which sent a king to war and forbade resort to war, which may be called the 'original' form."[16] Clearly a seminal early oracle is presumed; what are the pristine examples?

(2) With regard to ninth century prophecy, C. makes two points: (a) prophets like Elijah and Elisha were integrally involved in martial activity (e.g. 2 Kgs 3), and (b) by the ninth century, the war oracle was already couched in the form of a judgment oracle (e.g. 2 Kgs 20:28). (Perhaps one might contend that the war oracle in the form of the judgment oracle was really the first transformation.) In both cases, a critical assessment of the Dtr. literature would make these conclusions less automatic (see II.B.). Furthermore, to base one's argument on the presumption that the Dtr. history presents us with ninth century oracular forms, and then to contend that "prophetic sources were used in the compilation of these works" (162), (sources surely influenced by classical prophetic speech forms) is problematic.

(3) Precisely what counts as the first transformation? C. argues at one place that the switch is from anti-nation to anti-Israel rhetoric. But in the summary, he contends that the switch is from military tactic to the literary mode, i.e. in the case of Amos, the OAN serves as a rhetorical backdrop for the indictment of Israel. C. implies that the classical prophet is no longer integrally involved in martial activity; what was social performance has become a literary tradition. Does this mean the OAN had no independent function? Are we to understand a post-Amos reversion to a symbolic understanding of the prophet as still active in holy war? If not, what is the new setting for prophetic activity?

(4) A critical development in the OAN tradition was the inclusion of non-Syria-Palestinian states by Isaiah. One wonders if the reasons for that development have been fully explored. Surely it was a response to the expanding threats of Egypt and Assyria. But was the supposed rationale really a putative revival of the view that Yahweh was a suzerain of universal dominion, wasn't this conception a part of the Judahite royal ideology from the ninth century on?

By way of summary, Hayes discerns numerous social locations for the OAN, war providing the most basic locus, but he finds no single form; Margulis argues for a single literary tradition, represented by a secular war song in Num 21, as the constitutive source for OAN; and Christensen contends

that the war oracle, which apparently consists of numerous sub-genres, undergoes two basic transformations: one in Amos, the other in Jeremiah. Hence there appears to be a trend toward discerning continuity in the OAN material, war providing both the essential traditions and basic speech forms.

II

Accepting M.'s working definition of OAN, "an oracle addressed directly to a foreign nation and/or internal references to such a nation" (3), it is now appropriate to examine the trend toward continuity by surveying form-critically OAN directed at the nation which occurs in more prophetic collections than any other nation, and whose long and varied relations with Judah and Israel extend from the time of the league until the exile: Moab.

A. Num 22-24 (hymns, patriarchal blessings, legenda)

Most of the work on these chapters has been either philological[17] or source and redaction-critical.[18] Few scholars have dealt form-critically with these texts. In treating the poetry, the problem of genre labels is particularly difficult as it is with most ancient Yahwistic poetry. The Balaam oracles are themselves hardly homogenous material. The first two poems do not even mention Balaam and are, as C. notes, basically hymnic literature, extolling the power of Yahweh, whereas the last two poems refer to Balaam (in formulaic fashion) and appear similar to the "patriarchal blessing" style.[19] As Bentzen observed, to seek the origin of any of these poems in a martial divination setting is questionable.[20] Form-critically speaking, the poems do not appear to be battle omens.[21]

If, as many people have contended, Balaam functioned like a divination priest, the evidence must come from the prose narratives. Daiches argued that the Balaam episode constitutes a divination scene, but, with the exception of Num 24:4, 16, his case rests entirely upon the prose narrative.[22] Though Daiches has made a strong case that the prose narratives reflect divination practices, that case does not constitute a form-critical argument about the nature of the documents themselves. Perhaps we would do well to follow Coats' suggestion that the prose accounts depict Balaam as a holy man, and that the narratives are legenda.[23]

B. 2 Kgs 3:4-27 (oracle actualization narrative)

This text is of great significance for the investigation of the OAN since many scholars have pointed to it as a crucial episode demonstrating the integral function of the ninth century prophet in the martial institution. Such a contention may, however, be too hasty in the light of the serious text-critical, traditio-historical, and form-critical problems which the text presents.[24] Following the work of B. Long, 2 Kgs 3:4-27 may be understood as the elaboration of a primary battle tradition which describes a confrontation of Judah, Israel, and Edom versus Moab. Vss.

4-9a, (16?), 20-24, 26-27, which constitute the primary battle tradition, do not mention Elisha.[25] The final form of the text has the structure of a prophetic inquiry schema, a schema shared with 2 Kgs 8:7-15; 1 Kgs 14:1-18; 1 Kgs 22:4ff:

I. Setting (Situation) and preparation for inquiry
II. Audience with prophet
(a) request for oracle
(b) delivery of oracle
III. Fulfillment of oracle

Long proposes the term "oracle actualization narrative" as a genre label for this and other texts which use the schema. Such a narrative is a didactic genre which is interested in making a theological point; "it demonstrates the power of Yahweh's word or a correspondence between divine oracle and subsequent events."[26] Although Long does not dwell on the pre-literary nature of the other verses, 2 Kgs 3:9b, 10, 15, 17, 19, 25, verses which describe Elisha and his power, I think it would be fair to categorize them as one of the prophetic legenda which A. Rofé has delineated.[27] On the basis of Long's analysis, it is legitimate to argue that Elisha did not originally figure in the tradition of a Moabite war. Rather than an inextricable prophet-war relationship, the theme of thirst/water seems to have served as a junction point for these originally separate traditions about a war and a prophet.

C. Amos 2:1-3 (judgment oracle)

Although there are several serious problems for the translator of this pericope, the form of the oracle may be quickly characterized; the text follows the bipartite form of motivation and announcement indicating a judgment oracle. The context for judgment is apparently some violation of the treaty of brotherhood uniting the Syria-Palestinian states.[28]

D. Isa 15-16 (see section III)

E. Jer 48 (<u>mélange</u>)

A full study of Jer 48 would require meticulous attention to the relationship between this text and Isa 15-16, an as yet not fully defined relationship. What we may say about Jer 48 is that it is a <u>pot pourri</u> of many elements.[29] To demonstrate this point, I simply list what appear to be the obvious formal types:[30]

Jer 48: 1-5 woe oracle (uses Isa 15:5)
6-8 (9) summons to flee[31]
10 curse
11-12 (13) judgment oracle
14-17 disputation[32]
18-20 lament
21-25 prose addition
26-27 " "
28 summons to flee
29-39 reworking of Isa 15-16
40-42 judgment oracle

43-44 reworking of Isa 24:17-18a
45-46 reworking of Num 21:28-29
47 prose addition

Suffice it to say that Jer 48 is a conflation of numerous form-critical and textual elements, some of which reflect a military context, some of which do not.

F. Zeph 2:8-11 (judgment oracle, summary-appraisal form)

Unlike Jer 48, this oracle directed at Moab (and Ammon) presents us with a clear form-critical type, a judgment oracle:

Zeph 2:8 motivation
:9 oath formula
announcement

Scholars have often, however, been at a loss to explain the function of vss. 10-11 in the oracle. Sabottka has even found it necessary to translate zō't as "indignity," because, he argued, the demonstrative is too weak.[33] Fortunately, Zeph 2.10-11 has precisely those characteristics which Childs discerned as constitutive for the summary-appraisal form.[34] There is a shift in speakers: Yahweh speaks in the oracle whereas Yahweh is referred to in the third person in vss. 10-11. The demonstrative pronoun introduces the unit. And the oracle is didactic in intent; nations like Moab and Ammon who scoff at Yahweh will be destroyed. Action against these two kingdoms is of a piece with Yahweh's larger plan. This OAN is therefore composed of genre from the legal and wisdom contexts.

G. Ezek 25:8-11 (judgment oracle)

Ezek 25 initiates the OAN material in Ezekiel with a stereotypic series of oracles concerning Syria-Palestinian states: Ammon, Edom, Moab, and Philistia, a series reminiscent of Amos OAN.[35] Like Amos, each nation is indicted by means of a judgment oracle. Ezek 25:8 commences with the messenger formula and then presents the indictment: other nations repeat what Israel herself has said and done (1 Sam 8:5; Ezek 20:22). For this apparent arrogance, a judgment is pronounced in vss. 9-11; northern Moabite cities will be destroyed.[36] Ezek 25:10 then refers back to the previous oracle, twice mentioning Ammon; Moab will be destroyed as will the Ammonites in order that Ammon will be remembered no more. Vs. 11 comprises two formulae, one a typical way of expressing judgment in Ezekiel (5:10, 15; 11:9; 16:41; 28:22, 26; 30:14)[37] and the Erweiswort formula. In sum, this divine oracle against Moab, formulated in the pattern of the judgment oracle, is replete with stereotypic formulae and depends upon the earlier Ammonite oracle.

H. Isa 25:10b-12 (deutero-prophetic literature)[38]

Taking us down to the exilic period, the Isaianic Apocalypse includes a short prose section directed against Moab. Building upon the motif of Moabite gā'ôn in vs. 11, known from earlier OAN (Isa 16:6; Jer 48:29), and appropriating in vs. 12 part of a song (Isa 26:5), the author uses older

traditions and literature in a way characteristic of deutero-prophetic literature (the same may be said for parts of Jer 48). His own particular contribution is the graphic imagery of Moab's final resting place and posture.[39]

A brief survey of the OAN texts concerning Moab reveals a plethora of Gattungen, most of which derive from settings other than the martial institution. The ability to reduce these texts to an essential form (maśśā', māšāl, or war oracle) appears problematic.

III

Having completed an overview of oracles dealing with Moab, I now propose to examine in more detail one of these texts, Isa 15:1-16:5, a so-called Schmerzenkind of exegesis.[40] Though the text is difficult for numerous reasons, an analysis of these two chapters will suggest the full range of prophetic discourse about foreign nations.[41]

A. Translation of Isa 15:1-16:5

(i)[42]

15:1	Indeed, in a night destroyed	(3)
	ʿĀr-Moab is devastated	(2)
	Indeed, in a night destroyed	(3)
	Qîr-Moab is devastated.	(2)
:2	The daughter of Dîbōn has ascended	(3)
	to the high places to weep.	(2)
	Over Nᵉbô and Mêdᵉbā'	(3)
	Moab wails.	(2)
	Every head[43] has become bald	(3)
	Every beard is shorn.	(2)
:3	In her streets[44] they gird on sackcloth	(3)
	Upon her roofs they lament[45]	(2)
	In her squares everyone wails	(3)
	dissolving in tears.	(2)
:4	Ḥešbôn cried out, also 'Elʿālēh	(3)
	their voice was heard as far as Yahaṣ.	(3)
	Therefore, the loins of Moab shook[46]	(3)
	his soul trembled.	(3)

(ii)

:5	My heart cries out for Moab	(3)
	They have fled[47] up to Ṣōʿar,[48]	(2)
	As for the ascent of Lûḥît[49]	(3)
	they climb up in tears.	(2)
	On the road to Ḥôrōnayim	(3)
	they raise a cry of destruction.	(2)
:6	The waters of Nimrîm	(2)
	are a desolation	(2)
	The grass withers	(2)
	greenery ceases	(2)
	herbage is no more.	(2)
:7	Therefore, the abundance they have accumulated,	(3)
	that which they have stored up,	(2)
	Over the Brook of Poplars,	(3)
	they carry away.	(2)

(iii)

15:8	Indeed, a cry has gone around	(2)
	the territory of Moab	(2)
	Her wailing as far as ʾEglayim	(2)
	her wailing as far as Bᵉʾēr ʾĒlim	(2)
:9	Indeed, the waters of Dîb/môn[50]	(2)
	are filled with blood.	(2)
16:1	They have sent lambs[51]	(2)
	Oh, ruler of the land	(2)
	From Selaʿ to the desert	(2)
	to the mount of the daughter of Zion.	(2)
:2	Like stray birds[52]	(2)
	like cast out nestlings,	(2)
	So are the daughters of Moab	(3)
	from ʿAbārîm to the ʾArnôn.[53]	(2)
:3	Provide[54] counsel	(2)
	Perform[55] intercession	(2)
	Make your shade like night	(3)
	in the middle of the day	(2)
	Hide the outcasts	(2)
	betray not the fugitive	(2)
:4	Let the outcasts[56] of Moab	(2)
	sojourn among you	(2)
	Be a refuge to them	(2)
	from the destroyer.	(2)
	.....[57]	(2)
:5	Then a throne will be established	(3)
	in steadfast love	(3)
	upon it will sit faithfully[58]	(3)
	a judge, a seeker of justice	(3)
	one who expedites righteousness.	(3)

B. Commentary

It should at once be obvious that these verses present us with no standard form-critical genre. Nevertheless, Isaiah 15-16 do have a structure as the following analysis suggests:[59]

15:1aα	introductory rubric
15:1aβ-4	lament (i)
15:5-7	flight (ii)
15:8-16:4 (5)	exhortation (iii)
16:6-11 (12)	lament over lost fertility (iv)
16:3-4	Nachinterpretation

These divisions, of which (i), (ii), (iii) are of greatest import for this paper, are based upon syntactic markers, content, geographic provenance and meter.[60] The first strophe, though the term is probably inappropriate in its strictest sense, commences with the statement that Moab has been destroyed and then continues with a description of the lamentation rituals. Whether ʿĀr/Qîr Moab are meant as general terms for all Moab, two cities in central Moab, or one city described in parallel cola remains moot, though I am inclined to the second option.[61] Isa 15:2 describes the lament as it proceeds northward, an order which makes sense, since as Schottroff has pointed out (with the exception of Nᵉbô), Dîbōn, Mêdᵉbāʾ, Ḥešbôn and ʾElʿālēh all lie on the old King's Highway in northern Moab, i.e. Moab north of the Arnon.[62] Yahaṣ (15:4) which represents the geographic extent

of the Moabite outcry, lies even further to the North. It would appear therefore that the cities here named are included in an intended order and are not just a scattered assemblage. Just as consistent as the toponomy and the subject matter, lament over destruction, is the meter. Isa 15:1-3 are composed in the 3:2 or qinah meter, well-known as the metric vehicle for lament and funeral poetry. 15:4 concludes the lament with two three-beat bicola. The strophe is framed using the particles kî and ʿal kēn.

In Isa 15:5, the subject matter shifts. Since the defeat has already been described, the writer now deals with the consequences of defeat. The lamented violence has two immediate consequences: devastation of arable land (vs. 6 uses language similar to that of treaty curses)[63] and population dislocation, an international consequence of people fleeing from an apparently conquered land. Though the toponyms here are less easily identifiable, it seems clear that vss. 5-7 present us with a southwestern flight toward Edom and, presumably, Judah.[64] Just as in (i), these toponyms create a unity in the second strophe. Also, (ii) is structured, like (i), by the use of kî clauses and then concluded by the particle ʿal kēn. Metrically, the qinah meter predominates; it begins the unit (vs. 5), ceases in vs.6 in which the devastation of the land is described, and returns in the concluding cola, vs. 7. Of special interest is the preponderance of kî clauses. Muilenburg, in an important study, has noted that one significant usage of such kî clauses is the lament, particularly the individual lament.[65]

The third strophe (iii) begins with a recapitulation of the extent of destruction and violence in general terms. Commencing again with kî clauses, the text then recounts some apparently salient facts: that the refugees have sent lambs and that they have indeed been cast out of their land. Mention of Selaʿ and the desert suggests the direction from which the refugees would be entering Judah: from the South, since Selaʿ is a city in Edom (Amaziah is recorded as conquering it in 2 Kgs 14:7). These facts are no longer recounted in the qinah meter, rather two-beat bicola predominate, a metric change which signals an important shift in the oracle. From the task of narrating and providing background, the author embarks on a series of imperatives and jussives. I take these admonitions to be addressed to Jerusalem, (Isaiah often refers to Jerusalem/Zion in the feminine singular, e.g. Isa 1:12) on behalf of some Moabite refugees, admonitions no doubt directed to the ruling class which included not only the king, but judges and counselors (Isa 1:26), princes (Isa 1:23), and elders (Isa 3:14).

The prophetic oracle concludes with a promise that if the Jerusalemite audience accepts the Moabite refugees, a secure throne will be established and a just ruler will reign. Unfortunately, the introduction to this promise, Isa 15:4b, and the precise referent of the promise are obscure. A later editor added "in the tent of David" to specify that a Judahite and not a Moabite ruler was intended. It is possible that a Moabite ruler was originally meant since a loyal treaty partner, someone who could be described in the terms present in 16:5, would be desirable to Judah; he would pay the yearly allotment of sheep, as Moabite rulers had done

earlier, and be a loyal military ally. Or, it is possible that the prophet was promising a just Davidide on the throne, someone to meet the royal expectations of Isa 9:5-6. It is striking that several terms present in Isa 16:5 echo the oracle of promise in Isa 9:6 (kissē', kwn, ṣedeq, mišpāt) a similarity which strongly suggests that the promised recipient was, as the later redactor believed, the Judahite throne.[66]

Before this proposed interpretation is acceptable, we must address two issues: (1) the form-critical character of this prophet's discourse, and (2) the traditio-historical background of the admonition. As regards the form-critical issue, (i) and (ii) provide the natural subject matter of a lament. Furthermore, one particle characteristic of the personal lament, kî, continually appears. Finally, the meter characteristic of the lament continues in these strophes with the exception of only one verse. Although these verses about Moab do not follow the structure of the lament as outlined by Gunkel,[67] one may contend that (i) and (ii) present the so-called reproachful conditions whereas (iii) functions as the plea or petition for help. The author of these verses addressed himself to a defeat of Moab by using two of the basic elements of the individual lament to underscore the severity of the situation. And because the writer knew that his case would be difficult to make, he creatively used one of Israel's classical speech forms. He addressed the audience as if they were gods; he addressed what was usually a plea for help to Yahweh directly to the ruling class of Jerusalem, an innovative and brilliant rhetorical tactic worthy of Isaiah's best poetry.[68]

Secondly, the precise background of the prophet's admonitions need to be examined. Presumably Isaiah is doing more than simply requesting the Judahites to be polite to some Moabites. One of the indirect imperatives, yāgûrû (Isa 16:4), suggests strongly that Isaiah was seeking "sojourner" status for certain Moabites, a status often created by warfare and ensuing population dislocation, e.g. 2 Sam 4:3, which testifies to the sojourner status of the Bᵉ'ērōtîm in Gittim after military action.

More difficult is the problem of explaining the motivation for such a plea. It is of course possible to suggest that the request for refugee support derives from an impulse of humanitarian beneficence.[69] Nevertheless one may argue that the prophet's admonition was based upon a recognized responsibility to those displaced by war.[70] Such a responsibility was probably present and/or articulated in two locii of Israelite society: the legal traditions and treaty practice. The more obvious choice is the legal tradition. Within the Israelite legal corpus, there are specific laws designed to protect the right of the sojourner within Israel (e.g. Exod 20:10; 22:20; 23:9).[71] Interestingly, most of these laws occur in the so-called apodictic style. The clear presupposition of these laws is that the sojourner/refugee has the right to live within the Israelite community; and a reason is given for this right: "because you were strangers in the land of Egypt" Exod 22:20. At some stage in the tradition, the sojourner gained the right to become a part of the covenant community (Dt 29:10-15), a practice which surely extends far back into Israel's history.[72] Therefore

for Isaiah to extend a plea on behalf of Moabite refugees would be understandable from the context of the Israelite legal system.

A second though more speculative source for such an admonition is the treaty ideology which imbued much of Israelite thinking. A stock item in many ancient Near Eastern treaties was the mutual aid pact in time of war. If, as Cross has argued, we should assume that the Davidic empire was united with the Transjordanian states by contractual relationship, a situation which Amos' oracles against the nations suggest, then we sould not be amiss in thinking that Isaiah could refer to a similar, if not later, agreement with Moab. Unfortunately, no treaty texts explicitly provide for aiding a defeated enemy: This situation is not surprising since the treaties regularly expect a successful end to military activity. Since so many of the treaty stipulations do address the topic of assistance in time of duress, e.g. Sefire I. B. 28-29, one may infer that this same responsibility held if one of the parties was defeated.

In summary, it would appear that one of the so-called oracles against the nations is, put more accurately, a prophetic oracle addressed to the Judahite authorities on behalf of a group of Moabite refugees. Isaiah, if he was in fact the author, used some of the basic elements of the individual lament to frame his admonition, a message which may well have been grounded in the legal and treaty traditions of Israel.

IV

The conclusions from, or better, reflections on this paper are of two sorts: one deals with the OAN and the other treats the nature of Israelite prophecy. First, recent work has clarified many features of OAN texts. We know that many speech forms appear. It has also been demonstrated that numerous traditions are present (e.g. covenant, lament). The language and traditions of warfare have proven to be dominant in many of the oracles. Nevertheless, there is a danger in proposing the military context as the setting in which the classical prophetic OAN were formulated. To identify the original function of a genre or tradition is not to explain the use to which the genre or tradition is put by a later writer. Hence to argue on the basis of martial forms or traditions, that prophets in the monarchic period had a military role would be questionable. Furthermore, in estimating the significance of the military background for the OAN, the sources themselves require critical examination. Ninth century prophets are often presented to us in legenda which have been incorporated in the Dtr. history. Texts like 2 Kgs 3, which on the surface describe Elisha as in some way related to a war, after critical analysis tell us little, if anything, about the military function of this prophet. And as for the classical prophetic literature in which the OAN becomes a major component, there is little evidence to suggest that these texts reflect the prophet as divination priest or charismatic battle leader. Even in the Amos OAN, in which military practice as execration rite may be present,[73] the OAN do not have an independent function; they seem rather to constitute a backdrop for an indictment of Israel.

If we understand more about individual OAN from detailed philological work, we still know remarkably little about the function of these oracles in the prophets' larger message. If form-critical study of individual oracles has failed to reveal the significance of prophetic OAN, perhaps it is because the question has been conceived in too atomistic a fashion. The OAN are striking above all because they comprise discrete collections and also because they occur in a distinct place within many large prophetic books (judgment upon Israel, judgment upon the nations, salvation for Israel). One wonders if pursuing the redaction-critical question about the composition and placement of the OAN collections may not help to advance the discussion. The purpose of the OAN may be as much a function of a prophetic book as it is a function of a prophet's social performance.

Secondly, even if we do not fully understand the function of the OAN, these texts still aid our attempts to comprehend the office of the classical Israelite prophets. To make this point, I refer to provisional conclusions from my current research. Classical prophets were of two basic types, types which are geographically, conceptually, and terminologically distinguishable. The ḥōzeh was of southern or Judahite provenance, and was integrally related to the institution of the Davidic monarchy (e.g. Gad, Nathan, Amos, Isaiah, Haggai). His function may best be described in "political terms." The nābî' was of northern origin and is more easily described using "religious" categories.[74] The title nābî' was later applied to all prophets thereby clouding the original distinction. Nābî' also became the label around which the Dtr. conception of Mosaic prophecy crystallized. Jeremiah and Ezekiel represent hybrids: Jeremiah both ḥōzeh and nābî', Ezekiel both ḥōzeh and priest.

The political character of the ḥōzeh prophet's ideology and activity is becoming increasingly apparent.[75] It is surely not accidental that Israelite prophecy began with the monarchic institution and ended with the final Davidic pretender, Zerubbabel. This political nexus allows us to place the OAN in perspective; as the work of the ḥōzeh, and not the nābî', they attest to the prophet as herald of Yahweh, as one called to assess the place of various nations under Yahweh's cosmic rule or imperium. Just as these prophets speak concretely about economic, social, and political problems (cf. Hosea's concentration on religious and cultic issues), they were also concerned with the specificities of international affairs. Jeremiah, a prophet "over nations and over kingdoms" (Jer 1:10), and a prophet whose message was to be sent via legates to rules of foreign nations (Jer 27) is a classic example of the ḥōzeh prophet's international scope. To be sure, military topics were a part of this concern, but martial activity was only one facet as we learned by examining Isa 15-16. The office and various functions of the ḥōzeh prophet had as much to do with the formulation of the OAN as did the influence of a dominant tradition complex or an important speech form.

NOTES

1. e.g. B. Childs, "The Oracles against the Nations," Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis (SBT, Sec. Ser., 3). London: SCM, 1967, 38-63. R. Clements, "The Prophets and the Nations," Prophecy and Tradition. Oxford: Blackwell, 1975, 58-72. S. Erlandsson, The Burden of Babylon. A Study of Isaiah 13:2-14:23. (Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series 4). Lund: Gleerup, 1970.

I regret that I have seen neither M. Kessler's paper "Oracles against the Nations: Jeremiah 50-51" read at the 1969 SBL meeting, nor G. H. Jones, An Examination of Some Leading Motifs in the Prophetic Oracles against the Nations, Ph.D., Univ. of Wales (Bangor), 1970.

2. A reworking of the second and third chapters appeared as "The Usage of Oracles against Foreign Nations in Ancient Israel," JBL 87 (1968) 81-92.

3. R. Bach, Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht und zum Kampf im alttestamentlichen Prophetenspruch (WMANT 9). Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962.

4. P. Miller, "The Divine Council and the Prophetic Call to War," VT 18 (1968) 100-107.

5. M. Haran, "An Archaic Remnant in Prophetic Literature," (Heb), Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society 13 (1946-47) 7-15.

6. I. Seeligman, "On the History and Nature of Prophecy in Israel," (Heb), EI 3 (1954) 125-132.

7. Y. Kaufmann, History of the Israelite Religion, (Heb). Tel Aviv: Bialik Institute-Dvir, 1937-1956.

8. O. Eissfeldt, Der Maschal im Alten Testament. Eine wortgeschichtliche Untersuchung nebst einer literargeschichtlichen Untersuchung der משל genannten Gattungen „Volkssprichwort" und „Spottlied." (BZAW 34). Giessen: Töpelmann, 1913.

9. On maśśā', see recently S. Erlandsson, The Burden of Babylon.

10. P. Hanson, "The Song of Heshbon and David's NÎR," HTR 61 (1968) 297-320.

11. See the standard works of Lord, Gevirtz, and Culley.

12. I would like to thank Prof. Christensen for helping me procure his dissertation, a revised form of which will appear as Transformations of the War Oracle in Old Testament Prophecy: Studies in the War Oracles against the Nations (Harvard Theological Studies, ed. by G. Rupp and C. Bynum). Cambridge: Harvard Univ.

13. Hayes made many of these same observations.

14. H. Bardtke, "Jeremia, der Fremdvölkerprophet," ZAW 53 (1935) 209-239, 54 (1936) 240-262.

15. This form is probably the same as that defined by Hanson as the judgment-salvation oracle in early apocalyptic literature. P. Hanson, Studies in the Origins of Jewish Apocalyptic. Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard, 1969.

16. F. Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic. Cambridge: Harvard Univ., 1973, 229.

17. W. F. Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam," JBL 63 (1944) 207-233.

18. See recently W. Gross, Bileam. Untersuchung der Prosa in Num. 22-24 (SATNT, 38). Munich: Kösel, 1974; D. Vetter, Seherspruch und Segensschilderung. Ausdruksabsichten und sprachliche Verwirklichungen in den Bileam Spruchen von Num 23 und 24 (CTM, 4). Stuttgart: Calwer, 1974.

19. So A. Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament. Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1967, 141-144, who compares the Balaam oracles to Gen 12:1ff; 14:9ff; 12:16ff; 27:27ff; 27:39ff; 28:13ff; 48:15ff; 48:20; 49; Dt 33; Gen 9:25; 2 Sam 23.

20. Bentzen theorized that they derive from the amphictyonic cult as oracles of blessing and curse upon various tribal members.

21. On divination in the martial context, see Christensen (25-30), T. Fish, "War and Religion in Ancient Mesopotamia," BJRL 23 (1939) 395-398; A. Oppenheim, "Zur keilschriftlichen Omenliterature," Or 5 (1936) 208-211; J. Renger, "Untersuchung zum Priestertum der altbabylonischen Zeit," ZA 25 (1969) 215.

22. S. Daiches, "Balaam--A Babylonian Bārū?" Hilprecht Anniversary Volume, Studies in Assyriology and Archaeology. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909, 60-70.

23. G. Coats, "Balaam: Sinner or Saint?" BR 18 (1973) 21-29.

24. See J. Schenkel, Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings (HSM, 1). Cambridge: Harvard Univ., 1968, 93-108, for an excellent treatment of the text-critical and historical complexities.

25. B. Long, "2 Kings III and genres of prophetic narrative," VT 23 (1973), 339-341. I do not, however, accept Long's contention that the King of Edom is a secondary element.

26. Ibid., 347.

27. A. Rofé, "The Classification of the Prophetical Stories," JBL 89 (1970) 427-440.

28. So Cross as summarized by G. Wright, "The Nations in Hebrew Prophecy," Encounter 26 (1965) 235-237.

29. The length of Jer 48 suggests significant expansionary activity, W. Rudolph, Jeremia (HAT, 12). Tübingen: Mohr, 1968, 277-278.

30. For a more detailed treatment, see Christensen and L. Hay, The Oracles against the Nations in Jeremiah 46-51. Ph.D. Thesis, Vanderbilt Univ., 1960, 132-146.

31. R. Bach, Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht, 15-16.

32. Christensen reads 48:11-16 as an oracle of doom, 48:17-19 as a summons to mourn, and 48:20-27 as an announcement of judgment (325).

33. L. Sabottka, Zephanja. Versuch einer Neuübersetzung mit philologischem Kommentar (BO, 25). Rome: Pontifical Bib. Institut, 1972, 88-89.

34. B. Childs, Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis, 128-130.

35. See Zimmerli's caution against understanding the Ezekiel series to have been composed in the same way as Amos 1-2. W. Zimmerli, Ezechiel (BK 13). Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969, 587.

36. Zimmerli, Ezechiel, 594.

37. Ibid., 595.

38. On deutero-prophetic literature, see the author's forthcoming monograph, Late Israelite Prophecy.

39. Cf. O. Kaiser, Isaiah 13-39. London: SCM, 1974, 204.

40. O. Proksch, Jesaja I (KAT 9). Leipzig: Deichertsche, 1930, 208.

41. I have been unable to date this oracle. See the commentaries, and Rudolph's article cited in n. 45. for the many proposals.

42. Reading blylh with 1QIsa^{a}.

43. Cf. Jer 48:37.

44. Reading 1QIsa^{a} bhwswtyh.

45. So Rudolph's emendation, yinhû, "Jesaja XV-XVI," Hebrew and Semitic Studies presented to G. R. Driver, ed. D. Thomas and W. McHardy. Oxford: Clarendon, 1963, 134.

46. 1QIsa^{a} reads blṣy m'b yryʿw, the yodh in the last word now quite clear in the recently published photographs. Rudolph derives yryʿw and yrʿh from yrʿ, ibid.

47. MT bᵉrîḥehā is difficult. We should probably read a 3 pl. perf. which is probably also present in brḥwh (1QIsa^{a}).

48. Following Rudolph (134), Kaiser (57), et. al.,

ʿeglat šᵉlišiyyāh is a gloss.

49. The syntax of kî in the following cola is difficult to capture in translation.

50. Dîbôn and Dîmôn are both possible. Isa 15:9b is almost surely a deutero-prophetic addition, see Rudolph, 138; Kaiser, 69-70.

51. I take kar as a collective noun (cf. Akk kērrum), a term which recalls the situation described in 2 Kgs 3:4 where Mesha is reported to have given over annually one hundred thousand kārîm to Israel.

52. The tense of wᵉhāyāh is ambiguous.

53. MT reads maʿbārôt lᵉʾarnôn, "from the fords of the Arnon." Since m and t were easily confused in the Aramaic script, I propose mᶜᶜābārîm lᵉʾarnôn, "from the Abarim to the Arnon." The Abarim is the mountain range in the northernmost area of Moab; hence the image is that of utter disarray from the northern to southern Moabite boundaries. Isa 15:8 describes similar destruction.

54. Instead of MT hābîʾiw, read with Qere hābîʾî.

55. Instead of MT ᶜᵃśû, read ᶜᵃśî with LXX^{A} STV, another f. sg. impt.

56. Reading nidḥê with LXX, S instead of MT niddāḥay.

57. This colon is virtually unintelligible in both MT and 1QIsa^{a}. LXX apparently understood the Hebrew to read

ky ʾsp hᶜd/zr lk
tm rms mn hʾrṣ

58. bᵉʾōhel dāwid is metrically irregular and probably a later section; see the commentaries.

59. For a similar division, cf. W. Schottroff, "Horonaim, Nimrim, Luhith, und der Westrand des Landes Altaroth.' Ein Beitrag zur historischen Topographie des Landes Moab," ZDPV 82 (1966) 182.

60. (iv) may be understood as a separate piece, a genuine lament or a taunt which has been added to form a negative response to the Isaianic plea.

61. See Rudolph, "Jesaja XV-XVI," 133.

62. Schottroff, "Horonaim," 182.

63. D. Hillers, Treaty Curses and the Old Testament Prophets. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institut, 1964.

64. So Schottroff, "Horonaim," 200.

65. J. Muilenburg, "The linguistic and rhetorical uses of the particle kî in the Old Testament," HUCA 32 (1961) 157.

66. These referents to a beneficent, future ruler do not necessitate the assertion that this verse is a late Messianic addition, so Kaiser, Isaiah 13-39, 72; cf. Rudolph, "Jesaja XV-XVI," 140.

67. For an outline of the lament, see conveniently, E. Gerstenberger, "Psalms," Old Testament Form Criticism (TUMSR 2), ed. J. Hayes. San Antonio: Trinity Univ., 1974, 200.

68. One objection to this argument might be that these same form-critical observations could lead to the conclusion that these verses are a taunt song or māšāl, a poem written at the expense of the Moabites. Aside from the fact that form-critical controls for such an assertion are minimal, and assuming that Isa 14:4b-21 is such a taunt, Isa 15:1-16:5 contains none of the mocking tone we would expect in a māšāl. Cf. Eissfeldt, Der Maschal im Alten Testament; Kaiser, Isaiah 13-39, 32-33.

69. One might offer a similar humanitarian explanation for Oded's admonitions concerning the treatment of POW's, 2 Chr 28:9-15; cf. Job 31:32 on aiding the sojourner.

70. On the refugee in the ancient Near East, see for a brief statement, "Fluchtling," Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, vol. 3, ed. E. Weidner and W. von Soden. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1971, 88-90.

71. I am unaware of any major study of the gēr. See provisionally, M. Smith, Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament. New York: Columbia Univ., 1971, 178-181, a reference to which my colleague, G. Porton, drew my attention.

72. There is a problem with the rights of Moab because at some point, probably soon after the downfall of Judah, the Moabites and Ammonites were excluded from the right to join the assembly (Dt 23:3).

73. A. Bentzen, "The Ritual Background of Amos 1:2-2:16," OTS 7 (1950) 85-99.

74. This ḥōzeh/nābî' distinction may well be the key to understanding Amos 7:12-14. Amaziah, the high priest at Bethel confronts Amos saying:

> "O ḥōzeh, go, flee to Judah,
> and eat bread and prophesy there."

Amaziah makes it clear to Amos that a ḥōzeh's place is in Judah; Amaziah knew Amos to be a southern prophet. Amos answered by saying, "I am not a nābî' nor a ben nābî'." He implicitly accepts the label ḥōzeh and yet disallows the geographic limitations which Amaziah has placed upon a ḥōzeh.

75. Several recent articles have described the prophet's role in political terms and drawn attention to the impact of political discourse on prophetic speech, e.g. K. Baltzer, "Considerations Regarding the Office and Calling of the Prophet," HTR 61 (1968) 567-58; J. Holladay, "Assyrian Statecraft and the Prophets of Israel," HTR 63 (1970) 29-51.

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THE EXCAVATIONS AT ANTIOCH

A Report on Antioch-on-the-Orontes I - V

W. J. Bennett, Jr.

This report is a summary presentation of the results of the excavations at Antioch as they have been presented in Antioch-on the-Orontes I-V published under the direction of the Committee for the Excavation of Antioch and its Vicinity (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932-). It is an outline presentation which hopefully will indicate the "kinds" of material recovered by the excavations along with some indication of its published status. I have tried to present this material as much as possible without bringing undue critical comment to bear. I trust it will be useful in establishing a beginning point for further research on this material.

OUTLINE OF THE EXPEDITIONS

I. Original Purpose

According to C. R. Morey in his introduction to the first volume of the Antioch-on-the-Orontes publications, there were two major reasons for launching the Antioch excavations. There was, of course, the generalized interest in Greco-Roman culture, and only Antioch of the Roman world's "Big Four" (Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople) was not covered by modern dwellings. This meant that only at Antioch could "extensive exploration be made wherewith to reconstruct the art and life of a late antique metropolis."

The second reason, and the one which was the actual focus of the expeditions, was drawn explicitly from art history. Ever since the work of Strzygowski the question of the role of Antioch in the development from late antique to Byzantine and medieval art had been a hotly debated one. The excavations, at least as they were initially conceived, were inspired by the desire to recover the art of Antioch with the conviction that this material would be able to settle several issues concerning the "Oriental" roots of later Christian art.

It is therefore no surprise to find that besides Princeton University the major supporters of this project were the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Worcester Art Museum, and the Musées Nationaux de France. Private support to Princeton University for this project was received from Cyrus McCormick, Henry J. Patten, Malcolm Loyd, David Magie, and E. L. Pierce.

II. The Expedition Staff

A six year concession for excavation was granted to Princeton University by the Syrian government on January 1, 1931. This was renewed for a second six year period and was ratified when the territory was formally ceded by the French to the Turkish government. From 1932 until 1939 the expedition labored from early Spring through the fall of the year. Normally the expedition staff included a Field Director, an Assistant Field Director, a Recorder (Cataloguer), Photographer, Architect, and occasionally two Field Assistants. The first Field Director was

Clarence Fisher of the American Schools of Oriental Research. In 1934 W. A. Campbell, who had been the Assistant Field Director, became the Field Director and continued in this capacity through 1939. Jean Lassus, who respresented the Musées Nationaux, served from 1934 to 1938 as assistant Field Director, occasionally acting as Director in Campbell's absence.

III. The Scope of the Excavations

Rather consistently in the discussion of the work of the various campaigns, members of the staff stress that the nature of the excavation was exploratory. Most often trenches are referred to as "Sondages," which indicates that they were simply attempts to find out what is beneath the soil. The placement of the trenches was evidently first determined by viewing masonry still visible on the modern surface. In some instances, however, trenches were sunk explicitly to clarify topographical issues, i.e. to trace the course of the main street, or to locate the Forum of Valens. Often trenches were enlarged or placed adjacent to earlier ones to clarify further the architecture that had come to light in earlier soundings. The size of these trenches seemed to have varied greatly, but some of them must have been enormous, large enough to accommodate four hundred workers at one time.

Another aspect of the excavations was the salvage work carried out at Daphne and in the surrounding region. Local officials and landowners would often uncover mosaics or shallowly buried architecture which they called to the attention of the expedition. In order to avoid the destruction of a good deal of material, the expedition was forced to carry out what often amounted to rush salvage operations, usually under pressed and understaffed conditions.

The records of the excavation seem to have been of three main types. There were excavation diaries kept by the Field Director and Assistant Field Director (and perhaps by others), the Recorder's lists and catalogues, and architect's drawings and sketches. There was also some sort of photographic record kept, but its exact nature is not noted. Excavated material was customarily recorded, in both diaries and recorder's lists, by the trench designation and by absolute level.

IV. Summary Outline of the Reported Findings

The following portion of this report is based on the excavation locations listed in Volume II, Plan I (page 215), with a few additions. It is arranged according to the following schema:

Designation and Location of the Grid Map (Plan I)

I. Notation as to where in the publications it is discussed.

II. A statement of the purpose of excavation.

III. A brief description of the findings.

Often all of this information was not available (or I didn't find it). In those cases I have simply omitted the appropriate line(s).

1. Bath E 7-0-P

2. Circus 7,8,9, N

I. I.34

II. To investigate the structure which was located by aerial photographs.

III. It was dated to the first century B.C. and extensively

reconstructed in the fourth century. It is constructed primarily of concrete, stones, brick, and cement. A massive structure.

3. Temple 8-0-P

4. Bath B 10-N

   I. I.8

   II. To clarify nature of a clump of masonry visible on the surface.

   III. A. Bath. A smallish bath, 22 rooms in all, with no apparent arrangement or regular plan, built over an earlier destroyed building.

   B. A group of houses to the East which were badly wrecked and had been built over a Roman villa.

   C. Roman Villa built entirely of stone work showing signs of rebuilding. Dated to three periods 1. destroyed in A.D. 94 and then in 115; the middle period is Byzantine. Contained many fine mosaics, and a good deal of artifactual material related to Serapis was recovered here.

5. Bath A A-10-L

   I. I.4

   II. Exploratory trench

   III. Bath A. - smallish with no regular plan. At its north end it embodied walls of an earlier structure. Initial building dated to A.D. 200; late use, 350 to 400 and finally in use in 6th century. Burials were found between the uses.

   B. Some sort of building not fully excavated

6. Atrium House 10-N

7. Building 10-Q

8. Bath D 10-M

9. Building 11-U

10. Bath C 11-L

   I. I.19

   II. Exploratory trench

   III. A very large bath. Original construction dated ca. A.D. 94 or 115 and ruined about 200. It is rebuilt with finer mosaics ca. 350-400 with another stage of building later and goes out of existence in the sixth century. Originally constructed over houses.

11. Building 11-P

12. (and 35) Building 13-R

   I. III.8

   II. Continuation of probes in this area

   III. Bath F. It has a central aisle with an inscribed mosaic which dates its construction at 537/8. It is a rebuild over a larger bath.

13. Byzantine Stadium 11-K-L-M

   I. I.32

   II. To follow walls seen in Tower area

III. Stadium used with bath C. Constructed of re-used limestone. In use probably as an exercise area in the late fifth and early sixth.

14. Tower Area 11-L

I. I.1

II. Initial trial trench

III. A. A stone tower faced with bricks with plastered cisterns on the sides

B. Long walls

C. Houses. Some with three rooms and no regular plan

D. Wall with buttresses which later is identified as the Byzantine stadium

E. Much debris and evidence of dumping

15. City Wall Dig 12 - N

16. Church 12 - F-G, 13 - F-G

17. Building 14 - N

18. Building 15 - Q - R

19. Building 17 - N

20. Charonion 16 - Q

I. I.83

II. To investigate the statue

III. Colossal bust carved in the living limestone cliff near the shrine of St. Peter. Never completely carved. Accompanied by the veiled busts of what are thought to be the Syrian goddesses of Hierapolis.

21. (and 41) Theatre 18 - O - P Dig

22. Iron Gates 18 - S

23. Street Dig #3 19 - M

I of Summary below

24. Cemetery 20 - H

I. I.85?

25. Cemetery 22 - F

26. Street Dig #1 21 - K

I of Summary below

27. 22-K, Street Dig No. 2

28. Cemetery 24 - K

29. Cemetery 24 - K

30. Cemetery 24 - L

31. Building 25 - H

32. Dig 25 - J

33. Cemetery 7 - Y NE

34. Church 9 - V

35. Street Dig #5 16 - P

I of Summary below

36. Street Dig #5 16 - P

37. Street Dig #4 16 - O

38. "Cossvtivs" Aqueduct 17 - Q

39. Building 20 - 0

40. Building 26 - K/L

Additional Excavations

A. Excavation in 14 - S

I. III.9

II. Investigation of an uncovered Mosaic

III. A Building (Villa?) with three rooms in use in three periods. The first period was in connection with a cave built on the side of Mt. Staurin in the first century B.C. The second, built between 100 and 200, contained the two rooms with mosaic pavements, and the third period contained a triclinium.

B. Excavatons in 15 - M

I. III.11 of Summary below

II. Search for the main E-W street in this area

III. Part of a late building set within a large garden or open area. The foundations rested on a third century A.D. mosaic. It had been destroyed and re-built in the fifth-sixth century.

C. Excavations in 16 - 0 Dig 2

I. III.12 of Summary below

II. Part of the Main Street dig

D. Excavations in 16 - 0 Dig 3

I. Vol. III.13 of Summary below

II. Part of the Main Street dig

E. Excavation in 17 - 0

I. III.17 of Summary below

II. Part of the Main Street dig, looking for the Forum of Valens

F. Excavation in 21 - H

I. III.19

II. A salvage operation

III. A road leading in the direction of the modern bridge over the Orontes. This led to the conclusion that the ancient bridge was located where the modern bridge is now situated.

Summary of the Main Street Digs

I. The full reports are given in Volume 5

II. To locate and to trace the major streets of Antioch

III. The reports conclude that there were at least nine different periods (Construction phases?) for this main street although no one trench gave evidence from all periods. Plan II is a schematic summary of these results. For our purposes several additional items may be worth mentioning.

1. It is suggested that the course of the Seleucid street

followed a much more ancient road. Perhaps dating back into and beyond the second millenium.

2. Associated with Levels 5 and 6 were the remains of "shops" and "workshops."

3. Note the rather long period of use for the monumental street of Trajan. Nearly four hundred years without major change is a long time.

NB. There were other areas in the surrounding region where excavation went on. The following is simply a summary of their nature with a reference as to where they are discussed in the texts.

1. Exploratory excavations in Seleucia Pieria (III.5). This turned up a major fifth century church structure, The Martyrion, which is discussed in III.35.

2. Excavations at Yakto. This turned up a villa structure (II.95) and a great mosaic which supposedly gives topographical information about Antioch. (I.114)

3. A church structure at Kaoussie II. (II.5)

4. There were extensive excavations at Daphne. A theatre is reported (III.57). The springs and aqueduct remains are reported (III.49). Also several villas (III.25).

V. Material Remains

The following is a listing of the various classes of materials reported in the publications.

1. Architecture

This is a presentation of the architectural fragments recovered in the excavations, i.e. Corinthian capitals, column bases, etc. It contains a prose description of the pieces, the place in the excavations it came from, and some indication of date suggested on the basis of parallel pieces from elsewhere. III.150

2. Ceramics

An initial discussion of the ceramic materials is found in I.67. The major treatment of ceramic materials is in VI part 1, which is largely given over to ceramic materials. It is discussed under the following headings:

Hellenistic and Roman Tableware of North Syria

Imported Western Terra Sigillata

The Glazed Pottery

The material is arranged according to vessel form and dated on the basis of how the particular researcher, usually F. O. Waagé, felt that particular form evolved. There is some attention to the frequency of imported vessels and to the possible provenance of imported vessels. The Glazed Pottery has a section reporting on a few pieces thought to be imported from China. There is thought to be a good deal of imported material from Gaul.

Lamps are treated as a separate category. They are also arranged according to vessel form, and an attempt has been made to place them within the catalogue of forms developed from the excavations at Corinth. I.58 and the major discussion is in III.55.

3. Coins

Some coins are discussed in I.76 but the major treatment of Hellenistic through Crusaders' coins is found in IV part 2. There is a full prose discussion of the coins as to date, mint, series, but there is no indication as to where they were found in the excavations.

4. Greek and Latin Inscriptions

They are located at I.52, II.148, and the major discussion is at III.83. These are arranged according to the place of discovery (Antioch, Daphne, Seleucia). Within these categories they are presented in topographical order beginning from the North; then inscriptions purchased by the expedition are given. This corpus includes inscriptions on mosaics, capitals, graffiti on stucco, and grave reliefs.

5. Metal and Glassware

This is briefly discussed in I.73

6. Mosaics

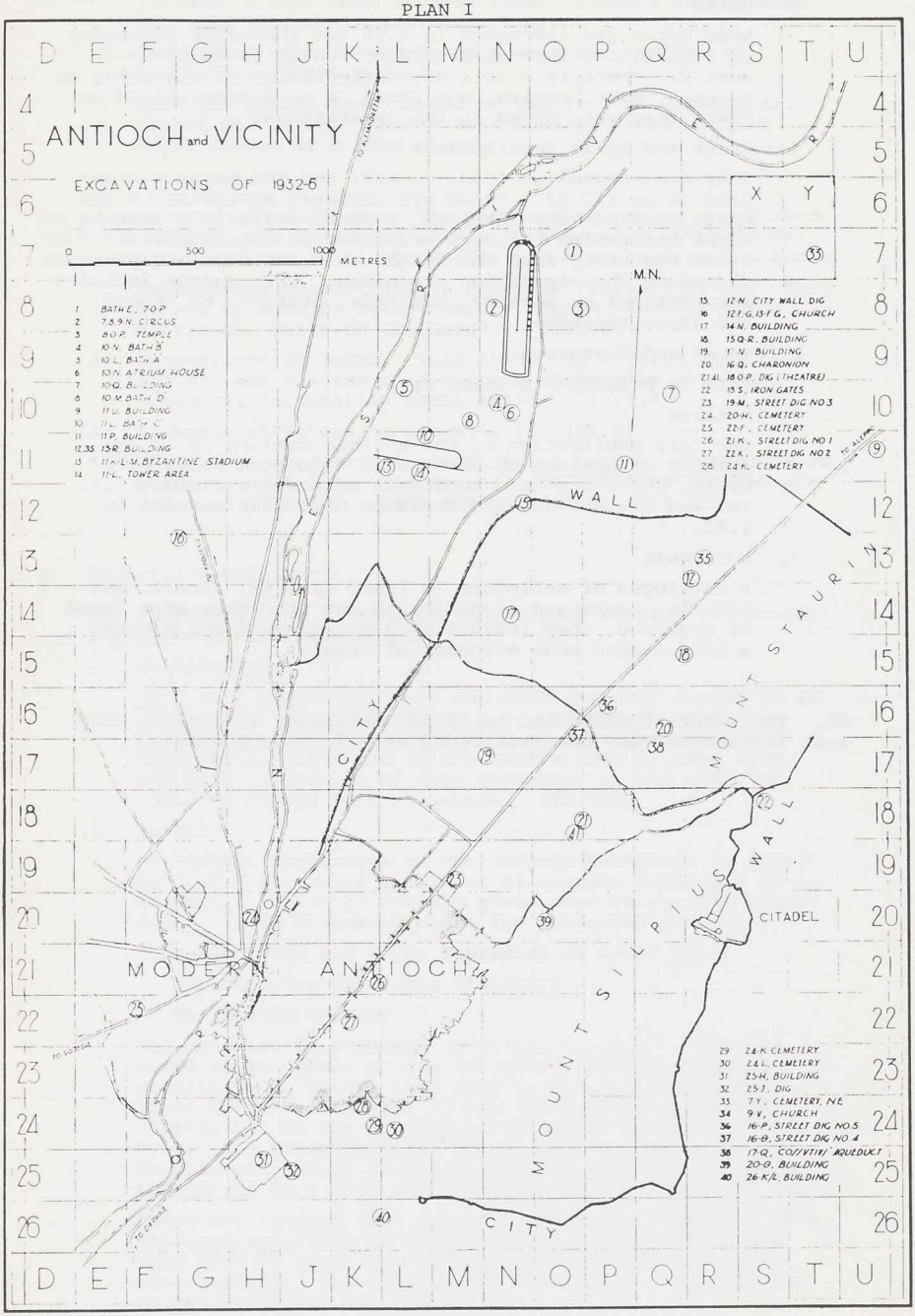
The full publication of the Antioch mosaics is in The Mosaics of Antioch by Doro Levi, Princeton University Press, but there is a catalogue of mosaics found at II. 180 and III.171 and a discussion of Figure Mosaics in I.42.

7. Sculpture

A catalogue of sculpture is found in I.49, II.170, and III.116. Arranged according to the year they were found or acquired, they include marble fragments and bronzes. A good number show evidence of repair.

NB. The material discussed in these catalogues is usually very well illustrated and the catalogues usually have indices.

PLAN I


ANTIOCH and VICINITY
EXCAVATIONS OF 1932-6
0 500 1000 METRES
M.N.
TO ALEXANDRETTA
TO ALEPPO
TO BEYLAN
TO ANTIOCH
ORONTES R.
CITY WALL
MOUNT STAURIN
MOUNT SILPIUS
CITADEL
MODERN ANTIOCH
1 BATH E., 7 O-P
2 7 & 9 N., CIRCUS
3 8 O-P., TEMPLE
4 10 N., BATH B
5 10 L., BATH A
6 10 N., ATRIUM HOUSE
7 10 Q., BUILDING
8 10 M., BATH D
9 11 U., BUILDING
10 11 L., BATH C
11 11 P., BUILDING
12, 35 13-R., BUILDING
13 11 K-L-M., BYZANTINE STADIUM
14 11 L., TOWER AREA
15 12 N., CITY WALL DIG
16 12 F-G, 13 F-G., CHURCH
17 14 N., BUILDING
18 15 Q-R., BUILDING
19 17 N., BUILDING
20 16 Q., CHARONION
21 & 41 18 O-P., DIG (THEATRE)
22 15 S., IRON GATES
23 19 M., STREET DIG NO 3
24 20-H., CEMETERY
25 22-F., CEMETERY
26 21 K., STREET DIG NO 1
27 22 K., STREET DIG NO 2
28 24 K., CEMETERY
29 24-K CEMETERY
30 24 L., CEMETERY
31 25 H., BUILDING
32 25 J., DIG
33 7 Y., CEMETERY, N.E.
34 9 V., CHURCH
36 16-P., STREET DIG NO 5
37 16-R., STREET DIG NO 4
38 17 Q., CONVEYING AQUEDUCT
39 20-R., BUILDING
40 26-K/L, BUILDING

HISTOIRE DE LA RUE

PLAN II 71

— Croquis —

NIVEAUX

9 ± 0.00



IX^e Siècle
Rue et soubassements

19.M.

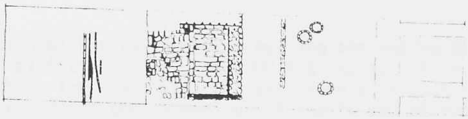
8 -4.00



XI^e - XII^e Siècles
Rue et couches
des parades
byzantine et franque

19.M

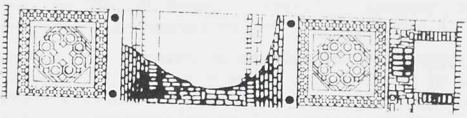
7 -5.50



VII^e Siècle
Murs arasés
sur le dallage de Justinien

19.M

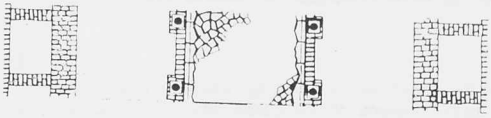
6 -5.50



VI^e Siècle
Rue monumentale
de Justinien

16.0

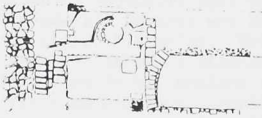
5 -6.80



II^e Siècle
Rue monumentale
Trajan Antonin

15.P

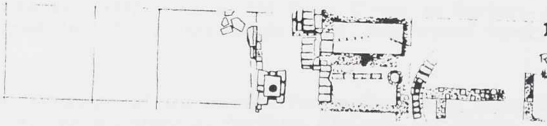
4 -8.60



I^e Siècle A.D.
Restauration
Caracalla - Claude

16.P

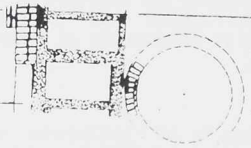
3 -9.50



I^e Siècle B.C. / A.D.
Rue monumentale
Hérode - Tibère

16.P

2 -10.80



I^e Siècle B.C.
Tour
pars rue et boutiques
Antiochus IV - Epiphane

16.P

1 -11.20

III^e Siècle B.C.
Pâte compacte

19.M/16.P

S 67, A 119 A Prosopography for Antioch of Syria

S. Scott Bartchy and Frederick W. Norris

At the 1974 Washington meeting of the AAR/SBL Group studying "the Social World of Early Christianity"--with concentration on Antioch of Syria from Barnabas through Chrysostom--those in attendance noted that a prosopography for the city during that time period would be a very useful tool for further study. At that meeting my colleague in the Disciples Institut zur Erforschung des Urchristentums in Tübingen, Germany, Dr. S. Scott Bartchy, called attention to our special interest in Antioch. He suggested that I might undertake the investigation of such a prosopography. After numerous staff consultations, the following proposals have been adopted by our institute.

Proposals

1. The preparation of a prosopography covering the entire Graeco-Roman period of Antioch, i.e., ca. 300 B.C. to ca. 641 A.D. (Since prosopography is such an important tool and yet is so difficult to assemble exhaustively, we have widened the chronological limits and we fully expect that the project will require more years for its completion than is presently envisioned for the AAR/SBL Group. Initially, however, we will focus our attention on the period designated by the AAR/SBL Group.)

2. The encouragement of scholars interested in this project to work with us in assembling all names which may be found in association with Antioch of Syria for the Graeco-Roman period. (Although we are accepting the responsibility for preparation of this prosopography, we want to develop a list of scholars who intend to cooperate with us in this large and tedious task.)

Our Work to Date

In view of the excellent history by Downey, we first of all collected at our institute in a card file the names which Downey cites. Then we checked these references on a random basis against the histories of Socrates, Theodoret, and Evagrius. This initial scanning indicates that Downey's history, owing to its design, does not include all persons who have been in Antioch during the period covered by these church histories. Noticeably absent from Downey are church officials who are listed in attendance at councils held in Antioch. Downey himself states in his preface that he was unable to incorporate the works of Paul Petit on Libanius. Furthermore any archaeological evidence either discovered or interpreted since 1958--including Jean Lassus' 1972 study of the Great Street at Antioch--would support the assembling of a prosopography which goes beyond Downey.

The Sources

The obvious languages of the sources for an Antiochian prosopography are Greek, Latin, Syriac, Aramaic, Parthian Pahlavi, and Arabic. Although the languages of eastern Asia Minor (such as Armenian and Georgian) and other languages of areas further east might hold some information, especially in the form of travel reports, we intend to concentrate on the "obvious languages."

Immediate Plans

Our next step is the development of an exhaustive list of sources, both literary and inscriptional, with the intention of defining areas in which scholars outside this institute could take responsibility. One of our research assistants, John Shemwell, will be concentrating on all references to Antioch in Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History.

The Immensity of the Task

The mass of materials indicates that this must be a group project, including more personnel than the staff of this institute. We urge scholars in the USA and elsewhere to add their eyes to ours and to write about their intention to do so.

Please address such correspondence to:

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West Germany

S 68, The Physical Shape of Antioch and Daphne (literary evidence)
A 120

Robert L. Wilken
University of Notre Dame

The Chronographia of Johannes Malalas (6th century) and the writings of Libanius (4th century) are our chief literary sources for the physical shape of the city of Antioch in the Roman period. These works can be supplemented by the writings of John Chrysostom as well as incidental references in Roman historians (Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus), ecclesiastical historians (Evagrius, Theodoret), the geographer Strabo, et al. The evidence is quite abundant for public buildings, e.g. amphitheaters, colonnaded streets, baths, palaces, churches, but meager for private houses, shops, et al. In this report I cite some of the relevant data to give an impression of the type of information we have and the kind of picture it yields.

The classic description of Antioch is found in Libanius' Oration 11, Antiochos. "And now it is the proper time to describe the situation and size of the city, for I think that there can be found none of those which now exist which possesses such size with such a fair situation. Beginning from the east it stretches out straight to the west, extneding a double line of stoas. These are divided from each other by a street, open to the sky, which is paved over the whole of its width between the stoas. [as to why a street running roughly north-south would be described as running east-west, see Downey, Antioch, p. 609] . . . . Side streets begin from the stoas, some running to the north through the completely level area; the others, which run to the south toward the first slopes of the mountain, rise gently, extending the inhabited area to such a distance that it preserves harmony with the scheme of the remainder of the city but is not, by being raised too high, cut off from it." (11.196-198, trans. Downey, PAPS, 103, p. 675). This area, between the Orontes and Mt. Silpius, Libanius calls the "old city." The area on the island in the Orontes he calls the "new city," i.e. the section settled under Antiochus III (Or. 11.119). The new city is surrounded by a wall, it is dominated by a large palace, and five bridges cross from the old city to the island. In the old city "private houses are numerous but everywhere public buildings find a place among private ones, both temples and baths, at such a distance from each other that each section of the city has them near at hand for use and all of them have their entrances on the stoas." The city was large enough that public facilities were duplicated in various sections.

Libanius says that there was no central market and that markets were spread throughout the city (11.251). But what L. probably means is that buying and selling took place in shops throughout the city, because we know the city had at least two agorae. One was part of the original Hellenistic city near the river (Malalas, 200) and a second was in the new section, Epiphania, east of the main street and on the slope of the mountain (Malalas, 235-236; Downey, Excursus 11, Antioch, pp. 621ff).

Some of the houses of the rich were three-storied (Or. 11.224) and these were often alongside houses of the poor. In fact the poor complained that the height of the houses of the wealthy deprived their neighbors of sun. The wind, however, says Libanius was "democratic" and cooled all. "He [Zephyros, the west wind] does not stream only into the mansions of the rich and into houses of three stories, and remain suspended above lower houses and those which belong to the poor. . . ." Water was freely available throughout the city and the homes of the wealthy had fountains within which relieved the pressure on public fountains (11.246-7).

The original settlement of the city was along the East bank of the Orontes (Malalas, 200, 233). According to Strabo the first city was composed of four quarters (16.2.4). But he does not specify further except to say that some settlers came from Greek cities, Athens, Crete, Macedonia, Cyprus and that there was a native Syrian quarter. Jews, perhaps mercenaries from Seleucus' army, were among the first settlers, though Josephus' account seems untrustworthy (Contra Apionem 2.39; Ant. 12.119, Downey, p. 80). When the city was enlarged under Antiochus III he brought in other Greeks and settled them in a new quarter on the island (Or. 11.119).

By the time of Libanius the city was divided as follows: 1) The eastern section (tēn pros heō moiran oikountes), but really the northern or north-eastern part of the city. The north-south street was thought of as running east-west in Libanius' day (though its true direction is south-west/north-east). The people who live in this section complain that wheat is brought in through their quarter, i.e. through the eastern gate. 2) Western section, i.e. the southern or south-western section, near the gate leading to Daphne. The people living here are proud of the trees, cleanliness and proximity to Daphne. 3) Epiphania, the section on the east of the main street extending up the slope of Mt. Silpius. Those who live here boast of the breezes and the view of the city. 4) New city. 5) Center of the city. Libanius does not specify this area any more precisely, but it may have been near the forum of Valens. (Or. 11.250)

The population was also divided into eighteen tribes (phylai) (Or. 11.245; 15.76) as was common in the Eastern cities, but how one was assigned to these tribes we do not know. The division may in part have been geographical since tribes built their own baths, sometimes sponsored competitors in boxing matches, and erected statues to benefactors. "There is much contention among the members of the various tribes that each of the tribes possesses the finest baths." How significant the division into tribes or the larger geographical divisions in the minds of citizens of Antioch is difficult to say. In a discussion of subdivisions within the ancient city in his Roman Social Relations (1974) Ramsay MacMullen observes that such large divisions rarely aroused much loyalty. "A slum might be distinguishable in the minds of contemporaries, the better drained and cooler, higher parts of urban terrain might be monopolized by the houses of the rich; but the evidence for such sections adds up to little. Equally meaningless in terms of people's feelings were the fourteen precincts of the capital, the invention of Augustus, and the five alphabetical ones in Alexandria. Who after all would want to lay down his life for Letter B? Unless coincident with national origin--as with the Jews in their separate quarters or with immigrant colonists from Italy to a native center in the provinces--urban divisions that embraced many tens of thousands of inhabitants proved too large to be meaningful." (p. 67)

Trades were not localized but spread throughout the city, and when space for a workshop became available it would quickly be taken over. Often space between the stoas was turned into a shop "so that there is a workshop facing almost each one of the buildings. These are wooden huts, with brushwood for the roofs, and no space is without some handicraft; but if a man gets possession of a little strip of space, it at once becomes a tailor's shop or something of that order, and people cling to such places as they would to ropes. . . ." (11.254). In ancient cities it was common for trades to be localized, but our sources do not give us such information for Antioch (Liebeschuetz, Antioch, pp. 56-57). Malalas mentions a "street for sailors (Chron., 397), but we do not hear of areas named after, for example, jewelers, vintners, cobblers, muleteers, as elsewhere. MacMullen has collected much of this information (Roman Social Relations, 129-137) for Rome and a number of Eastern cities, but we can only surmise that the situation was similar. Libanius, however, suggests otherwise.

Chrysostom mentions a synagogue in Antioch (Hom. ad Iud. 1.6) and it seems that the Jewish section was located in the south-western part of the city, i.e. Epiphania (Malalas, 207; Kraeling, JBL, 51, p. 140; Petit, Libanius et la vie municipale [p. 126] places it west of the main street, Downey puts it on the east on the slope of Mt. Silpius [Plate 11]. There was also a Jewish synagogue in Daphne (Chrysostom, Hom. ad Iud. 1.6) indicating a Jewish settlement there. Malalas mentions a synagogue in Daphne from the time of Tiberius which was destroyed and replaced by a temple (Chron., 261). Temples were located throughout the city (see Downey, Antioch, passim, and index under specific gods and goddesses, e.g. Asclepius, Ares, Herakles, Zeus, et al.). In the fourth century Christian churches began to be as numerous as temples. Earlier there may have been a "house" church in Antioch, but its existence is doubtful and its location unknown (Ps. Clem Recog. 71; Downey, p. 284). The "great church," or octagonal church, the most prominent Christian building, was begun in C.E. 327 and dedicated in 341. (For the literary evidence see Eltester, "Die Kirchen Antiochias," ZNW 36, 254-5.)

The city described by Libanius is the fourth century city. The city was constantly changing. "The city is always filled with building activity; some buildings are torn down, some are half completed, and for still others the foundations have just been laid or are being excavated." (11.227) Areas which were considered fashionable in the fourth century were once on the fringes of the city and quite poor. For example, the main street was once a poor district and not paved until Roman times (Downey, Antioch, p. 178, on basis of archaeological evidence). The city had extended beyond its earliest site, first toward the mountain in the area of Epiphania, and then north and south, and finally to the island in the river. (For a survey of the building history see Downey, passim, under the various rulers, e.g. Pompey, 145ff., Caesar, 154, Augustus, 169, Domitian, 207, etc.; and the listing in Petit, pp. 315-316.)

The city was densely populated. "Each section (kath hekaston meros), whether you count over the regions outside the gates, or those just inside them, or the ones next to these, or whether you go to the center of the city and pass into the side streets and carry the search around into the farthest quarters, all of them are teeming with the same dense population; and the people who are going about in the midst of the city have all left the same number at home." (Or. 11.170) Most ancient cities were crowded, and the density of population combined with the warm Mediterranean climate, caused much of life to be lived outside. In the Mediterranean world the "street was [the] living room" notes MacMullen (p. 64). Life was lived in the open and was more public than we know it today. For this reason public space and facilities, which often took up one-fourth of the available space, were the more important for social intercourse, for "one of the most pleasing things in cities, and I might add one of the most useful is meetings and mixings with other people," says Libanius (Or. 11.213). Among such facilities the baths were perhaps the most important places where people came together. Antioch had five baths in the new city and many others spread throughout the old city (Petit, p. 223 and map, p. 127; Libanius, Or. 11.218-9).

The city constantly overflowed its boundaries. Houses were built outside the walls, forming new sections and the walls had to be extended. (Malalas, 346; Evagrius, H.E., 1.20) Those who lived in the "suburbs" were considered part of the city (Or. 11.231). In this connection Libanius discusses Daphne which was reached by the road leading south from the city. He calls it the "supremely beautiful Daphne," and the "golden final perfection" at the end of the road out of Antioch. "When a man sees this he cannot but cry out and leap for joy and skip and clap his hands and bless himself for seeing the sight, and so to speak, soar on wings from pleasure.

One thing from one side and one thing from another enchants and astonishes; one thing holds one, and another tears one away, and there pours upon the spectator's eyes an arresting brightness, the temple of Apollo, the temple of Zeus, the Olympic stadium, the theatre which furnishes every pleasure, the number and thickness and height of the cypresses, the shady paths, the choruses of singing birds, the even breeze, the odors sweeter than spices, the stately aqueducts, the vines trained to form banqueting halls--these are the gardens of Alcinous, the feast of Sicily, the horn of Amaltheia, a veritable Sybaris. . . . The place is so helpful to the body that, if you leave after even a brief stay, you will go away healthier than when you came; and if you were asked by what you were most pleased, you would be at a loss for an answer, for it is to such a degree as this that every pleasure in Daphne rivals every other pleasure. . . . If the gods ever really leave heaven and come to earth, I believe they must come together and hold their councils here, since they could not spend their time in a fairer place. The things which I have described are not of such a number that the supremeness of the beauty destroys the wonder of it because of the small number of the objects which share the beauty, as for example, in a place where there are only five houses, seven gardens, three hundred cypresses, and three baths; but these things in Daphne are fair as such things are nowhere else, and they surpass other things in number and size even more than in beauty." (Or. 11.236ff.)

Daphne was a place of leisure and relaxation as well as a place to live. Wealthy citizens owned villas in Daphne (Libanius, Ep. 660, Liebeschuetz, p. 51) and would retire there to flee the heat of Antioch. Students would spend the summer in Daphne (Libanius, Ep. 419). It had a reputation as a place of pleasure, but already in the hellenistic period it became a regular town where people lived permanently. Malalas says that Iamblichus the philosopher lived in Daphne (Chron., 312). From early times it had a stadium for athletic games (Livy, 33.49; Polybius, 30.25-27) and in Roman times games continued to be held there. Diocletian rebuilt the stadium and dedicated the games to Zeus as part of his religious revival.

Daphne was also a place for religion. It was sacred to Apollo and a temple and statue of Apollo stood in the suburb (Or. 11.94; Philostratus, Apollonius of Tyana, 1.16). Other temples, e.g. to Zeus and Artemis (Malalas, 277), stood there. As noted earlier there are references to at least two synagogues at different times in Daphne. And Christians began early to establish cult centers there as well. The remains of the martyr Babylas were buried in Antioch and a chapel constructed. When Julian visited the temple of Apollo to consult the oracle, it remained silent. Consequently he ordered the Christians to return the remains of Babylas to Antioch, which they did; but soon afterward the temple of Apollo burned (Sozomen, H.E. 5.19; Ammianus Marcellinus, 22.13.1-5; Libanius, 61.3). Crysostom warns about the temple of Apollo in Daphne and the Matrona shrine there (Hom. ad Iud. 1.6; in Ep. Tim. 3.2). To counteract the power of the pagan temples in Daphne the Christians built several churches there (list in Downey, pp. 658ff.)

As noted in the introduction to this report our most extensive information comes from the fourth century writings of Libanius and the 6th century chronicle of Malalas. Each has limitations. Libanius, a native, was a member of the learned and privileged class, who wished to present Antioch in the most favorable light. Malalas, also from Antioch, is uncritical and sometimes confusing. Yet both Libanius and Malalas had sources unavailable to us and give us much historical information about the growth of the city. In the descriptions of the contemporary city, Libanius and Chrysostom were addressing people who knew the city. Except for Libanius' Antiochos much of what they say comes in offhand comments about familiar places met every day by citizens. And even in the Antiochos which does give us an ideal

picture, it must be remembered that Libanius was addressing people who knew the city. He could not stretch his description beyond what would be believable to the inhabitants. On such matters, however, as the relation of various parts of the city to one another, or separate sections or quarters for ethnic groups, as suggested by Strabo, it may be that Libanius, in his attempt to present the city as a harmonious whole, underplays such divisions. Which is to say the obvious: we must use these sources critically and complement them with other information, particularly from the archaeological excavations of the last several generations. In general, however, the literary evidence gives us a picture not only of the physical shape of the city of Antioch during the Roman period but a sense of how it was thought of by its inhabitants (albeit those viewing it from the upper strata of society).

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EARLY SYRIAC INSCRIPTIONS IN AND AROUND ANTIOCH

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Duke University

G. Downey in his A History of Antioch in Syria mentions the Syriac language only in connection with the emergence of the Monophysites under the leadership of Jacob Baradaeus (c. 500-578).[1] A discussion of the extent to which Syriac was spoken in Antioch would have been appropriate when Downey discussed Ignatius' self-designation as τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας (Rom. 2:2) and Palut's consecration as Bishop of Edessa by Serapion.[2]

Was Antioch a bilingual city, containing large communities of Greek and Syriac-speaking residents? Are we justified in perceiving with T. Nöldeke and M. Black a city with Syriac flourishing along with Greek?[3] Were there centuries in which Greek then Syriac dominated, perhaps Greek following the foundation of the city by Seleucus Nicator and Syriac around the sixth century A.D.? The purpose of the present study is to examine the pervasive assumption that Antioch was a bilingual city by studing the evidence for Syriac in and around Antioch during the origins of Christianity. The goal will not be a better understanding of early Syriac but an examination of how this data informs us of the cultural and sociological matrix of early Christianity in and around Antioch.

The research is hindered by the lack of a convenient collection of Syriac inscriptions comparable to L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde's Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, and H. W. Waddington's Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie. Moreover, early Syriac inscriptions are not included in the collections of Aramaic data compiled by G.A. Cooke, H. Donner and W. Röllig, and J.J. Koopman; and they are often ignored in surveys of epigraphic sources.[4] H.J.W. Drijvers' Old-Syriac (Edessean) Inscriptions[5] is, therefore, a significant first step towards a corpus of all known Syriac inscriptions arranged chronologically.

In the following pages two common fallacies will be dismissed by a study of the earliest Syriac inscriptions; then the early inscriptions will be evaluated for their importance toward understanding the cultural ambiance of Antioch.

Two Common Fallacies

Dismissed by a study of the early Syriac inscriptions is the fallacy that Syriac is a late second-century phenomenon. This misunderstanding is frequently found in scholarly publications[6] and is the impression given to some readers of the "introduction" to T.H. Robinson's widely used Syriac Grammar.

The Birecik inscription, discovered by F. Cumont in 1907,[7] should be dated to A.D. 6 (see fig. 1).[8] The first line refers to the month of Adar in the year 317 which corresponds to March or April, A.D. 6, and the second line introduces the author Zarbiyan, who was a commander during the time of Manu IV, who reigned at the turn of the era. The inscription of Serrin is dated to A.D. 73 because the first line contains a reference to the month of the former Teshri of the year 385, which denotes

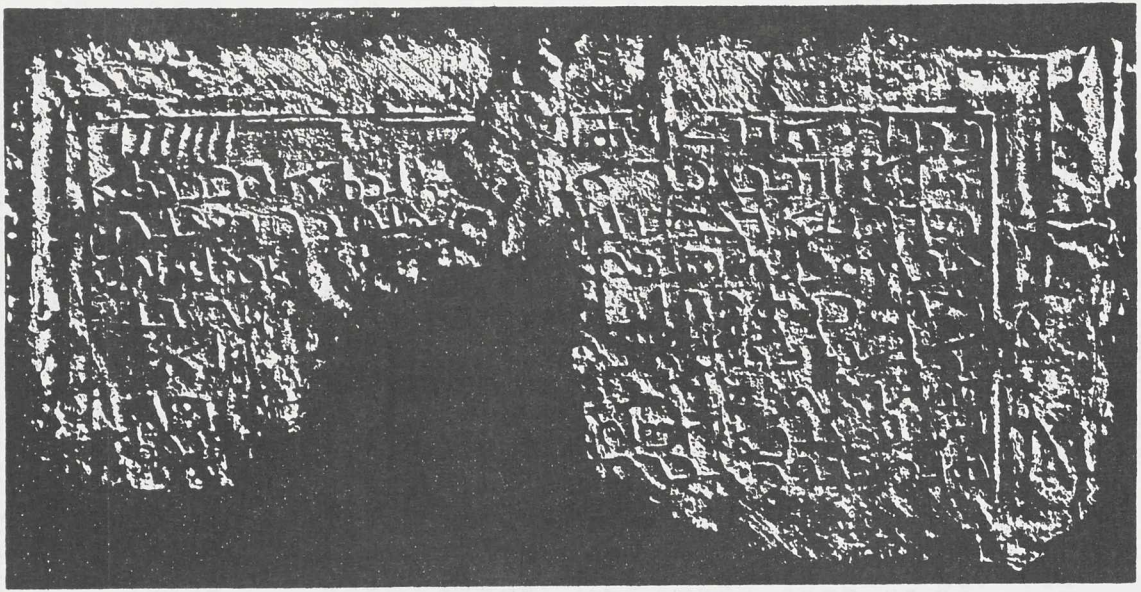


Fig. 1

Birecik Inscription

October, A.D. 73. These two inscriptions demonstrate that Syriac was written in the first century A.D., if not earlier.

Research upon Syriac inscriptions also diminishes the paradigmatic distinctions between Aramaic and Syriac. The orthography of the Birecik inscription is neither identical with the earliest Syriac script, Estrangela, nor with the ancient square Aramaic script (see fig. 1).[9] While ʾĀlaph, Gāmal, Dālath, Hē, Waw, Zain, Lāmadh, Mīm, Nūn, Semkath, ʿĒ, Rēš, and Taw are Estrangela; Bēth, Ḥēth, Yūdh, and Šīn are reminiscent of Aramaic. Two letters are especially significant; the Hē[10] is quite unlike the square script resembling the Hē of the early Syriac documents, especially Cod. Syr. 1 of the Public Library in Leningrad which was copied in A.D. 462.[11] The bottom right of the Bēth, however, is not always curved, as in Estrangela, but protrudes occasionally to the right (e.g. lines 2, 3, 4; similarly the Bēth in Littmann 22) in a fashion reminiscent of the Herodian script at Qumran. Another significant feature of this and other early Syriac inscriptions is that the consonants are separated, as in Aramaic, and not connected, as in Estrangela.

Most importantly for showing the close relationship between Aramaic and Syriac is the morphology of the imperfect third person masculine singular and plural. Most of the Syriac inscriptions do not have the familiar preformative Nūn but the "Aramaic" Yūdh. For example, the Birecik inscription contains DY'T', "who should enter"; WYḤZ', "and should watch"; WYŠBḤ,

Antiochene Inscriptions

Are there Antiochene Syriac inscriptions? The mosaics found in and near Antioch do not contain Syriac inscriptions. Their absence is significant since there are many Antiochene mosaics with Latin and Greek inscriptions[12] and because the Edessene mosaics frequently contain Syriac inscriptions.[13]

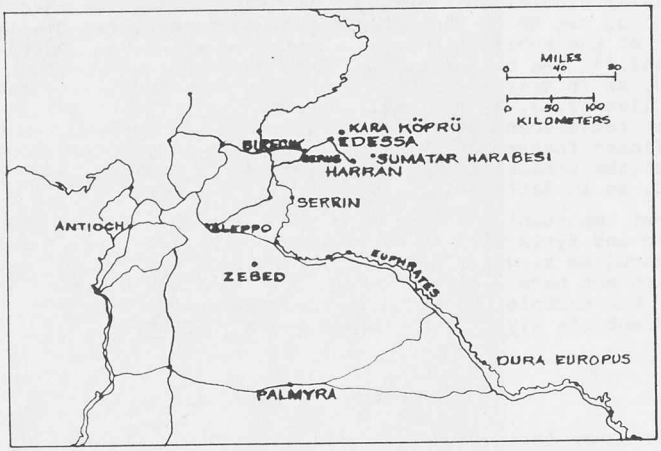
In 1907, H. Pognon published 118 inscriptions of which almost all were Syriac.[14] Six of these Syriac inscriptions date from the fourth or third centuries (15, 83, 87, 88, 89, 90), four from the third (36, 37, 38, 39), five from the third or second (44, 45, 46, 48, 118), three from the fourth through the first (40, 41, 43),[15] ten from the second (3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12), one from the second or first (47), two before the third and possibly pre-Christian (49,50),[16] and two before the Christian era (57, 58).[17] None of these early Syriac inscriptions, however, comes from or is near Antioch.

In 1972, H.J.W. Drijvers published 68 ancient Syriac inscriptions of which five were previously unpublished. None of these, however, are Antiochene.

Four coins with Syriac inscriptions have been found.[18] All are from the latter half of the second century A.D., but come from Edessa bearing the name of an Edessene king.

The answer to our previous question has become clear, although it appears incredible. None of the known pre-fourth century Syriac inscriptions comes from or is near Antioch. All ancient Syriac inscriptions are found in or within a radius of 50 miles or 80 kilometers of Edessa.[19] The geographical distribution of the early Syriac inscriptions is best represented by the enclosed map.

The map clarifies that none of the above mentioned Syriac inscriptions was found within 120 miles or 185 kilometers of Antioch. Even if Pognon's 83rd inscription, which he dates to the



Map of Pre-Fourth Century Inscriptions

Kara Köprü	4 Inscriptions
Edessa	31 Inscriptions
Birecik	1 Inscription
Sumatar Harabesi	28 Inscriptions
Harran	1 Inscription
Serrin	1 Inscription
Aleppo	1 (Pognon 83 -- 4th cent. ?)

fourth century[20] and was found at Aleppo, is included, the Syriac inscription closest to Antioch is 60 miles or 90 kilometers away.

Early Antiochene Culture

Focusing only upon inscriptions found in or near Antioch would lead us to conclude that if Antioch was bilingual, the languages were Greek and Latin. Prentice's five earliest inscriptions are all Greek dating from A.D. 70-119 and were found within 30 miles of Antioch (at Palmyra, Djebel Shêkh Berekât in the Djebel Ḥalakah, and ʿĀmûd Sermedā in the Plain of Dânā). After the 1932 excavation at Antioch, G.W. Elderkin was surprised by the lack of inscriptions: "Inscriptions at Antioch are apparently as rare below ground as they are above."[21] The six Greek inscriptions he published were all late; the earliest (no. 6) is from the late fourth or early fifth century. One of the three Latin inscriptions he published, the first, was dated to the first century A.D.

The campaigns of 1933-1936 and 1937-39 yielded an additional 236 Greek and Latin inscriptions, which were published by G. Downey.[22] Since Elderkin's statement there is ample evidence of inscriptions in and near Antioch; none of these, however, has been in Syriac. It is significant, moreover, that bilingual inscriptions in Syria have been found only to the east of Antioch, in Greek and Latin[23] and in Greek and Syriac.[24]

Why have no Syriac inscriptions been found within 60 miles of Antioch? Four answers might be given to the question.

First, it could be suggested that Syriac was foreign to Antioch. This answer reveals the limitation of one perspective only and must be dismissed immediately as simplistic and inaccurate. Other phenomena must be considered.

No Aramaic or Hebrew inscriptions have been found at Antioch,[25] but this negative evidence is certainly no index of the use of Semitic languages there. The Greek and Latin inscriptions are scarce and usually fragmentary; most of those published by Elderkin and Downey are so worn as to prohibit the restoration of even one or two words. The discovery of Syriac inscriptions within 60 miles or 90 kilometers of Antioch is significant evidence of Syriac-speaking communities contiguous with, if not within, the capital. Likewise, the preservation of a mere 68 or 69 ancient Syriac inscriptions is scarcely indicative of the original number or extent.

Syriac-speaking Christians surrounded Antioch, and perhaps lived within one of the quarters of the city itself. In A.D. 387 John Chrysostom (c. 347-407) mentioned with appreciation that the Syriac-speaking farmers around Antioch preserved the simple virtues and were uncontaminated by the Greek metropolitan culture.[26] By the fourth century, at least, Antioch, although seldom influenced by them, was bounded on the north, east and south by hundreds of monastic communities, the monks of which could speak only Syriac, according to Theodoret of Cyrus.[27] Noteworthy also for an understanding of the cosmopolitan nature of Antioch is the fact that few of the monks from Apamea signed their letter of A.D. 518 to the episcopacy in Antioch in Greek; most signed it in Syriac.[28]

Second, a possible answer might be that Syriac did not begin to flourish in the area until the sixth century. This explanation could take its cue from Littmann's question, "What historical reason could explain the fact that during the sixth century the inhabitants of Northern Central Syria began to make more use of their native language in their inscriptions?"[29] This explanation most likely would appeal to the emergence of Palestinian

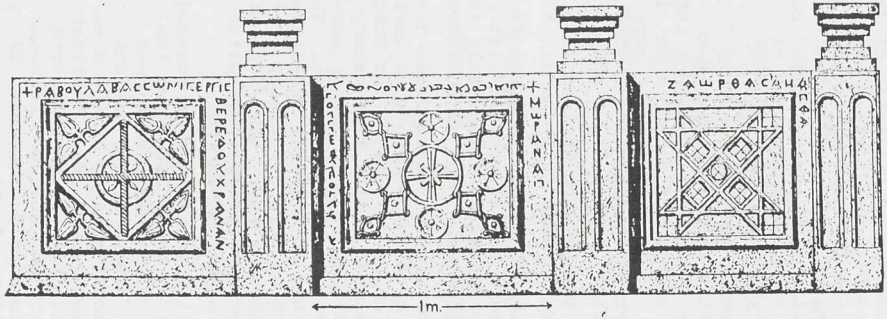


Fig. 2

The Syriac and Greek Inscriptions on the Church Parapet at Zebed

Syriac, the so-called Christian Palestinian Aramaic, after the fourth century A.D.[30]

This answer, however, is now unconvincing. After Littmann's publication first-century inscriptions were found at Birecik and Serrin, and no Syriac inscriptions from any century, not even the sixth, have been found at or around Antioch. Regardless of the unattractive nature of this answer, we must be careful not to read the popularity of later Syriac into the first four centuries.

Third, it could be argued that there were Syriac inscriptions but these were destroyed by wars, earthquakes, fires, or the elements. Prior to being destroyed by the Persians in the sixth century, the city was burned and plundered in 145 B.C., besieged in 112 B.C. by Antiochus VIII and in 51 B.C. by the Parthians, and captured in A.D. 256 and 260 by Sapor I. There were earthquakes around 148 and 130 B.C., sometime between 83 and 69 B.C., and in A.D. 37, 115, 341, 365, and 396. The city was destroyed by fire at least five times prior to the fifth century. Finally, unlike Egypt, Syria does not possess a climate that preserves antiquities. Extant data of early Syrian culture are exiguous.

Fourth, a probable answer is that the Syriac-speaking communities either did not make inscriptions or made them in Greek or Latin, according to a fixed custom.[31] One must wonder if the indigenous population was too poor to afford inscriptions or considered the practice an unattractive aspect of the polis. This answer could be supported, at least among the Syriac-speaking Christians, by the abundant evidence of their disdain for wealth and urban Greek culture,[32] and by the recognition that many of the Antiochene Greek and Latin, and Edessene Syriac inscriptions are placed within expensive mosaics or attached to monumental buildings.

For a perception of the development of early Christianity within and near Antioch, it is imperative to observe that all pre-fourth-century Syriac inscriptions are pagan.[33] The earliest Syriac inscriptions that are Christian are the Arah inscription (Pognon 15) found near Samosata from the fourth century[34] (...)[35] and the three inscriptions on the parapet of a church in Zebed (Littmann 22, 23, 24) also from the fourth century (see fig. 2):

Littmann 22

(1 [37]
Ara[36] Rabula made the throne

(2 [38]
His remembrance remains fixed for a blessing.

(3 ΜΩΡΑΝΑΣ
Moranas[39]

Littmann 23

(1 ΡΑΒΟΥΛΑ ΒΑΣΣΩΝΙ[Σ].[40] ΣΕΡΓΙ
Rabula son of Bassonis. Sergius[41]

(2 ΒΕΡΕ[Χ][42] ΔΟΥΧΡΑΝΑΝ
has blessed our remembrance.

Littmann 24

ZAΩPΘA ΣAMAΣΘA
Zaōrtha the deaconess.

The last two inscriptions are transliterations of Syriac into Greek. It is important to note the pronunciation of Syriac in the fourth century: ûi was ou (Raboula, douchranan), b^{e}rekh was berech,[43] spirantization was observed (berech, Zaōrtha, Samastha),[44] and double consonants sometimes articulated (Bassōnī[s]).[45]

As we attempt to evaluate the cultural importance of Syriac inscriptions, it would be wise to consider the relationship between inscriptions and colophons. It appears that they sometimes exhibit a common form which could be called a Gattung of personal memorial occasionally analogous to the genre of testaments in the pseudepigrapha.[46] Features of this Gattung might be (i) praise to God or the Trinity, (ii) mention of the year (of completion of a building, transcription, or text), (iii) mention of contemporaries dear to the writer with special emphasis on allegiance, (iv) request for prayers or blessing, and (v) writer's name.[47] Additional features of colophons are the place of writing and confession of humility, unnecessary or inappropriate in inscriptions.

The form of inscriptions can be further divided into plaques memorializing the completion of a building and memorials on a tomb. An example of the former is the fifth-century Bassoufan inscription (Pognon 21):

I. Praise to our Lord. Let there be a good memorial to the visiting priest Damian who founded this sanctuary for Mar Phocas. We began the construction in the year 540 and we completed (it) in the year 544. The deacon Daniel was [the head of] his community. May their memorial be a blessing.

Another example is the twelth-century inscription from the Convent of Saint Abḥaï, on the Euphrates (Pognon 64):

II. For the hono[r] and the glorifica[tion of the] Hol[y Trinity], identic[al] in es[sen]ce, the Father, and the S[o]n, and the Holy Spriit...the [wa]ll was construct[ed]...in the da[ys] of [Mar] Michael the patriar[ch], and Mar Mark by the care of David, head of the monastery, and Bûssâ(?)...and Basil the steward, and all of the holy brothers in the year 1492. May the reader [pr]ay (for them).

A good example of a memorial on a tomb is the twelfth-century inscription from Hah in Tur-Abdin (Pognon 65):

III. Zebedee, priest and head of the church, has left this world and returned to his Lord on Monday, 22 November, in the year 1447 of the Greeks. May all who read (this) ask for the absolution (of his sins).
⁘ Abraham the engraver.

Another example is the fifteenth-century Karakoche inscription:[48]

IV. ...and the one who resurrects the dead, our illustrious and blessed father the metropolitan, Basillius, has departed from this earthly world and has gone to the spiritual world in the year 1798 in the era of Alexander in the month of December. May all who read this commemorative inscription say "O merci[ful] Lord [par]don his faults."

An example of a colophon is the one from the sixteenth-century which concludes Syriac Manuscript 7 in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester:[49]

A. (Here) ends this holy book of the Psalms of David, the King and Prophet, in the Syriac language, in the year 1519 from the birth of our Lord Jesus Messiah, in the month Teshrîn ʾḥrāyâ (November), the 15th day, the day of preparation (Friday) at (147r) the third hour, by my hands, a poor and sinful man, a drunkard and frail (one), and dust of roads, and dung of every man. He is not worthy to write his name in the book because of the multitude of his sins.

(Nevertheless, he is) in name Elijah, son of Abraham, disciple of Mar Peter, Patriarch (147v) of the Maronites who reside in the seat of Antioch on sacred Mount Lebanon in the region of Syria in the blessed monastery of the Holy Lady Mary, which is called ʾQenôbîn' (κοινόβιον). (May) her prayer (be) with us. Amen.

It was copied in the city Rome in the holy monastery of Lady Mary which is called (148r) 'Peace,' in the days of the Holy Fathers, and true pastors, and teachers of the Holy Church of the blessed Pope Mar Leo X.

And I a wretched one seek from God, Lord of heaven and earth: 'Guard his life from the Evil One and his forces; and give to him victory over his enemies (148v) in this world and in the next world, (and) a dwelling for him in the kingdom of heaven with all the Saints. Amen; through the prayer of Mary, the Mother of God, and all the Saints. Amen.' And (let) every Father or Brother or Teacher who reads this book say 'Amen, O Lord, guard the life (149r) of Mar Peter Patriarch of the Maronites, and (give) to him a dwelling in the kingdom of heaven with all the Saints. Amen.'

Also (guard) him (who is) chaste, and pure, modest, holy, and innocent, ambassador of the great King Immanuel, King of Portugal with Pope Mar Leo (149v) X, in name Mar Michael, Son of Mar Didasi (fr. διδάσκαλος?) of Silva, governor in the region of Portugal.

And I a wretched one seek from the Lord of heaven and earth: 'Guard his life from the Evil One and his forces; and give to him victory over his enemies in this world and (150r) in the next world, (and) a dwelling for him in the kingdom of heaven with all the upright and righteous, through the prayer of the Mother of God, Mary and all the Saints. Amen.' And (let) every Father or Brother or Teacher who reads this book ask for him (the scribe) mercy from God. Amen.

(150v) And I a wretched one seek from every Father or Brother or Teacher who reads this holy book and finds in it a mistake or letter or grammatical point or affirmative, (please) correct it as you know it and do not blame me because I am no scribe, nor lector, (151r) nor teacher, but little of intellect and knowledge. But pray for me for our Lord's sake, and everyone according to his prayer shall be rewarded; and every creature is incomplete, and none is perfect, except God. I am a worm and not a man, a shame of men and an abomination of people.

In the inscriptions and colophon just cited we find further evidence that any profile of Antiochene culture must allow for the perception of the indigenous populace, especially the Christians, that the earth is to be denigrated in favor of the normative, heavenly world. Apparently asceticism permeated Syrian

Christianity, represented in the self-debasement emphasized repeatedly above and exaggerated by the mortifications of Symeon Stylites,[50] who spent his last years in the fifth century at Telneshin, only 30 miles or 50 kilometers east of Antioch.

Conclusion

The absence of Antiochene Syriac inscriptions is only partly because the Syriac language tended to ebb away from Antioch, the Greco-Roman city in the Middle East.[51] It is possible that Syriac inscriptions crumbled beyond recognition due to frequent wars, earthquakes, fires and the erosion from inclement weather. But the preservation of some, though few, Greek and Latin inscriptions indicates that inscriptions could survive; hence it is probable that the Syriac-speaking communities near, and perhaps in, Antioch were small, were too poor to afford inscriptions, and may have disdained them as an unattractive aspect of Greek culture. This explanation is probable because of the abundant evidence for self-imposed poverty and anti-Hellenism among Syriac Christians, and because all ancient Syriac inscriptions are pagan.

In retrospect, it appears that Antioch was a trilingual city, with Greek and Latin the languages of the metropolitan hub and Syriac the speech of the rural areas; a similar division also seems evident between the upper and middle classes and the lower class.

The discovery of Syriac inscriptions and coins in and near Edessa poses the question of the differences between Antioch and Edessa.[52] We must reject Nöldeke's claim that in contrast to Edessa Antioch is "semi-Greek" and M. Black's picture of Antioch as a center in which "Syriac was widely spoken and written."[53] But, are we justified in concluding that Antioch is a Greek-speaking city in a Syriac milieu?

In prospect, our understanding of Antiochene Syriac-speaking communities will be furthered by an examination of early colophons in Syriac manuscripts copied in that area, by research upon the origins of the 49 known monasteries and anchorite dwellings within approximately 40 miles or 60 kilometers of Antioch,[54] and by a synthesis of early Syriac (Aramaic) compositions that may come from this area such as the Sinaitic Palimpsest; some of the Semitic portions of Matthew, the Didache, and John; the Odes of Solomon; and the Hymn of the Pearl.

It would also be good to know if one of the quarters[55] of Antioch was occupied primarily by a Syriac-speaking group or whether the indigenous population permeated all sectors. An examination of the Syrian motifs and architectural remains exposed by the archaeological excavations could inform us on this matter.

This essay, however, neither verifies nor vitiates C.H. Kraeling's hypothesis that in the first century A.D. there were at least three Jewish communities,[56] southwest, east, and within Antioch, and that early Christianity localized in the extreme eastern section of the city.[57] It also fails to substantiate or weaken A.H.M. Jones' and V. Corwin's attractive supposition that the native population was in the second quarter.[58]

If we follow Strabo, as has Jones, then the Kulturkampf would be, most likely, between the second and the other quarters. However, we cannot be certain that all quarters, except the second, consisted essentially of non-Semitic emigrants, although Strabo's mention τῶν οἰκητόρων in the second quarter probably denotes the indigenous folk and not colonists.[59]

The impression left by the preceding research is a picture of small, if any, communities of Syriac-speaking natives, who could have spoken at least some Greek, within the city, except for the second quarter which appears predominantly Syrian in culture, and a surrounding sea of Syriac-speaking villagers frequently tiding over the banks of the metropolitan island. Evidence of Syriac-speaking Christians is more precise: the rural farmers remained distant from Greek culture, as we learned from John Chrysostom; and visiting monks from nearby monasteries needed an interpreter to translate their Syriac into Greek, as we perceived from Theodoret.

NOTES

1. A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest (Princeton, N.J., 1961), p. 534.

2. Ibid., p. 304.

3. T. Nöldeke, Compendious Syriac Grammar, trans. J.A. Crichton (London, 1904), p. xxxii. M. Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts[3] (Oxford, 1967), pp. 15-17.

4. E.g., M. Avi-Yonah's contribution in The Jewish People in the First Century, eds. S. Safrai, et al. (Assen, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 55-62.

5. (SemStSer NS 3; Leiden, 1972).

6. One of the most admired and respected Semitists, J.A. Fitzmyer, has written recently that Syriac is "a form of Aramaic that emerges toward the beginning of the third century A.D." ("The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.," CBQ 32 [1970], p. 525).

7. F. Cumont, Études Syriennes (Paris, 1917), pp. 144-50.

8. For a bibliography on the inscriptions from Birecik and Serrin, see Drijvers, Old-Syriac (Edessean) Inscriptions, pp. 1-3.

9. For a detailed discussion, see the recent articles by J. Pirenne ("Aux origines de la graphie syriaque," Syria 40 [1963], pp. 101-37) and K. Beyer ("Der reichsaramäische Einschlag in der ältesten syrischen Literatur," ZDMG 116 [1966], pp. 242-54).

10. See lines 6, 7, and 9. The Hē has a diagonal right foot and a left foot that curves inward touching the horizontal line: . This form should be contrasted to the unique Hē with a closed right foot, , in Littmann's No. 21, which is from Mektebeh and dated by the corresponding Greek inscription to A.D. 508/9.

11. See facsimile in W.H.P. Hatch, An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts (Boston, Mass., 1946), plate III, esp. lines 13, 17, 21, and 25 in the right column and lines 1 and 18 in the left. The earliest dated Syriac manuscript bears the date A.D. 411. "This is probably the earliest dated codex in any language that is still extant." (Hatch, p. 52).

12. See C.R. Morey's The Mosaics of Antioch (London, New York, 1938) and Early Christian Art (Princeton, London, 1953); and D. Levi's Antioch Mosaic Pavements, 2 vols. (Princeton, London-London, 1947; esp. see vol. 1, pp. 627-29). Only Greek inscriptions, though numerous, are found in the beautiful mosaics published by M.H. Chéhab (Mosaiques du Liban, Planches; Paris, 1959).

13. See especially J. Leroy's "Mosaiques funéraires d'Édesse," Syria 34 (1957), pp. 306-42; plates xxi, xxii.

14. H. Pognon, Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul (Paris, 1907). E. Littmann earlier published his Semitic Inscriptions (Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900, part 4; New York, 1904) which reported 24 Syriac inscriptions, the earliest of which are from the fourth century and are found at Zebed (Nos. 22, 23, 24; see our fig. 2). The dates reported are Pognon's.

15. These three are Jewish, quasi Syriac, and in the square script.

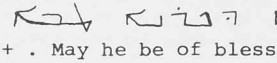
16. Pognon (p. 90) thought these two could even be pre-Christian, "antérieures à l'ère chrétienne."

17. The inscription of No. 57 is written in Greek and Syriac. See Planche XXVI in Pognon. Of inscriptions 57 and 58 Pognon reported, "ces inscriptions sont probablement les plus anciennes de toutes les inscriptions syriaques connues jusqu'à ce jour, et je les crois antérieures à l'ère chrétienne." (pp. 104f.) J.B. Segal ("Some Syriac Inscriptions of the 2nd-3rd Century A.D.," BSOAS 16 [1954], p. 31 n. 1), E. Jenni ("Die altsyrischen Inschriften 1.-3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.," TZ 21 [1965], p. 373), H.J.W. Drijvers (Old-Syriac (Edessean) Inscriptions, p. x), and others have excluded these inscriptions because their script is closer to the Palmyrene inscriptions. Pognon's Numbers 60 and 61, it should be noted, are in Aramaic and date from c. 200-150 B.C.

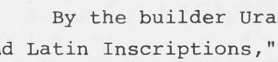
18. These inscriptions are re-edited with bibliographical notes by Drijvers, pp. 58f. For a general discussion of the right of coinage in Syria, see A.H.M. Jones, The Cities of the Eastern-Roman Provinces[2] (Oxford, 1971), pp. 249-52.

19. This discovery, I now note, was made earlier by E. Jenni (p. 374): "Dann aber ergibt sich, dass sämtliche bis jetzt bekannten altsyrischen Inschriften aus dem Gebiet im Umkreis von bis zu 80 km Entfernung von Edessa stammen."

20. Pognon (p. 147): "Il est certain néanmoins que l'enfant pour lequel le sarcophage a été fait était chrétien, comme le prouve la croix tracée avant la première lettre; l'inscription me paraît donc être de l'époque de Constantin ou d'un de ses premiers successeurs, et je la crois du iv[e] siècle." Here is Pognon's transcription:



\+ . May he be of blessed memory.



By the builder Uranius.

21. G. W. Elderkin, "Greek and Latin Inscriptions," Antioch-on-the-Orontes, ed. G. W. Elderkin (Princeton, N.J., 1934), vol. 1, p. 52.

22. G. Downey, "Greek and Latin Inscriptions," Antioch-on-the-Orontes, ed. R. Stillwell (Princeton, N.J., 1938), vol. 2, pp. 148-65. G. Downey, "Greek and Latin Inscriptions," Antioch-on-the-Orontes, ed. R. Stillwell (Princeton, N.J., 1941), vol. 3, pp. 83-115.

23. No bilingual inscriptions were found at Antioch. The earliest Greek and Latin inscription extant is that on the Kāṭûrā tomb in the Ḏjebel Ḥalaḳah, dated by Prentice to the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D. (W.K. Prentice, Greek and Latin inscriptions [Am. Arch. Exped. to Syria in 1800-1900, part 3; New York, 1908], pp. 127-29). A trilingual inscription, in Syriac, Greek, and Arabic, dated to A. D. 512 was found at Zebed.

24. See Littmann's Nos. 10, 17, 21, 22, and 23. No. 24 dates from the second half of the fourth century and was found at Zebed, less than 90 miles or 140 kilometers from Antioch (see map, fig. 2, and discussion below). Also see Pognon 57 (see note 17 above).

25. There is abundant evidence of Aramaic not far from Antioch, but the inscriptions predate the founding of this city by Nicator c. 300 B.C.

26. John Chrysostom, Homiliae de statuis XIX, col 188: "For I think we have an important festival today, on account of the presence of our brothers, those who beautify our city and embellish the Church. While these are a people at variance with us in language (λαὸς κατὰ μὲν τὴν (ἰδίαν) γλῶτταν ἡμῖν ἐνηλλαγμένος), they are in harmony with us in faith; a people living in tranquility, having a chaste and honorable life."

27. Theodoret mentions that when monks came into the city in the fourth century in order to talk to the representatives of the emperor they spoke in Syriac, which was translated into Greek by an interpreter. (Historia religiosa XIII) I am indebted to A. Vööbus (History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient [CSCO 197, Sub. 17; Louvain, 1960], vol. 2, p. 122) for this reference.

28. See A. Vööbus, History of Asceticism, vol. 2, pp. 18f.

29. Littmann, Semitic Inscriptions, p. 4.

30. See F. Rosenthal, "Das Christlich-Palästinensische," Die Aramaistische Forschung (Leiden, 1939, repr. 1964), pp. 144-59.

31. This explanation could be supported by the observation that outside the churches only one clearly Christian mosaic was discovered, as Downey writes, "the Hellenic tradition persisted in the floor decorations" of Christian houses. (History, p. 34)

32. E.g., John Chrysostom, Homilia XIX, cols. 189-90. A.H.M. Jones (Cities,[2] p. 294) contends that "the only effect of the foundation of cities was the creation of a wealthy landlord class which gradually stamped out peasant proprietorship. Culturally the country-side remained utterly unaffected by the Hellenism of the cities; the peasants continued to speak Syriac down to the Arab conquest."

33. This point is made repeatedly by Drijvers, Old-Syriac (Edessean) Inscriptions, pp. vii, xv. Drijvers subsequently claims, in a statement which is clearly a non sequitur although it is perceptive in its own right, that pagan influences upon the early Syrian church must be taken more seriously. (p. xvi)

34. Pognon wrote, "je crois que l'inscription n° 15 date du règne de Constantin ou d'un de ses premiers successeurs; je n'oserais pas l'affirmer, mais il me paraît très probable qu'elle n'est pas postérieure au iv^e siècle." (Inscriptions sémitiques, p. 51)

35. See Pognon, Inscriptions sémitiques, p. 51, plates VI and XVI.

36. Littmann: "AR(D)A" (p. 47), but the form is like the first consonant in ܐܪܥܐ and unlike the last in ܕܒܪ. I have added the diacritical points.

37. This nota accusativi is rare. See Littmann (p. 48) and Nöldeke (Compendious Syriac Grammar, pp. 226f.).

38. Littmann (pp. 47f.) read ܠܕ which is meaningless. The Taw here is similar, except for the vertical script, to the Taw in the last word (see fig. 2). Accordingly, the form is a verb, in the perfect 3 ms, and denotes "it remains fixed." The position of the verb should cause no difficulties; it is also second in line 1, and unlike some Semitic languages Syriac has no preference, placing the verb first, second, or even last among the principal elements in a verbal sentence (see Nöldeke 324). Littmann (p. 47): "AR(D)A

Rabūlā made the throne. His memory be forever (?) blessed! Moranas (the stone-cutter)." [His punctuations.]

39. This name probably refers to the engraver. The acceptable Syriac but imperfect Greek indicates Moranes spoke Syriac, and could be an indication of the thin veneer of Greek culture over the indigenous Syriac culture.

40. Error due to haplography of one of the two contiguous Σ.

41. Sergius, as Littmann (p. 56) states, was a popular saint in Syria who was martyred around A.D. 300 at ar-Ruṣâfah (Sergiopolis) near Zebed. He is not to be confused with the names listed in The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church[2] (eds. F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone; London, New York, 974).

42. Another example of haplography. Also see note 37.

43. The Pael perfect or imperative might have been expected: barrekh (so Littmann, pp. 52-54, "O Sergius, bless our memory!"). But the meanings of ܒܪܟ in the Peal, "to bend the knee," have always been closely associated with "to bless" as indicated by the Peal passive participle in Aramaic and Syriac: "blessed." Dalman (p. 65) even records this meaning for the Peal, "segnen."

44. Strictly transliterated, Samastha should be Shammāsh^{e}thâ.

45. Littmann thought otherwise. His position would have been strengthened by observing that Samastha is a noun derived from Pael of ܣܡܣ. Cf. שַׁמָּשׁ.

46. This genre is beginning to attract attention. See J. Becker, Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen (AGSU 8; Leiden, 1970), pp. 157f. On February 13, 1975, Becker wrote me that his announced "Monographie über die Gattung des literarischen Testaments ist leider immer noch nicht fertig und wird auch wegen anderer Verlagsverpflichtungen in Kürze nicht fertig werden."

47. Feature (i) is found in examples I and II; (ii) in I, II, III, IV, and A; (iii) in I, II, and A; (iv) in I, II, III, IV, and A; (v) in III and A.

48. Unnumbered, but geographically related to Pognon 74. See Pognon, Inscriptions sémitiques, p. 130.

49. This long redundant colophon was composed in Syriac and Latin and is on folios 146v-151r. Foliation is indicated within parentheses.

50. See the excellent discussions of Symeon Stylites and important bibliographical information in Vööbus, History of Asceticism, vol. 2, pp. 208-23, and in Downey, History, pp. 459-61.

51. C.R. Morey wrote that Antioch, unlike Dura and Palmyra, resisted the collapse of Hellenistic style, and was "able to maintain for centuries, as the Seleucid capital and the focus of Greco-Roman culture in the Near East under the Empire, a tradition of Hellenistic manners that consciously resisted the infiltration of the oriental renaissance." (Early Christian Art, p. 30) These observations regarding the Hellenistic nature of Antioch should be distinguished from A. Harnack's concept of the Antiochene Church as "the first Gentile church" (vol. 1, p. 53). His reconstruction of Antiochene Christianity is related to the dated position that Paul founded a new religion, failed to perceive the permeating influence of Jewish apocalyptic in Judaism and Christianity, and was insensitive to the variegated nature

and prominence of Jewish Christianity in the Antiochene milieu. (The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, 2 vols.; trans. J. Moffatt, 2nd ed. [London, New York, 1908])

52. Antioch, of course, was the Roman provincial capital, while Edessa was outside the Roman empire. The two cities were closely linked by good roads, and Christianity, in a multifaceted though predominantly Jewish-Christian form, came to Edessa from Antioch, although direct influences also poured from Palestine. See Vööbus, History of Asceticism, vol. 1, pp. 4-10; J. Leroy, Les manuscrits, syriaques à peintures. 2 vols. (Paris, 1964); A.F.J. Klijn, Edessa, die Stadt des Apostels Thomas, trans. M. Hornschuh (Giessen, 1965); J.C.L. Gibson, "From Qumran to Edessa or the Aramaic Speaking Church Before and After 70 A.D.," The Annual of Leeds Oriental Society 5 (1966), pp. 24-39. Unfortunately the relation between the two cities is not examined in the recent books by H.J.W. Drijvers (Bardaisan of Edessa; Assen, 1966) and J.B. Segal (Edessa; Oxford, 1970). A succinct summary of contemporary opinions is found in Drijvers, "Edessa und das jüdische Christentum," VigChr 24 (1970), pp. 4-33.

W. Bauer's presentation of Antioch, and its relation to Edessa, is tendentious and selective. In one sweep he denigrates Antioch and Frenchmen (pp. 18f.). (Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity, ed. R.A. Kraft and G. Krodel [Philadelphia, 1971])

53. Nöldeke, Syriac Grammar, p. xxxii; Black, Aramaic Approach,[3] p. 17.

54. See the map entitled "Nordsyrische Klöster bis zum Ausgang der Antike" in Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte, eds. H. Jedin, K.S. Latourette, J. Martin (Freiburg, New York, 1970), p. 12. See also Vööbus, History of Asceticism, 2 vols. (CSCO Subs. 14 and 17; Louvain, 1958-60).

Ignatius refers to churches in the vicinity of Antioch (τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, ...καὶ αἱ ἔγγιστα ἐκκλησίαι To the Phil. x.1f.)

55. Strabo, Geography XVI. 2. 4: ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν Ἀντιόχεια καὶ αὐτὴ τετράπολις, ἐκ τεττάρων συνεστῶσα μερῶν·

56. V. Tcherikover rightly distinguishes between national and civic privileges for the Jews, reveals Josephus' apologetic purpose in claiming the Antiochene Jews held equal rights and citizenship, and demonstrates that while there were no Hellenistic ghettos the Diaspora Jews organized in culturally separate miniature kingdoms. (Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews, trans. S. Applebaum [New York, 1970], esp. pp. 296-377) See S. Applebaum's contributions, on the legal status and organization of Jewish communities in the Diaspora, in The Jewish People in the First Century, vol. 1, pp. 420-503.

57. C.H. Kraeling, "The Jewish Community at Antioch," JBL 51 (1932), pp. 143,145. B. Metzger agrees with Kraeling. ("Antioch-on-the-Orontes," BA 11 [1948], pp. 81f.) Downey locates the Jewish quarter in the Kerateion, isolated to the south of the city. (History, p. 544) Such isolation is in harmony with Tcherikover's study, mentioned above.

58. A.H.M. Jones, Cities[2], pp. 243f. V. Corwin, St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch (New Haven, 1960), p. 49.

59. Thucydides, for example, uses οἱ οἰκήτορες to denote both 'inhabitants' and 'colonists.' This noun is used twice by Strabo in his Geography at XVI. 2. 4, first to denote the

people moved by Nicator from Antigonia to Antioch and then to refer to those in the second quarter: τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τοῦ πλήθους τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐστὶ κτίσμα. In favor of Jones' interpretation that τῶν οἰκητόρων in this second passage means "the native population" is Strabo's note that all quarters, except the second, were founded by Seleucid kings, who presumably imported, as was their custom, colonists from the European areas just conquered. Hence H.L. Jones' translation of this Greek noun as "settlers" is suspect. (The Geography of Strabo [Loeb Cl.Lib.] London, New York, 1930; vol. 7, p. 243)

S 100 Recent Scholarly Discussion of CTCA 23 (UT 52)

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CTCA 23[1], also known as SS, "the poem of the beautiful and gracious gods," was unearthed in the 1930 campaign at Ras Shamra and given its editio princeps by Charles Virolleaud, "La naissance des dieux gracieux et beaux," in Syria 14 (1933), 128-151. The first stage of the study of the tantalizing and difficult text is marked by detailed discussion of individual words or sections and by the formulation of general interpretations, some quite adventurous. R. Largement's La naissance de l'Aurore (Gembloux et Louvain, 1949), the first monograph, is a convenient place to begin a survey of scholarship. Interpretations founded on mistranslations begin to disappear from the literature at this time. Scholars who had made proposals previously returned to the text later with more tested philological and comparative observations.[2]

Cyrus H. Gordon in Ugaritic Literature (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1949), pp. 57-62,[3] holds that the text is the libretto of a religious drama with music. The mythological content is the birth of the two pairs of gods, Dawn and Dusk, who are taken up to their proper places in heaven (l. 54), and a second group of seven gods of fertility who suckle the Lady's breasts, thereby imbibing the nourishment that provides them with the power for their important role. The seven/eight years of wandering in the wilderness (ll. 66-67) mean that a bad sabbatical cycle has taken place, and by the process of alternation a good sabbatical cycle is about to begin. When the seven lean years are over the good gods are ready to enter the sown with their blessing. The text is thus a ritual for initiating a seven year period of plenty. The myth of El's procreating the heptad who preside over the plenteous sabbatical cycle is the precedent to be invoked for reestablishing in time the primeval event.

In ll. 30 ff., according to Gordon, El creates two women over a fire. "El is the aged god, and it is a question whether he will remain impotent, so that the women will function as his daughters and remain childless; or whether he will rise to virility for the occasion so that the women may serve as his wives and bear offspring." The scene is full of suspense. El's impotence would mean seven lean years but his virility would herald the inauguration of a cycle of good years.

J. Aistleitner in "Götterzeugung in Ugarit und Dilmun. (SS und Ni. 4561)," Acta Orientalia 3(1953), 285-312,[4] compares the text with the Sumerian paradise myth of Enki and Ninhursag. El is substituted for Enki. The god who begets is called 'il, ym, also mt, šr, and is probably a coalescing of the high god El with the sea god ym.

G. Komoróczy, in "Zum mythologischen und literaturgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der ugaritischen Dichtung ŠŠ," Ugarit-Forschungen 3 (1971), 75-80, takes up Aistleitner's suggestion of Sumerian and Akkadian parallels. The scribes at Ugarit knew mesopotamian literature. One is not therefore surprised to find that some mesopotamian literature, particularly related to Enki and Enlil, and text 23 share common anthropomorph-erotische Motive der Theogonie. The text apparently explains how the heavenly gods (šḥr and šlm) and the underworld gods (the gracious gods, by euphemism) have a common origin.

T.H. Gaster published his first of several contributions to the understanding of CTCA 23 in 1934. In Thespis Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East (New York: Harper, 1961), pp. 406-435, he uses the text to illustrate his thesis that ancient Near Eastern mythological texts reflect a pattern and sequence of ritual acts characterizing major seasonal festivals. Our text "is the 'book of words' for the Canaanite Festival of First Fruits, prototype of the Israelite Pentecost, held in June at the time of the vernal equinox." (p. 409) In text 23, however, though the basic plot is retained, it comes to be treated in less serious vein and elements of burlesque, farce, and ribaldry are introduced to serve as popular entertainment. The originally solemn sacer ludus has degenerated, as in English mummers plays. El's fetching of water, the female emoting, the double entendres, the voracious appetite of the new born gods, are now designed to raise a laugh. The initial rubrical and hymnic part celebrates two sets of gods, "the gods gracious" and "the Princes." The second part is a dramatic myth relating the conception and birth of the gods and how they came to be, respectively, tutelary patrons of the steppeland and translated to the stars. The purpose of the myth was to explain why the ritual ceremony was addressed to the celestial princes Dawn and Sunset and the terrestrial gracious gods, and why bread and wine were especially proferred to them on that occasion. The rich comparative material that Gaster has gathered has been exploited by virtually all scholars working after him.

Marvin Pope's interpretation of part of the poem may be found in his El in the Ugaritic Texts (SVT 2; Leiden: Brill, 1955), pp. 35-52, and in brief articles in Wörterbuch der Mythologie (ed. H.W. Haussig; Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1965), I, 278, 306-307. The poem describes El's sexual relations with two women, probably divine (Asherah and Anat). Other texts suggest that El and his consort Asherah are estranged, possibly because of El's impotence. Although El's sexual potency is graphically portrayed in text 23, it seems that he has to overcome his initial impotence by magical rites. The drooping of El's rod in l. 37, 'il ḫth nḫt 'il ymnn mṯ ydh, "El, his rod sinks, // El, his love-staff droops," represent his inability to achieve and maintain an erection rather than post-coital detumescence. The roasting of the bird (ll. 44-48) is a ritual designed to procure a state of sexual excitement which enables El, from ll. 49 ff., to achieve coitus and sire gods. El's impotence and rejuvenation is a major concern of the poem, "which devotes almost a score of couplets to the theme." The poem may

well indicate that El will soon lose his consort Asherah to Baal.

In his Canaanite Myths and Legends (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956), G.R. Driver translates and interprets the whole text, relying to a large extent on Gaster's comparative material and interpretation. The central theme is the rejuvenation of El who gets back his sexual power by shooting a bird and cooking it. The offspring of the sacred marriage, similar to that of Marduk with a human woman at Babylon, are two divine children, Dawn and Dusk, possibly astral deities. The second group of deities are divine children, who are suckled by the two goddesses, and who have insatiable appetites. The children roam in the wilderness seven years, wheedling food and drink from the custodians of the fields. The ritual part of the text refers to two practices connected with June: viticulture and the cooking of the kid (?), connected with the OT Feast of Weeks in June. The tablet may be the textbook of a ritual pantomime performed at a Canaanite feast of first fruits in early summer.

John Gray's interpretation in The Legacy of Canaan (2nd ed.; SVT 5; Leiden: Brill, 1965), pp. 93-105, lays emphasis on the ritual character of the text. The obverse consists of invocations, catchlines of hymns, and rubrics. The reverse, too, contains rituals, a water-drawing rite (ll. 30-31, 35-36), the shooting and cooking of the bird which is a prelude to a ritual hieros gamos (the intent is to inflame the desire of the two women, not of El). Because the myth is narrative only relative to the chants and rubrics, one is not surprised that the narrative development is not strictly logical, e.g. that the labor of the two women seduced by El and the birth of the gods is described twice (ll. 49-53 and 57-60). There is only one set of gods; šḥr and šlm are the two gods described later as "the gods gracious, who delimit the day, two born in one day." The Sitz im Leben may have been the annual reunion of peasants and nomads at the season after harvest when the latter moved over to enjoy their grazing rights in the aftermath of the cereal crop. The reference to "goodman" (mt) and "Dad" ('ad) refer probably to the husband of the two women or to several husbands in a common rite of sexual rejuvenation, where the women in ritual coitus with their husbands or those who are declared to be such sacramentally unite with El the creator. The description of the nurture of the gods who range the desert marches may have served as the charter of nomads' grazing rites.

André Caquot and Maurice Sznycer collaborated in a translation and interpretation of the complete text which appeared first in 1970 in Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique (Le trésor spirituel de l'humanité; Paris: Fayard/Denoel, 1970), pp. 450-458, and in slightly revised form in Textes Ougaritiques (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 7; Paris: Cerf, 1974), I, 353-379. Lines 1-29 consist of hymnic fragments and rubrics, probably in these nine paragraphs a series of incipits. The myth appropriately takes place the edge of the sea, for El lives at the source of the double deep. "El (saisera) les deux femmes qui font monter (l'eau) /mšt^{c}ltm from š causative and infixed t of deponents, *^{c}ly, "to ascend."/// qui font monter (l'eau)

jusqu'en haut du bassin." (ll. 30-31). The phrase is an allusion to the rite of hydrophoria, attested in the Syrian cults. El is struck with impotence. Roasting the bird enables El to recover his potency. Šḥr and Šlm are born in l. 53, while a second group, the "gracious gods," are born in l. 58 in another movement of the text. This later group is none other than the anonymous collectivity of the sons of Asherah. The point of the myth becomes clear at the end. The father of the gods wants his offspring to be nourished with the fruit of the soil, tilled by man, and not from the uncultivated steppe. It is thus truly a myth, justifying a present mode of conduct by relating it to the event which founds it. There is also an interest in El as the source of fecundity, e.g. the water ritual and the hieros gamos. But there is no buffoonery here, pace Montgomery and Gaster. El remains the father of the gods and the founder of an eternal order which determines the life of men.

Perhaps the most detailed and bold interpretation comes from Robert du Mesnil du Boisson in his Études sur les dieux phéniciens hérités par l'Empire romain (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire roman 14; Leiden: Brill, 1970), pp. 94-96, and in Nouvelles études sur les dieux et les mythes de Canaan (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 33; Leiden: Brill, 1973), pp. 88-99. The text is the most explicit example of the typically Canaanite mode of creating, by begetting, the process whereby both gods and men came into existence. The locale of the myth is Byblos, which fits the description of the edge of the sea (mdbr is not "desert" but is from the same root as Hebrew dbyr, "holy of holies" while 'agn is from the root *gnn, "to defend," and so here is "tower."). Byblos is also the only Phoenician coastal city which has the two goddesses described in the text. In the course of Egyptian interchange, Hathor and Asherat both become the consort of El. El must recoup his virility by the bird ritual. Lines 8-11 tell us of the time of the celebration -the time when the reign of Mot, the god of death and of the oppressive heat of summer, is about to come to an end. Line 19, mṯbt 'ilm ṯmn are for the eight gods are to be born while p'amt šbᶜ are the seven nurses, the Kosharot, who will be needed at the births. The five-fold repetition of the ritual in l. 57 (yspr lḥms) refers to the birth of five infants. These five, plus the two already born in l. 53, total seven, which means that one more god must be born in ll. 58 ff. to bring the number up to eight.

F.M. Cross in Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic (Cambridge: Harvard, 1973), pp. 22-24, and in his article "'ēl" in Theologisches Wörterbuch zum alten Testament (ed. G.W. Anderson et al; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1971), III, 259-279, sees the text as instancing El's virility and might, in contrast to the common scholarly picture of El as a receding deus otiosus. The text is a hieros gamos, a libretto for a cultic drama. It has been badly misunderstood by reason of its impressionistic and repetitious series of scenes. Glimpses of action - El's hunting and feasting, the squeals of his wives being seduced, their lovemaking and the birth of the gods - follow one another

but not in sequence, sometimes anticipating, sometimes repeating actions described earlier. El is here a vigorous and prodigiously lusty old man as is fitting for the primordial procreator and patriarch.

The year 1973 saw the appearance of three monographs on the text. David T. Tsumura, The Ugaritic Drama of the Good Gods (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis Univ.), done under the direction of C.H. Gordon, holds that the main theme and purpose of the cult described is the fertility of the land through the birth of a heptad of good gods. It was probably celebrated toward the end of a seven year cycle of famine. The birth of the good gods of fertility is the promise of the end of evil years and the assurance of food and drink in the immediate future. Structurally, climax and contrast play important roles. Climax: two stages in the creation of the women (the making and then the animation of the effigies); the two stages of conception; progressive annihilation of Mot-wa-Shar; the gods at first do not have enough food and then finally get enough. Contrast: Šḥr wšlm are lifted up to heaven while the seven gods are sent to the wilderness of Qudš. The good gods are contrasted with the god Death-and-Evil; abstinence from eating and drinking in the first part is in contrast with the sufficiency of food at the end.

Another dissertation, by J. Ivan Trujillo, The Ugaritic Ritual for a Sacrificial Meal Honoring the Good Gods (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins Univ., 1973), done under the direction of Delbert R. Hillers and Jimmy J. Roberts, attempts to show that the text is a ritual for a ceremonial banquet in honor of the good gods Šaḥar and Šalim. Lines 8-27 is an incantation, interpreted by comparison with the incantation of Ugaritica V, # 7. The common scholarly distinction between a ritual in ll. 1-29 and a mythological part in the rest is inadequate because the whole text is a ritual. The ritual concludes with the arrival of the good gods to the scene of the banquet. The "sown land" (mdrᶜ) is probably an orchard owned by the palace, not the temple. The good gods scour the countryside until they, or their images, finally reach the sown land where they are offered food and drink.

A third thesis, revised and now in book form, is by Paolo Xella, Il Mito di Šḥr e Šlm (Studi semitici 44; Rome: Univ. of Rome, 1973). It was originally done under the direction of Sabatino Moscati. Analysis of the two parts of the text (ll. 1-29 and 30-76) show that the first, more ritual part is intimately connected with the second, the mythic narrative.

	Part I	Part II
Mention of gracious gods	ll. 1-2	ll. 58-60
Reference to desert	l. 4	ll. 65, 68
Bread and wine	l. 6	ll. 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76
Viticulture and vine	ll. 9, 10, 25, 26	ll. 50

Reference to "field of the gods," i.e. fertile field which has not given fruit	11. 12, 28	11. 68 ff., 73
Mention of god špš	1. 25	1. 54
Mention of goddess 'atrt	11. 13, 28	1. 59 (prob.)

Such close connection makes less pressing the question of what time of year the myth was celebrated. The rite and the myth qualitatively coincide. While the myth narrates an exemplary event that has taken place in a particular time, sacred par excellence, the rite has as its purpose to reintegrate and recover that same primordial time. The moment of integrating the two polar opposites takes place in the last episode. With the offering of bread and wine by man to the gods, there is instituted a fusion and contact betweeen the two spheres, the divine and human. In the community action of a common meal between men and gods one finds the perfect complementarity and integration. Structural analysis of the myth demonstrates clearly that its function is to found the sacrality of bread and wine as superior nourishment. Bread and wine here receive, through the request put to the guardian of the sown and the recognition on the part of the gods, a sacred dimension. A human object is declared a means of union with the divine world. The myth is consequently a myth of mediation between man the gods.

In addition to the books and articles noted in CTCA and above, the following are relevant.

A.S. Kapelrud, Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts (Copenhagen: G.E. C. Gad, 1952), pp. 78 ff.

J. Finkel, "An Interpretation of an Ugaritic Viticultural Poem," Joshua Starr Memorial Volume (New York, 1953), pp. 29-58/

V.V. Struve, "Toward the Interpretation of the Ugaritic Text "The Birth of the Gods"" (in russian), Palestinskii Sbornik 2 (1956), 3-11.

R. de Langhe, "Myth, Ritual and Kingship in the Ras Shamra Tablets: The Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods," in Myth, Ritual and Kingship (ed. S. Hooke; Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), pp. 134-137.

A. Jirku, Kanaanäischen Mythen und Epen aus Ras Shamra-Ugarit (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1962), pp. 80-84.

H. Kosmala, "The So-called Ritual Decalogue," Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute 1 (1962), 31-61, esp. pp. 50-56.

_____, "Mot and the Vine," Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute 3 (1964). 147-151.

U. Oldenburg, The Conflict Between El and Baʿal in Canaanite Religion (Leiden: Brill, 1969).

J.C. de Moor, New Year with Canaanites and Israelites (Kempers Cahiers 21; Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1972), II, 17-24.

C.M. Foley, The Interpretation of CTA 23: A Critical Evaluation (Unpublished M.A. dissertation, Dept. of Religion, McMaster Univ.)

Our survey of previous scholarship on CTCA 23 enables us identify some areas of disagreement among scholars and central issues.

1. The nature of the text
   a) Relation of rubrics, chants (incipits ?) to the narrative of El's procreating and the birth of the gods. Possible presence of rubrics and chants in ll. 30-76, e.g. ll. 57, 57, 59-60, etc.
   b) Unified myth or disconnected rituals?
   c) Analysis of structure of text. Use of contrast (old El and young gods; steppe and sown; sky and land), and climax (significance of numbers, repetitions).
2. Translation and significance of important lines
   a) ll. 8-11, significance of rite
   b) ll. 30-61, translation of mšt^{c}ltm and 'agn in l. 31. Are the births of šḥr and šlm separate from the birth of the gracious gods, or is the same event told twice. Identity of the women
      Meaning of the words 'ad and mt.
   c) ll. 62-76, meaning of the insatiable appetite of the gods in the wilderness and their entry into the sown.
3. The actors
   Is El making his last fling and farewell to sex, or is he the lusty father of gods and men?
4. The rite
   a) The time of the rite in the Canaanite year
   b) The significance of the water, the effigies(?), the fire(?)
   c) Relation to OT ritual and festivals
   d) Sacred marriage

NOTES

[1]Abbreviations: CTCA = Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques (ed. Andrée Herdner; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963); UT = Cyrus Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook (Rome: Pontifical Bibical Institute, 1965).

[2]The bibliography prior to Largement is listed in CTCA, pp. 96-98. David Tsumura in his unpublished 1973 Brandeis Univ. diss. provides a helpful summary of the main books and articles.

[3]Updated by his "Canaanite Mythology," in Mythologies of the Ancient World (ed. S.N. Kramer; Garden City: New York, 1961).

[4]A brief synopsis and complete translation is offered in Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra (2nd ed.; Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964), pp. 58-62.

S 101 SUPPLICATION AND REFLECTION IN "TIMES OF TROUBLE":

A form-critical Investigation of Psalm 9-10

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This paper, which seeks to come to terms with the text, structure, genre, setting, and intention of Psalm 9-10, emerges from an assignment I accepted from the SBL Task Group on Hebrew Poetry.[1] The composition in question is a mutilated alphabetical acrostic, one manifesting both thanksgiving and lamentation components, which has evoked widely divergent interpretations.[2] Anyone who has closely inspected Psalm 9-10 cannot help but conclude that the Hebrew text has been poorly preserved.[3] Hence, the form-critical work which most concerns us cannot be carried very far until numerous matters involving text and translation have been squarely confronted. We shall first address ourselves to questions pertaining to the unity and acrostic structure of the psalm, then engage in the work of textual analysis and translation, and once that is accomplished, we shall deal more forthrightly with important form-critical considerations.

Unity and Acrostic Structure

Despite the Masoretic division, it appears highly probable that in its original form Psalm 9-10 constituted an integral whole.[4] As is likewise the case with Psalm 42-43, ancient tradition has wedded Psalm 9-10 into a literary unit. In the LXX the two psalms are joined and constitute the ninth Psalm. Moreover, in the Vulgate and in Jerome's subsequent revision of the Psalter, which employed the Hexapla of Origen, Psalm 9-10 is reckoned as one composition. The lack of a superscription in Psalm 10, elsewhere attested only in Psalms 1, 2, and 33 within Book I of the Psalter, in part supports the case for unity; as Kraus has justifiably remarked, the "kultisch-liturgische Überschrift" is expected in this group of "Davidic psalms."[5] Then Psalm 9 concludes with סלה , a "musical" term that never appears elsewhere at the end of a psalm, despite its recurrence 71 times in the Psalter. This certainly leads one to infer that the conclusion of the psalm has not as yet been reached at 9:21. Finally, the alphabetical acrostic format of Psalm 9-10 as well as the resemblance of style and thought within the two parts constitue two strong, though by no means undisputed, arguments claiming that the LXX is right in accepting Psalm 10 as a continuation of Psalm 9 rather than advancing it as an independent composition.

We shall take up the last two arguments in reverse order and straightway test the assertion that in Psalm 9-10 a mutuality in style and thought is clearly evident. Not every scholar has thought so. Thus within his treatment of the alphabetical acrostic heading the Book of Nahum, A. van Selms observed that the contents of Psalms 9 and 10

> are so different from each other, and the transition from Ps. 9:21 (or 20) is such an abrupt one, that one can hardly believe that those two psalms were originally a unity. One has the impression that we have two separate alphabetic (sic.) psalms, the first of which was taken over in the canonical book of Psalms only as far as its first half is concerned, and the second of which was accepted only in its second half by the collectors.[6]

To be sure, differences in emphasis and expression are to be admitted. Psalm 9 presents itself as a thanksgiving hymn for victory already achieved,[7] while Psalm 10 is a prayer for divine intervention and assistance sorely needed. Further, Psalm 9 can be understood as a celebration of triumph over external foreign enemies (vv. 6, 9, 12), and accordingly, when the psalmist expresses himself in the singular and mentions his foes (vv. 2-4) he appears to be viewing himself as a member in good standing within the community of the righteous. By contrast, in Psalm 10 the poet appears to be appalled by outrageous domestic oppression instigated by his personal enemies (vv. 2-3, 7-9), and this induces him to voice earnestly his cry of lament.

Such impressions of the fundamental incompatibility of Psalms 9 and 10, however, have been effectively challenged by Gordis.[8] First, he appeals to the concept of "fluid personality" operative in ancient Israel which allowed for the merger of an individual with a group. In the light of this concept best known in the Servant Songs of Second Isaiah, Gordis believes that it is entirely understandable "that the psalmist identifies his own enemies with those of his group, and, seeing his group of the 'humble' and the 'poor' as the authentic Israel, identifies these foes with the enemies of the nation."[9] Accordingly, the opposition which is comprised of רשעים, שנאים, and שכחי אלהים is essentially domestic in character. Then why does the psalmist refer to the nations? He does so, claims Gordis, as a way of "invoking the aid of the God who has manifested Himself in history, judging the heathen nations by His standards of righteousness (9.9, 10) and chastising them for their sins (9.6, 16; 10.16)."[10] If the deity truly "judges the world with righteousness" and "governs the peoples with equity" (9:9), then the psalmist can rest confident that Yahweh is capable and eager to rectify the problem of internal wickedness that presently looms large. In view of this interpretation, the opponents in Psalm 9 are not different from those in Psalm 10 and this likewise holds true for the victimized "poor" (עניים , אביון , דך) whose identity remains constant in the two parts.

Nor is it advisable to exaggerate the contrast between hymnic thanksgiving in Psalm 9 and fervent petition for assistance in Psalm 10. Gordis rightly observes that words of petition do occur in 9:14, 18-21, and in 10:14, 16 assuring thoughts about victory are voiced.[11] So too, the plausibility of one psalmic composition blending thankful praise and fervent entreaty need not be challenged. Within Book I of the Psalter this mix can be discerned in Psalm 27 where hymnic expressions of trust and thanksgiving (vv. 2-6) preface the lament (vv. 7-14).[12] Indeed, Mowinckel avers that "the oldest ritual songs are properly prayers which are introduced by, or framed and interwoven with, laudatory elements."[13]

Having argued that the apparent discrepancies in Psalm 9-10 have been overstated, let us note briefly those affinities of style and thought which not unimpressively bind the two Hebrew psalms together. Stylistic affinities are discernible in (1) לעתות בצרה ("in times of trouble," a phrase peculiar to 9:10 and 10:1); (2) the rare adjective דך meaning "oppressed, crushed," which is always employed figuratively to denote the distressed or miserable, and which, apart from Ps. 74:21 and Prov. 26:28, occurs only in these two psalms (9:10; 10:18, and in another form in 10:10); (3) the use of דרש to portray the deity as avenger (9:13; 10:4, 13); (4) the use of קומה as an imperative addressed to the deity at the head of a bicolon (9:20; 10:12); (5) the emphatic employment of אנוש as "mere man" or "mortal man" (9:20, 21; 10:18); and (6) the notable resemblances of a key phrase located at the close of both pieces--thus 9:20 reads אל יעז אנוש ("lest man prevail") and 10:18 כל־יוסיף עוד לערץ אנוש ("that man may no longer strike terror").[14]

In addition, thought parallels are to be found in the following instances: (1) the motif that the deity does not, or must not, forget the cry of the afflicted (9:13b; 10:12), (2) the thought that the enemy nations are destined to perish (9:6, 10:16), and (3) the portrayal of Yahweh as the eternal and righteous king who will faithfully vindicate the oppressed (9:8; 10:16). With this accumulation of data, we believe that Psalm 9-10 comprises a literary whole and that when it is read through without a break, an impression of unity can be readily grasped.

While the case for viewing Psalm 9-10 as a literary unit can be considered to be rather striking, it is, admittedly, not decisive at every turn.[15] What support can be added to the argument through our entertaining the fact that Psalm 9-10 is cast in the format of an alphabetical acrostic? First of all, it is obvious that in the poorly preserved Hebrew text the alphabetical acrostic scheme has suffered mutilation and, as Weiser has rightly noted, "the psalms' original shape cannot be restored without inference both violent and questionable."[16] While Psalm 9-10 has the distinction of being the first of the alphabetical acrostic psalms (the others being 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, and 145), it is infamous for the number of challenges it imposes on those who elect to engage in the formidable task of reconstruction. In analogy with Psalm 37 and Lamentations 4, each Hebrew consonant appears to have introduced a pair of bicola.[17] In Psalm 37 this involves two verses, the first alphabetical and the second ordinarily nonalphabetical (as is the case in Psalm 9-10), while in Lamentations 4, where the cola are manifestly shorter,[18] the composition consists of twenty-two verses, each one involving an alphabetical bicolon ordinarily followed by one that is nonalphabetical.[19]

Undeniably bold reconstructions of Psalm 9-10 have been advanced, the two probably best known appearing some thirty years ago in the work of Jacob Leveen (1944) and G.R. Driver (1948).[20] After informal consultation with Driver, Leveen published his reconstruction of Psalm 10, a composition which he judged "has perhaps more cruces than any other passage of equal length in the Hebrew Bible."[21] He seems not to have tackled Psalm 9 since its acrostic scheme is much less problematic. It is not surprising that Leveen won encouragement from Driver, for the latter claimed with respect to Psalm 9-10 that "although it is in some disorder, most if not all of its errors can be remedied by ingenious or skilful emendation, when the acrostic

arrangement of the verses is seen to agree with the traditional order of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet."[22] Although Leveen and Driver stand in remarkably close agreement on how the alphabetical bicola in Psalm 10 should commence,[23] the total impact is less than convincing. By contrast, the more conservative opinion of Kraus is refreshing: "Die in den Kommentaren vorgenommenen--teilweise recht tiefgreifenden--Korrekturen und Konjekturen sind hypothetisch und nicht selten sehr kühn."[24] Too much conservatism, however, is likewise a problem, though perhaps less severe, in the assessment of Holm-Nielsen who is uncertain about whether Psalm 9-10 even merits inclusion in a listing of alphabetical acrostics in the Hebrew Bible.[25] He detects the regular acrostic employment of the alphabet only in 9:2-6, 10-18, and in 10:12-17.[26] Accordingly, he regards only the following twelve initial consonants as trustworthy: א in 9:2, ב in 9:4, ג in 9:6, ו in 9:10, ז in 9:12, ח in 9:14, ט in 9:16, י in 9:18, ק in 10:12, ר in 10:14, ש in 10:15, and ת in 10:17. This, it may be argued, claims too little.

At this juncture let us attempt to state what we judge to be certain, probable, and indeterminable factors regarding the acrostic situation in Psalm 9-10. We may be confident that the acrostic is substantially better preserved in Psalm 9 than it is in 10 and that the poet at least favored the scheme of introducing Hebrew couplets with a successive Hebrew consonant.[27] Though all four cola in 9:2-3 commence with א , this "artifice," as it is aptly termed by Kraft,[28] is not maintained in subsequent couplets. Moreover, it appears certain that at least seventeen consonants play a role in the alphabetical scheme. In addition to the twelve acknowledged by Holm-Nielsen in the preceding paragraph we would add ה in 9:8, כ in 9:19, ל in 10:1, פ in 10:7, and ע in 10:8c.[29] Nor need we question the order of Pē before ᶜAyin. Though that sequence is not attested elsewhere in the acrostics of the Psalter, it is manifested in Lamentations 2, 3, and 4, as well as in the Hebrew Vorlage used by the LXX translators of Prov. 31:10-31.[30] Certainly a confident determination of the original sequence of the Hebrew alphabet is not a matter that can easily be settled. Perhaps the order of the consonants was not as yet firmly established.[31]

Then several considerations belong to the category of the probable. First, it seems likely that the Nūn couplet begins with יהוה מארצו , the final words of 10:3. Although Kraus maintains that a shifting of these two words from v. 3 to v. 4 makes v. 3 unduly short and v. 4 inadmissably long,[32] the objection appears exaggerated. Also the LXX, with παρώξυνε τὸν κύριον ("He has provoked the Lord") reads the Nūn couplet in this manner. More telling is Gordis' observation that since 10:13 is a quotation of what has been preserved in 10:4a plus the last two words of v. 3, then מארצו יהוה really must, for reasons of sense and symmetry, be linked with v. 4 and accepted as the initial components of the Nūn member of the acrostic.[33] This line of argument is persuasive, but since it is not immune to challenge, it belongs more to the category of the probable than to that of the certain.

Second, the alphabetical bicolon for the Sāmekh unit is probably to be detected in 10:5bc, assuming that מרום (on high) should instead be read as סרו , the Qal perf. 3 pers. pl. of סור , thus achieving, "Your judgments turn aside from before him," that is, "He turns aside from your judgments."[34] Not only are the Mēm and Sāmekh similar in some ancient manuscripts, but

the final Mēm on מרום can be identified as a dittography of משפטיך.[35] Insofar as the unemended MT makes good sense, it would be out of order for us to claim this change as absolutely certain. Nevertheless, a Sāmekh couplet has often been proposed at this juncture, and in part because it is assumed by the LXX verb ἀνταναιρεῖται (= סרים) with its reading, "Thy judgments are removed from him."

The two remaining considerations that are probable in character have nothing to do with problematic words heading certain lines in Psalm 9-10, but rather concern the extent of the acrostic in Psalm 9-10 and even the possibility that it was indigenous to the creativity of the original psalmist. Recently Christensen has made a careful and convincing case for claiming, as had Wellhausen much earlier (1898), that the acrostic at the head of the Book of Nahum encompasses only 1:2-8 and involves solely the first half of the Hebrew alphabet, Aleph thru Kaph.[36] Despite Gordis' contention that the incomplete acrostic as a so-called art form "defeats its goal,"[37] Christensen submits that Nah. 1:2-8 is deliberately a half-acrostic hymn that is made complete by an historical event, namely, Nineveh's final destruction in 612.[38] In the course of his presentation Christensen notes that Psalm 9, whose acrostic terminates at Kaph, is the only possible biblical parallel to the half-acrostic of Nahum. He admits, however, that "Ps 9 is not an exact parallel to Nah 1:2-8, nor is there a clear setting within the cultic life of ancient Israel in which half an acrostic, as such, is appropriate."[39] And while he states that Psalm 9-10 might incorporate two separate literary units, he admits that the acrostic of Psalm 9 seems to move into Psalm 10.[40] Thus we can reasonably maintain that it is not the case that the psalmist was either unable or unwilling to employ the entire alphabet. Indeed, as Holm-Nielsen justifiably observes, "the very end of it is the most regular part."[41] In all likelihood, the thought of constructing an acrostic composition may not have presented itself as the foremost challenge in the mind of the psalmist as he wrote his piece.[42] Nevertheless, he appears to have used all, or nearly all, of the Hebrew consonants available. Then the last consideration we would label as probable is this: though no hard proof is available for contesting the view that in Psalm 9-10 we have an originally non-acrostic psalm that was subsequently made acrostic by one or more editors, if this had actually occurred, it is strange why the acrostic adaptation would not have been thoroughly executed. Why would the editor(s) have been so subtle in applying the acrostic form within the first two-thirds of Psalm 10? The acrostic format therefore appears to have been part of the craft of the original psalmist.

Finally, let us briefly take up five considerations regarding the acrostic situation in Psalm 9-10 that are essentially indeterminable in nature. First, it is impossible to know whether or not the psalmist initiated an alphabetical line with Dāleth, and if he did, how it read. Kissane assesses the omission as being presumably intentional in analogy with the omission of the Wāw in Psalms 25 and 34, but this appears to be merely an ill-advised case of mind reading.[43] Not infrequently the first two words in 9:7 are transposed, with תרו then emended to דמו . This not only strikes us as being arbitrary, but it robs the Gīmel unit of its nonalphabetical line which presumably existed.[44] Second, the Mēm alphabetical line is likewise wanting. Briggs wants to see it commencing with מרום in 10:5b and to infer that at some juncture the Mēm and Nūn

components of the psalm suffered editorial transposition.[45] It is more admissable, however, to assume that the Mēm element might have originally stood at the head of 10:2 in a line that at present is manifestly corrupt. We have no way of being certain how it once read and little is to be gained by advancing hypotheses.[46]

Third, the one Hebrew consonant we have not yet considered is Ṣādhēh. Can it be imputed to the head of 10:10? צַדִּיק is commonly posited, and not surprisingly, given the fact that Psalm 9-10 does give expression to a retribution theology that often within the Psalter meditates on the tensions of state and outcome involving the righteous and the wicked.[47] The oft-employed term for the wicked, רָשָׁע , is attested 8x in this composition (9:6, 17, 18; 10:2, 3, 4, 13, 15), but the term that is the counterpart for the righteous, צַדִּיק , occurs not at all, though the Segholate noun, צֶדֶק (righteousness) is used once each in 9:5, 9 as a way of portraying the rule and judgment of Yahweh. While the proposed צַדִּיק may not be out of place here, neither is it required, and especially does it appear to be superfluous if we accept, as we shall, the suggestion of Gordis and Dahood that the final word in 10:9 should be attached to 10:10 as the initial element of that bicolon.[48] The best course, then, is to cease speculation of the "Whither Ṣādhēh?" issue.

Fourth, what are we to make of the position of those verses appearing at the conclusion of Psalm 9? It is sometimes proposed that v. 21 should be moved up and inserted immediately after v. 18 in order to provide the Yōdh unit with a nonalphabetical bicolon and thus secure its status as a couplet. By so doing the Kaph unit would be improved by relieving it of one of its two nonalphabetical bicola. If Kissane cannot be criticized severely for his opinion that the placement of v. 21 after v. 18 may improve the logical sequence of the psalm,[49] Gordis goes too far in his statement that "v. 21 is superfluous in the present arrangement."[50] On the contrary, as it now stands v. 21 lends an emphatic tone to this termination of the first half of the poem. If such a judgment on our part is subjective, it is no more so than Kissane's regarding logical sequence. In sum, 9:20-21 apparently exists outside the alphabetic scheme and perhaps the psalmist intended it that way. But we do not know for certain.

Finally, the one other issue essentially indeterminable in character that we would mention concerns the matter of what motivated the psalmist to employ the alphabetical acrostic scheme. Did he believe that the consonants of the alphabet contained a magical or mystical power when used in this way? Was he trying to convey the idea of completeness? Was he seeking to provide an instrument that would assist those who might wish to commit the psalm to memory? Or was he laboring under some artistic goal? Especially after reading Junker on the matter, I am inclined to think that our poet used the alphabetical format to demonstrate both his skill and independence as a writer.[51] Perhaps feeling the stimulus from a few contemporaries who were likewise writing acrostics, he utilized the scheme with some mastery, and in all likelihood (contra Junker) the mutilated text forbids our discerning the full range of its use. Nevertheless, he may have known intuitively that here was an admittedly stilted and artificial principle of organizing poetic cola that might have to be violated from time to time.[52] In contrast with the author of Psalm 119, our poet was not attempting an

acrostic tour de force! Again, we find ourselves within the realm of conjecture. Even so, it is reasonable to submit that the alphabetical acrostic structure of Psalm 9-10 constitues one sound argument among several in behalf of its unity.

Text and Translation

The letters attached to various words in the Hebrew text refer to specific notations which appear immediately after our translation of Psalm 9-10. Having been impressed by the recent research of Freedman, Cross, Urbrock, and Christensen with their interest in the syllabic structure of ancient Hebrew poetry,[53] I have endeavored to record a syllable count between the Hebrew and English columns. Although this count is approximate at most, it may prove to be a more valid means for discerning the structure of Hebrew poetry. Segholate formations are counted as single syllables since they were first pronounced monosyllabic. Moreover, secondary vowels are ignored, that is, hatefs generated by the laryngeals, including patah furtive. The few short cola are designated b (breve) and the many long cola l (longum) on the assumption that "the dividing line between short and long cola is normally seven syllables."[54]

I will thank you, O Yahweh, with my whole heart,	8	l	א 2 אודה[a] יהוה בכל־לבי
I will declare all your wondrous deeds.	10	l	אספרה כל־נפלאותיך
I will be glad and exult in you,	8	l	3 אשמחה ואעלצה בך
I will sing praise to your name, Most High,	8	l	אזמרה שמך עליון
Because my enemies are turned back,	7	l	ב 4 בשוב־אויבי אחור
they stumbled and perished before you.	11	l	יכשלו ויאבדו מפניך
For you maintained my right and my cause,	10	l	5 כי עשית משפטי ודיני
seated on the throne, judging righteously.	9	l	ישבת לכסא שופט צדק
You rebuked the nations and destroyed the wicked,	10	l	ג 6 גערת גוים אבדת רשע
their name you blotted out forever and ever.	10	l	שמם מחית לעולם ועד
The enemies are consumed--desolations forever;	11	l	7 האויב[b] תמו חרבות[c] לנצח
their gods you rooted out, their memory has perished.	10	l	וערים[d] נתשת אבד זכרם
Behold, Yahweh sits enthroned forever,	9	l	ה 8 הנה[e] יהוה לעולם ישב[f]
he has set up his throne for judgment.	7	l	כונן למשפט כסאו
And he judges the world with righteousness,	8	l	9 והוא ישפט־תבל בצדק
he governs the peoples with equity.	9	l	ידין לאמים במישרים
Yahweh is a stronghold for the oppressed,	8	l	ו 10 ויהי[g] יהוה משגב לדך
a stronghold in times of trouble.	8	l	משגב לעתות בצרה[h]
Those who know your name trust in you,	12	l	11 ויבטחו בך יודעי שמך

for you do not abandon those who seek you, O Yahweh.	10	1	כי לא־עזבת[i] דרשיך יהוה	
Sing praises to Yahweh enthroned in Zion!	10	1	זמרו ליהוה ישב ציון	ז 12
Make known among the peoples his deeds!	10	1	הגידו בעמים עלילותיו	
For the Avenger of blood has remembered them,	9	1	כי־דרש דמים אותם זכר	13
he does not forget the cry of the afflicted.	8	1	לא־שכח[i] צעקת עניים	
Be gracious to me, O Yahweh,	12	1	חננני[j] יהוה ראה	ח 14
see how I am afflicted by my foes,			עניי משנאי	
you who have raised me up from the gates of death.	10	1	מרוממי[k] משערי מות	
That I may declare all your praises,	13	1	למען אספרה[l] כל־ תהלתיך	15
that in the gates of Daughter Zion I may rejoice in your deliverance.	14	1	בשערי בת־ציון[m] אגילה[l] בישועתך	
The nations are sunk in the pit they made;	9	1	טבעו גוים בשחת עשו	ט 16
in the net which they hid is their foot caught.	11	1	ברשת־זו[n] טמנו נלכדה רגלם	
Yahweh is manifest in passing judgment,	8	1	נודע יהוה משפט עשה	17
by the work of their own hands are the wicked trapped.	9	1	בפעל כפיו נוקש[o] רשע הגיון סלה	
The wicked shall return to Sheol,	9	1	ישובו רשעים לשאולה	י 18
all the nations that forget God.	9	1	כל־גוים שכחי אלהים	
For not forever shall the needy be forgotten,	10	1	כי לא[p] לנצח ישכח אביון	כ 19
nor shall the hope of the afflicted eternally perish.	9	1	תקות ענוים תאבד לעד	
Arise, O Yahweh, lest man prevail,	9	1	קומה יהוה אל־[q] יעז אנוש	20
let the nations be judged before you.	10	1	ישפטו גוים על־פניך	
Put them in fear, O Yahweh!	8	1	שיתה יהוה מורא[r] להם	21
let the nations know they are but men.	9	1	ידעו גוים אנוש המה סלה	
Why, O Yahweh, do you stand afar off,	9	1	למה יהוה תעמד ברחוק[s]	ל 10:1
hiding yourself in times of trouble?	8	1	תעלים[t] לעתות בצרה[h]	
In arrogance, the wicked harasses the afflicted,	9	1	בגאות[u] רשע ידלק עני	2
may they be caught in the schemes which they have contrived!	11	1	יתפשו במזמות זו[n] חשבו	
For the wicked boasts about his lust,	8	1	כי־הלל[i] רשע על־ תאות[v]	3
of his appetite the despoiler is proud.	6	b	נפשו בצע[v] ברך	
The wicked despises Yahweh,	6	b	נאץ יהוה רשע	נ 4
in his arrogance he says, "He will not avenge it,"	8	1	כגבה אפו[w] בל־ידרש	
"There is no God," sums up his thoughts,	9	1	אין אלהים כל־מזמותיו	
his ways are secure at all times.	8	1	יחילו דרכו בכל־עת	5

He turns aside from your judgments,	9	1	כרו[x] משפטיך מנגדו	
as for all his foes, he scoffs at them.	8	1	כל־צורריו יפיח בהם	
He says to himself, "I shall never be moved,	8	1		6 אמר בלבו בל־אמוט
from age to age I shall walk with unfaltering step."	11	1	לדר ודר אשר לא כרע אלר[y]	
His mouth is full of deceit and oppression,	8	1		פ 7 פיהו מלא מרמות[z] ותך
under his tongue are mischief and iniquity.	9	1	תחת לשונו עמל ואון	
He sits in ambush in the villages,	8	1		8 ישב במארב חצרים[a]
in secret places he murders the innocent.	8	1	במסתרים יהרג נקי	
His eyes spy on the overwhelmed,	8	1	עיניו לחלכה[b] יצפנו	ע
he lurks in secret, like a lion in his lair,	11	1		9 יארב במסתר כאריה בסכה
He lurks to seize the afflicted,	6	b		יארב לחטף עני
he seizes the afflicted to drag him away.	7	1		יחטף עני במשכו
Into his net the oppressed is brought low,	7	1		10 ברשתו[c] דכה ישח
and the overwhelmed fall into his pit.	9	1		ונפל בעצומיו[d] חלכאים[b]
He says to himself, "God has forgotten,	8	1		11 אמר בלבו שכח אל
he hides his face, he never sees."	10	1		הסתיר[e] פניו בל־ראה[e] לנצח
Arise, O Yahweh God, lift up your hand!	10	1		ק 12 קומה יהוה אלי[f] נשא ידך
Forget not the afflicted!	6	b		אל־תשכח עניים
Why should the wicked despise God,	9	1		13 על־מה נאץ רשע אלהים
saying to himself, "You will not avenge it"?	8	1	אמר בלבו לא תדרש[g]	
You see trouble and behold provocation,	9	1		ר 14 ראתה[h] עמל וכעס תביט[i]
taking them in your hands.	6	b		לתת בידך[j]
To you the overwhelmed entrusts himself,	8	1		עליך יעזב חלכה[b]
of the fatherless you have been the Helper.	9	1		יתום אתה היית עזר
Break the arm of the wicked,	6	b		ש 15 שבר זרוע רשע[k]
requite his wickedness till you find none.	7	1		תדרוש־[l] רשעו בל־תמצא[l]
Yahweh is king forever and ever,	8	1		16 יהוה מלך עולם ועד
let the nations perish from his earth!	8	1		אבדו[m] גוים מארצו
The lament of the afflicted you hear, O Yahweh,	10	1		ת 17 תאות[n] ענוים שמעת יהוה
to the concerns of their heart you are attentive.	9	1		תכין[o] לבם תקשיב אזנך
To render justice to the fatherless and the oppressed,	6	b		18 לשפט יתום ודך
that man, who is of earth, may no longer strike terror.	11	1		לבל־יוסיף עוד לערץ אנוש מן־הארץ

a) Many commentators (e.g., Gunkel, Oesterley, Kissane, Kraus), in accordance with the LXX, attach a pronominal suffix to this verb. We accept Dahood's suggestion that the suffix on נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ (your wondrous deeds) does double duty. He maintains, "This poetic usage, a type of ellipsis, is analogous to the use of double-duty prepositions, conjunctions, negatives [see 9:19], interrogatives, and vocatives. Though ellipsis has long been recognized in biblical poetry, its pervasiveness was not fully appreciated till the discovery of ancient Canaanite poetic texts" (PI 17). יְהוָה in 2a is doubtlessly a vocative.

b) We have already expressed our unwillingness to accept this bicolon as a mutilated Dāleth component of the acrostic. Since תָּמוּ is pl., we side with Gunkel and Kraus in interpreting הָאוֹיֵב as a collective noun.

c) Although the pronominal suffix is wanting, Gordis, "Psalm 9-10--A Textual and Exegetical Study," p. 111, wishes to revocalize the first syllable of חֳרָבוֹת to achieve "swords" (present in ῥομφαῖαι in the LXX); thus he translates, "As for the enemy, his swords have ceased forever." While this rendering does not lack substance, we prefer to leave the text unemended, noting with Kraus, p. 76, that חֳרָבוֹת (ruins) can apply to Israel's enemies as is the case in 2 Kgs. 19:17 (= Isa. 37:18) and Isa. 60:12.

d) Kraus, p. 76, correctly observes that whereas נתשׁ normally designates the uprooting or extermination of living plants, in Jeremiah (1:10; 12:14; 18:7 and elsewhere) the verb is applied to nations and lands, and becomes a terminus technicus for portraying deportation and depopulation. This would suggest that עָרִים should be read as "cities." But Dahood's determination to see in this noun the Ugaritic root ġyr (to protect) seems even more attractive. The pl. here would denote the pagan gods that protect the cities. In analogy with its use in Jer. 2:28, עָרִים is intended in the double sense, because "both pagan gods, represented by idols, and cities could be turned into a heap of ruins" (p. 56). The following admonition by H. Neil Richardson, "A Ugaritic Letter of a King to his Mother," JBL 66 (1947) 322, is likewise relevant: "Hebrew lexicographers must recognize the Hebrew verb עִיר meaning 'to watch over, to guard, to preserve."

e) In the MT we have an independent 3 m. pl. subject pronoun which was identified by Gesenius (Hebrew Grammar, par. 135d,f) as a word that "serves to give strong emphasis to a suffix of the same person which precedes." Numerous translations have been guided by that assessment. On the basis of LXX μετ' ἤχου (with a noise), Kraus, p. 76, repoints the consonants to achieve הֻמָּה, a word used in Prov. 7:11 to denote the loud manner of the wanton woman. This would suggest in the present passage Yahweh's agitated, restless, and even boisterous manner as he moves into action on his throne of judgment. In terms of content at least, this notion compares favorably with Ps. 7:7 ("Arise, O Yahweh, in your anger," where אַף is employed). More cogent, however, is Dahood's proposal (PI 56) that on the basis of Ugaritic hm we read, "Behold, Yahweh." It appears that הִנֵּה functions here as a conditional particle maintaining "its original deictic force of 'behold' or the like" (William J. Moran, "The Hebrew Language in Its Northwest Semitic Background" The Bible and the Ancient Near East [Albright Festschrift] 69, note 68).

f) The presense of the perf. form of כרך in 8b has led scholars to emend ישב in 8a to a perf. (so Gunkel and Kraus, who both maintain that the perf. better suits this passage as it does Ps. 29:10). Bardtke (BHS) also entertains the possibility. This, as Dahood reminds us, is unnecessary given the quite common balancing of an imperfect (yqtl) with a perfect (qtl) verb form in the sequences of Hebrew and Ugaritic poetry.

g) We side with Duhm, Gunkel, Oesterley, Kraus, and Bardtke who prefer, in the light of LXX καὶ ἐγένετο, to read the perf. form of היה .

h) Whereas Gunkel, Oesterley, Kraus, and Bardtke wish to read Hē, rather than Bēth, as the initial consonant of the final word in 10b (and to do the same in 10:1), this is unnecessary when this word and the one that precedes are properly identified as an instance of the broken construct chain. See Dahood, PIII 381, where he lists five occasions in the Psalter where we confront a construct chain with intervening preposition. Also the article of Freedman, "The Broken Construct Chain," Biblica 53 (1972) 534-536, is helpful though it does not refer to Psalm 9-10.

i) Here with עזבת , in 9:13 with שכח , and in 10:3 with הלל , we have, as pointed out by Gesenius (par. 106k), instances of the perfect tense used "to express facts which have formerly taken place, and are still of constant recurrence." Our translation thus reflects this usage of the perfect in Biblical Hebrew.

j) Aquila and Jerome read the first two verbs in this verse as perfects, no doubt on the assumption that the psalmist was referring to a prior moment when Yahweh "was gracious" and "saw." Though this emendation of two Hebrew imperatives to corresponding perfects is undertaken in the commentaries of Gunkel, Oesterley, Weiser, and Kraus, not a few scholars (so Briggs, Kissane, Dahood, and K. Marti, ZAW 36 [1916] 245) argue that the immediate context demands that the imperative be retained. This is most important, perhaps, to Dahood who discovers many instances of the precative perfect in Psalm 9-10 and denies that any thanksgiving for past deliverance is here expressed. Although I do not favor Kissane's strophic analysis of the psalm, I concur with his judgment that given the fact that Yahweh's justice and concern for the oppressed have been emphasized from 9:8 on, there is nothing unnatural in discovering that a petition for divine assistance is being raised at this juncture of the poem. The imperatives, then, may be retained.

k) The tendency on the part of some scholars to emend this participle does not appear compelling. We leave the text unchanged. With Kissane, p. 42, we aver that the psalmist is referring to a past, rather than presently experienced, act of divine deliverance.

l) The two verbs so noted in this verse are to be identified as subjunctive forms ending in -āh rather than as cohortatives (see Dahood, PI 57).

m) We find attractive Dahood's judgment (PI 58) that "the alternative rendition 'Daughter of Zion' becomes less probable in view of such Canaanite expressions as btlt ʿnt, 'the virgin Anath,' and rḥm ʿnt, 'the lass Anath." Thus the Hebraic

expression for Jerusalem would be "Daughter Zion."

n) Here, and again in 10:2, we meet "the true relative pronoun זו , found in Phoenician. . .[and] preserved in Hebrew only as an archaism in poetry" (Ronald J. Williams, Hebrew Syntax, par. 129). Although most often attested in the Psalter, it appears there only in 12:8; 17:9; 31:5; 32:8; 62:12; 68:29; 142:4; and 143:8, along with its use in Psalm 9-10.

o) For MT נוֹקֵשׁ we read נוֹקַשׁ, a Niph. perf., as do the versions--LXX, Aquila, Syriac, Targum. This emendation in 17b is widely employed in the commentaries.

p) In this verse we witness use of the double-duty negative whereby the force of the negative is as apparent in the second colon as it is in the first. For discussion of the double-duty negative in Hebrew, see Gesenius (par 152z) and A.B. Davidson, Hebrew Syntax (par. 128, rem. 6); for its use in Ugaritic, see Dahood, PI 58 and PIII 438.

q) We concur with Dahood's assessment (Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology, p. 36) that in the light of its usage in Ugaritic, the negative jussive אַל is best grasped in 9:20 by rendering it with English "lest," rather than with "let not" as is the case in the RSV and NAB.

r) A few Hebrew manuscripts along with the versions (Aquila, Theodotion, Jerome, Targum) read the final consonant as Aleph rather than as Hē, thereby understanding the noun to mean "fear, terror," rather than "teacher." Gordis, 117, ftn. 29, speaks of this as a case of "aberrant orthography," while Briggs, p. 85, admits, and rightly, that "there is no usage to justify the use of teacher in such a severe sense." We need not doubt what word was intended by the psalmist.

s) The first consonant on this word need not be emended to Mēm. Dahood, PI 61, observes that in Ugaritic-Phoenician "from" is often denoted by b and adds, "The existence of min in Hebrew did not. . .completely supplant b from denoting 'from.'" Gordis, p. 111, likewise appeals to the use of b in Ugaritic. This emendation, however, is attested in LXX and Jerome.

t) With the Targum, Oesterley, p. 144, emends the MT Hiph. verb to a Hithpael and Bardtke suggests a Niphal pointing. We refrain from making an emendation in the light of Gordis' comment on the reflexive sense that sometimes developed with the secondary conjugations (p. 112).

u) We have previously stated our hesitancy to posit what might originally have been the beginning of this verse--perhaps it was the alphabetical Mēm member of the acrostic. We accept Gordis' judgment that בֹּצְעַ is an absolute noun manifesting an old Taw ending and as such requires no emending (p. 112). Despite the singulars appearing in 2a, the "wicked" are to be understood collectively.

v) In the MT the line in 10:3 is quite long and has received a host of repairs. Moreover, Leveen, p. 16; Driver, p. 205; and Bardtke are eager to accept it as the Mēm component of the psalm. Kraus, p. 76, would delete עַל , whereas Kissane, p. 41, would emend it to עַוְלָה (his wrong, injustice). We have earlier voiced our preference for attaching the last two words of v. 3

to v. 4, thereby conferring on v. 4 an initial Nūn. Though 10:3 cannot be handled by the textual critic with feelings of confidence, Gordis' proposal (p. 113) perhaps makes the most sense, namely, that the caesura be placed after יְהוָה and the Wāw of וּבֹצֵעַ be removed as a dittography. The chiastic character of the resulting synonymous parallelism is attractive. A Wāw suffix need not be attached to יְהוָה (though Gordis recommended it) if Dahood is correct in his appraisal (PI 62) that "the suffix of parallel napšō serves likewise to determine ta,awat."

w) With the movement of יְהוָה נְאֻם to the beginning of 10:4, we now confront a verse of eleven words. If we attach to it 10:5a, then we have fifteen words before we meet the Sāmekh member of the acrostic, assuming, as we have explained previously, that מָרוֹם was once read סָרוּ. Here, then, are 31 syllables which should be ample for a tetracolon containing all of the Nūn element of the acrostic. We follow Gordis' grouping of these words into the four cola (p. 120). The first two words in what we now present as 4b are rendered, "in his arrogance," though literally they mean, "in the height/pride of his countenance." The citation of 10:4 in 10:13 should make it clear that this phrase depicts the wicked and not the deity--Gunkel, p. 38, Kirkpatrick, p. 52, and Gordis all emphasize this consideration. In "Quotations as a Literary Usage in Biblical, Oriental, and Rabbinic Literature," HUCA 22 (1949) 181, Gordis lists this verse under the category, "direct quotations of the thoughts of the subject." Some verb of thinking/saying is to be supplied in the translation.

x) In our discussion of the acrostic we have already explained our emendation of מָרוֹם to סָרוּ. Literally the Hebrew reads, "Your judgments turn aside from before him," but we prefer to enter into our translation what is intended by this colon. For further clarification, see note 34.

y) It is generally assumed that the Pē member of the acrostic commerces with פִּיהוּ, the second word in MT 10:7. Gordis, p. 115, joins Oesterley in deleting אָלָה, the first word of that verse, on the grounds that "efforts to discover its original position in the Psalm have proved unsuccessful." A less arbitrary and, I think, more commendable, procedure is to follow the proposal of Kissane, p. 43, and Bardtke, which involves changing an initial Bēth to Kaph in the last word of MT v. 6 to obtain the verb כָּרַע, and then, on the assumption that the first word of MT v. 7 actually belongs to what precedes, changing a final Hē to Kaph to obtain an imperf. form of the verb הָלַךְ. Also several instances of repointing are required, but an intelligible אֵצֵר לֹא כֹּרֵעַ אֵלֵךְ (I shall walk with unfaltering step) is achieved. While one dare not be dogmatic in advancing this emendation, neither is it entirely lacking in merit.

z) The initial Waw on this word has been deleted in the belief that it was only added after אָלָה (cursing) had somehow secured its position in the text of 10:7.

a) Whereas the LXX reads μετὰ πλουσίων (with the rich), which suggests a Hebrew Vorlage of בְּעֲשִׁרִים, the pl. noun in the Hebrew text, חֲצֵרִים, simply points to peaceful, unwalled villages. No emendation is required.

b) The noun, חלכה, which is likewise attested in the singular in 10:14 and as חלכאים in 10:10, has proved troublesome indeed. It is rendered as "hapless, unfortunate" in BDB, though with the admission that the meaning of the noun is dubious at best. KB simply states that the word is unexplained. On the basis of its use 4x in cols. 37 and 38 of the Hōdāyōt, O. Komlós, "The Meaning of חלכה חלכאים," JSS 2 (1957) 243-246, advanced the view that the term derived from the word חכה (hook) and that in Psalm 10 the translation "net-layer(s)" is to be derived. James Barr, Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament, raises a sound objection as to whether our ascertaining how a word is used in the scrolls can necessarily assist us in understanding its use in the Bible. He aptly remarks, "At several places in the scrolls it seems likely that a particularly obscure word or phrase in the Bible is picked up and given a heavily loaded sense; and one of the reasons for this may be precisely that the word was so enigmatic in the first place" (p. 229). W.G. Simpson, "Some Egyptian Light on a Translation Problem in Psalm X," VT 19 (1969) 128-131, calls attention to two occasions when a form of the root ḥlk appears as ḥnrg, a loanword in Egyptian, namely, in a poorly engraved inscription of Seti I (ca. 1300 B.C.) and in Papyrus Anastasis I (13, 8-14, 1) dating from the reign of Seti II (ca. 1210 B.C.). In the first instance the word is used to indicate the abject state of countries overwhelmed by Seti's might, and in the second, the word is uttered in a battle of wits as the scribe Hori tries to put Amenemope to shame. Simpson concludes that in these texts ḥnrg "denotes a spiritual or mental state brought about by a sense of inferiority at the accomplishments and overwhelming superiority of another. It seems to indicate a state in which a person or nation no longer has the vital force to resist" (p. 131). Suggesting that "overwhelmed" may be the best English equivalent, Simpson avers that this would suit the context of Psalm 10 excellently. Although we may need to apply some of Barr's caution here as well, Simpson's suggestion is initially attractive.

c) In the image of the lion in 10:9 we encounter some of the most vivid poetic expression within the entire psalm. Though we cannot be absolutely certain, the proposal of Gordis, p. 117, and Dahood, PI 63, appears cogent, namely, that the last word in MT v. 9 should be linked with the activity portrayed in MT v. 10. Certainly ברשתו (in his net) does not appear to be appropriate to the depiction of the predatory lion. The Wāw of ודכה can then be deleted as a dittography and the remaining consonants can be vocalized as דַּכָּה, what Gordis judges to be "a variant orthography for דכא." It is to be noted that the substantive דך appears in 9:10 and 10:18.

d) Gunkel, Kraus, and Bardtke all propose reading בְּמוֹעֲצֹתָיו, "through his plans" from מוֹעֵצָה (advice, counsel): the scheming of the enemy is thus seen as the cause of the downfall of the חלכאים. More compelling is Dahood's recommendation (PI 63) that a root עצם (to dig) be posited on the basis of UT, 75:I:23-25, where the verb ʿzm appears in parallelism with its synonym kry. The two verbs are rendered respectively "burrow" and "dig" in Dahood's translation of the Ugaritic text.

e) The two verbs in 11b illustrate Hebrew usage of a perfect verb to denote something that has previously happened, yet whose effects remain felt. They are rendered here in present-tense English (see Gesenius, par. 106g; also Williams, par. 162).

f) D.N. Freedman has observed that notwithstanding its Canaanite associations, continued usage of the divine designation "El" in the Hebrew Bible reveals that the name was "deeply rooted in Israelite tradition" ("The Name of the God of Moses," JBL 79 [1960] 156). Since the names Yahweh and El stand in parallel cola in Ps. 18:3 and 29:3, Dahood (PI 64) is justified in faulting Kraus, pp. 76-77, for his deletion of אל in 12a. The translation, "Arise, O Yahweh God, lift up your hand," appears entirely appropriate.

g) The last word in 13b, a 2 m. sg. imperf. form of דרשׁ, is rendered as a 3 m. sg. in the LXX, Jerome, Syriac, and NAB. We detect no problem in maintaining the integrity of the MT.

h) This textually difficult verse has been subjected to various treatments in the commentaries. Having rearranged some of the verse elements, Gunkel, p. 32, offers this paraphrastic translation: "Du schaust ja Kummer und Elend, denn du blickst auf den Schwachen 'und' Verwaisten; dir vertraut er es an, es in deine Hand zu geben, du bist ja 'sein' Helfer." Briggs, Oesterley, Gordis, and Kraus all identify כי אתה as a dittography for ראתה which precedes. Were it not for their similar orthography, we would be attracted by Dahood's understanding of כי as a particle reinforcing the pronoun אתה which itself emphasized the subject of ראתה (p. 65).

i) With Gordis, p. 120, we are linking תביט with the first of the four cola present in 10:14.

j) In the light of 10:18 Bardtke proposes reading ליתום ודך for MT לתת ביד to obtain, "You behold (תביט) the fatherless and the oppressed." No emendation, however, is required if we assume with Gordis, p. 118, that 14b, with its infinitive לתת, succinctly states the result of 14a. He detects a parallel semantic construction in Ps. 92:8 in which להשמדם is to be rendered, "with the result that they [the wicked and workers of iniquity] be destroyed forever."

k) With Briggs, Oesterley, and Gordis, we delete זרע, although it has been retained by many commentaries in the translation, "Break the arm of the wicked and [his] evil." Gordis, p. 118, is no doubt correct in deleting this noun as a dittography of זרוע which appears two words earlier in the colon.

l) The versions (LXX, Vulgate, Aquila, Symmachus, Syriac, and Theodotion) read the two verbs in 15b as Niphal, rather than Qal, imperfects, and this has influenced Briggs, Oesterley, and Kissane. That emendation, however, is not required. Gordis, p. 118, retains the Qal forms and accepts them as instances of the impersonal use of the 2d pers. in Biblical Hebrew: "one may seek the sinner, but not find him." More convincing, however, is Dahood's understanding (PI 65) that in שבר heading 15a and תדרוש heading 15b we confront a deliberate imperative-jussive sequence in which the jussive fulfills an imperative function as it does in Ps. 17:8; 32:7; and 43:1. Thus there is no need in 15b to emend the imperfects to imperatives as does Oesterley, p. 144.

m) In the light of the remarks made by Israel Eitan, "Hebrew and Semitic Particles: Comparative Studies in Semitic Philology," AJSL 46 (1929) 25, and Dahood (PI 66), we read אבדו in 16b as an optative perfect: "let them [the nations] perish."

n) תאות in 17a must refer to something audible since it is the object of שמעת. This has been noted by Gordis, p. 118, who translates "cry," by Dahood (PI 66) who renders "lament," and by Barr (Comparative Philology, 321) who offers "lament, plaint" as possible English equivalents. The normal rendering of the noun, "desire," does not appear appropriate in this instance.

o) We read תקשיב אזנך , the last two words in 17b, as "You are attentive." Although the first two words of that colon, תכין לבם, can be rendered, "You will strengthen their heart" (that of the meek), a more satisfactory parallelism can be achieved in this verse if we follow Gordis, p. 119, and read the first word in 17b as a noun, תָּכִין, meaning "content, substance." In this emendation only the change of one vowel is required. In our translation we have rendered the noun as "concerns" on the assumption that this makes the intention of 17b somewhat clearer. By reading the Mēm on לבם as enclitic, Dahood (PI 66-67) believes the first two words in 17b are to be translated, "Direct your attention." The suffix on אזנך is thus assigned by him to the double-duty category. Although an ellipsis might be discernible at this juncture in the psalm, this need not be the case.

The Structure and Rhetorical Cast of Psalm 9-10

Among the several form-critical tasks that now invite our close attention, the first may be described as the endeavor to come to terms with the structure and rhetorical cast of Psalm 9-10. The twenty bicola of Psalm 9 and twenty-one bicola of Psalm 10, which have been laid out in our translation, need to be grasped in the light of their structural coherence. What fundamental pattern did the psalmist confer upon these poetic lines as he gave them birth? Any respectable answer to this inquiry constrains us, first of all, to assess what role, if any, the alphabetical acrostic scheme may have played in establishing the structure of Psalm 9-10. The fact that this scheme has suffered mutilation in the course of time does not permit us to dodge this issue.

In our study thus far we have purposely refrained from designating what are normally a pair of bicola (the first alphabetical and the second nonalphabetical) as a strophe. It is not fortuitous that we have not referred to an initial Aleph strophe with its conspicuous artifice of four Aleph-initiated cola. In like manner, we have studiously refrained from discussing the missing Dāleth strophe as such. To be sure, the terminology is confusing at best. In the commentaries we read about the respective verse groups, line pairs, tetracola, strophes, and stanzas of Psalm 9-10. In his recent analysis of the half-acrostic of Nahum 1:2-8, Christensen refers to "four strophes, *or major poetic units*, of unequal length."[55] Is Christensen providing us a choice of terms, or is he not quite sure which term works best, or is he offering us in brief format his understanding of what a strophe is? I suspect that the third answer is the correct one. Not many years ago James Muilenburg wrestled with the problem of establishing a suitable terminology in his SBL Presidential Address.[56] Although he maintained that Greek verse models have little to do with the lyrical structure of Semitic poetry, that the Hebrew poet ordinarily feels no compulsion to achieve metrical consistency in his work, and that the easily delineated

groupings of bicola and tricola within a given Hebrew poem are not necessarily of equal length, he did prefer the term strophe to that of stanza--primarily because this is the word that scholars of biblical and ancient Near Eastern literature most often employ.[57] Thereupon he defined a strophe as "a series of bicola or tricola with a beginning and ending, possessing unity of thought and structure," and added that such a unit "must coincide with the sense."[58]

More than anything else, it is this understanding of the strophe in Hebrew prosody, which I believe to be cogent, that has led me to suspect that the acrostic groupings in Psalm 9-10 ought not be designated as strophes. Not infrequently they have been understood that way by scholars who suspected that, at the time of their inception, the independent couplets of Psalm 9-10 were introduced by successive consonants of the Hebrew alphabet.[59] Yet it is tenuous to think that the consonants Yōdh (9:18), Kaph (9:19), and perhaps, originally, Mēm (10:3) ever introduced anything more than single lines. When successive Hebrew consonants merely set off cola (as in Psalms 111 and 112) or simply initiate lines of poetry (as in Psalms 25,34, and 145), they obviously cannot assist us as we attempt to comprehend strophic structure. But what judgment is to be rendered regarding their use in longer poems (e.g., Psalms 9-10 and 37 where they normally set off pairs of lines, or in Psalm 119 where eight lines are thus involved)? Even there Eissfeldt suspects that we are confronted by "stylistic sections, and not metrical structures."[60] Each of the longer acrostics in the Hebrew Bible will have to be assessed on its own merits. Among the acrostics resident in the Book of Lamentations, Psalm 9-10 finds its closest formal affinity with chapter 4, as we have already noted. While Hillers speaks of its two-line acrostic units as stanzas, he observes that the progression of thought is quite slight.[61] The same assessment must be made of Psalm 37 which is likewise a two-line acrostic.

This does not appear to be the case, however, in Psalm 9-10 where a greater amount of thought progression is discernible. Of course, we must avoid overstatement. Certain themes do recur at unexpected junctures, and Kraus rightly points to the constantly changing images and conceptions which he accepts as an inevitable consequence of the "Formzwang des Akrostichons."[62] Nevertheless, it may be argued that within rather well-defined clusters of bicola in Psalm 9-10 meaningful units of thought can be detected. In addition, the shifts in person within the discourse of the psalm, the deliberate changes in who is being addressed, the presence of intentionally repeated phrases, and especially, the deft use of significant Hebrew particles collectively encourage us to conclude that the strophic structure of Psalm 9-10 is worth the quest and that if the strophes are to coincide with the sense of the poem, they cannot always be made to conform with acrostic formalities.[63]

We shall set forth as our hypothesis that Psalm 9-10 consists of a dozen generally well-defined strophes, only eight of which are initiated by one of the Hebrew consonants employed by the acrostic scheme. They may be set forth as follows:[64]

Strophe	No. of bicola	Identity and Function	Location
I	3	Hymnic thanksgiving for previous divine succor	9:2-4
II	3	Thankful narrative about past deliverance and judgment	9:5-7
III	4	Hymnic declaration of Yahweh's justice	9:8-11
IV	2	Invocation for congregational praise	9:12-13
V	2	Petition for divine favor	9:14-15
VI	4	Renewed declaration of Yahweh's justice	9:16-19
VII	2	Petition for divine intervention	9:20-21
VIII	2	Present cry of despair	10:1-2
IX	5	Lament on presumptive evildoers	10:3-6
X	6	Continuation of the lament	10:7-11
XI	5	Petition for Yahweh's just deliverance of the poor	10:12-15
XII	3	Expression of certitude in the light of Yahweh's kingship	10:16-18

Some defense of this strophic delineation is in order. The presentation of such an arrangement cannot be entirely free of subjectivity, and since irreconcilable explanations of the structure and movement in Psalm 9-10 appear in the commentaries, we cannot expect to win a mass of converts to our own understanding of the strophic structure. Even so, it rests on reasonable grounds. And we should add, this defense offers the most suitable occasion for engaging in some rhetorical analysis of the poem. Strophe I (9:2-4) opens with a colon of straightforward 1st-per. sg. declaration addressed to the deity, and then is buttressed by three cola of like design. The deliberate character of the personal thanksgiving here initiated is manifested by both the specific assertions of the respective cola and their intentional commencement with the Aleph. The accumulation of verbs here employed effectively denotes the psalmist's pleasure over past deliverance and in v. 4 he states the reason for his joy. That bicolon could be interpreted as the beginning of the narrative to follow, and thus be accepted as the initiator of the next strophe. It is more advisable, however, that we perceive it as a statement of what motivates the exuberant condition of the psalmist, in analogy with the statement in 9:13 which provides the motive justifying the initial imperative in 9:12. If 9:13, as the conclusion to Strophe IV, tells why the congregation should engage in divine praise, then 9:4, as the final element in Strophe I, can be understood as a report of what justifies the psalmist's initial expressions of elation.

In Strophe II (9:5-7) we meet a thankful voicing of the narrative about divine action undertaken at some preceding moment when a judgment against the psalmist's enemies was rendered. Within a span of three bicola no less than six 2d-pers. sg. perf. verbs remind Yahweh of what he has accomplished. While these verbs mainly cluster around the first half of the strophe, in none of the bicola are they lacking. Among those particles employed in the psalm, the deictic and emphatic particle כִּי is without a doubt the most important.[65] Here it enjoys a strategic collocation at the head of the strophe. It summons us to pay close attention to that which follows. The cola in this strophe are, on the average, one syllable longer than those in Strophes I and III. While this need not be considered a matter of great

consequence, it may remind us that much is compacted in this strophe of thankful narration.

The four bicola of Strophe III (9:8-11) offer a hymnic declaration in behalf of Yahweh's justice. Though the first bicolon pays some attention to what was (8b) and what will be (8a), the strophe as a whole focuses on what is. As one who is the divinely enthroned King, Yahweh executes righteous judgment in behalf of the oppressed. The chiastic position of the verb in the cola of v. 8 and the artful synonymous parallelism established by the cola in v. 9 deserve mention, but in particular, two Hebrew particles occupying key positions in the strophe should be noted. At the head of v. 8 the emphatic הנה effectively calls our attention to Yahweh's enthronement and the last colon of the strophe (11b) commences with כי לא, an emphatic negative in a hymnic line celebrating Yahweh's fidelity toward the faithful.

The emphatic negative כי לא in 11b arouses our suspicion that a new strophe will open in 12a, and the readily discernible shift secured by the masc. pl. imptv. זמרו located at the head of 9:12 confirms that suspicion. As the first of the poem's four short strophes consisting of line couplets, Strophe IV (9: 12-13) serves as an invocation to the attending congregation. Through two carefully wrought cola of ten syllables each, v. 12 summons those worshiping in the temple to engage in hymnic declaration. Then as we noted in our discussion of Strophe I, v. 13 contains a (somewhat shorter) bicolon which provides a word of justification for the two imperatives voiced in v. 12--Yahweh, the Avenger, remembers his own. Not by accident, this motivation, which concludes the strophe, is strategically headed by the emphasizing כי particle.

Again it is an abrupt shift, now apparent in 14a, that signals the appearance of Strophe V (9:14-15). Likewise spanning only a line couplet, this strophe sets forth a petition for divine favor. Just as two imperatives addressed to the congregation were followed by a bicolon providing the motivation in Strophe IV, presently two imperatives directed to Yahweh (v. 14) are followed by a motive bicolon (v. 15). The latter is formally introduced by למען, a third particle used by the psalmist to ensure that at desired intervals in the poem a suitable emphasis may be achieved. Moreover, this particle expressing purpose or intent does double duty since it introduces both the subjunctive אספרה in 15a and its counterpart, אגילה, in 15b. That the cola of this strophe average more syllables (12+) than any of the others of the psalm may be taken as a manifestation of the fervent personal plea of the psalmist who initiates his petition with the suffixed imperative חנני and buttresses it by the promise that if divine help is forthcoming, he will render appropriate hymnic thanksgiving.

We submit that 9:16-19 accurately denotes the scope of Strophe VI with its renewed declaration of Yahweh's justice. Four considerations speak in behalf of this interpretation. First, the strophe opens with mention of what seems to have just occurred ("The nations are sunk. . .," 16a), as it unfolds we learn about what now is ("Yahweh is manifest in passing judgment," 17a), and as the strophe draws to a close in vv. 18-19 we are told what will be ("The nations shall return to Sheol" [18a], but Yahweh's own will be remembered [19a]). Second, since some kind of equation between גוים and the רשע is apparently being

established here, perhaps the psalmist has consciously enveloped mention of the wicked in 17b and 18a by mention of the nations in 16a and 18b. If so, the cola of v. 18 would expand the thought already advanced in Strophe VI and in that capacity do not initiate a new strophe. Third, we know too little about the two presumably musical terms located at the end of v. 17 to pronounce categorially that with their appearance Strophe VI has concluded. The judgment spoken four decades ago by Oesterley and Robinson still stands: "The presence of the word Selah at the end of a line is often held to indicate the end of a strophe, but its meaning is too uncertain for us to be sure that it was used for this purpose."[66] Moreover, סלה is not retained by the Syriac at the end of v. 17 and, as Kraft has aptly observed, "the thought criterion hardly suggests any such division."[67] Finally, the bicolon in v. 19, which is headed by the emphatic negative כי לא is probably to be interpreted as the psalmist's deliberate manner of bringing this strophe to a close (as is the case in 11b). Throughout all four bicola 3d-pers. discourse is employed.

In Strophes VII (9:20-21) and VIII (10:1-2) we confront line couplets once more. Significant turning points or shifts signal their commencement. The first colon in v. 21 opens with the imperative plus divine vocative and is supported by the second colon with its initial jussive which functions as an indirect imperative--"let the nations be judged before you." The situation in v. 21 is similar. The first colon contains the initial imperative plus divine vocative and is followed by a colon headed by a jussive--"let the nations know." In this strophe the petition of the psalmist for divine intervention is firmly and artfully cast.

Strophe VIII is forcefully introduced by למה, an interrogative particle which plays a decisive role in the introductory stage of the lament (see, for example, Ps. 22:2 and 74:1, where it appears as here immediately beside a divine vocative, and Ps. 43:2). Accordingly, the complaint of apparent divine inaction is formally introduced. In 10:1b we meet a phrase which we previously encountered in 9:10b, לעתות בצרה. The poet's intentional use of that phrase in Psalm 10, however, sharply contrasts its appearance in Psalm 9 within a confident hymnic statement about Yahweh's justice. We deliberately link 10:2 with 10:1 in the belief that the former provides the motive for the accusation made in the latter. The psalmist protests that the arrogant wicked are operating in unhindered fashion! בגאות assumes an emphatic position at the head of the second bicolon of this strophe, a bicolon which provides, in effect, a summary of the problem of presumptive evildoers which is spaciously elaborated in the two strophes that follow.

In the commentaries 10:1-11, or 2-11, or 3-11 is frequently isolated as a major poetic unit given to a portrayal of arrogant evildoers whose seemingly secure lifestyle presently poses a severe threat to the existence and faith of the psalmist. There seems to be no question that this lengthy and increasingly colorful 3d-pers. description terminates in 10:11. The task before us is to justify why we have designated 10:3-6 as Strophe IX and 10:7-11 as Strophe X. If we are initially disturbed by the presence of a strophe consisting of eleven bicola, we might find solace in Meek's remark that the Hebrew poet "was not bound to absolute regularity either in parallelism or rhythm, neither was

he in strophic construction."[68] But can we do more? A key to the problem may be found in the phrase אמר בלבו which is thrice offered in Psalm 10.[69] In addition to its use in 13b that phrase is deftly employed at the head of the bicola in vv. 6 and 11 in order to emphasize the evildoer's overweening attitude. His actions are arrogant but no less so are his thoughts as he shares them with others and particularly with himself. Accordingly, Strophe IX, which opens with the emphatic כי particle, introduces, and sustains, the idea that the evildoer operates with a boastful mouth, and possibly a climax is reached in v. 6 at the end of the strophe through the final bicolon which commences with אמר בלבו . Then the first bicolon (v.7) of Strophe X renews the psalmist's lament about the presumptive evildoer (let us not concern ourselves at the moment about whether "evildoer" is singular or plural) by making further allusion to his speech. The next four bicola in Strophe X (vv. 8-10) portray the odious activity of the evildoer and a climax is reached in the final bicolon (v. 11) which again focuses on presumptous speech and is headed by the phrase אמר בלבו . Thus the parallelism established between vv. 6 and 11 leads us to isolate 10:3-6 and 10:7-11 as separate strophes, and this parallelism is not rendered less effective by the observation that in v. 6 the evildoer exaggerates his own potential, while in v. 11 he minimizes God's.

We may conclude our admittedly lengthy section on the structure and rhetorical cast of Psalm 9-10 with a few remarks about Strophes XI (10:12-15) and XII (10:16-18). Many commentators detect a major break between vv. 15 and 16, and the case can be easily made. As a unit petitioning Yahweh to enter into a just deliverance of the poor, Strophe XI opens with a bicolon (v. 12) containing two positive and one negative imperative addressed to the deity; it concludes with a bicolon (v. 15) whose two members respectively begin with an imperative and a jussive with imperative function. The voice of protest is raised in v. 13 which begins with על־מה, an expression at home in the lament genre, yet in what follows (v. 14) the psalmist's feelings of confidence surface. What is most noteworthy in Strophe XI, where 2d-pers. speech virtually dominates, is its rigorous use at its extremities of imperatives addressed to the deity. Strophe XII then completes the lament with its expression of certitude that is initiated in 16a with its forthright declaration of Yahweh's eternal kingship. The presence of the optative perfect in 16b denotes that the posture of the psalmist still involves petition. Even so, Strophe XII, with its mingled 3d- and 2d-pers. discourse, aptly expresses the psalmist's confidence in a righteous outcome.

The Problem of Genre and Setting in Psalm 9-10

In his comprehensive and suggestive article, "Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered," Rolf Knierim states, "Form-critical methodology must take the literary character of our texts seriously. The literary versions are the only ones we possess."[70] Nevertheless, our rather thorough examination of the unity and acrostic format of Psalm 9-10,[71] extensive text-critical remarks made necessary by a poorly preserved text, and sustained discussion about the structure and rhetorical cast of the poem may give the impression at least that these are the only important issues facing biblical scholars as they work with this psalm. That is simply not the case. Yet the paucity of bibli-

cal psalms with the thanksgiving-lament sequence plus our own attraction to rhetorical criticism with its emphasis on literary units as self-contained entities worthy of close inspection has admittedly helped to influence our late entry into the issues involving genre and setting. The following observation made by Doty may in part justify this procedure: "A great deal of confusion in literary criticism has been caused by focus upon the nature of the genre (its ontology, as it were) rather than upon the actor who uses the genre according to his own intentions."[72] Thus rhetorical criticism can provide a useful specifying corrective to the generalizing tendencies of some form-critical efforts. Even so, the question must ultimately be raised, "Granted the complexity of the text and the scarcity of similarly structured poems in the Psalter, what is the appropriate generic classification of Psalm 9-10 and to what kind of setting or 'creative institutional matrix' (Knierim) is it to be linked?"

It appears that Psalm 9-10 can serve reasonably well as a useful illustration of Knierim's assertion that "the entirety of a text may be governed by more than one typical structure."[73] In our attempt to define the genre of this composition, we must take account of the fact that its imperfect yet evident acrostic scheme has imposed a rather definite outline on the whole. But are not the interests of some other kind of structure, one having to do with a traditional theme or a liturgical happening, likewise being satisfied?

Hermann Gunkel did not think so when he consigned Psalm 9-10 to the Mischung category. Rather, he seemed content in merely pointing out the curious features of the psalm. In his judgment, the acrostic style promoted a mixing of three genres--individual thanksgiving (9:2-5, 14-15), eschatological hymn (9:6-17), and individual lament (9:18-10:18). He held that "eine besondere Stellung hat das alphabetische Gedicht Ps. 9.10, das in unorganischer Weise Stücke verschiedener Gattungen durcheinander mischt und dabei auch Motive des Dankliedes des Einzelnen (9:2-5.14f) mit denen des eschatologischen Hymnus zusammenstellt."[74] That Gunkel vacillated in his opinion as to whether the Lament is individual or communal in character is evident from his allusion to Psalm 9-10 in the course of his discussion about die Klaglieder des Volkes wherein he remarked that "öffentlicher und privater" components are both present in the poem.[75] Especially in his commentary Gunkel took pains to show how the author of Psalm 9-10 was a hapless victim of a demanding acrostic scheme which required of him more than his talents were capable of providing.[76]

Thus Gunkel posited that as the psalmist sought to begin his poem, the first consonant of the Hebrew alphabet actually led him to the word אודה, and accordingly, he composed in 9:2-3 "die Einführung eines Dankliedes." Then in 9:4-5 he was moved to give expression to a motif of individual thanksgiving, only to depart from this procedure in 9:6-17 where he executed an eschatological hymn, though in 9:14-15 he returned to the motif of individual thanksgiving. When the psalmist reached v. 18 and needed a bicolon commencing with Yōdh, he settled on the imperfect ישובו (in contrast to the pronounced use of perfect verbs thus far), with the consequence that he now shifted into composing a "Wunsch und Bitte eines Klageliedes" encompassing 9:18-21. In 10:1, with the poet's need to design a bicolon beginning with Lāmedh, the word למה, which is so typically

expressed at the outset of the complaint in the Klagelied, came to mind. Hence, he was seriously moved to turn his energies into writing a Lament which terminates in 10:16-18 with the customary "Gewissheit der Erhörung." Gunkel was therefore prepared to defend Psalm 9-10 as a literary unit and to classify it as a Mischung owing to its blend of thanksgiving, hymnic, and lamentation components. And he understood that mixture as the result of the psalmist's obsession to fulfill as best he could the mandate which the alphabetical acrostic scheme had placed upon him.

It is not surprising that Sigmund Mowinckel seriously objected to Gunkel's assessment which he believed was too dominated by a solely literary and aesthetic perspective and thereby deficient in its failure to comprehend the actual cultic situation in which Psalm 9-10 might have been employed. He concurred with Gunkel that in Psalm 9 we meet hymn and in Psalm 10 lamentation. In choice words, however, he expressed his aversion to Gunkel's understanding of why two form types (hymn and lamentation) are employed:

> Gunkel's explanation is that when the poet reached lamedh he could not, on the spur of the moment, find any other word starting with an 'l' than lamma 'why', and hence he plunged into the lament style, where the lamenting phrase 'Why hast thou forsaken me?' and the like, frequently recur, and continued in this lamentation style! This is a curiously superficial explanation, poorly corresponding with the firm and conscious style of the poem, and is only possible because Gunkel with regard to the individual psalms usually betrays his own cultic principle, maintaining that they are not real cult psalms, but only 'literary' imitations.[77]

While Mowinckel might be charged with having engaged in rhetorical overkill, the point is well taken. After all, the psalmist might have used any one of several thousand Hebrew verbs or nouns by prefixing it with a prepositional lāmedh!

Happily, Mowinckel has his own thesis to advance in conjunction with his discussion of the hymn of praise which he believes has influenced other psalm types. Especially vital to his understanding of Psalms 9-10, 27, and 40 is his assumption that a hymn-petition or hymn-lamentation sequence betrays "deliberate composition on the part of the poet."[78] In particular, Mowinckel contends that a double purpose or root can be discerned in the laudatory introduction:

> Firstly it is a primary expression of one aspect of the fundamental feeling in the person who is approaching the deity: the attraction, enthusiasm, confidence of him or her who 'knows God'. But then it is also the expression of a more naïvely utilitarian attitude: the suppliant tries to gain Yahweh's favour and induce him to grant the following petition; it belongs to the 'motivation of the prayer' . . . appealing to Yahweh's sense of honour, and his obligations in regard to the petitioner's trust in him . . .[79]

As we noted near the beginning of this paper, Mowinckel is impressed by the fact that praise and petition are blended in the most ancient ritual songs. Both he and Claus Westermann note that this pattern is quite normative in Babylonian poetry and the latter mentions that this applies with Egyptian psalms as

well.[80] The laudatory element thus supports the petition that stands at the heart of the composition. While we cannot undertake a lengthy inspection of extrabiblical literature at this point, we might refer in passing to an Egyptian text, "Gratitude for a God's Mercy," readily available in ANET. Here an artisan of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Neb-Re, voices his thanksgiving to Amon-Re that his son, Nakht-Amon, has successfully returned to health following a serious illness. Neb-Re's prayer opens:

> Giving praise to Amon. I make him adorations in his name; I give him praises to the height of heaven and to the width of earth; [I] relate his power to him who travels downstream and to him who travels upstream. Beware ye of him!

Somewhat later we read:

> If I call to thee when I am distressed, thou comest and thou rescuest me. Thou givest breath (to) him who is weak; thou rescuest him who is imprisoned. Thou art Amon-Re, Lord of Thebes, who rescues him who is in the underworld, inasmuch as thou art he who is . . . when one calls to thee; thou art he who comes from afar.[81]

Of course, rescue from the underworld reminds us of the declaration contained in Ps. 9:14. What is of greater import, however, is the fact that in this prayer of thanksgiving Neb-Re seems to be setting up Amon-Re so that he might act favorably and speedily when disaster strikes next. While this Egyptian memorial prayer does not include a series of supplications, it is obvious that Neb-Re is scarcely engaging in disinterested praise.

In such situations, a practical, psychological reality is at work that form criticism can ill afford to ignore. It should not strike us as strange that supplicating individuals and congregations would refer to a deity's previously executed favors and saving deeds. Thus Westermann rightly remarks that in many of the Community Laments of ancient Israel there exists "declarative praise which serves as one of the motifs which should move God to intervene in the present desperate situation."[82] If Yahweh has delivered his own in the past, will he not do so even now?

All of this is to say that we must be very careful in speaking about mixed genre and take seriously Mowinckel's judgment that "'Mixture of styles' may often be a misleading expression when applied to those types which have grown spontaneously and are therefore many-sided. . ."[83] Thus in Psalm 9-10 the juxtaposition of thanksgiving, hymn, lament, and petition is not to be attributed to poetic decline or to the poet's inability to know just where he is moving as he gives birth to his composition. Rather, the human situation in which our Hebrew psalmist found himself seems to have encouraged him to affirm the Babylonian model of psalmody by prefacing poignant lament and urgent petition with laudatory thanksgiving. To borrow a terminology from Martin Buss, form-critical work on Psalm 9-10 must take into account the "dynamics of existence" which on this occasion demanded something other than an ideal form or genre abstraction.[84]

To be sure, some may wish to argue that there is a simpler way of handling the rather singular thanksgiving-lamentation sequence. After all, one has merely to side with those Semitic scholars who press on us the importance of the precative perfect. Among Psalms commentators, Buttenwieser and Dahood have been the most rigorous in their discovery of the precative perfect in Psalm 9-10. The former lamented that most exegetes of this composition err in taking the infinitive בשוב in 9:4 and the imperfects which follow as constituting a declaration of what has happened, when in actuality we have here a statement of what the psalmist hopes will occur.[85] In Dahood's references to the precative perfect in Psalm 9-10 we can understand why this grammatical phenomenon is of immediate concern to form-critical work on the psalm. He writes:

> The dispute whether Ps. ix is a pure lament or a lament introduced by verses which properly belong to a hymn of thanksgiving is very simply resolved, it would seem, by parsing, with Buttenwieser, the verbs in vss. 5-7 as precative perfects. In this analysis the poem can be seen to be a lament throughout. . . Once the nature of the verbs in vss. 5-7 is correctly appreciated, the long-standing grammatical and logical difficulties are quickly resolved.[86]

Dahood therefore discerns that the opening verses in Psalm 9 contain the psalmist's promise that he will thank Yahweh once he has acted decisively against the psalmist's enemies. Moreover, Junker is of the opinion that 9:5-7, and even much of what follows after that, is oriented toward the future. Specifically Junker maintains that the כי particle heading 9:5 prepares the reader for 9:6-13, which contains an eschatological hymn celebrating the perfect justice that will ensue once God's establishment of his kingdom on earth has been realized.[87] The particle in 9:5 therefore calls attention to the hymn itself that the psalmist will sing when the deity responds to his prayer. A close reading of Dahood's detailed notes reveals that he detects use of precative perfect operating not only in five verses of Psalm 9 (vv. 5, 6, 7, 16, 17), but also in three verses of Psalm 10 (vv. 14, 16, 17). Thus he even outdistances Buttenwieser in his enthusiasm for it. He argues that we accept the precative perfect as a reality in Hebrew "since Ugaritic confirms the presence of this usage in Northwest Semitic."[88]

Undoubtedly, in the next decade more studies in biblical poetry will call attention to the presence of the precative perfect in both Hebrew and Ugaritic.[89] Nevertheless, I feel hesitant in accepting such extensive use of it in the psalm. Of course, it presents us with a facile alternative; we could then read 9:2-4 as a formal Vow that the psalmist makes on condition that the deity goes after the psalmist's enemies. Nor do I doubt the truth of Dahood's assertion that "a wider recognition of this stylistic variation . . . may bear on the literary classification of a psalm."[90] To follow Dahood means that we can designate Psalm 9-10 without embarassment as a lament from start to finish. The motifs of praise resident in the psalm would not look substantially different than they do in other laments in which they appear. The hour may be too soon for us to make a firm judgment on the matter in Psalm 9-10. Nor can I forget this criticism that was made of Dahood's commentary:

"Most any theory can be conceived to account for a certain set of facts. But the crucial point is whether an explanation, once conceived, is likely. Dahood has recorded all his brainstorms, and only very rarely qualified them as probable or improbable."[91] The text-critical analysis presented in this paper owes quite a bit to Dahood, but I for one do not yet feel in a position to read the precative perfect so ubiquitously in Psalm 9-10.

Several tentative judgments about the proper generic classification and setting of Psalm 9-10 may now be presented:

(1) To dismiss Psalm 9-10 as a Mischung whose affected acrostic only betrays stylistic dissolution and poetic decline is to render an injustice to both poet and poem. At the least we must admit that the blending of laudatory thanksgiving and fervent lament is a pattern which is discernible elsewhere in the Psalter--not only in Psalms 27 and 40, about which we have made brief mention, but also in Psalm 89 in which we find a hymn prefacing a king's petition for deliverance from his enemies.[92]

(2) Since the climax of the entire composition is found in the supplicatory lament which is, of course, effectively supported by laudatory elements that are present, the "mixed genre" label is inappropriate. Psalm 9-10 does not, for example, satisfy Knierim's expectations of mixed genre.[93] Rather, it appears to demonstrate the fact that "genre-elements. . .can be adduced by text-types without making mixed genres out of them."[94]

(3) The designation "complex genre," understood as the buildup of several genre elements in order to form a new, unique genre for a specific situation, such as we might expect in the case of a liturgy, is somewhat more acceptable. Since the original (cultic) situation is still crucial in the case of complex genres, and since the genres have not experienced dissolution, the "complex genre" label may be appropriate to Psalm 9-10. In a manner that would not have been possible with the so-called pure genre, Psalm 9-10 successfully met the needs of some kind of sociohistorical condition that called it into existence and maintained it.

(4) Psalm 9-10 might then be understood as a manifestation of a Complex Lament genre. It successfully meets the requirements of a lament,[95] yet at its head exists the Danklied, a vivid, genuine expression of gratitude for past divine deliverance.

(5) From 9:12, 15 it is clear that this psalm had its Sitz in the (seventh-sixth century?) Zion cult. Yet it is doubtful that in Psalm 9-10 we have a liturgy, one perhaps involving the king who embodied his people in their struggle for existence against their enemies. Some discontinuity of style and shifts of mood are evident, but there is scarcely enough to make a case.

What, then, is the psalm's intention? Most briefly we would submit that it offers the worshiping congregation opportunity to face up to its own problems of human existence and to take full confidence in the promise that the "Most High" deity (9:3), who is available to his people as the one enthroned on Zion (9:12), will in his own time effectively establish his Kingdom (10:16). In this poem with its admittedly "lehrhafte Ausweitung,"[96] realism and hope are artfully united.

NOTES

1. Accordingly, this essay follows upon, and has been informed by, correspondence and seminar papers of the last two-three years. In particular, reference should be made to two working papers, "Complex Genres and Mixed Genres in the Psalter," by Terence E. Fretheim, and "Elements of Lament in Some 'Mixed'Psalms," by William J. Urbrock, examined by the SBL Task Group on Hebrew Poetry at the meeting in Chicago on 9 November 1973, and Urbrock's seminar paper, "Mortal and Miserable Man: A Form-critical Investigation of Psalm 90," SBL 1974 Seminar Papers (vol 1., 1-33), discussed by the Task Group when it convened in Washington, D.C., on 25 October 1974. These studies, along with the present investigation, have in part been spawned by the following remark made by Fretheim in his letter of 8 March 1973 to members of the Task Group: "There is a group of Psalms, sometimes called mixed, sometimes about anything else possible; generally, they might be described as having a pattern of a lament or complaint following upon an expression of praise or thanksgiving. The ones which I have tentatively isolated are 9-10, 27, 36, 40, 89, 90, 139 (cf. 44)." Actually in Ps. 9-10 the pattern is reversed. In any case, the present paper is submitted to Task Group members and other interested individuals for their consideration and criticism.

2. I do not believe it compelling that a detailed review be offered of the variety of assessments that twentieth century biblical scholarship has given to Ps. 9-10. The following footnote (97) provided by Svend Holm-Nielsen in his perceptive essay, "The Importance of Late Jewish Psalmody for the Understanding of Old Testament Psalmodic Tradition," Studia Theologica 14 (1960) 51, may suffice: "GUNKEL refers the psalm to a period when the various 'Gattungen' had begun to be merged, and from the social conditions which constitute its background, thinks it possible to refer it to the time of Nehemiah. SCHMIDT also refers it to the Persian period. The main section, ix. 1-5 + 10-17, is the prayer of an accused person spoken in the temple. An adapter, however, has made the psalm collective by means of x. 1-15, which correspond to Ps. lxxiii, and has also given it its alphabetical form. MOWINCKEL argues against GUNKEL's idea of a mixture of styles. The original main section of the joint psalm is Ps. x, a psalm of lamentation, which is introduced by an expanded hymn (ix). This has been misunderstood by a later adapter, who has separated the motifs from each other and made the text into two independent psalms. BENTZEN adopts MOWINCKEL's view, but considers ix to be a royal psalm, thus pre-Exilic. LESLIE supports GUNKEL. From its contents as well as its form OESTERLEY determined it as a late post-Exilic psalm and does not think that it may have been intended for use in the temple, while WEISER makes it an enthronement psalm to be used at the Feast of the Covenant. KRAUS recognizes the cultic elements of the psalm, but is still inclined to refer it to a late time. Inversely, EERDMANS maintains that the idea of Yahweh as King must place it in early pre-Exilic times."

Holm-Nielsen himself submits that the poorly preserved psalm may have first existed in the preexilic period as an artful alphabetical whole whose recurrent theme, the kingdom of God, supports the composition throughout (pp. 52-53). Mitchell Dahood, Psalms I (Garden City,N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), through frequent recourse to the precative perfect, accepts Ps. 9 as

"a lament throughout" (p. 54), and Ps. 10, once part of Ps. 9, as "a prayer for divine intervention against the wicked" (p. 61). Hereafter we shall cite vols. I and III (1970) of Dahood's commentary as PI and PIII respectively.

3. I have worked with the Hebrew text as it appears in fascicle 11, Liber Psalmorum, praeparavit H. Bardtke, in Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (1969).

4. In a few Hebrew manuscripts Psalm 9-10 is rendered as one composition.

5. H. J. Kraus, Psalmen I, BK (Neukirchen, 1960), 77.

6. A. van Selms, "The Alphabetic Hymn in Nahum 1, " Die Ou Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika 12 (1969) 35. Van Selms' essay has been unavailable to me, and I am indebted to Duane L. Christensen for having cited this assessment in "The Acrostic of Nahum Reconsidered," ZAW 87 (1975) 24.

7. This interpretation is rigorously challenged by Dahood, PI 55, 57, who detects the presence of the precative perfect in 9:5, 6, 7, 16 and 17. We shall return to this issue later in the paper.

8. Robert Gordis, "Psalm 9-10 -- A Textual and Exegetical Study," JQR 48 (1957) 106-108.

9. Gordis, 107.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. So far as Book I of the Psalter is concerned, Sigmund Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship (New York: Abingdon, 1962), vol. 1, 95, claims that the same situation obtains in Psalm 40; both A. F. Kirkpatrick, The Book of Psalms (Cambridge University Press, 1902), 208, and Artur Weiser, The Psalms (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), 334, advance a similar assessment. Nevertheless, most scholars interpret Psalm 40 as a composite work, with 40:2-12 embodying the thanksgiving and 40:14-18 the lament, with 40:13 perhaps as a late addition. See Hermann Gunkel, Die Psalmen, HAT (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1926), 171; W. O. E. Oesterley, The Psalms (London: SPCK, 1939), 232; Kraus, 306; and Dahood, PI 245. Of course, it is often noted that the lament in 40:14-18 is virtually identical with Psalm 70. While I have not reached a firm conclusion about the composite character of Psalm 40, I find the exegesis of Weiser somewhat appealing. But whatever be the judgment on Psalm 40, Mowinckel's opinion that Psalm 27 "is not a case of a fortuitous collocation or coupling of two independent poems" (p. 95) is compelling.

13. Mowinckel, vol. 1, 96.

14. In addition to the numerous words discussed in this paragraph, it should be noted that the following words are common to both psalms: אבד (9:4, 6, 7, 19; 10:16); אלהים (9:18; 10:4, 13); גוים (9:6, 16, 18, 20, 21; 10:16); זר (9:16; 10:2); יהוה (9:2, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 20, 21; 10:1, 3, 12, 16, 17); ישב (9:5, 8, 12; 10:8); כון (9:8; 10:17); לב (9:2; 10:6, 11, 13,

17); משפט (9:5, 8, 17; 10:5); לנצח (9:7, 19; 10:11); עולם (9:6, 8; 10:16); עזב (9:11; 10:14); ענה, ענוי, עני (9:13, 14, 19; 10:2, 9, 12, 17); ראה (9:14; 10:11, 14); רשע (9:6, 17, 18; 10:2, 3, 4, 13, 15); רשת (9:16; 10:9). Given the high frequency of many of these words, they assume no definitive role in determining whether Psalms 9 and 10 were originally one piece. Any two compositions in the Psalter might have this much vocabulary in common. Nevertheless, the fact that many of these words bear the burden of the "message" of Psalm 9-10 is itself an indication that their use in both psalms may be regarded as deliberate and important.

15. In agreement with Holm-Nielsen, 51.

16. Weiser, 149.

17. The question as to whether the respective line pairs constitute independent strophes will be addressed somewhat later in the paper.

18. According to the findings of D. N. Freedman, "Acrostics and Metrics in Hebrew Poetry," HTR 65 (1972) 392, Psalm 37, containing 719 syllables within 44 lines, has an average of 16.3 syllables per line; by contrast, Lamentations 4, containing 609 syllables within the same number of lines, yields an average of 13.8 syllables per line. My tentative estimate is that Psalm 9-10 has 726 syllables within 41 lines, yielding an average of 17.7 syllables per line.

19. It should be noted, however, that in Psalm 37 Wāw, Hēth, and Kaph are present at the head of both bicola in their groups, and the same is true of Hē and Pē in Lamentations 4, and of Aleph and Wāw in Psalm 9.

20. Jacob Leveen, "Psalm X: A Reconstruction," JTS 45 (1944) 16-21; G. R. Driver, Semitic Writing: From Pictograph to Alphabet (London: Oxford University Press, 1948; rev. ed., 1954), Appendix II, 200-206.

21. Leveen, 16.

22. Driver, 200.

23. Two differences, however, should be noted. First, while both scholars wish to emend מרום to some form of סור, Driver posits an active, and Leveen a passive, rendering. Second, whereas Leveen accepts the Pē-ʿAyin sequence of the MT, Driver reserves the two "by way of experiment" in order to highlight the crescendo of violence on the part of the wicked (p. 206).

24. Kraus, 78.

25. Holm-Nielsen, 51. Could this also be the opinion of Freedman, who has nothing to say about Psalm 9-10 within his 26-page article on Hebrew acrostics? Holm-Nielsen does at least entertain the possibility that Psalm 9-10 "once was a beautiful alphabetical whole which in the course of its being handed down has become disarranged" (p. 52).

26. Holm-Nielsen, 51.

27. To be sure, other acrostic patterns are manifested in the canonical Psalms -- in Psalms 111 and 112 successive cola begin with the twenty-two Hebrew consonants, in Psalms 25, 34, and 145 this is true of successive bicola, and in Psalm 119 we are confronted with eight-line stanzas.

28. Charles F. Kraft, The Strophic Structure of Hebrew Poetry as Illustrated in the First Book of the Psalter (Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, 1938), 46.

29. This assertion admittedly involves some decisions in the realm of textual analysis that will be taken up in the next section of the paper.

30. Some scholars have suggested that the Pē-verse (17) should be read prior to the ᶜAyin-verse (16) in Psalm 34, in order not to separate two verses on the righteous (16 and 18) by a verse (17) on evildoers, but such a shift does not appear mandatory.

31. Delbert R. Hillers, Lamentations, Anchor Bible (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972), xxvii, regards this frequently espoused explanation as "sheerly hypothetical, and rather improbable in view of the consistent sequence ayin-pe in Ugaritic abecedaries almost a millennium older than Lamentations, and in view of the order of the Greek alphabet, but no more reasonable hypothesis has been advanced."

32. Kraus, 76.

33. Gordis, 112.

34. For several useful illustrations of how the idea of separation is expressed in Biblical Hebrew "either by the removal of the person from the object or of the object from the person," see Gordis, 114, ftn. 24.

35. The emendation of מרום to סרו was advanced by T. K. Abbott, "On the Alphabetical Arrangement of Ps. IX and X with some other Emendations," ZAW 16 (1896) 292. We accept it here, as does Gordis, 114. Both Leveen, 18, and Driver, 202, share Abbott's view that some form of סור is used to introduce the alphabetical Sāmekh line at this juncture, but Driver proposes the Qal participle, סרים, and Leveen posits סוּרָים, meaning "discarded," on unconvincing grounds that "to conceive of משפטים as 'departing' is a usage essentially alien to the peculiarly concrete literary genius of the writers of the Hebrew Bible." Gordis, 114, discusses the similarity of Mēm and Sāmekh as well as the possibility of the Mēm dittography.

36. Duane L. Christensen, "The Acrostic of Nahum Reconsidered," ZAW 87 (1975) 17-30.

37. Gordis, 105, ftn. 5. Here he states that whereas incomplete acrostics have survived, this does not mean that in some circles defective acrostics were intentionally drafted as was maintained by I. Elbogen, Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung (Leipzig, 1913), 18, 274-275.

38. Christensen, 29.

39. Christensen, 25.

40. Christensen, 24.

41. Holm-Nielsen, 52.

42. In agreement with H. Junker, "Unité, composition et genre littéraire des Psaumes IX et X," RB 60 (1953) 166.

43. Edward J. Kissane, The Book of Psalms Translated from a Critically Revised Hebrew Text, vol. 1 (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1953), 36. One wonders why Kissane did not also judge the omission of the Nūn in Psalm 145 in a similar manner.

44. Kraft, 45, accepts this emendation, and while admitting that the consonants Gīmel and Dāleth would introduce merely one line each, he submits, somewhat unconvincingly, that in 9:6 and 9:7 we confront "metrically overloaded lines" that might originally have been couplets. On the basis of the appearance of much of the apocryphal psalm 155 in its original Hebrew at Qumran (11Q Ps^{a}, col. 24), Patrick W. Skehan, "A Broken Acrostic and Psalm 9," CBQ 27 (1965) 5, finds the Dāleth line in 9:8 which he claims should commence, "dayyān Yhwh." Kraus' judgment (p. 76) is entirely fair: "Rekonstruktion einer ד-Strophe im Akrostichon . . . kann nur als ein Versuch betrachtet werden."

45. C. A. Briggs, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms, vol. 1, ICC (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1906; 5th impression 1952), 70-71.

46. Despite agreement on the part of Leveen, 17, and Driver, 202, that the Mēm element is to be reconstructed at the head of 10:3 with the word מְהֹלֵל describing the frantic state of the wicked.

47. This is especially the case in the wisdom psalms, as I have attempted to point out in "The Retribution Motif in Psalmic Wisdom," a forthcoming article scheduled to appear in ZAW.

48. This shift would follow the witness of the LXX. See Gordis, 117-118, and Dahood, PI 63. It is noteworthy that whereas Kraus generally assumes a conservative stance on the matter of acrostic reconstruction in Psalm 9-10, he does posit the existence of a Ṣādhēh strophe by reading with Duhm at the head of 10:10 יָחֹכָה צָפָה , "He patrolled and waits" (p. 76).

49. Kissane, 39; see also Driver, 201.

50. Gordis, 104.

51. Junker, 166, maintains "Dans la mesure du possible, il s'efforça de donner à son poème cette forme artificielle extérieure qui était populaire dans la littérature de son temps, mais sans sacrifier l'ordre des idées à la contrainte de ce schéma."

52. One is left to wonder whether there was any poet

living in the time of our psalmist who took as harsh a view on alphabetical acrostics as does J. M. Powis Smith, The Psalms (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), 252: "This acrostic structure, of course, not only puts saddle and bridle upon Pegasus, but also hobbles him. There can be no free movement of thought and imagination under such close restrictions. As a matter of fact, the acrostic psalms are, poetically speaking, among the poorest in the Psalter."

53. Freedman, 369; Frank M. Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 91, 115-116, 122, et passim; Urbrock, 10; and Christensen, 22.

54. Christensen, 22, ftn. 34.

55. Christensen, 23; italics ours.

56. Delivered 18 December 1968 and subsequently published: "Form Criticism and Beyond," JBL 88 (1969) 1-18.

57. Muilenburg, 12.

58. Ibid.

59. For example, this is the assessment of Kraft, 45. It might be noted that Kraft found unrewarding his quest to discover in Psalm 9-10 a larger, stanza structure that might gather up the respective acrostic couplets into a coherent whole (pp. 46-47).

60. Otto Eissfeldt, The Old Testament: An Introduction (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 64.

61. Hillers, 86.

62. Kraus, 78.

63. We must be careful that we do not prematurely dismiss a given acrostic composition as being essentially intractable to strophic analysis. For example, in the course of work on a paper on Psalm 34 that I read a few years ago to a regional AAR meeting, I discovered that the respective strophes could be rather easily and convincingly set apart as follows: hymnic declaration (vv. 2-4), thankful testimony and ensuing instruction (vv. 5-11), instruction via sapiential admonitions (vv. 12-15), instruction via sapiential sayings (vv. 16-22), and the appended element (v. 23).

64. A glance at the commentaries will reveal that Psalm 9-10 has been outlined in quite diverse ways. Only at 10:1 and 10:12 is firm consensus reached, whereby the initial first words of those verses, למה and קומה , are thought to initiate new sections.

65. The significance of this particle is masterfully stated by James Muilenburg, "The Linguistic and Rhetorical Usages of the Particle כי in the Old Testament," HUCA 32 (1961), 135-160. Note also that J. Pedersen, Israel: Its Life and Culture (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), 118, labels it the "most comprehensive" of Hebrew particles.

66. W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament (London: SPCK, 1934), 148. Kraft, 8-9, warns that "as a criterion in strophic analysis," סלה must be used most circumspectly. Although we submit that סלה in 9:21 does stand at the end of Strophe VII, we shall not use its existence there as an argument for justifying the scope of that strophe.

67. Kraft, 46.

68. T. H. Meek, "The Structure of Hebrew Poetry," Journal of Religion 9 (1929) 550.

69. Repetition as a noteworthy stylistic feature of Psalm 10 is emphasized by Leveen, 16.

70. Interpretation 27 (1973) 457-458.

71. Since it is not possible to cover all fronts in a paper of this scope, we have elected to table consideration of the use of oral formulaic language in Psalm 9-10. We cite, however, this finding of Robert C. Culley, Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms (University of Toronto Press, 1967), 107: "Psalm 9:2-15 is almost fifty per cent formulaic language while the rest of 9 and all of 10 have almost none. It is evident that the question of the unity of Psalms 9 and 10 is not clear." Yet Culley does not categorically deny the possibility that Psalm 9-10 might be a literary unit. He correctly notes that "this combination of a thanksgiving followed by a complaint in one psalm is not common." He holds that where a similar condition obtains in Psalms 27 and 40 we have what are usually understood to be combinations of two poems. It appears, however, that this assessment is more frequently rendered on the latter than on the former. Even so, a lack of similarly constructed compositions in the Psalter appreciably aggravates the problem of genre and setting in Psalm 9-10.

72. William G. Doty, "The Concept of Genre in Literary Analysis," SBL 1972 Seminar Papers (vol. 2) 427.

73. Knierim, 462.

74. Gunkel-Begrich, Einleitung in die Psalmen, HAT (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1933), 281; also, p. 402, where he is especially interested in outlining the components of the Klaglied des Einzelnen contained in 9:18-10:18.

75. Gunkel, Einleitung, 134.

76. Die Psalmen, 32-33.

77. Mowinckel, vol. 1, 32.

78. Mowinckel, vol. 1, 95.

79. Mowinckel, vol. 1, 95-96.

80. Mowinckel, vol. 1, 96; Claus Westermann, The Praise of God in the Psalms (Richmond: John Knox, 1965), 37.

81. See James B. Pritchard, ANET, p. 380.

82. Westermann, 55. See also the cogent remark of Mowinckel, vol. 2, 96, where he notes that it is a mark of "the psychology of the religious life" for the worshiper to descend from lofty doxology to self-interested petition.

83. Mowinckel, vol. 1, 96.

84. Martin Buss, "The Study of Forms," Old Testament Form Criticism, ed. John H. Hayes (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1974), 52-56.

85. Moses Buttenwieser, The Psalms Chronologically Treated with a New Translation (New York: KTAV, 1969; first published in 1938), 429. For an understanding of how he perceives the precative perfect, see his article, "The Importance of the Tenses for the Interpretation of the Psalms," HUCA Jubilee Volume (1925), 89-111.

86. Dahood, PI 54.

87. Junker, 164-165.

88. Dahood, PI 20.

89. For example, Freedman identifies the precative perfect in Lam. 1:21 and 3:56, and does so convincingly (pp. 381, 384).

90. Dahood, PI xxxix.

91. David A. Robertson, JBL 85 (1966) 484.

92. Frank Crüsemann, Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel, WMANT (Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 296, has rightly observed that the acrostics of the Psalter, owing to their diversity of expression, are assigned by the commentaries to several main Gattungen, yet they cannot be understood as being pure representatives of the Gattungen to which they are assigned. Psalm 9-10, with its blend of thanksgiving, hymn, petition, and complaint, is no exception.

93. Knierim, 455, writes, "Mixed genre would have to be understood as a typicality of its own governing the composition of genre-elements and giving the whole a typical identity."

94. Ibid.

95. Indeed, several of the expressions in Psalm 9-10 resemble those found in Psalms 94 and 140 whose identity as laments goes unchallenged (cf. 94:4, 7, 14 with 10:3; 10:11; 9:11, and cf. 140:6, 12, 13 with 10:10; 10:15; 9:5).

96. Kraus, 86.

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PSALM 139: "PRAYER IN STILLNESS"

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Psalm 139 is at once the "Crown of the Psalter"[1] and its most difficult specimen to classify.[2] When the poem's notorious textual and linguistic ambiguities are added,[3] it presents altogether an irresistible challenge to the form critic.

Whether or not the techniques of Form Criticism can continue to be applied with lasting profit to individual units of biblical literature remains to be determined. In regard to the Pss. E. Gerstenberger has expressed skepticism.[4] Biblical theologians such as B. Childs are already turning to other areas of insight, apparently feeling that the formgeschichtliche Methode has yielded already its most useful results.[5] Be this as it may, Ps. 139 remains to a large extent "unclassified" in any satisfactory way, and the task of finding its true Gattung and describing with some reliability its Sitz-im-Leben must be brought to completion as part of the unfinished business of Form Criticism.

I. Structure

As the Psalm confronts us now there is reason to suspect its unity as a literary composition, whatever its pre-literary history. The reason for this lies in the internal interruption of the development of thought, beginning at v. 19. If one could regard vv. 19-24 as a later appendage to the ps., so that Ps. 139 could be thought to have reached its final end in v. 18, then the ps. would be a quite integral and consistent hymn, comprised of three stanzas (Weiser will not allow "strophes"[6]). Vv. 1-6 praise God's omniscience, particularly in connection with the psalmist's own life (cf. Jesus' statement to his disciples, Matt. 6:8, ". . .your Father knows what you need before you ask him."). This first section concludes with the psalmist's ascription: "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain it." Vv. 7-12 hymn God's ever-present reality to the man of faith, commencing with the famous rhetorical question, asked in synonymous parallelism, "Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?" The verses comprising this section make effective use of the literary device of contrast. They support the idea that the psalmist is not saying that God can grab him wherever he tries to escape, as one guilty of an affront (exaggerating the force of the word "flee"), but that no matter where the psalmist happens to be, he is never away from God's leadership, protection, and guidance (v. 10). The overloaded line (v. 12) may be intentional as a concluding stichos ("for darkness is as light with thee.") to this section on God's omnipresence. Vv. 13-18 would complete the psalm by praising YHWH as Creator, except that vv. 17-18 depart from this theme in order to provide a conclusion to the whole psalm: "How precious to me are thy thoughts, O God! How vast is the sum of them! If I would count them, they are more than the sand. When I awake, I am still with thee." Here, then, is a psalm in three distinct divisions, celebrating in turn the omniscience, omnipresence,

and omnificence of God, brought to a grand climax in the meditating poet's testimony of faith in the preciousness and vastness of the mind of God, in a sense underscoring the thought with which the psalm began.

The troublesome section, vv. 19-24, has the appearance of an entirely separate psalm. There is nothing intrinsic to these almost imprecatory verses that in any way would seem to connect them logically to the great psalm (vv. 1-18). Indeed, an apparent contradiction exists when v. 23, "Search me, O God, and know my heart! Try me and know my thoughts!," is compared with the very first verse of the psalm, "O Lord, thou hast (i.e., already) searched me and known me!" Could it be, in the literary compilation of the Psalter, that two unrelated personal psalms have been joined together arbitrarily only because of the suggestion made in the words "search" and "know"? It is interesting that Hans Schmidt (Die Psalmen, 1934) held this view, that vv. 19-24 are indeed a separate psalm, but he maintained, through a peculiar logic, that this last poem was composed at a later time by the same psalmist who wrote vv. 1-18, and that the psalmist himself joined the two together, adding vv. 19-24 as a "passionate addition." Nothing within the 24 verses of Ps. 139 would seem to support this conjecture, and it seems a bit too tidy and imaginative to be convincing.

But that v. 19 et seq. is a difficult and sudden intrusion into the thought of vv. 1-18 remains a fact, and the hiatus profoundly influences the understanding of Ps. 139's structure. Fleming James describes the thought-switch in rhapsodic terms: "And now there leaps suddenly from the lips of this adoring Psalmist, pondering over the ineffable mysteries of God's loving care, an outburst of animosity that takes us utterly aback."[7] Condamin describes this flare-up as an attack on the "culpabilité de l'impie."[8]

The most ingenious solution to the problem of the hiatus at v. 19 is the one rather dogmatically put forward by Moses Buttenwieser. He regards vv. 23 and 24 as genuine and belonging properly to the original psalm. In this way the apparent contradiction, referred to above, disappears, the words "search" and "know" seen now as in a cycle, as though the psalm began "O Lord, thou hast always in the past searched me and known me" and concluded "Now, O God, search me again, and know my mind." For Buttenwieser the problem is narrowed down to vv. 19-22 only:

"Verses 19-22 are a foreign element in the psalm, being in content as well as in style and cadence radically different from it. Though these verses have been defended as genuine by interpreter after interpreter, there is no getting around the fact that they mar the poetic unity of the psalm. It is, however, not necessary to argue this point any further, for the fact of the case is that verses 19-20 stood originally in Psalm 140 after verse 12, and verses 21-22 in Psalm 141 after verse 4. When omitted from these psalms in the course of transmission, they were presumably put in the margin at the top of the page, the first line of which happened to be verse 23 of Psalm 139: This explains how in the next copy they were mechanically inserted in the text before this verse."[9]

With nothing more than supposition to go on (or wishful thinking?), this explanation, like so many emanating from the Scissors-and-Paste School, must remain purely fanciful--albeit ingenious--and totally unconvincing--albeit dogmatically laid down by its proponent as "fact."

If Buttenwieser's notion could somehow be vindicated, or if some other theory could be found plausible, the effect of which would be, like Buttenwieser's, to expunge vv. 19-22 from Ps. 139, then, with vv. 23-24 added to the last stanza, after v. 18, the psalm might yet stand as a structural unit, with the three great attributes of God forming the main theme of the poet's praise. The ending to the poem would then focus attention on the internal character of the psalmist who, unaware of any wrongdoing, in a reverent and pious surrender before so overwhelmingly marvellous a deity, invites the divine inspection of his motives and, in general terms, the divine leadership in the eternal way of truth.

With such a psalm there would be no serious difficulty in establishing either Gattung or Sitz-im-Leben. However, the unfortunate fact remains that neither vv. 19-24 nor 19-22 can be dismissed on any sound critical grounds, despite the fascinating efforts of Schmidt and Buttenwieser, and just as their arguments fail to persuade in this matter, so also do the arguments against the received order of verses fail. E. J. Kissane, e.g., insisted that v. 14 is out of place and should follow v. 12 which, he asserted, is "metrically incomplete."10 Such a rearrangement would more than compensate for v. 10's metrical incompleteness and rather err in the other direction. Marvellously, Buttenwieser wants to place the offending v. 14 (he lumps v. 13 with it!) just between vv. 5 and 6: "the language as well as the thought of the second of the two verses shows this: for, as the continuation of v. 5, v. 6 shows a break in thought, but, when vv. 13-14 are placed between vv. 5 and 6, the sequence leaves nothing to be desired." (P. 536) Such subjective arguments, however, in both cases, fail to persuade. We must still reject them. The compilers of the Psalter, after all, are bound to have been aware of the technical ramifications of their important work.

This leaves us with Psalm 139 precisely as we find it in the Bible. Its structural unity is further supported by its division into four equal stanzas of six verses each (as in RSV). Internal evidence is lacking which might help make vv. 19-22 seem to fit more smoothly into the thought of the whole psalm, but this same silence makes the deletion of these verses critically indefensible. We are obliged, therefore, to accept the literary structure of Ps. 139 as it stands and seek to discern how the same psalm might incorporate praise of the divine attributes of the Creator God on the one hand, and, on the other, lament the psalmist's distress in face of his enemies and pray for their liquidation.

II. Setting in Life

Whether it emerged from the milieu (Gunkel's "Zusammenhang") of the temple cultus, reflecting the circumstances of an ancient liturgy or festival, or is the expression of an individual worshiper pouring out his meditation on Israel's faith in YHWH--this is the main issue in determining the Sitz-im-Leben of Ps. 139. The absence from this psalm of any trace of Hebrew nationalism and its curious silence in regard to the historical events of God's Heilsgeschichte clearly set it apart from the hymns usually associated with the temple cultus. In its universalism, however, the psalm never becomes a theological treatise, nor is its theology speculative. The psalmist stays within his own experience; his theology is strictly personal and therefore

the more genuine.[11] A liturgical Sitz would seem, then, unlikely. Here is a poem, a devout meditation, uttered by an individual. But where is he? James, following Schmidt, believed him to be absolutely alone, away from the temple and assuredly not participating in cultic worship.[12] W. E. Barnes likewise imagines the psalmist alone, but thinks he is somehow on a journey somewhere.[13] Y. Kaufmann ascribes the origin of psalms in general to the circumstantial prayer of isolated individuals: "Psalmody is a creation of popular poets, and particularly of that body of professional singers who became part of the Levite class. It was not connected with priestly rites. There is no indication that psalms were a part of the sacrificial cult or any other priestly rite. Recitation of the psalms in the temple was a kind of extraneous, lay adjunct to the cult. The Priestly Code makes no mention of it."[14] He argues that since the Psalter makes no mention of the priests, and "P" is tacit about the Psalms, they are consequently the product of lay effort.

Against the idea that Ps. 139 has no Sitz-im-Leben in the temple cultus is the discovery of H.-J. Kraus that such a psalm might have reflected the individual in the Festival Cult at Jerusalem. "The Pss. show that the sufferers made their requests known to Yahweh ceaselessly by day and night. Their hopes and longings were set upon a דבר, a mighty word of God communicated by the priest or the cultic prophet (Ps. 130:5). If this came, it could 'heal' them and 'deliver them from their destructions' (Ps. 107:20). . . . Among the 'individual songs of lament' the petitionary pss. of those who have been wrongfully accused occupy a special place. It was an ancient sacral law that all those whose case could not be handled by the local jurisdiction because it was too difficult had to come to the central sanctuary in order to receive there the verdict of Yahweh (Deut. 17:8-13). This sacral judgement required that the accused should adhere to a very strict ritual. Along with a variety of purification rites . . . there were two observances that had to be carried out: the abiuratio and the night spent in self-examination (Procedure in Ps. 7:3-5). The accused proclaims his innocence in an act of ritual renunciation and execration of himself in case he were declared guilty. . . . Ps. 139 provides an example of the prayers used during the testing, coming to its climax with the petition in v. 23: 'Search me, O God, and know my heart; try me, and know my thoughts.' The accused looked expectantly for Yahweh's judgement, which was pronounced in the holy place."[15]

This lengthy excerpt is quoted because in it Kraus provides the key to the Life Setting of Ps. 139, and it is well to see it in his own words. In this insight Kraus substantiates the opinion of Weiser and, in particular, of E. Würthwein, whose incisive article of 1957 ("Erwägungen zu Psalm CXXXIX," Vetus Testamentum 7, 165-182) draws from parallels outside Israel--including the Indian Atharva-Veda--to show that Ps. 139 served as a preparation for the judgment which God was going to pass. Of course S. Mowinckel is inclined to lay great stress on the relationship between the Pss. and the temple cult, arguing precisely contra the view of Kaufmann stated above. "Mowinckel is mainly concerned to show that the majority of the Pss., far from having been composed by individuals who in many cases had escaped from the formalism of the cultus, were composed by members of the temple personnel, specifically poets belonging to the temple singers."[16] Mowinckel would conceivably include in this even the cultic prophets who depended

from the first upon the inspirational power of music and who were often the official transmitters of the דבר יהוה to the suppliants.

In light of the foregoing Peters' analysis of Ps. 139 as "of the nature of an incantation to Yahaweh for the purpose of obtaining protection against the wicked, through whose wiles evil has come or may come on the righteous followers of Yahaweh "17 is seen as less "an exegetical oddity" than is the assertion of McCulloch that "such a psalm shows no trace of any connection with the temple cult."18

If Kraus is on the right track, then we must assign the Sitz-im-Leben of Ps. 139 to a cultic event in which a petitioner proclaims before God his innocence over against false accusers ("men of blood," v. 19) and spends a night in self-examination, after which he awaits with calm faith Yahweh's temple-verdict of righteous vindication.

III. Type

Gunkel classified Ps. 139 tentatively as a Hymn for three reasons: (1) it has several of the Hymn forms such as rhetorical questions; (2) its material exhibits Hymn motifs, praise of Yahweh's wonderfulness and fearfulness, amazement at his works and thoughts, at his Creation; and (3) the Introduction form "I praise thee" in v. 14 (a specially convincing reason). "As to Type the Psalm is not easy to grasp. There can be no doubt that its fundamental mood of reverent and wondering meditation on Yahweh's mysteries points to the Hymn."19 But, on the other hand, Gunkel noted that it lacks a definite Introduction at the beginning (not in and of itself surprising since certain other hymns also omit the Introduction) and that its content marks it as fundamentally peculiar. "For while this Type elsewhere distinguishes itself almost always by its splendid objectivity, here the 'I' of the poet comes forward strongly from beginning to end. The knowledge and power of God of which the Psalm treats are not so much attributes with which he embraces the whole world as those with which he rules the poet himself; 'Thou' and 'I'--thus it goes through the whole poem! This new inward attitude of the Psalmist (unheard of in these very Hymns on Creation) is what has burst the form of the Type also. The poet starts with the Hymn and in content and form passes far beyond it." 20

As noted earlier, it is the "flare-up" section, Schmidt's "passionate addition," vv. 19-22, that caused Gunkel to regard the psalm as a "Mixed Type" combining Hymn and Psalm of Trust or Individual Lament. He felt that we are dealing not with a psalm which later became incorporated into another poet's psalm, but with an intentional free composition in which a single psalmist switches his thought in the middle, thereby mixing Types.

Since Gunkel, commentators have tended to place emphasis on now one, now another, aspect of the Mixed Type in this psalm. Thus Westermann places it among Hymns of Creation derived from praise of the Creator, therein assigning the whole of Ps. 139 to the Gattung Hymn.21 R. Dentan, annotating the RSV text, categorizes it entirely as "Prayer for deliverance

from personal enemies (a lament)."[22] Similarly, Rowley and McCulloch ("some of the qualities of a hymn and of a psalm of trust, but it is perhaps best considered a personal prayer." IB IV, 712).

Curiously, Christoph Barth assigns Ps. 139 to the Wisdom Psalms:

"A final group of individual pss. is characterized by the appearance of the individual simply as the wise, pious and righteous man. Sometimes he himself is the speaker, teaching, confessing his belief, or meditating on it; or else the community praises him as 'blessed.' It is exceptional for these wisdom psalms to be prayers in the usual sense of the word (e.g. Pss. 36 & 119); in the first place they are spoken from one man to another, but--since they are words of faith--they can turn at any moment into prayers spoken to God (cf. 73 and 139)."[23]

Most authorities have followed Gunkel's lead in recognizing that Ps. 139, in its present form, deemed a literary and structural unity, belongs to a mixed Type (as Gunkel's Gattungen are presently understood and refined). Klaus Koch sees the history of the Mixed Type (his term is "Component" Type) in the cultic history of the biblical literature: "The Pss., in so far as they are of cultic origin, have always been part of a wider context than their mere recitation, and are therefore associated with other cultic affairs, such as utterances by the priests."[24]

The fall of Jerusalem and with it the organized temple cultus in 587/6 brought about the loss of many psalms which were never recollected. Those that were later remembered found their way into new collections. "Thus," says Koch, "they became part of another complex literary type." He cites as examples of this process of literary re-alignment previously independent narrative units from the early Israelite period which gradually became built up into series of sagas (Jacob, or Moses, e.g.), and later still became mere sections of a larger written work (Genesis, Exodus, or the Hexateuch as a whole). (Koch cites examples from "J," the Decalogue, and even the NT.) "Indeed," he continues, "component types can be so radically adapted when taken up into a written work that their previous formal characteristics have almost disappeared and are only distinguishable from their surroundings as a particular series of images or as a tradition-complex, such as the creation narratives in certain pss. (74:12-17 and 139:13-16)."[25]

Koch thus sees an historical explanation for the Mischungen, at least in part, and, as applied to Ps. 139, this explanation may have merit. It is significant, however, that Koch makes no mention of the "lament" passage, vv. 19-22 (or 19-24). The problem of classification remains. McCulloch rejects Schmidt's idea that vv. 19-22 comprise a separate psalm, whether composed by the Psalmist himself or added by a later hand.[26] He sees the lament section as the very "crux" of the matter of deciding on the Psalm's Gattung. In this he follows the thinking of Mowinckel.

In the Psalmenstudien I-VI (1921-24) Mowinckel sought to refine Gunkel's analyses of individual psalms. He felt in

the case of 139 that the usual quest for identifying its Type by focussing on the first three stanzas and regarding the final stanza as problematical or even spurious was misleading and actually missing the point. "The most important part of Ps. 139 is not the doxologizing meditation on the omniscience and omnipresence of God--that merely supplies a motive in the appeal to God's knowledge of the worshipper--but rather the prayer for the help of God against the 'men of blood.'"27 He thus classifies Ps. 139 as a "Protective Psalm" or "Psalm of Confidence" (I, 220). He regards the Ps. as a possible example of the "I-hymn" developed in Babylonia and Assyria wherein the deity comes forth and tells his name and reveals his character in hymnic form, enumerating his mighty deeds and his divine qualities, a kind of self-revelation or "epiphany." No such psalm appears in the Hebrew Psalter, Mowinckel admits, but that it was known and used also in Israel in connection with the epiphany of Yahweh he feels is apparent in some. Most important, though, is its reflection in the thirty-eighth chapter of Job which has clear affinities with the third stanza of Ps. 139. Mowinckel regards Job 38 as "a grand 'I-hymn'" on the basis that, like the Babylonian and Assyrian "I-hymn," the form can be used of an individual man's worship of Yahweh, as in Ps. 145.

On the basis of the cultic Sitz-im-Leben given Ps. 139 by Kraus, we must try to understand the Type of this poem not as a Hymn of trust, confidence, and praise of YHWH into which a Lament has been imbedded, but rather we must see the Type as a Prayer--the Lament of an Individual--which makes use of hymnic elements as a vital part of his petition.28 Mowinckel is right when he states, "One has to look very carefully to be able to recognize the conventional stylistic scheme or pattern in the psalm about God's eternity and the brevity of human life (Ps. 90), or in order to perceive that the profound consideration of God's omniscience and omnipresence in Ps. 139 actually is a new form of the motif of innocence: the reference to the fact that the God who knows everything and from whom nobody can flee must also know that the praying worshipper is without guilt in relation to his enemies." (II, 132) Perhaps Schmidt is right: Ps. 139 is "prayer in a stillness" on the part of an Israelite worshiper (Dentan thinks also a "religious leader" 29) who, being in some sort of distress vis-à-vis spiritual enemies, goes to the cult place for a night of testing, the abjuratio, and makes therein his apologia pro vita sua (mea) in a trial before YHWH. M. Dahood calls it a "Psalm of Innocence composed by a religious leader who was accused of idol worship."30 Dahood cannot satisfactorily defend the idea that the psalmist (or Israelite worshiper) is charged with idol worship, except by a kind of loose analogy. But his analogies do lend support to his understanding of the poem as a psalm of innocence, whatever the specific charge involved.

Because of affinity with Job 38 (and elsewhere), the dating of Ps. 139 depends on the date of the book of Job. M. Pope's most recent commentary places the date of Job back into the seventh century B.C., based on evidence brought in linguistically by researches in Northwest Semitic philology.31 A pre-exilic date for Ps. 139 becomes now a genuine probability (ctr. McCulloch, IB IV, 713).

N O T E S

1 Quoted by Lindsay Longacre in Abingdon Bible Commentary (New York: 1929), p. 595, who adds, "One of the grandest psalms in the entire collection, if not, indeed, the best of them all. Its tone is high, and its conception of the personal and highly spiritual nature of God rises to glorious heights. . . .It is the OT's highest conception of the relationship of God to the individual soul." Oesterley: "For the conceptions regarding the Divine Nature, the omniscience, and the omnipresence of God, this psalm stands out as the greatest gem in the Psalter. . . .in the religious literature of the ancient world it is unique." (The Psalms, London: SPCK, 1939, p. 553). McCulloch: "This poem is not only one of the chief glories of the Psalter, but in its religious insight and devotional warmth it is conspicuous among the great passages of the OT." (IB IV, p. 712). Hinshaw: "The theological conceptions expressed in Ps. CXXXIX are among the noblest in the OT." (The Writings, London: Allen & Unwin, 1963, p. 105). "In depth and range of thought and in the sense of intimate communion with God it is one of the treasures of Pss." (Rowley in Peake's Commentary on the Bible, London: Nelson, 1962, p. 442).

2 As with all the poems Gunkel omitted from classification into his "normal" Gattungen, designating these problematical psalms Mischungen or Mischgedichte, "Mixed Poems." McCulloch understates, "As a psalm, it is difficult to classify," (IB IV, 712) while others tend to leave it almost unclassified.

3 "By general consent there are more Aramaisms and neo-Hebraisms and unexplained words and forms in this Ps. than in any other Ps. of the Psalter. The text . . . has come down to us in a bad condition." (J.P.Peters, The Psalms as Liturgies, NY: Macmillan, 1922, p. 474). Oesterley notes, "There are few psalms which present so many exegetical difficulties, and we frankly confess our doubts as to whether, in some cases, these have been satisfactorily solved. The difficulties arise partly from textual uncertainties, and partly from linguistic problems, for rare words and Aramaisms abound, the precise meaning of which admits of more than one opinion." (Ibid.)

4 In John H. Hayes, OT Form Criticism (Trinity Univ. Studies in Religion II)(Austin, Tex.: Trinity Univ. Press, 1974).

5 Biblical Theology in Crisis (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974).

6 "Starting from his personal experience of God the psalmist develops his thoughts in stages which are determined by a certain thought-sequence and stand in an inward relationship to each other, but are not arranged in strophes." Weiser, The Psalms (London: SCM, 1962), p. 802.

7 Thirty Psalmists (NY: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938), p. 54.

8 Poèmes de la Bible (Paris: Beauchesne et fils, 1933), p. 183.

9 The Psalms, Chronologically Treated with a New Translation (Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 535-536.

10 The Book of Psalms, Vol. II (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1954), p. 291.

11 "The psalm shows its peculiar character, a character typical of the OT, above all in the fact that the poet does not shape his thoughts impersonally in abstract theological definitions, but develops them in the sphere of his personal experience of the reality of God in which he sees his whole life to be imbedded." (Weiser, pp. 801-2)

12 Thirty Psalmists, p. 50.

13 The Psalms (Westminster Commentaries, London: Methuen & Co., 1931).

14 The Religion of Israel from Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile (Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 1960)(Trans. Moshe Greenberg), p. 110.

15 Worship in Israel: A Cultic History of the OT (Oxford: Blackwell's, 1966), pp. 220-1.

16 A. R. Johnson, "The Psalms" in Rowley, The OT and Modern Study (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), p. 205.

17 Peters, p. 474.

18 IB IV, p. 712.

19 Die Psalmen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1926).

20 Ibid.

21 Westermann, Handbook to the OT (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publ. House, 1967), p. 223. Somewhat arbitrarily Westermann asserts (p. 214), "It is clear therefore that the first half of the Psalter contains predominately psalms of lament; the second half, psalms of praise." He excepts Pss. 140-43 as "personal laments," but places 139 with Hymns of Praise.

22 H. G. May and B. Metzger, The Oxford Annotated Bible (NY: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 761.

23 Introduction to the Psalms (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), p. 18.

24 The Forms of the Biblical Tradition (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), p. 96.

25 Ibid.

26 IB IV, p. 713.

27 The Psalms in Israel's Worship, II (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), p. 75. In this connection see also Gustav Adolf Danell, Psalm 139 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, No. 1, A.B.Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1951).

28 Cf. Bernini, Giuseppe, Le Preghiere Penetenziali del Salterio. Contributo alla Teologia dell' A.T. (Rome: Analecta Gregoriana, Vol. 62, 1953).

29 Oxford Annotated Bible, p. 762. Verse 21 supports the view.

30 Psalms III. (Anchor Bible) (NY: Doubleday, 1970), p. 284.

31 Job (Anchor Bible, new edition) (NY: Doubleday, 1970).

S 126 SIGNALS OF DISCOURSE STRUCTURE IN KOINE

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If you want to strike fire from a linguist today, try telling him that his analysis of something is ad hoc. If he merely covers his data without being able to explain from general theory why it makes sense for a language to operate in the way he claims it does, there is something missing.

The reason for this is that linguists are trying to understand the universal design properties that make a language a language, that allow it to be the flexible means that it is of communicating thoughts and feelings, yet something a small child can learn with no previous experience. For the study of Koine Greek this point of view implies that not only must a grammar cover what is in the texts; it must do it in a way that is fully coherent with the way a grammar of any other language could be expected to give its accounting.

In this climate of thought, linguists have also begun to look into phenomena that used to be out of bounds for them, applying linguistic modes of inquiry to things like how children learn language, how language is actually used in social situations, how language matches thought, and how the sentences that used to be almost the limit of grammar play a part in much larger structures. It is this last that I wish to look into with regard to Greek.

Over the last few years some of us have begun to investigate the linguistic structure of complete texts. Papers have been published or are in press that describe discourse structure in over seventy languages from around the world. What I have to say about Koine draws on that experience and that perspective; Greek itself is not my main area of concentration, but is a language I have come to know in a working way as a translator of the Bible.

To begin, there are three observations we can make about Koine Greek without exciting particular comment. The first is that the order of words in clauses is less restricted than it is in a language like English, where some of the work done by the Greek case endings has to be performed by word order instead. The second is that Greek is loaded with conjunctions, so much so that asyndeton is what catches our attention. The third is that Koine uses a variety of verb-centered constructions as clause constituents or even as constituents of constituents: participial constructions, relative clauses, infinitive clauses, and constructions centered around verbal nouns.

If I may use the rubrics order, conjunctions, and embedding to label these three observations about Koine, I can state my main point: texts in Koine have a type of structure which is communicated to the reader or hearer by the interaction of order, conjunctions, and embedding; this is their topical structure. In other words, instead of these well-known facts of Greek grammar just being there to confound students, they turn

out to work in partnership with each other. What is more, their relationship touches on areas of linguistic structure that seem to be a necessary component of every language, yet have only recently come under systematic investigation.

1. Structures in text

In a general view we could point out that every language accomplishes at least three things: it communicates meaning, it relates the speaker and hearer (therefore in a restricted sense the writer and reader) to what is being said, and it allows what is being said to be joined together in a coherent text.[1] The way it does all this yields four structures that permeate every text in every language, four kinds of phenomena that are somewhat independent of each other. These structures do not reflect the functions of language directly; but they can be sorted out and related to them.

We can dismiss one structure, the sound structure, from this paper since we are concentrating on plain prose, in which the sound pattern of a text is completely determined by the other structures. When we choose words and put them in grammatical arrangements, we have indirectly fixed the phonological structure of the text except for those intonational components that express options in the cohesive structure. Were we to look at poetry or fancy prose, however, we would see the sound structure imposing limitations on how the other structures can be formed.

The other three kinds of structure are our immediate concern: I call them content, cohesion, and staging.[2]

Content has to do with that part of the meaning which we ordinarily think of as meaning. When we say that Greek has free word order, for example, we are really saying that a change in the order of words in a clause does nothing to the content. What we may no longer overlook, however, is that a different arrangement of the words at that point may be incompatible with the larger context in which the clause is found--a relationship that depends not on content, but on cohesion and staging. A good illustration of the way content can be abstracted from the text is found in the recent work of Beekman, Callow, Callow, and Larson on propositional structures that underlie entire books of the New Testament.[3]

Language also has a cohesive structure. At every point in a text its linguistic form is influenced by what the speaker or writer assumes that his hearer or reader knows by then. He makes his assumptions sometimes on the basis of what he thinks the hearer should know because he has told it to him in the earlier part of the text, or he may go on what he believes the hearer to perceive in the situation of speaking, or on still broader assumptions about the background he and the hearer share. Eugene Nida has commented on the way things that to us seem like omissions from a text often have to be recognized as the sort of information that a writer finds it superfluous to include when he expects that his readers already know it.[4] Even mundane things like pronouns, and choice of specific or generic terms, and the placement of intonational stress (and hence probably position toward the end of a sentence) are part of the cohesive structure of texts. Cohesion follows one broad rule: identify what you are talking about with as little linguistic machinery as possible except when misidentification might result. The stratagems that different languages use to head off false identifications in the

cohesive system are numerous; it is enough here to point out how heavily Greek leans on the possibilities of distinguishing entities by differences of gender and number in the forms that refer to them. Furthermore, the stretches of text within which these stratagems of reference can be worked out without resetting the scene or reidentifying the characters are significant when it comes to dividing the discourse into component segments like paragraphs and episodes at levels higher than the sentence.[5]

The structure with which I concern myself most here is staging. It is the principle behind topical structure, which in turn is a refinement of what lies behind our intuitive ideas of what an outline is.[6] When we look at staging we become aware of a dimension of language in which the speaker chooses a perspective to impose on what he says. The perspective he chooses helps determine the form of what he says in a way which until recently we have found difficult to sort out.

Just as a photographer has to pick one place from which to take each photograph, and set his lens to one setting to cover what he wants to show from that place in each photograph, so every speaker of every language sets up the content of what he says from a verbal angle that he must choose. He can no more dodge incorporating a staging component than the photographer can decide to take his picture from nowhere, or from everywhere. Everything we say has a topical structure. It is established mainly around certain noun phrases in discourse.

To illustrate one kind of staging phenomenon in English, suppose we see George transfer a book into the hand of Harold, while Harold transfers a quantity of money to George. Without changing the content of what we report, we can stage the transaction from the perspective of something George did:

George sold Harold a book for ten dollars.
George charged Harold ten dollars for a book.
George was paid ten dollars by Harold for a book.

Or we can stage the same transaction verbally as what Harold did:

Harold bought a book from George for ten dollars.
Harold was sold a book by George for ten dollars.
Harold paid George ten dollars for a book.

We can turn our linguistic camera on the book rather than the people:

A book was sold to Harold by George for ten dollars.
A book was bought by Harold from George for ten dollars.

We can even consider the money as our topic:

Ten dollars was paid by Harold to George for a book.
Ten dollars was what George charged Harold for a book.

In this set of examples we have used the commonest staging technique of the English language: put the noun phrase that tells what we are talking about first by making it the subject. There are other techniques available. We can put the thing we are talking about (the topic) at the front of the sentence, exactly where the subject position normally places it, even if it is not the subject:

Ten dollars George sold Harold a book for.
Ten dollars George charged Harold for a book.
To George Harold paid ten dollars for a book.

and so on, ringing a finite number of changes on staging for the same content.

Our children all topicalize using the reprise construction:

Ann she traded me two cookies for a lollipop.

until we and the school teachers shush it out of them. The same kind of construction, however, is alive and well in many other languages, such as French:

Moi, je ne peux pas vous donner soixante francs pour ce livre.

There are other constructions in English whose form is well understood, whose use in marking out the topic part of a sentence is clear, yet whose other properties are only dimly understood so far. One such construction is the pseudo-cleft sentence, which has two parts whose form is related to that of a question and its answer and which are joined by a form of the verb be:

What George sold to Harold for ten dollars was a book.

The cleft sentence is the extraposed counterpart of a pseudo-cleft with initial question part; the question part is moved to the end, and it is left in its place:

It was a book that George sold to Harold for ten dollars.
It was Harold who paid George ten dollars for a book.

To round out the picture we must not overlook the tag construction used to simulate the brogue of the Irish:

Sold Harold a book for ten dollars, did George.

All these examples illustrate English options for staging within single clauses. People do not, however, talk much in single clauses. When we look a complete texts, we find that even though topicalization is always expressed as some kind of nominal constituent and is usually within the scope of some clause, its relevance is not so much to that clause itself as to the text as a whole.[7] We also find that the way in which topics are introduced, maintained as topic, and changed in the successive clauses of a text give a staging of the entire text organized in terms of more inclusive and less exclusive levels of perspectives.

For example, John F. Newman has analyzed stories taken from the oral literature of the Longuda people of eastern Nigeria.[8] Longuda is a language well suited to the study of topical systems, since its pronouns distinguish the third person topic from all other third persons. In one story whose linguistic signals tell the hearer clearly that it is a story about a rabbit, there is a paragraph that tells what an elephant tried to do to the rabbit. The paragraph begins by identifying the elephant as its topic; from then on within that paragraph all the references to the elephant use the topic pronoun for him, even though the same pronoun is reserved for the rabbit in other paragraphs. At the end of the paragraph about the elephant, the linguistic camera swings back to the rabbit, who takes over the topic pronoun again.

This Longuda story illustrates a typical situation in all languages in which the topic of a whole text differs from the topic of a smaller unit within that text. The story is the story of the rabbit even while the narrator is telling what the elephant did. Hierarchies of topics of this kind can extend to several levels simultaneously.

Such a multilevel hierarchy of topics is found in Koine texts. The remainder of the paper sketches the way I think it works. The evidence that it actually is as I claim is indirect, because I have put together a complex hypothesis out of many pieces. The pieces need verifying and some probably need to be changed, but as a whole they are consistent both with what I know of the texts and with what is reasonable to expect based on general discourse theory.

The Koine hierarchy extends below the level of the clause as well as above it. We are all aware that many constituents of Greek clauses can be paraphrased as full clauses without doing violence to the language, as when we recognize that ἡ ἀποβολὴ αὐτῶν in Romans 11:15 corresponds to something like τους (or αὐτὸς) ἀπέβαλον αὐτούς.

Why any language should bother with things like verbal nouns, participles, and relative clauses when a perfectly simple finite counterpart can be found for them is the sort of question that has not been asked often enough; perhaps most students view learning that sort of complexity as a painful initiatory rite in the mystery experience of having done Greek. There is a linguistically motivated answer, however: these forms help show the topical structure of texts at levels below the clause. When we squeeze part of our content into a grammatical package that is smaller than an independent clause, we relate what is in it to the total topical structure of the text by saying that instead of it being in the center of the picture like a high level topic, it is off on the edge of the screen or somewhere in the background; it is far down in the topic hierarchy.

These topical relations are of a piece with the grammatical phenomena of subordination and coordination. In topical terms, two things that are coordinate have the same level of prominence relative to where they both come in the structure of the text. Anything that is subordinate is lower on the prominence scale than whatever it is subordinate to, again at the place where both come in the structure of the text. This brings us back to order, conjunctions, and embedding in Greek.

2. Order

Clauses in which the nominative subject constituent is ordered before the verb are not typical of Koine. Their frequency ranges from only 4% of the finite clauses in parts of the Didache to over 25% in parts of Romans. They are in all texts the less expected pattern in comparison with clauses in which some constituent other than the subject comes first. That constituent may be a noun phrase in an oblique case, including a pronoun, or it may be a prepositional phrase, or there may be no other constituent before the verb (leaving conjunctions and particles out of consideration, since they follow rules of their own). Because of their lower probability, fronted nominatives have a higher communicative load than nominatives that come after the verb or other constituents that go ahead of it. Furthermore, clauses that begin with nominatives come at key points in texts rather than being scattered about at random.

A nominative that precedes the verb in a clause normally establishes a new topic or reestablishes reference to an old one. The level of that topic within the framework of the whole text is given not by the nominative itself, but by other signals that are explained later. On the other hand, when a clause begins with an oblique case, a prepositional phrase, or a verb, the normal interpretation of it is that it simply continues the topic that is already in force.

For example, in John 1:14 the initial nominative in Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο reestablishes ὁ λόγος as topic after the φῶς passage in 5-13. The next clauses, however, begin with verbs: καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ. They continue with ὁ λόγος as what the passage is about, even though they change the grammatical subject.

There are five cases where equating an initial nominative with the topic is not enough. The first stems from the obvious boundary condition that at the beginning of a text there is no topic to be continued. (In other languages this is not necessarily true; verbal titles or requests by other people for the speaker to say something may set the first topic.) The initial constituent is the starting topic, like the Ἐν ἀρχῇ of John 1:1, whether it is nominative or not.

The second instance where a constituent that is not a nominative may begin a clause without merely continuing the topic established earlier is when that constituent is itself followed by another nominal before the verb.[9] Here when a nominative is the second nominal it signals the topic still, because it is preverbal. The constituent ahead of a nominative, however, is in a structural position that is defined by the cohesive system rather than the staging system. It is treated as information that is relatively unpredictable or new at that point in the text, or that is part of a contrasting set. The initial Τῇ ἐπαύριον in John 6:22 gives a shift of scene that is not predictable from verse 21, and so goes first.[10] The new topic is ὁ ὄχλος ὁ ..., a nominative that precedes the verb.

Even when the second of two preverbal nominal constituents is not in the nominative case, the first is still informationally new or contrastive, as in ἐξ ἔργων νόμου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε of Galatians 3:2, in which the first constituent is set off against ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως.[11]

Words that introduce nominal embedding are a third exception to the general principle that a nominative before the verb signals a new topic. Relative pronouns and articles that introduce participial constructions perform a triple function: (1) They indicate the topic of the embedded clause. (2) They act as place holders in the larger construction, from which they take their case and position. (3) At the same time they act as subordinators to show that the embedded clause is at a lower level in the topical framework than the matrix clause within which it acts as a constituent or part of a constituent. This is true regardless of the case of the introducer, and regardless of whether a nominative comes between the introducer and the verb or not. Most of the time a relative pronoun or an article that introduces an embedded clause stands in the subject relation to the verb of that clause anyway; this is true in about two thirds of the relative clauses in the first part of 1 Corinthians and in three out of five in Galatians, like ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο in Galatians 1:7. Even where a nominative comes between the introducer and the verb, however, the introducer is the low level topic

regardless of its case, as with οἷς in Galatians 3:1. The reason, I would argue, is that the selection of a relative already signals the topic, so there is no need to have order signal the same thing.

The fourth place where the first constituent identifies the topic whether it is nominative or not is in certain kinds of asyndeton. In terms of the topical structure the absence of a conjunction seems to be significant in several ways.

Some cases of asyndeton are resumptive topically in that they signal a return to the highest topic level of a discourse, like θαυμάζω in Galatians 1:6, which continues Παῦλος from 1:1, or 3:13, which puts Χριστός into topic position in place of the ὑμεῖς picked up in 3:7a. Resumptive asyndeton is normal for the first sentence after an epistolary introduction.

Most cases of asyndeton are just the opposite: when an explanatory section is introduced without a conjunction, it comes at a lower level than the segment it interrupts. For example, the instances of asyndeton in Ephesians 5:22-6:9 ('wives ... husbands ... children ... slaves', the latter two with coordinate '... and parents ... and masters', place the whole block as a set of examples of what is meant by ὑποτασσόμενοι in 5:21.

In the parenthetic kind of asyndeton, which is also at a lower topic level, the situation is parallel to the one at the beginning of a text in that interrupting one topic implies that some other topic takes over, if the first constituent is not a verb. Πρόσωπον in Galatians 2:6 is such a new topic. If the first constituent of the parenthesis is a verb, however, the asyndeton carries the higher level topic down to the lower level, as with the verb phrase built on a predicate adjective in the first part of the same verse, where ὁποιοί ποτε ἦσαν interrupts the level above, but is still about τῶν δοκούντων εἶναί τι.

Finally, asyndeton in lists and catalogues like the Beatitudes is a signal of coordination and does nothing to the topic level. Asyndeton in responses to questions or comments is also a coordinator.

In contrast with initial nominatives, Holzhausen points out that in the narrative style of the Synoptics, a nominative that comes immediately after an initial finite verb resets the topic at the beginning of a paragraph, as in Mark 6:14 Καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρῴδης.[12] I am not sure whether this pattern has the same relevance in epistolary style; the ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ ἀφορίσας με ... of Galatians 1:15, for example, does not break the topic sequence that runs from 1:13b through 2:14 and possibly through 2:20 if the asyndeton in 2:15 is explanatory rather than resumptive. The sequence is an embedded narrative that takes off from τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφήν in 1:14a. On the other hand, it could be argued that the εὐδόκησεν clause does carry the narrative on beyond τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφήν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, and that the subsequent sequence is further segmented by other temporal references: Ἔπειτα μετὰ τρία ἔτη in 1:18, ἔπειτα in 1:21, ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν in 2:1, and the parallel Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς in 2:11. The whole sequence, ὅτε clauses and all, is about what Paul did, so that my current judgment is that the nominatives in 1:15 and 2:11 do not play the same part in topicalizing in the epistolary form that they play in the narrative form of the Gospels, even though this is a narrative subpassage.

3. Conjunctions

The coordinating and subordinating functions of Greek conjunctions are well known. What has been lacking to round out the picture of their function is an understanding of the topical framework with reference to which they operate, since there are other signals of coordination and subordination that have to be taken into account along with the conjunctions.

As far as topic structure is concerned, Koine conjunctions fall into three groups rather than the traditional two: they are coordinating, subordinating, or resumptive. The ordinary coordinators include among others καί, δέ, ἀλλά, ἤ, οὐδέ, οὖν, οὕτως, ὥστε, ὅθεν, and a few forms like εἰ μή, ἐὰν μή, and μόνον that behave in a similar way in setting topic level. Subordinators include ὅτι, γάρ, ὅπως, ἵνα, ἐάν, εἰ, ὡς, ὥσπερ, ὅτε, μή πως, καθώς, ἄχρι, and μέχρι. The content of a quotation, with or without ὅτι, is subordinate to the verb of saying that introduces the quotation. As has been mentioned, relative pronouns and articles that introduce participial clauses also have a subordinating function parallel to that of conjunctions.

The forms I have called <u>resumptive</u> bring the topic level back up to the highest level of the text from however deep in the structure it was.[13] Ἄρα and διό do this in inferential sequences, as in Galatians 2:21 or 1 Peter 1:13. Ἰδού seems to do the same thing, at least in narratives; perhaps the Marcan εὐθύς is resumptive as well.

Asyndeton, the lack of a connective, has already been mentioned as one of the topic signals. The problem is that it appears to act now as coordinator, now as subordinator, and sometimes resumptively. I have no principle for deciding which is which yet, unfortunate though that is for our understanding of passages like Galatians 2:15, where the topic level of ἡμεῖς is crucial.

Double conjunctions fit the topic structure in a special way when at least one of them is a subordinator, usually ὅτε or a conditional. One determines the topic level of the whole complex sentence consisting of subordinate clause, main clause, and any other subordinate clauses that follow the main clause. The other conjunction does nothing more than place the subordinate clause in relation to its main clause, very much like English <u>because if we say that, he'll find it</u>, in which <u>because</u> goes with the whole thing. Galatians 2:11 has a double conjunction in Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀνέστην. Here the δέ places the main clause with ἀνέστην in relation to the larger topical structure as one more event in the narrative sequence of Chapter 2, even though δέ is not preceded by any word of that clause. Ὅτε ... ἦλθεν is made subordinate to the ἀνέστην clause by its conjunction. This proleptic use of a conjunction that places the whole sentence in the topical framework side by side with a clause subordinator occurs widely: Matthew 12:40, John 4:45, Romans 2:14, Ephesians 6:21, 1 Thessalonians 4:14, 2 Timothy 2:11-13, and Hebrews 2:14, to note a few.

1 Thessalonians 3:4 has καὶ γὰρ ὅτε, where ὅτε introduces the subordinate clause and καὶ γάρ determines the level of the sentence. In Mark 2:10, δέ with ἵνα keeps the topic structure straight even when the direction of speaking jumps, and in John 1:8 ἀλλ' ἵνα manages the ellipsis.

Something parallel is found with another kind of subordination indicator, a relative pronoun, in Matthew 3:19 ὃς ἐὰν οὖν λύσῃ ... ἐλάχιστος κληθήσεται ... ὃς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃ ... οὗτος μέγας κληθήσεται. Here again οὖν and δέ go not with the clauses they are in, but with the κληθήσεται clauses that follow, and thus place the subordinate-superordinate pairs in their larger topical context. The ὅσοι δέ of John 1:12 follows the same pattern.

4. Embedding

When one clause is made to act as a constituent of another, the topic level of elements in the embedded or contained clause is below that of the matrix or containing clause. This is also true of genitive and accusative absolute constructions, which behave more like the kind of adverbial constituents that could be paraphrased with οὕτως than like subjects or objects.

Most other participial clauses are nominal in character. Those that begin with an article have that article as their internal topic, like εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ πατρὶ ΤΩΙ ἱκανώσαντι ὑμᾶς εἰς ... in Colossians 1:12, where in a passage that has the readers, ὑμεῖς, as its topic from ἵνα πληρωθῆτε in verse 9, the participial clause has its own topic given by the article τῷ with ἱκανώσαντι. In other passages the article that acts as the topic within the embedded participial clause is also the place holder for that clause in the matrix clause, like τοῦ in Galatians 1:6 θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ ΤΟΥ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ. The article has the case appropriate to ἀπό in the matrix clause, whose topic is Παῦλος from 1:1; but with reference to the embedded clause, τοῦ is topic.

The same principle applies to relative clauses. As already mentioned, the relative word is topic within the relative clause, even though it may at the same time signal constituency in the matrix clause, of which something quite different may be the topic.

As far as I can tell, an infinitive clause never shifts topic from the matrix clause.

Verbal nouns, even though they do not match participles in form, often behave as though they were the central constituent of an embedded clause. If they have an article, it appears to function differently from the article with a participial clause. Instead of being the topic at a lower level than that of the matrix clause, the article is only the place holder in the higher level construction. Some other element within the embedded clause is the lower level topic if it corresponds to what would be a preverbal subject in the finite counterpart clause, like ἐμήν in τὴν 'ΕΜΗΝ ἀναστροφήν ποτε ἐν τῷ 'Ιουδαϊσμῷ.

5. Analysis

So much for a sketch of the machinery of topicalization in Greek. What does it show us about the text that we did not know before? The answer should be "not much"; that is, it should yield something very much like the structural outlines we have been making all along. The difference now is that our map of the structure is based not just on our feel for arrangement, but on explicit recognition of the kinds of signals that Koine readers reacted to and writers built into their texts. What is more, even though this paper is too limited to permit me to review the evidence, the signals that operate in Koine are of the same kind

as we have found operating in languages all over the world: initial position and relative pronouns to identify a constituent as topic, conjunctions and embedding to give its level. Greek does not appear to employ the interaction between the cohesive system and staging that English uses when it treats a topic that is informationally new as topically subordinate, nor does Greek exploit its inflectional system for topicalization as do the languages of the Philippines, nor does it have topical specialization in pronouns as do Longuda and Bacairi. Nevertheless the staging mechanisms of Greek are typical of the other staging systems that have been studied; they do the same work and draw on the same pool of possible kinds of linguistic expression to do it.

The remainder of this paper charts out the staging in a section of Galatians. The conventions used in charting are straightforward: (1) High level topics appear at the left. Lower level topics are set in, and their degree of subordination is shown by hyphens. (2) Words that establish a topic are written in CAPITAL LETTERS. (3) Words that set the level of a topic are underlined. (4) Words that are informationally new or contrastive, but outside the staging system, are double underlined. (5) Constituents of a clause are in theory treated as coordinate and hence written one under the other. In practice, however, they are usually strung out on a line and separated by / marks to save space. The theoretical status of the two notations is the same. (6) Place holders like relative pronouns are put in their place in the superordinate clause even when they are the topic at the lower level. (7) Comments are sprinkled about freely.

1:1 ΠΑΥΛΟΣ / ἀπόστολος / οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων /οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου
ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς
- ΤΟΥ / ἐγείραντος / αὐτὸν / ἐκ νεκρῶν,
1:2 καὶ ΟΙ ΣΥΝ ΕΜΟΙ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ, compound topic
ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας·
1:3 χάρις / ὑμῖν / καὶ εἰρήνη
ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
1:4 - ΤΟΥ / δόντος / ἑαυτὸν / ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν
- - ὅπως ἐξέληται / ἡμᾶς / ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος
- - - ΤΟΥ / ἐνεστῶτος / πονηροῦ
κατὰ τὸ verbal noun
- - - θέλημα / τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρος ἡμῶν,
1:5 - - - - ΩΙ / ἡ δόξα / εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· / ἀμήν.

1:6 θαυμάζω resumptive asyndeton after introduction
- ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως / μετατίθεσθε / ἀπὸ ΤΟΥ
- - καλέσαντος / ὑμᾶς / ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ
εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον,
1:7 - - Ο / οὐκ ἔστιν / ἄλλο·
- εἰ μή ΤΙΝΕΣ / εἰσιν / ΟΙ place holder, part of embedded
- - ταράσσοντες / ὑμᾶς clause at the same time
- - καὶ θέλοντες
- - - μεταστρέψαι / τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. complement
1:8 - ἀλλὰ καὶ not always clear what a coordinator coordinates
- - ἐὰν ΗΜΕΙΣ
- - ἢ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ἐξ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ compound topic
εὐαγγελίσηται / ὑμῖν / παρ' Ο
- - - εὐηγγελισάμεθα / ὑμῖν,
ἀνάθεμα / ἔστω.
1:9 - - ὡς προειρήκαμεν
- - καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν / λέγω,

- - εἰ ΤΙΣ / ὑμᾶς / εὐαγγελίζεται / παρ' ὃ
- - - παρελάβετε,
ἀνάθεμα / ἔστω.

1:10 - Ἄρτι γὰρ / ἀνθρώπους / πείθω / ἢ τὸν θεόν;
- ἢ ζητῶ
- - ἀνθρώποις / ἀρέσκειν;
- - εἰ ἔτι / ἀνθρώποις / ἤρεσκον, asyndeton in response
- Χριστοῦ δοῦλος / οὐκ ἂν ἤμην.
1:11 - γνωρίζω γὰρ still explaining θαυμάζω
ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, / τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
- - ΤΟ / εὐαγγελισθὲν / ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
- - ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν / κατ' ἄνθρωπον·
1:12 - - - οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐΓΩ / παρὰ ἀνθρώπου / παρέλαβον / αὐτὸ
- - - οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην,
- - - ἀλλὰ δι'
- - - - ἀποκαλύψεως / Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. verbal noun
1:13 - Ἠκούσατε γὰρ / τὴν
- - ἘΜΗΝ / ἀναστροφήν / ποτε / ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ,
- - ὅτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν / ἐδίωκον / τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ
- - καὶ ἐπόρθουν / αὐτήν,
1:14 - - καὶ προέκοπτον / ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ
ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας ἐν τῷ γένει μου,
- - - περισσοτέρως / ζηλωτὴς ὑπαρχων circumstantial
τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων.
1:15 - - - ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν / Ὁ second conjunction with main
- - - - ἀφορίσας / με / ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου
- - - - καὶ καλέσας / διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ
1:16 - - - - ἀποκαλύψαι / τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ / ἐν ἐμοί, complement
- - - - - ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι / αὐτὸν / ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,
εὐθέως / οὐ προσανεθέμην / σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι,
1:17 - - οὐδὲ ἀνῆλθον / εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα
πρὸς τοὺς προ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους,
- - ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθον / εἰς Ἀραβίαν,
- - καὶ πάλιν / ὑπέστρεψα / εἰς Δαμασκόν.

1:18 - - Ἔπειτα μετὰ τρία ἔτη time gap, change of scene
ἀνῆλθον / εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα
- - - ἱστορῆσαι / Κηφᾶν, never becomes high level topic
- - καὶ ἐπέμεινα / πρὸς αὐτὸν / ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε·
1:19 - - ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων / οὐκ εἶδον,
- - εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου.
1:20 - Ἃ δὲ level may be that of 1:10
γράφω / ὑμῖν,
ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ possibly resumptive
- ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι. and in any case parenthetic
1:21 - - ἔπειτα ἦλθον
εἰς τὰ κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας.
1:22 - - ἤμην δὲ ἀγνοούμενος / τῷ προσώπῳ
ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ.
1:23 - - μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ἦσαν
- - - ὅτι Ὁ
- - - - διώκων / ἡμᾶς / ποτε
νῦν / εὐαγγελίζεται / τὴν πίστιν
- - - - - ἮΝ / ποτε / ἐπόρθει,
1:24 - - καὶ ἐδόξαζον / ἐν ἐμοὶ / τὸν θεόν.

2:1 - - Ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν time gap, change of scene
πάλιν / ἀνέβην / εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα
- - - συμπαραλαβῶν / καὶ Τίτον·
2:2 - - ἀνέβην δὲ / κατα ἀποκάλυψιν·
- - καὶ ἀνεθέμην / αὐτοῖς / τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
- - - Ὃ / κηρύσσω / ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,
- - κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ / τοῖς δοκοῦσιν

μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω
ἢ ἔδραμον.
2:3 ἀλλ' ΟΥΔΕ ΤΙΤΟΣ
Ὢν / συν ἐμοί,
Ἕλλην ὤν,
ἠναγκάσθη
περιτμηθῆναι·
2:4 διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους,
ΟἽΤΙΝΕΣ / παρεισῆλθον
κατασκοπῆσαι / τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν
ἮΝ / ἔχομεν / ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,
ἵνα ἡμᾶς / καταδουλώσουσιν·
2:5 ΟἾΣ / οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν / εἴξαμεν / τῇ ὑποταγῇ,
ἵνα Ἡ ἈΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ / διαμείνῃ
πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
2:6 ἀπὸ δὲ ΤΩΝ
δοκούντων
εἶναί τι--
ὁποιοί / ποτε / ἦσαν parenthetic asyndeton
οὐδέν / μοι / διαφέρει·
ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ / ὁ θεος / ἀνθρώπου / οὐ λαμβάνει--
ἐμοὶ γὰρ pick up topic from before it was lost, 2:2
οἱ δοκοῦντες / οὐδὲν / προσανέθεντο,
2:7 ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον conjunction goes with 2:9
ἰδόντες
ὅτι πεπίστευμαι / τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας
καθὼς ΠΕΤΡΟΣ / τῆς περιτομῆς,
2:8 Ὁ γὰρ
ἐνεργήσας / Πέτρῳ / εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς
ἐνήργεσεν / καὶ ἐμοὶ / εἰς τα ἔθνη,
2:9 καὶ γνόντες / τὴν χάριν
ΤΗΝ / δοθεῖσάν / μοι,
ἸΑΚΩΒΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΗΦΑΣ ΚΑΙ ἸΩΑΝΝΗΣ,
Οἱ / δοκοῦντες
στῦλοι / εἶναι,
δεξιας / ἔδωκαν / ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρναβᾷ / κοινωνίας,
ἵνα ἩΜΕΙΣ / εἰς τὰ ἔθνη,
ΑὐΤΟΙ δὲ / εἰς τὴν περιτομήν·
2:10 μόνον ΤΩΝ ΠΤΩΧΩΝ
ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν
ὃ καὶ / ἐσπούδασα
αὐτὸ τοῦτο / ποιῆσαι.

2:11 Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν / Κηφᾶς / εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν
κατὰ πρόσωπον / αὐτῷ / ἀνέστην,
ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν.
2:12 πρὸ ΤΟΥ γὰρ
ἐλθεῖν / τινας / ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου
μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν / συνήσθιεν·
ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον,
ὑπέστελλεν
καὶ ἀφώριζεν / ἑαυτόν,
φοβούμενος / τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς.
2:13 καὶ συνυπεκρίθησαν / αὐτῷ / καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι,
ὥστε ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑΣ / συναπήχθη / αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει.
2:14 ἀλλ'
ὅτε εἶδον
ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν
πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,
εἶπον / τῷ Κηφᾷ / ἔμπροσθεν πάντων,
Εἰ ΣΥ
Ἰουδαῖος / ὑπάρχων
ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχι Ἰουδαϊκῶς / ζῇς,
πῶς / τὰ ἔθνη / ἀναγκάζεις

- - - - - Ἰουδαΐζειν;

2:15 - - - - ΗΜΕΙΣ asyndeton: explanatory or resumptive?
φύσει / Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί,
2:16 - - - - - εἰδότες [δὲ]
- - - - - - ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται / ἄνθρωπος
ἐξ ἔργων νόμου
- - - - - - ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
- - - - καὶ ΗΜΕΙΣ / εἰς Χριστον Ἰησοῦν / ἐπιστεύσαμεν,
- - - - - ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν / ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ
καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου,
- - - - - - ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου / οὐ δικαιωθήσεται
πᾶσα σάρξ.
2:17 - - - - - εἰ δὲ
- - - - - - ζητοῦντες
- - - - - - - δικαιωθῆναι / ἐν Χριστῷ
εὑρέθημεν / καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί,
ἄρα ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ resumptive conjunction overrides δέ
ἁμαρτίας διάκονος;
μὴ γένοιτο. response, asyndeton
2:18 - - εἰ γὰρ ^Α
- - - κατέλυσα
ταῦτα / πάλιν / οἰκοδομῶ,
παραβάτην / ἐμαυτον / συνιστάνω.
2:19 - ΕΓΩ γὰρ / διὰ νόμου / νόμῳ / ἀπέθανον
- - ἵνα θεῷ / ζήσω.
- - Χριστῷ / συνεσταύρωμαι explanatory asyndeton
2:20 - - ζῶ δὲ / οὐκέτι / ἐγώ,
- - ζῇ δὲ / ἐν ἐμοὶ / Χριστός·
- - ^Ο δὲ
- - - νῦν / ζῶ / ἐν σαρκί,
ἐν πίστει / ζῶ / τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ
- - - ΤΟΥ / ἀγαπήσαντός / με
- - - καὶ παραδόντος / ἑαυτὸν / ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.
2:21 - οὐκ ἀθετῶ asyndeton: explanatory, parallel to 2:19?
τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ·
- - εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου / δικαιοσύνη,
ἄρα ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ / δωρεὰν / ἀπέθανεν. overrides γάρ

The analysis of the rest of the topical structure proceeds along the same lines, identifying topics and resumptions of old topics, and assigning to each its level of prominence in the whole scheme.

NOTES

[1]Michael A. K. Halliday (Learning How to Mean [London: Edward Arnold, 1975]) refers to these functions as ideational, interpersonal, and textual.

[2]The Thread of Discourse (The Hague: Mouton & Co., in press). A preliminary version is available in microfiche as ERIC document ED 071 485.

[3]John Beekman and John Callow, Translating the Word of God; Kathleen Callow, Discourse Considerations in Translating the Word of God; Mildred Larson, A Manual for Problem Solving in Bible Translation (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974-5).

[4]"Implications of Contemporary Linguistics for Biblical Scholarship," JBL 91 (1972) 79.

[5]Robert E. Longacre (Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages: Discussion; Texts [Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 1972) gives an excellent discussion of the types of high level units that I would say result from the operation of these factors.

[6]In "Outlines and Overlays," Language 48 (1972) 513-24, I discuss the semantics of outlining without, unfortunately, distinguishing clearly between content and staging in my treatment of subordination. Bonnie F. J. Meyer, The Organization of Prose and its Effects on Recall (Cornell University doctoral dissertation, 1974, available through University Microfilms, Inc.) gives psychological evidence that people respond to staging differences. The terms 'functional sentence perspective' and 'theme' are used by Czech linguists who have been working on related matters, summarized in František Daneš, ed., Papers on Functional Sentence Perspective (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1974). Michael A. K. Halliday ("Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English, Parts 1, 2, and 3," Journal of Linguistics 3 (1967) 37-81, 199-244; 4 (1968) 179-215) also uses 'theme' in an excellent discussion; but the term is easily confused with thematic analysis in literature and with the use of 'theme' by J. Gruber and other transformational grammarians for one kind of semantic role relationship.

[7]For this observation I am indebted to Thomas H. Crowell.

[8]"Participant Orientation in Longuda Folk Tales," in Joseph E. Grimes, ed., Papers on Discourse (Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields; Huntington Beach: Summer Institute of Linguistics, in press).

[9]The terminology I employ is internally consistent even though not wholly traditional. For purposes of talking about topical structure a noun phrase, a simple noun, a pronoun, and for that matter a prepositional phrase are equivalent; 'nominal' covers them. 'Verb' in this context includes simple and periphrastic verbs as well as verb phrases made up of a predicate adjective or noun plus copula; all appear to have similar properties with regard to staging.

[10]Halliday, "Transitivity and Theme," suggests a second line of reasoning for the analysis: Τῇ ἐπαύριον could be the topic of a larger unit about what happened the next day, and ὁ ὄχλος the topic of the first section within it, about the crowd. Since many languages put place and time expressions first in paragraphs, this might point to locatives as topics; but in Greek as in Bacairi of Brazil (James Wheatley, "Pronouns and Nominal Elements in Bacairi Discourse," Linguistics 104 (1973) 105-15) initial position seems to be available for highlighting new information whenever topicalization can be established in some other way, as in the next example.

[11]In Romans 5:7 there is further interplay between adverbs and prepositional phrases in chiastic balance, all ahead of a preverbal nominative topic, and all involved in informational contrasts.

[12]Andreas Holzhausen, "Narratives in the New Testament," Notes on Translation 53 (1974) 22-33.

[13]It may be that resumptives go back up only as high as a verb of saying that dominates a stretch of text. I have not had opportunity to look into this, but it would influence, for example, our analysis of the end of Galatians 2:17.

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THE SOCIAL WORLD OF ANCIENT ISRAEL
An Orientation Paper for the Consultation

Norman K. Gottwald and Frank S. Frick

The summons to an SBL consultation on the social world of ancient Israel is a logical juncture in the contemporary burgeoning interest in sociological study of biblical data. This interest is in part a revival of the macro-sociological concerns of scholars such as W. Robertson Smith, Max Weber, Antonin Causse and Johannes Pedersen, as well as an attempt to establish continuity with the scale and penetration of those earlier endeavors, while carefully re-assessing the adequacy of their presuppositions, methods and results. In part, the recent upsurge of sociological interest in ancient Israel has been stimulated by a recognition that literary criticism, form criticism, tradition history, history of religion and biblical theology have neglected to their detriment the socio-cultural field in which biblical religion and literature developed. One prospect has it that we may be able to relate the traditional biblical methodologies to one another and to their subject matters more productively if we can establish a sociological axis or grid as one significant way of orienting biblical studies.

Old Testament science now has some impressive examples of historical sociology to emulate. Progress in cultural and social anthropology, as well as in sociological theory (particularly with respect to social organization and social evolution) has prompted trenchant and heuristically pace-setting applications of anthropological and sociological methods to the study of historical societies, e.g., ancient Mesopotamia, pre-classical and classical Greece, early Islam, and China.[1] These efforts have supplied systemic frameworks for viewing the discrete realities of those societies in structural terms that both open up better diachronic understanding of the particular society and enable controlled comparison and contrast with other societies. Frequently the social structural analyses and syntheses have stimulated new research angles within the customary humanities approaches to the history, literature and religion/philosophy of those societies. New possibilities for the collaboration of historians and social scientists are rapidly opening up.[2]

Particularly urgent in the sociological study of biblical Israel is fuller agreement on a body of methods that will overcome the habit of exaggerated fixation on socio-cultural data that happen to be heavily concentrated in particular biblical texts and the habit of virtually random citation of cross-cultural parallels on the strength of real or fancied linguistic or thematic or functional affinities. No doubt much has been learned in the course of decades of poorly disciplined soundings and speculations, but the wheat in these socio-cultural gleanings can only be separated from the chaff by the introduction of consciously chosen methods capable of charting the location of textual outcroppings of social data and proposed cross-cultural parallels within their proper societal totalities as they functioned typically and as they changed over time.

One of the undoubted puzzles in Old Testament studies is that the sociological contributions of several earlier scholars of stature have failed to lead to the foundation of a sub-

discipline of Old Testament sociology with recognized methods and a continuing body of research problems. Why have these earlier bold sociological probes been either idolized or condemned but so seldom followed up? A brief review of the history of sociological research into ancient Israel may help us to understand why the early promises were unrealized, as well as to indicate the proportions of the task before us if we are at last to make good on those promises after several decades of floundering in unverified cult theories and uncontrolled "Parallelomania".

Already by the end of the nineteenth century the nascent disciplines of anthropology and sociology were being applied to the Old Testament. An early work by John Fenton, although scarcely noticed at the time, was one of the first attempts at providing a sociological analysis as supplementary to the prevailing literary criticism.[3] But Fenton's efforts to interpret biblical data in the light of social structure scarcely touched upon the relationship between social organization and the development of religion. W. Robertson Smith and J. Wellhausen compared the societal forms, customs and rites of the Israelites with the ethnography of the pre-Islamic bedouin Arabs.[4] Their gross comparative method and evolutionary model, an understandable consequence of the state of social sciences at the time, led to simplistic results that discouraged others from attempting to improve on their approach, even when more refined social scientific methods became available. Nevertheless, these Israelite-bedouin Arab cross-cultural inquiries had one significant and ultimately pernicious influence on biblical studies: although their conclusions were contested or dismissed in many details, their basic assumption that early Israel was a pastoral nomadic society was accepted virtually without challenge until well beyond the mid-point of this century. In fact, that assumption is still the diffuse operational theory of all biblical scholars who have not had occasion to study the matter closely with the aid of recent social scientific understandings of pastoral nomadism.

Max Weber, in the course of his monumental investigation of the connections between religion and economics, sought to delineate the social groups and forces that interacted with the religious ideas and practices of the ancient Israelites.[5] Considering that he worked mainly with the results of biblical literary criticism, Weber achieved a remarkably sophisticated synthesis that anticipated the significance of the cult, the covenant and the role of the Levites in early Israel. Weber recognized that early Israel was no simple unity but a congeries of socio-economic groups. However, circumscribed by the state of biblical studies at the time, he was still inhibited by the pastoral nomadic model and was unable to distinguish clearly between pre-monarchic and monarchic phases of Israelite social organization. Weber began his analysis of the early Israelites by drawing a distinction between seminomadic and settled agricultural clans.[6] Perhaps because Ancient Judaism was a poorly arranged posthumous work replete with neologisms, translated none too accurately or fluently into English, and because one has to take the trouble to turn to other of his writings to grasp his method fully, Weber's epic project was not systematically critiqued, explored or built upon.

In the United States, the Social Gospel movement drew heavily on biblical sources and produced a spate of biblical sociological primers or segments of broader social ethical and theo-

logical books that summed up the social dimensions of the religion of the Bible.[7] These were addressed mainly to the broad religious community or to theologically-oriented audiences and clienteles, such as seminarians or pastors. They seldom issued a challenge or charted a program of inquiry and research for biblical specialists. American individualism was too strong, the pre-prophetic roots of Israel's social religion too poorly understood, and the spell of continental biblical scholarship too enthralling in the North American biblical guild for the stimulus of the Social Gospel to affect biblical studies in any decisive way. To be sure, biblical scholars at the University of Chicago, where sociology had made its first penetration into the American academic setting, tried for a time in the 1920s and 1930s to combine a broadly social approach with comparative religion in order to discern Israel and the early church as total communities.[8] The achievements were more extensive in New Testament studies than in Old Testament studies. Moreover, the University of Chicago program lacked a sharply disciplined sociological focus, tending rather to move in the direction of comparative cultural studies, and it was finally inundated by the tidal wave of Neo-Orthodoxy and biblical theology that struck American religious circles in the late 1930s and the 1940s.

Meanwhile, form criticism, with its concern for the life setting of traditional materials in both Testaments, flirted with sociological perspectives but disdained sociological methods.[9] Disappointingly, form criticism's main dependence on the social sciences was at the point of folklore studies and some limited aspects of rite and custom in primitive societies. This was much too narrow a spectrum of social scientific methods to carry out adequate reconstruction of the systemic communal milieu of the traditions and of the symbolic functions of the traditions. The Sitz im Leben was progressively attenuated. Cult, as one aspect of the social system, crowded out the other aspects, being more and more treated by form critics as a self-contained entity without regard to social organization, economics, politics and communal symbolizing. Literary forms, extracted by literary criticism, were not examined functionally in order to discover whether they really were distinct functional forms to ancient man.

Martin Noth's ingenious twelve-tribe amphictyonic model of early Israel's social organization represented the maximum limits of form criticism's indirect contribution to a sociological understanding of early Israel, and, for that matter, the model was more indebted to Alt's territorial-historical method than it was to any specific inspiration or directive from form criticism.[10] The amphictyony was viewed by Noth essentially as a cultic formation hanging on the slender thread of comparison with old Latin, Etruscan and Greek amphictyonies. Neither the differentia among the cited amphictyonies, nor their relation to other types of Greek leagues and confederacies, nor their structural place in the total Greek society and culture were closely examined by Noth, and he never asked the decisive question of the relative locations of the Greek and Israelite leagues in their respective social systems.[11] It did not occur to Noth, nor has it occurred to most of his critics, that a wide range of tribal constructs and inter-tribal confederate forms are available to illuminate the specifics of early Israelite tribalism or "re-tribalization." As a result of impoverished socio-

logical method in biblical studies we have been faced in recent years with the cruel choice either of hanging on to Noth's manifestly inadequate amphictyonic model or of assuming that the Israelite tribes lacked any sort of social bonding. Doubtless many have continued to cling with unease to Noth's amphictyony simply because they cannot accept the absurdity of early Israel as a disjointed collection of systemically unrelated tribes.

Antonin Causse, drawing extensively on the sociologist of religion Émile Durkheim, produced an impressively integrated account of Israelite socio-cultural development premised on the thesis that Israel began as an ethnic pastoral nomadic community that gradually lost its organic solidarity as it settled down and diversified economically due to the pressure and attraction of Canaanite civilization.[12] The original bond between society and religion was cut asunder and collective identity and responsibility dissolved into private interest. All aspects of Israelite communal life became problematic, with the result that prophets arose to address the new confusions and divided loyalties from the perspective of the old solidarities. Causse tried to oppose a merely romantic notion of bedouin life and emphasized that Israelite peasants retained the old norms and practices of social solidarity, but his analysis did not explain how peasants managed to retain pastoral nomadic values and habits, other than by some sort of ethnic memory. Causse's simplistic trajectory from collectivism to individualism has of course long been rightly disputed. Causse's socio-cultural view of ancient Israel as a people in transit from cohesive ethnicity to individuated religiosity is probably the most lucid articulation ever written of what continues to be the dominant but vaguely documented "preferred theory" of Israel as a social phenomenon. Israel's existence as a people is said to hinge on its cataclysmic move from a harmonious self-contained bedouin mode of existence to a divisive atomizing agricultural, craft and trading mode of existence. The socio-cultural movement of Israel was from "lower" to "higher" cultural adaptations, from "simple" to "complex" social and economic organization, as it transplanted itself from the desert to the sown land and to city life. This model of course is not to be faulted for perceiving the organically social nature of Israel's religion, nor is it to be doubted for one moment that Israel's social organization changed adaptively throughout biblical time. The problem of the model is its tenuous connection with the empirical data and its failure to keep abreast of social scientific method and theory. It is striking that in the tenacious adherence to this scheme--with which Noth's amphictyony is often combined--almost no attention is paid to the accumulating corpus of anthropological and sociological studies of nomadic communities, of tribal societies pursuing various economic modes, of the parameters of social and cultural innovation, of the inter-action of city and countryside, plus many other relevant types of studies.[13]

Mention should also be made of Johannes Pedersen's psychosocial study of biblical Israel, notable for its elucidation of the mana-like Hebrew conceptions of "soul" and "holiness", a work of measurable impact on biblical scholars seeking ways to overcome the fragmentation and rationalism of literary criticism.[14] Pedersen applied to Israel the folk-soul and group-consciousness approach that the Danish historian of religion V.P. Grønbech had applied to old Nordic culture. He believed, along with many twentieth century anthropologists, that there was an intimate connection between the psychology of a people

and its social system. Pedersen's mind played empathetically over a host of key Israelite words, practices and institutions in an attempt to re-live the unitary perceptions and feelings of the group psyche in its continuity over space and time. In doing so, he drew freely from all parts of the Hebrew Bible with little respect for socio-historic diachronics. Yet, strange to say, this more notorious "psychic" aspect of his study, is sandwiched between opening and closing treatments that are socio-historically diachronic, the one being a mini-history of Israel's understanding of Yahweh.[15] The two approaches are not integrated and it is really a misnomer to call Pedersen's work social psychology or sociolinguistics in any recongizable disciplinary sense. While the "psychological" bulk of his study is outmoded, chiefly of interest today for its aesthetic form, the briefer social organizational history retains considerable value, causing the reader to regret that Pedersen did not choose to devote all four volumes to an expansion of this modest effort at a history of Israelite social organization and religious thought.

Although their specific contributions were quasi-sociological at best, it is necessary to point out two abiding traditions in Old Testament scholarship that have produced a rich body of materials for more explicit sociological analysis and synthesis. Fifty years ago, Albrecht Alt, with his form critical and territorial-historical approaches, and William F. Albright, with his archaeological and linguistic approaches, independently set in motion methodologies for relating biblical and extra-biblical literary and material remains that have sustained, and even actively cultivated, a lively interest in a comprehensive understanding of ancient Israel.[16] It is accurate to identify in both these influential scholars a component of sociological interest which, though not markedly informed by sociological method and theory, continued undiminished throughout their work. In his last years Albright was fascinated with the ʿapiru as donkey caravaneers, and some of Alt's most trenchant work on social conditions under the monarchy was written at the end of his long career.

From the Alt stream of scholarship came Noth's amphictyonic model, as well as encouragement and tools for M.B. Rowton to pursue a territorial-historical study of the ʿapiru and to begin an ambitious typological study of nomadism in the ancient Near East.[17] From the Albright stream of scholarship have come George Mendenhall's proposal that the Israelite covenant was a religious analogue to the suzerain-vassal political treaty,[18] and his hypothesis that the Israelite conquest was a peasant's revolt.[19] Sometimes as offshoots of the Alt or Albright methods and sometimes more indpendently inspired, numerous detailed studies have treated a range of Israelite socio-political texts, offices, practices and institutions in relation to cognate phenomena in ancient Near Eastern societies.[20] Attentive to the rich literary finds from Ugarit, Alalakh and Amarna, initial efforts have been made at reconstructing the social and political institutions of Syro-Palestine in the Late Bronze Age and beyond,[21] although in their applications to biblical studies, as in the case of the ʿapiru = Hebrew equation, the tendency continues to treat limited social items in neglect of the systemic contexts. The complex socio-religious mutation of inter-tribal Israel, adumbrated by Mendenhall, is receiving intensive sociological attention in recent research.[22] Likewise, more socio-

logically informed treatments of Israelite monarchic institutions and of the prophetic office are beginning to appear, although the desired comprehensive and integrated social theory still requires development for the monarchic era.[23]

All in all, there has been surprisingly little practical application and synthesis of the significant detailed studies. The consultation conveners also have the impression that very little specifically sociological work has been done on the exilic and post-exilic periods. This impression may be merely the function of their own concentration on pre-exilic research. Hopefully the consultation will bring to light work, published or in progress, that will serve to fill out the recognized corpus of Old Testament sociological literature. At any rate, lack of familiarity with progress in the pre-history of the ancient Near East, in anthropology and in social organizational theory still permits most biblical scholars to write about Israel's purported pastoral nomadism as though nothing on the subject of pastoral nomadism had been learned in the last fifty years,[24] and, with happy recent exceptions, to talk about the city in ancient Israel in blissful disregard of historical and sociological studies on urbanization processes and urban organization.[25] Even Noth's widely accepted amphictyonic theory and Mendenhall's generally rejected or ignored revolt model of the Israelite settlement in Canaan have drawn surprisingly little evaluation informed by sociological observation and theory.

A major stumbling block to progress in the sociology of ancient Israel, and a key impetus in summoning the SBL consultation, is the present yawning gap between basic research and timely available publication of results. Many of the most important contributions to an adequate sociology of Israel remain unassimilated to the mainstream of biblical scholarship--and even unknown to other biblical social researchers--for the simple reason that they are buried in unpublished academic dissertations.[26] Occasionally the gist of a dissertation argument, or a tantalizing excerpt, appears in one of the journals. More frequently, dissertation titles are sprinkled through scholarly notes, but one wonders how much they have been carefully consulted and absorbed. One example: many recent writers on Israelite pastoral nomadism, particularly its defenders, are by now aware of the Ph.D. dissertation of John Tracy Luke on pastoralism and politics at Mari (University of Michigan, 1965). Routinely they remark that the dissertation was not available to them, whereupon they often stray onto tangents or launch into straw men arguments that completely miss the thrust of Luke's observations and conclusions. Luke of course may be wrong about any number of things, but we are never going to know the full and precise value (or lack of value) in his important study until it is either published or until scholars care enough to send for a microfilm copy. In short, there is probably no other aspect of Old Testament studies with such a high proportion of first-rate unpublished theses as the area of Israelite and cognate social organization, history and theory.

Yet another sector of Old Testament studies may be loosely called sociological, namely, materials about the daily life, customs, institutions and general culture of Israel collected in introductory handbooks and reference works.[27] The best of these is doubtless Roland de Vaux's Ancient Israel. Its Life and Institutions, but even de Vaux's invaluable compilation of social data lacks a sustained social historical perspective and is exceedingly meager on sociological theory. Some of these social

and cultural materials are gathered in summaries of archaeological work, in studies of Israel's neighbors, and in dictionary or encyclopedia articles.[28] For the most part these socio-cultural data are still thought of as prolegomena or adjuncts, like historical geography, to the serious business of literary, historical and religious study of the Old Testament. If Israel was "social," these manuals tend to imply, in the trite sense that it had social institutions such as family, clan and tribe, room can be made in the existing scholarly framework to comment on these institutions. Sizable dimensions of social reality tend to be omitted, notably economics but also important aspects of politics, and systematic diachronic and synchronic analyses and syntheses seldom occur, the data rather being presented as so many discrete realia. Insofar as integration is attempted, it is usually a matter of organizing the data as commentary on biblical texts or topics. As it stands, the average exegete or practitioner of a traditional method of biblical study has no built-in sociological sensors that direct him or her to pose sociological questions about the subject matter, and to do so as a regular part of the investigative task.

Archaeology, which might have been expected to contribute substantially to a social reconstruction of ancient Israel, has been deeply engrossed in historical problems such as the conquest of Canaan. Excavation has been largely confined to inhabited sites; only in recent years have rural installations such as waterworks and terraces been taken up as objects of archaeological study.[29] The so-called "new archaeology," having contributed spectacularly to cultural and social reconstructions of American Indian civilizations, is belatedly stimulating some biblical archaeologists to a similar comprehensive ethnographic view of the discipline.[30] Methods aimed at recovering aspects of ancient material culture, such as pollen analysis and dendrochronology, are slowly finding their way into biblical archaeology. Certainly increasing cooperation between prehistoric and historic archaeologists is called for. Because of the lack of sufficient lines of communication and differences in training a parochialism has developed which has led to only limited application of models used by prehistorians (e.g., ecological, demographic, systemic).[31] Instead of almost exclusive preoccupation with destruction levels in order to determine the identity of the destroyers and the date of their attack, the more subtle and complex project of recapturing the settlement patterns and characteristic means of subsistence of the first Israelites is enlisting the imagination and energy of a growing number of archaeologists. One of the challenging tasks before social researchers of biblical Israel is to formulate models and specific research questions and inventories of needed data that can be addressed to archaeologists in order to discover points on which archaeology can make input. Archaeologists in their turn will doubtless have questions and "leads" to pass on to social researchers. Thereby, the material cultural artifacts and the textual artifacts will be drawn into closer concourse along a much broader front than when they are mined solely for answers to precise historical questions.

The thrust of the foregoing remarks is that sociologically informed and methodologically controlled studies of all aspects of ancient Israel need to be undertaken and constructively criticized within a continuing community of scholars who collectively command resources that no single scholar can hope to command. The sociological study of biblical Israel can only achieve form

and content as a recognized and productive sub-discipline in Old Testament studies if such a community of regularly communicating and collaborating scholars is developed. One encouraging sign in this regard is the number of dissertations now in process, or recently completed, on sociological aspects of Israel's life, including long overdue concentration on the role of women in that society. In some instances these dissertations have been suggested and strongly supported by established faculty. In other cases students have acted mainly on their own initiative, often emboldened and instructed by previous undergraduate or graduate studies in social sciences, and through the clarity and cogency of their proposals have succeeded in persuading reluctant or indifferent faculty advisors that their projects have merit. At a minimum, it seems highly desirable that practitioners of biblical sociology, both veterans and new recruits, soon establish a clearing-house for communicating information on work in progress in the sub-discipline and for the exchange and review of work in the social sciences of potential interest and value for biblical studies.

In conclusion, a word may be said about two types of social scientific constructs that may serve to guide social research in biblical Israel. These are intended as exemplary rather than as exhaustive, for one of the pertinent items on the consultation agenda should perhaps be to assemble a profile or inventory of methods and models presently used by the participants and to alert ourselves collectively to previously overlooked research possibilities and theoretical resources.

One crucial social scientific approach is the typology of social formations and institutions. The model is broadly that of Weber's "ideal type," although the type may be more or less abstract than Weber's usual level of treatment and the type may be more or less historically delineated than in Weber's style of exposition.[32] The methodological set is to represent the social phenomenon in its characteristic developed form and to note its typical traits, against which departures from the type and combinations or interpenetration of types may be historically noted and clarified. Representative of this method, with signal value for biblical studies, are S.N. Eisenstadt, The Political System of Empires and Gideon Sjoberg, The Preindustrial City. Eisenstadt studied numerous examples of the historical bureaucratic empire and characterized that socio-political formation in rich, almost overwhelming, detail. Sjoberg did the same, in somewhat more easily digested form, with preindustrial cities the world over.[33] Each scholar attempted to specify the respects in which the cited historical examples exhibit the type traits and to indicate factors making for skewed or asymmetrical specimens of the type.

Typological studies of this sort have no validity apart from the accuracy and heuristic utility of their patterned generalizations. They have a synchronic bias and can degenerate into static formalism unless constantly checked by empirical data and supplemented by diachronic method. Despised as they often are because they do not reflect specialized control over all the societies treated in one study (although the typologists are usually expert in one or more societies), typological studies carefully executed are of immense value in suggesting appropriate research strategies and theory designs for particular societies. They are especially useful in alerting researchers in limited social sectors to classes of data and interconnections

among the phenomena that can easily be missed by an overly narrow "close in" view of the subject. Eisenstadt, for example, is exceedingly instructive for anyone trying to grasp the anatomy of Egyptian imperial rule in Amarna Canaan or of Assyrian imperial rule in its western provinces, and Sjoberg is a mine of insight and detail for those who wish to make sense of the structure of Israelite cities and their relations with their hinterlands. Of course the "ideal type" or system construct exists nowhere in pristine form; it is a generalization abstracted from many cases and in relation to which all cases are but approximations, but it is precisely by such modular formations played off against the raw data and continually corrected by the data that we make progress in our understanding of particular social formations and institutions.

Sometimes the typological study is heavily weighted in historical description, making it much more amenable to the usual cast of mind of the biblical investigator. An instance is Eric Wolf, Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century. Wolf unfolds the history and principal features of peasant wars in Mexico, Russia, China, Vietnam, Algeria and Cuba. In a concise conclusion he sets forth a typology that both generalizes and discriminates on the basis of the six historical case studies.[34]

A second crucial social scientific approach is the historical cultural material or techno-environmental/techno-economic strategy. The model is broadly that of Marx's identification of the succession of social forms in history in tandem with modes of production and relations of production, i.e., with the concrete means by which people sustain themselves and collectively reproduce their physical, social and cultural existence. The methodological set is to focus on the convergence of factors that bring about nodal social changes with the intent of specifying typical and temporal priorities among the change-promoting factors. Representative of this method are Marvin Harris, The Rise of Anthropological Theory and Gerhard and Jean Lenski, Human Societies, to which one could add the work of the French Marxist anthropologists Claude Meillassoux and Emmanuel Terray.[35] Harris, who has written the first history of anthropology in English since Robert Lowie in the 1930s, contends that structural-functional, culture and personality, ethnolinguistic and other static modes of theorizing, completely fail to account for social evolution. Only as we relate social formations to their roots in economy and environment can we begin to account for stasis and change from society to society over time. The Lenskis, adopting what they call an "evolutionary-ecological" method, demonstrate that, in spite of the irrational bias directed at "economic determinism," the single most important factor in societal change is the interchange between the social organism and its environment. They describe the biological foundations and parameters of socio-cultural adaptations in which the variable of technological exploitation of the environment sets the direction of social adjustment and innovation.

Applications of this approach to ancient Israel are practically nil. Some limited attention has been given to the coincidence of the emergence of Israel with the introduction of iron and the invention of slaked lime plaster for making water-tight cisterns.[36] These technological breakthroughs have not, however, been studied as a part of the total Israelite cultural and social complexes, for example, in relation to the agricultural

modes of production and the typical settlement patterns. Mention should be made of Lawrence Stager's work on ancient irrigation agriculture in the Buqei'ah Valley as an example of an "eco-systematic" archaeological approach which gives adequate attention to ancient ingenuity and the ecology of this region.[37] Only of late have features of the water sources, the agricultural terraces, the settlement patterns and the political security system been brought together in the initial phases of a cultural material hypothesis about the origins of Israelite free peasant agriculture vis-à-vis Canaanite hierarchically expropriated agriculture.[38] To be sure, any particular historical cultural material hypothesis is no more sacrosanct than any particular typological scheme. The criteria of judgment are similar: has the hypothesis taken all relevant evidence into account? Does any alternative theory explain the data better, in whole or in part, and is it possible to combine elements of two or more hypotheses in a more satisfactory explanation than either hypothesis alone provides? It should be obvious that a serious pursuit of the historical cultural material approach to biblical Israel will place demands on archaeology, historical and cultural geography, hydrology, climatology, demography, and numerous other disciplines so far only randomly and sporadically drawn upon for the elucidation of ancient Israel.

This brief survey of the state of biblical Israelite sociological research has omitted reference to many sub-topics in the general field, such as sociolinguistics, social leadership roles, form and function in genealogies, and we could go on at great length in such an inventory. Doubtless enough has been said to offend some readers, to resonate with others and to stimulate the articulation of alternative or additional sociological data and methods. That is certainly as it should be in a consultation devoted to so protean and multi-faceted a field as the sociology of ancient Israel.

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The original draft of this orientation paper was prepared by Norman K. Gottwald, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California, with expansions by Frank S. Frick, Albion College, Albion, Michigan.

NOTES

1. Robert M. Adams, The Evolution of Urban Society. Early Mesopotamia and Prehistoric Mexico, 1966; I.M. Diakonoff, ed., Ancient Mesopotamia. Socio-Economic History, 1969; George Thomson, Studies in Ancient Greek Society. The Pre-Aegean, 2nd ed., 1954; Alvin W. Gouldner, Enter Plato: Classical Greece and the Origins of Social Theory, 1966, Part I (published separately as The Hellenic World. A Sociological Analysis, 1969); W. Montgomery Watt, Islam and the Integration of Society, 1961; Paul Wheatley, The Pivot of the Four Quarters, 1971.

2. Gordon Leff, History and Social Theory, 1969.

3. John Fenton, Early Hebrew Life: A Study in Sociology, 1880.

4. W. Robertson Smith, Lectures on the Religion of the Semites. The Fundamental Institutions, 3rd ed. with intro. by S.A. Cook, 1927 (reprinted with prolegomenon by J. Muilenburg, 1969) and Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, 2nd ed., 1903; J. Wellhausen, Reste arabischen Heidentums, 2nd ed., 1897.

5. Max Weber, Ancient Judaism, 1921 (Eng. trans. 1952) and see Weber's systematic analysis of major analytic concepts applied to Israel in The Sociology of Religion, 1922 (Eng. trans. 1963).

6. See Religionssoziologie, III, 10-13, 44-49.

7. Graham Taylor, Syllabus of Biblical Sociology, 1900; Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis, 1907, Chap. I; T.G. Soares, The Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible, 1915; Chester C. McCown, The Genesis of the Social Gospel. The Meaning of the Ideals of Jesus in the Light of their Antecedents, 1929.

8. Louis Wallis, A Sociological Study of the Bible, 1912, and, by the same author, God and the Social Process, 1935 and The Bible is Human, 1952; William C. Graham, The Prophets and Israel's Culture, 1934; W.C. Graham and Herbert G. May, Culture and Conscience. An Archaeological Study of the New Religious Past in Ancient Palestine, 1936. Among the New Testament scholars were Shailer Mathews, Shirley Jackson Case and Harold R. Willoughby; for a brief summary and critique of their work, see L.E. Keck, JAAR 42 (1974), 435-452.

9. The most adequate report and evaluation of form criticism, with some attention to sociological considerations, is John A. Hayes, ed. Old Testament Form Criticism, 1974, particularly the chapter on the study of forms by Martin J. Buss.

10. Martin Noth, Das System der zwoelf Staemme Israels, 1930 and, in condensed detail, in The History of Israel, 2nd ed., 1960 (Eng. trans. 1960), pp. 85-138.

11. Extensive analysis of Greek leagues and confederate forms appears in J.A.O. Larsen, Representative Government in Greek and Roman History, 1955 and Greek Federal States, Their Institutions and History, 1967. A structural-functional and historical comparative critique of Noth's amphictyonic model will appear in Norman K. Gottwald, A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250-1000 B.C., Part VII, forthcoming 1976. For a convenient summary of the evidence against Noth's theory see Alan J. Hauser, "The Minor Judges'--A Re-evaluation," JBL 94 (1975), 191, n.g.

12. Antonin Causse, Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse, 1937, and, in less developed form, in his earlier Les prophètes contre la civilisation, 1913 and Les 'pauvres' d'Israël, 1922. Assessments of Causse's sources and contributions to the sociology of Israel's religion have been made by S.T. Kimbrough, Jr., RHPR 49 (1969), 313-330 and JNES 31 (1972), 195-202.

13. See, for instance, John T. Luke, "Pastoralism and Politics in the Mari Period: a Re-examination of the Character and Political Significance of the Major West Semitic Tribal Groups in the Middle Euphrates" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1965); Norman K. Gottwald, "Were the Early Israelites Pastoral Nomads?", Rhetorical Criticism. Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg (eds. Jared J. Jackson and Martin Kessler), 1974, pp. 223-255; Marshal D. Sahlins, Tribesmen, 1968; Morton H. Fried, The Evolution of Political Society, 1967; June Helm, ed., Essays on the Problem of Tribe. Proceedings of the 1967 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, 1968; H.

G. Barnett, Innovation: the Basis of Cultural Change, 1953; R. Braidwood and G.R. Willey, eds., Courses toward Urban Life, 1962; R.M. Adams and H. Niseen, The Uruk Countryside, 1973.

14. Johannes Pedersen, Israel. Its Life and Culture, I-II, 1926; III-IV, 1940.

15. Ibid., I-II, pp. 1-96; III-IV., pp. 611-669 and, in more erratic historical form, pp. 503-610.

16. Albrecht Alt, Kleine Schriften, 3 vols., 1953/1959; William F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, 2nd ed., 1957; History, Archaeology and Christian Humanism, 1964; Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan, 1968.

17. M.B. Rowton, "The Topological Factor in the Hapiru Problem," Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger, 1965, pp. 375-387; after an initial article on nomadism and the physical environment in La civilisation de Mari (ed. J.-R. Kupper), 1967, Rowton announced a ten-part series on pastoral nomadism in the ancient Near East. The first two parts appeared in Or 42 (1973), 247-258 and in JNES 32 (1973), 201-215.

18. George E. Mendenhall, Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East, 1955 (reprinted in BAR 3 [1970], pp. 3-53).

19. George E. Mendenhall, "The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine," BA 25 (1962), 66-87 (reprinted in BAR 3 [1970], pp. 100-120); The Tenth Generation. The Origins of the Biblical Tradition, 1973.

20. A representative, though far from exhaustive, sample of this voluminous technical literature through 1960 is given in the topically-arranged bibliography in Roland de Vaux, Ancient Israel. Its Life and Institutions, 1958/1960 (Eng. trans. 1961), pp. 519-552, which can be supplemented by the bibliographical footnotes in Giorgio Buccellati, Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria, 1967.

21. Moshe Greenberg, The Hab/piru, 1950; Giorgio Buccellati, Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria. An Essay on Political Institutions with Special Reference to the Israelite Kingdoms, 1967; two extremely valuable critical review articles are published in M. Liverani, ed., La Siria nel Tardo Bronzo, 1969; H. Klengel, "Probleme einer politischen Geschichte des spaetbronzezeitlichen Syrien," pp. 15-30 and M. Heltzer, "Problems of the Social History of Syria in the Late Bronze Age," pp. 31-46.

22. Marvin L. Chaney, "HDL-II in I Sam. 2:5; Judg. 5:7; and Deut. 15:11" (unpublished paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of AAR-SBL on October 24, 1974) and his Harvard Ph.D. dissertation in progress with the provisional title "Textual, Philological and Sociological Studies in the Song of Deborah and the Song of Hannah with Special Reference to the Verbal Uses of hadal in Biblical Hebrew"; Norman K. Gottwald, "Domain Assumptions and Societal Models in the Study of Pre-monarchic Israel" (to appear in the forthcoming Edinburgh Congress volume of VTSup) and A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250-1000 B.C., forthcoming 1976.

23. On monarchic institutions: T. Mettinger, Solomonic State Officials, 1971; Joseph R. Rosenbloom, "Social Science Concepts of Modernization and Biblical History: the Development of the Israelite Monarchy," JAAR 40 (1972), 437-444; W. Eugene Claburn, "The Fiscal Basis of Josiah's Reforms," JBL 92 (1973), 11-22; On the prophetic office: Peter Berger, "Charisma and Religious Innovation: the Social Location of Israelite Prophecy," American Sociological Review 28 (1963), 940-950, with rejoinder by James G. Williams, "The Social Location of Israelite Prophecy, " JAAR 37 (1969), 153-165.

24. Exemplary of the continuing deficiency of biblical scholarly treatments of pastoral nomadism are Manfred Weippert, The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine, 1967 (Eng. trans. 1971), pp. 102-126 and Morris S. Seale, The Desert Bible. Nomadic Tribal Culture and Old Testament Interpretation, 1974.

25. Studies of the Israelite city informed by sociological method and theory have recently begun to emerge: Frank S. Frick, "The City in the Old Testament" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1970) and John M. Halligan, "A Critique of the City in the Yahwist Corpus" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1975).

26. An initial, in no sense complete list, of sociologically oriented or sociologically relevant dissertations yet to be published is here appended: Stephen H. Bess, "Systems of Land Tenure in Ancient Israel" (Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1963); Paul A. Riemann, "Desert and Return to Desert in the Pre-exilic Prophets" (Ph.D., Harvard University, 1963); John T. Luke (cited in note 13); Siegfried Schwertner, "'Das Verheissene Land'. Bedeutung und Verstaendnis des Landes nach den fruehen Zeugnissen des Alten Testament" (inaugural diss., University of Heidelberg, 1966); W. Eugene Claburn, "Deuteronomy and Collective Behavior" Ph.D., Princeton University, 1968); Albert E. Glock, "Warfare in Mari and Early Israel" (Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1968); William J. Dumbrell, "The Midianites and their Transjordanian Successors: Studies in the History, Social Structure and Political Influence of Related Transjordanian Groupings" (Th.D., Harvard University, 1970); Frank S. Frick (cited in note 23); Dale A. Patrick, "A Study of the Conceptual Models of the Covenant" (Th.D., Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California, 1971); Robert R. Wilson, "Genealogy and History in the Old Testament" (Ph.D., Yale University, 1972; to be published in revised form according to JBL 94 [1975], p. 178, note 27); John M. Halligan (cited in note 23); Marvin L. Chaney (dissertation in progress cited in note 20).

27. Roland de Vaux (cited in note 18); Martin Noth, The Old Testament World, 1964 (Eng. trans. 1966); Bo Reicke and Leonhard Rost, eds., Biblisch-Historisches Handwoerterbuch, 3 vols., 1962-1966, plus the older and still useful work of Gustav Dalman, Arbeit und Sitte in Palaestina, 7 vols., 1928-1942.

28. A.G. Barrois, Manuel d'archéologie biblique, 2 vols., 1939/1953; George E. Wright, Biblical Archaeology, 2nd ed., 1962; Charles F. Pfeiffer, ed., The Biblical World. A Dictionary of Biblical Archaeology, 1966; D.J. Wiseman, ed., People of Old Testament Times, 1973; W. Corswant, A Dictionary of Life in Bible Times, 1956 (Eng. trans. 1960). Of all the biblical dictionaries and encyclopedias, probably the one that has most fully integrated the realia into the body of biblical studies

is U.M.D. Cassuto, B. Mazar, et al., eds., ʾEntsīqlōpedyāh Miqrāʾīth (Biblical Encyclopedia), 1955---, so far available only in modern Hebrew and lacking one or two volumes to reach completion.

29. Z. Ron, "Agricultural Terraces in the Judean Mountains," IEJ 16 (1966), 33-49; 111-122; B. Golomb and Y. Kedar, "Ancient Agriculture in the Galilee Mountains," IEJ 21 (1971), 136-140; C.H.J. de Geus, "The Importance of Archeological Research into the Palestinian Agricultural Terraces, with an Excursus on the Hebrew word gbi*," PEQ 107 (1975), 65-74; see also, J.E. Spencer and G.A. Hale, "The Origin, Nature and Distribution of Agricultural Terracing," Pacific Viewpoint 2 (1961), 1-40.

30. For example, Albert E. Glock, director of the Concordia-ASOR excavation at Tell Taʿannek (Jordan), in a seminar for resident fellows at the Albright Institute for Archaeological Research in Jerusalem on 3 May 1974, presented a paper on "Archaeological Systematics" advancing an ethnographic model for Palestinian archaeology that would view archaeological remains as the deposit of regional systems including paleo-environment, material culture forms on the site and reconstruction of the social dynamics. Glock's paper will be published in revised and expanded form. For similar perspectives in Mesopotamian archaeology, see R.M. Adams, "Archaeological research Strategies," Science 160 (1968), 1187-1192.

31. For an example of a significant recent attempt at developing dialogue between disciplines see the volume of colloquim papers edited by Charlotte B. Morre, Reconstructing Complex Societies, 1975.

32. For a recent discussion of Weber's "ideal-type analysis and its utility in historical research," see M. Hill, A Sociology of Religion, 1973, pp. 147-151.

33. Frick's dissertation, cited in note 23, utilizes Sjoberg's theoretical framework in order to attempt a functional description and analysis of urban structures in the Old Testament including various physical, social, economic, and political structures.

34. Marvin L. Chaney, in lectures at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California, has sought to show the extent to which early Israel met the conditions and criteria of successful peasant revolutions as elucidated by Wolf's study.

35. Claude Meillassoux, L'Anthropologie économique des Gouro de Côte d'Ivoire, 1964; Emmanuel Terray, "Historical Materialism and Segmentary Lineage-Based Societies," Marxism and "Primitive" Societies, 1969 (Eng. trans. 1972), pp. 93-186.

36. Cf. Y. Aharoni, "The Settlement of Canaan," The World History of the Jewish People (ed. B. Mazar), 1st series, Vol. III, 1971, pp. 97-98.

37. See the prospectus on the project in ASOR Newsletter, No. 2, Sept., 1972.

38. In particular, see de Geus (cited in note 27) and N.K. Gottwald, A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250-1000 B.C., Part X, forthcoming 1976.

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MARY DOUGLAS AND HELLENISTIC RELIGIONS: THE CASE OF QUMRAN

Sheldon R. Isenberg

Much of the work carried on under the banner of "history of religions" has involved comparison. Often it is difficult to distinguish between "comparative religions" and "history of religions." But the discipline has been bedeviled with all sorts of conceptual problems. What do we compare with what? Early historians of religion whose interest in "other" religions reflected missionary and proselytizing motives found no difficulty in setting up Christianity (as they understood it) as the standard of comparison to which all other religions conformed more or less, better or worse. The shortcomings of any system of comparison that is so baldly evaluative in its comparison--whether it talks about the higher spirituality of one religion or the invigorating, earthy paganism of another--are and have been self-evident. Phenomenology becomes another way of talking about the study of religion for precisely that reason! But admitting, as I believe we must, that there is no absolute standard by which to evaluate and compare--even science, another religion, or Marxism, yet another, cannot serve--then what in fact can we compare? And what shall we compare? And after we have done all the comparisons, what do we know?

Let me flesh out the problem in terms of the study of Hellenistic "religion" or "philosophies" or whatever categories scholars create to designate them. More particularly I want to focus on Palestinian Judaism in the Greco-Roman period and even more narrowly on the Essenes, this strange Jewish millenarian group who survived as an armed camp in the Judean desert for over two centuries, from the mid-second century BCE to the end of the first Judean war with the Romans. My immediate goal is to find out what I can find about the Essenes, presumably for the sake of communicating that information. Information about the Essenes, compared to information about most modern small communities is scanty, remote, in strange ancient languages, filled with images and symbols that might have been immediately intelligible to their community, but are not so to me. Somehow, I have to allow the documents, the descriptions of Essenes by non-Essenes (e.g. Josephus), and the archeological remains to form an image for me of what the experience of being an Essene was like. The picture that I build is one that I build. I must understand my materials, I must let them communicate to me. Basically what I am doing is finding out about another way or ways to experience reality. I judge that experience by comparing it to another's. Perhaps I compare it to my own. I always do that implicitly--that is my inexorable subjectivity. Learning requires comparison and differentiation, the creation of links of intelligibility. That is why anthropology has always been implicitly comparative. There is so much that you cannot know about one culture unless you know about another! But what shall I compare? What do I want to know? Shall I compare their theology, their myths, their rituals, their social structures, their sex lives, their eating habits, their initiations, their mating rituals, burials, concepts of life and death? What shall I choose to compare that is significant?

An example: There has long been speculation about the relationship between Jews and Pythagoreans.[2] The speculation occurs for good reasons. Pythagoreans believe in metempsychosis,

the trans-migration of souls.[3] Josephus reports that the Pharisees also believed that the soul survives death and is reincarnated. At any rate, Pharisees and Essenes at least seem to share with Pythagoreanism a body-spirit dualism that is intriguing. But many cultures share such beliefs. Even more interesting is the observation that Josephus makes that the Essene sect "practices the way of life taught by Pythagoras to the Greeks."[4] Iamblichus in his Life of Pythagoras describes the community founded by Pythagoras at Croton in Italy in the latter part of the sixth century, B.C.E. Moses Hadas was so struck by the similarities between that community and that ascribed to the Essenes by Josephus and that described in the Essene Manual of Discipline that he concluded:

> ...[I]f Josephus is right [i.e., accurate in his description of the Essene community] then the Qumran community was in fact very like a Neo-pythagorean fraternity. The communal organization and the strict rules for its administration can hardly be explained otherwise than as direct influences of Pythagoreanism....And if the notion of an elaborately organized and disciplined religious brotherhood did not derive from the Pythagoreans it developed from other hellenistic practices.[5]

I bring up this vexatious issue not to add to the literature of controversy on the possibility of Jewish-Pythagorean contacts but because I believe that we tend far too much, particularly as historians, to see certain kinds of similarities and presume that only direct or mediated contacts can explain them.

The problem is that if we can't establish historical contacts those pesky parallels still remain to be understood. How can I bring Pythagoreanism and Essenism together for meaningful comparison, how can I relate them? Even more finely put, how can I meaningfully relate Essenism to Pharisaism, Saduceeism, Zealotry, early Christianity, or any other of the contemporaneous Jewish groups and movements? Even when I can see direct causal connections, what is it that I have explained? What should I relate to what? The choice is really the scholar's, and ultimately it is an arbitrary choice!

It is at this point that Mary Douglas becomes very important to me, because I believe that she is asking very fruitful questions. They are fruitful because they grapple with the nature of human experience and they grow out of a theory, a theory from which she has generated a hypothesis.

II

What Douglas has done is to rediscover something that other stages of our culture have known and that other cultures still know now: the body, the parts of the body, its contours and dimensions are for everyone a symbol system. No matter what our culture, no matter where or when, we always have our bodies. Essentially, what she claims is that we learn to experience our bodies through the mediation of society, our parents, our peers, our teachers, etc. If we know for any given society how the body is understood and valued, then we know a lot about how members of that society experienced themselves, others, their society, their cosmos. But it may not be enough merely to compare body symbolism in one society with body symbolism in another, Douglas thinks.[6] She has a further hypothesis, or rather, a set of hypotheses:

> ...I seek to identify a natural tendency to express situations of a certain kind in an appropriate bodily style. Insofar as it is unconscious, insofar as it is obeyed

> universally in all cultures, the tendency is natural. It is generated in response to a perceived social situation, but the latter must always come clothed in its local history and culture. Therefore, the natural expression is culturally determined.[7]

The next step in her argument:

> ...The scope of the body as a medium of expression is limited by controls exerted from the social system. The human body is always treated as an image of society and...there can be no natural way of considering the body that does not involve at the same time a social dimension. Interest in its apertures depends on the preoccupation with social exits and entrances, escape routes and invasions. If there is no concern to preserve social boundaries, I would not expect to find concern with bodily boundaries....[B]odily control is an expression of social control....[T]he same drive that seeks harmoniously to relate the experience of physical and social must affect ideology. Consequently, when once the correspondence between bodily and social controls is traced, the basis will be laid for considering the co-varying attitudes in political thought and theology.[8]

This second step in the argument is a big one. On the first we learn that an individual is socialized into a body image or, as I put it, offered an identity. He is taught how "society" understands the body, its socially appropriate uses and its socially inappropriate abuses. Climbing to the next step, we find that the image inculcated by society is in fact the image of society. The body image informs us, if we know how to look at it, how the members of the social body understand the nature of that whole body, how the different members relate, how functions are specialized, what is most important, most shameful, least important, etc. We also learn who is allowed in, who isn't and why, i.e., the boundaries of the system. At this point, the point of boundaries, the purity rule which is central to all ritualism enters:

> ...[A]long the dimension from weak to strong pressure [pressure=social control of personal behavior] the social system seeks progressively to disembody or etherealize the forms of expression....Social intercourse requires that unintended or irrelevant organic processes be screened out. It equips itself therefore with criteria of relevance and these constitute the universal purity rule.[9]

What Douglas does with this sort of analysis is to point to crucial signs which allow us to determine, given sufficient information, the paradigm of reality held by a particular society, the paradigm toward which society socializes its members:

> By these rules [i.e., her hypotheses] an ordered pattern is found in the apparently chaotic variation between diverse cultures. The physical body is a microcosm of society, facing the centre of power, contracting and expanding its claims in direct accordance with the increase and relaxation of social pressures. Its members, now riveted into attention, now abandoned to their private devices, represent the members of society and their obligations to the whole.[10]

Douglas continues the argument, explaining how the purity rule sets the ideal body image of society against the more directly experienced individual body image. Through this conceptual distinction social classification and social pressures develop, i.e., the structure of society.

What has Douglas accomplished? First, she suggests with great force that the body is indeed the universal symbol system. But there is far more to it than that. Social structure itself is experienced as a macro-body image. It is expressive of how the consensual public "body" thinks of itself. Those self-directed thoughts about the nature of society, how it works, how it is located in the cosmos, how it is, can be read by the student from a multiplicity of materials. I can read the nature of a community's experience in its architecture, its clothing codes, its town plan, its cultic rules, its literature, its theology--all culture tells the story I want to tell, because all culture tells us how people construct their experience, how they give it meaning or express its meaninglessness. The drive in human culture is toward concordance in the various symbol systems, so that I can take the bits and pieces of experience recorded in the necessarily fragmentary remains of an ancient community and put it together in accordance with the structure expressed. To extend Douglas's metaphor a bit, information about the genetic structure of any human body is to be found all over that body, in every DNA molecule. Analogously, the expression of understanding of structure of a social "body" is to be found throughout that society in all its communicating parts: its religion, poetry, politics, language, etc.

To return briefly to the problem of the relationship of Pythagoreanism to Essenism, the historical causal connection of these movements is in many ways the least interesting question to be addressed. Once we determine that we can only speculate about such a connection, we can go on to more interesting questions. What do Pythagoreans and Essenes believe about the nature of the human body. Both, for instance, believe in body-spirit dualism, that spirit governs matter. From the imperfect sources that we have, it would also appear that they shared a belief in the necessity for matter continually to be purifed by frequent lustrations so that it might be suitable for spiritual habitation. With their radical body-spirit dualism we find them both setting up communities in such a way that they withdraw from their respective given social bodies into their own communities whose rules are highly expressive of concern for purity, body and soul. The given social body is rejected, the given physical body is carefully controlled in terms of food and dress, and both attempt to create new social bodies which are as "etherealized" as possible. Let me leave this part of the discussion and go on more specifically to Qumran.

III

In this necessarily brief concluding section, I shall try to begin thinking about the Essene community in such a way that the nature of the communal sense of self and the nature of individual experience come together in a coherent picture, an image of personal body within social body. Douglas agrees with other structuralists in claiming that language, spoken and written, is only one of the means by which people communicate with each other and communicate meaning to themselves. Ritual is another social communicator, food rules yet another, and so on. For Qumran we have archeological information, telling how the community created and structured its living space. We have remains from their fascinating library which includes not only documents which allow reconstruction of the community's history, but also psalms which bare the writer's self-concept, his body image. And for the community's body image we have its constitution, the so-called Manual of Discipline. Further, there is an intriguing example of the communal dream world in the form of the War Scroll, a fantasy

of the final battle between the superhuman forces aligned with God and Belial. Our resources, then are rich.[11]

As a community, Qumran was very tightly bounded, thoroughly concerned with who came in and who went out. Any transactions between inner communal life and the outside world of man were carefully controlled. Although it is clear that not all Essenes lived spatially distinct from the rest of Judean society, the Qumranite community lived in the desert in caves and constructed communal buildings near the Dead Sea. They had left, they were cut off in space, separated by miles, by purity, by destiny, by God. Everything outside of themselves on the human plan they rejected, and anyone who did not adhere with the perfect obedience to their rules was expelled temporarily or permanently into the sphere of darkness and evil, from the communal body which was light, truth and security about redemption. Outside was enmity, filth, hostility, lies. So, as a community they were tight, anxious, fearful of contamination and filled with hate for anything that was not inside.

This is all made clear in the initiation process prescribed in their Manual of Discipline (1QS). That process involved taking the initiate into the community in such a way that in every possible respect he ceased to belong to any other community. Belonging was total. During the initiation period the novice's belongings ceased being his own and became part of the community's property. In a sense, his <u>self</u> ceased being his own and became totally subject to the community's judgment which was passed annually in a ceremony of evaluation. The rejection of the outside world was total. During the initiation ceremony, for instance, the novice assented to a violent curse of all outside the community, condemning them without mercy to the "darkness of eternal fire."[12] Assenting to such an oath involved a total rejection of family, friends, anyone who had not also joined, all prior social bonds.

But what is the nature of the Essene self that was assumed by joining? As an individual the sense of self was described thus: "And yet I, a shape of clay kneaded in water, a ground of shame and a source of pollution, a melting-pot of wickedness and an edifice of sin, a straying and perverted spirit of no understanding, fearful of righteous judgments, what can I say that is no foreknown, and what can I utter that is no foretold?" The body image is clear. Flesh is the source of pollution. All evil comes from flesh as all good and all purity comes from spirit, the spirit imparted by God: "By Thy mercies and by Thy great goodness, Thou hast strengthened the spirit of man in the face of the scourge, and hast purified [the erring spirit] of a multitude of sins."[13] All power for salvations, as all power of any kind, comes from <u>outside</u> the person. It is all determined according to an eternal plan. Man can only submit thankfully and keep himself pure by constant concern for what he ate, how he behaved, what he thought. He had constantly to wash that flesh which secreted impurities, he had to keep constantly aware of the rightness of his social contacts, for all that would be examined by the next highest order of power, a power authorized by God, the community judge(s).

Just as the individual was virtually powerless, so too the community. It too was caught up in the war between conflicting superhuman powers. For the community too redemption was preordained and in the hands of God. Careful control of its members was as important on the social level as the personal. The community was rigidly stratified in two ways. The Priests and Levites had automatic position, on the one hand, while the annual ranking of members conferred a very precise sense of position, on the other. Constant watching, inspecting, fear of potential

impurity and contamination from the outside, distrust of the flesh--these are all symptoms of body image which despises what is its own--the body itself--and can be documented time and time again.

This, then, is a beginning. For now, I merely set out the task. Now I can go to early Christianity, say, and look at its body images--the body of the Christian, the body which constitutes the Church, its re-symbolization in the controversies over the nature of the body of the founder-god-savior, etc. Meaningful comparison is possible without worrying about whether Jesus himself or John the Baptist might have had contact with Essene communities. There are other questions which give us a far fuller sense of what the experience was like. And it is the experience of others, after all, which enrich our own.

NOTES

1. It would be most useful to analyze various comparative schemata in terms of their implicit valuing systems, their cosmologies, anthropologies, etc. For a sophisticated version of missionary-oriented comparison, see J. Wach, "The Meaning and Task of the History of Religions," in The History of Religions: Essays on the Problem of Understanding, ed. by J. Kitagawa (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 1-19. The article was originally published in the Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft, vol. 50 (1935). See also M. Eliade, "The History of Religions in Retrospect: 1912 and after," Journal of Bible and Religion 31 (1963), 98-107, reprinted in idem., The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

2. To review the literature on this question would be beside the point of the paper. The issue is raised, for instance, by a classical scholar, Moses Hadas, in his Hellenistic Culture! Fusion and Diffusion (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 193 ff. A. Dupont-Sommer, in his annotations to his translation of the Qumran scrolls, is careful to draw comparisons between the Essene community and the Pythagorean brotherhood. See The Essene Writings from Qumran (Cleveland: Meridian, 1962), passim.

3. Antiquities xv, 10, 4 (par. 371) cited by Dupont-Sommer, p. 34, n. 3

4. Hadas, op. cit., 195 f.

5. Douglas spells out her theory most clearly in the second edition of her Natural Symbols: Explorations of Cosmology (New York: Random House, 1973). The relevance of Douglas' work to Judaism of the Greco-Roman period has been noted by J. Neusner who is in the process of publishing a series of volumes entitled A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities (Leiden: Brill, 1974-). The project was inspired by Douglas' earlier volume, Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (Baltimore: Penquin, 1966). The main outline of Neusner's application of Douglas' work appears in "The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism," Journal of the American Academy of Religion 43 (1975), 15-26.

6. Natural Symbols, 11 f. One part of the problem involves the question of controls in comparison: "To compare across cultures is like trying to compare the worth of primitive currencies where no common standard of value applies....One way to solve the comparative problem is to limit the predictions

of hypotheses to any given social environment. Even here the difficulty of defining a social environment is great. The methodological rule is merely a rough kind of safeguard against the wildest kinds of cultural selections (15)."

7. p. 97 The phrase "natural tendency" should raise a red flag. Douglas is implicitly admitting that she does not precisely understand how body symbolism is internalized. That, in fact, is a question for psychology, and a very interesting one. This weakness in her argument does not seem to me to be crucial. In a later paper I shall go into this particular question in some detail.

8. pp. 98-99.

9. Douglas draws some obvious implications of the purity rule: The more complex the system of [social] classification and the stronger the pressure to maintain it, the more social intercourse pretends to take place between disembodied spirits. ...[D]erived from the purity rule are two physical dimensions for expressing social distance; one is the front-back dimension, the other the spatial. Front is more dignified and respect-worthy than back. Greater space means more formality, nearness means intimacy (p. 101).

10. ibid., p. 101.

11. To my mind the best introduction to the Dead Sea Scrolls and the community that used them is still F.M. Cross, Jr.'s The Ancient Library of Qumran (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961[2]). Given space considerations and the "prolegomenon" nature of this paper, I shall not thoroughly document my observations about Qumran in footnotes.

12. 1QS 11.8 (b'plt'š 'wlmyn). Scroll texts are conveniently found in E. Lohse's Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und deutsch (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964).

13. 1QH 1.21-23, 31-32. This translation is by G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (Baltimore: Penguin, 1965[2]), ad loc.

S 191 JOSEPHUS, AGAINST APION II.145-296

A PRELIMINARY PAPER BY DAVID L. BALCH 1)

Ap. was written in response to accusations which had been made against the Jews (I.219; passim), which Jos. says is a common practice against various nations and cities, whose politeiai have been reviled (I.220-221). In the Roman world one used the same pattern to slander or to praise a city/nation. 2) Certain rhetoricians had used this pattern to slander the Jews, and Jos. used it to eulogize them, despite the fact that he denied attempting an encomium (II.147). 3) Ap. follows the pattern for an encomium outlined by Menander of Laodicea 4) which is best demonstrated by presenting the handbook pattern (in abbreviated form) and then comparing it with actual encomia.

Menander of Laodicea, How One Praises Cities

Headings are taken from praising countries and men, and of the latter one praises the origin (τὸ γένος), the deeds (τὰς πράξεις) and the habits (ἐπιτηδεύσεις; 346,27-31).

I. In praising the city as a country... (347,45-343,3)

II. In praising the city as a man:
A. How One Praises a City's Origins (τόπος ἀπὸ γένους ; 353,4ff.):
One praises (1) the founder of the city (οἰκιστής), (2) the inhabitants (οἰκήσαντας), (3) the time of the founding, (4) the changes (μεταβολάς), and (5) the causes from which the city exists (353,6-8).

1. Whether the founder is a god, a hero or a man (353,8-30).
"But if the evil reputation of the founder is known, find an adequate apology"(ἀπολογίαν; 353,28-29).
2. The inhabitants' barbarian or Greek origin (353,31ff.)
3. The time of the founding of the city is preferably ancient (354,22ff.).
4. "Fourth, the topos about changes has certain divisions; for either they emigrated, or they united (with others) in colonizing, or they settled in a foreign city, or they increased, or they were not built near (another settlement)" (355,13-16).
"If (there was) emigration (one must say) that they emigrated from a great and most honoured city, that they emigrated honourably, that they gained possession of the place with power, that they emigrated in friendliness, not being driven out by revolution or wars" (356,1-5).
"If the city was settled by foreigners, one must show that it was not a misfortune, but a change for the benefit of the place" (356,12-14).
5. The founding from either gods or heroes or men.

B. How to Praise a City by its Habits (τόπος ἀπὸ ἐπιτηδεύσεων).
Among such habits are considered those concerning the form of the politeia, those concerning the professional skills, those concerning the crafts, and those concerning abilities (359,18-20).

1. There are three forms of politeia: kingship, aristocracy and democracy; with each good politeia there is associated a perverted form: kingship with tyranny, aristocracy with oligarchy or plutocracy, democracy with mob-rule (359,22-26).
Besides these politeiai there is one which is a mixture of all (three) of them, the kind in Rome and in ancient Sparta (359,26-28).
Consider whether the city is willingly or unwillingly ruled, whether it accurately keeps the laws; the worst state is to lack laws (360,10).
2. On professional skills: astrology, geometry, music, grammar, philosophy (360,17-24).

3. On crafts (360,25).
   Athens is famous for statues of gods and paintings (360,29-30).
4. On rhetorical and athletic abilities (361,1-3).
5. "In addition to all these habits we also embellish (their) activities, if the city is administered in an orderly manner. That involves the mode of life (δίαιταν) of the men and of the women, and the instruction of the children. For it is necessary to show that the very thing belonging to women, men and children has been assigned to their mode of life (διαίτῃ), the very thing which Dion (Chrysostom) did in the work to Tarsus (33.48-51). From these things the habits of life of cities, after scrutiny, are approved as fit (δοκιμαστέον)." (361,4-11).

C. The deeds of the city are praised according to the four virtues (361,12). All deeds, private and civic, are tested (δοκιμάζονται) according to these virtues and their parts (361,15-17).

1. "Justice (δικαιοσύνη) has the parts: piety (εὐσέβεια), just-dealing (δικαιοπραγία) and the disposition to observe divine law with respect to the dead" (ὁσιότης; 361,17-18).

   a. On public and private piety (361,17ff.)
      (1) On piety and the city beloved-of-God (361,20ff.)
          In this part it must be shown that the city has been honored by either the most or the best of the gods with the greatest of honors or the first or the most or the most necessary (363,4-7).
      (2) But about the city loving-god, as was said, it is an individual judgment whether each of the citizens should be concerned for the divine services, or the state according to customary manners (τρόποι; 362,22-25).

   b. "Just-dealing is divided into that toward the newly-arrived strangers (ξένους) and that toward one another. A part of it is to have fair and humane (φιλανθρώποις) customs, and strict and just laws. For if they do not treat strangers unjustly (ἀδικοῖεν) or injure (κακουργοῖεν) each other, and if they have fair and common (κοινοῖς) customs and just laws, the citizens will inhabit the city in the best and most just manner. (363,4-10) 5)

   c. Concerning burial of the dead, memorials and tombs (363,15ff.).

2. After justice one also treats temperance and prudence (363,27). Temperance has two tests, in the public politeia (ἔν τε κοινῇ πολιτείᾳ) and in private homes (καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις οἴκοις;363,28-30).

   a. The public part concerns the guidance of children, virgins, marriages, various groups in the city, and laws against those acting disorderly (363,30-32).
      In this area many cities appoint guardians-of-women, regulate the appearances of children and women in the agora and at festal assemblies, where women are sometimes forbidden to appear (364,1-5).
      "It is then also necessary to observe these things carefully in encomia" (364,6-7).

   b. And in private lives one must note whether the least adultery or other sins appear in the city (364,7-9).

3. Prudence is treated in the same manner: whether the state accurately establishes laws, assigns land by lot, etc. (364,10ff.). But also this part of the encomium is useless on account of the Romans. But privately whether the city depends on eloquent rhetoricians, sophists, geometrists, etc. can be treated.

4. Courage is tested in peace and war (364,17-18).

Josephus' Apologetic Encomium of Moses' Politeia

Ap. generally follows the pattern described by ML for an encomium (for lack of space I will not discuss Philo, Hypothetica), and in view of the specific invectives against Jews made by rhetoricians like Apollonius Molon and Apion, it is plausible to suppose that the same form had been used prior to Jos.'s work to criticize the Jews. In the discussion which follows, I will detail the use of ML's form by Ap., and in the footnotes I will point to the prior invectives to which Jos. is responding as well as the use of the same pattern in other actual encomia. 6) 7)

(I.: in the outline of ML above) As Jos. is not praising a city but a people, he does not "praise the city as a country" (but see Ap. I.195ff. and TH V.6).

(II.A.3.) He begins by observing that each nation traces its institutions back to the remotest date (II.152), and then he maintains that "our legislator is the most ancient of all" (II.154), comparing Moses with Lycurgus, Solon and Zaleucus. This section of the encomium is a short reflection of I.1-218, where Jos. had attempted to prove the Jews' antiquity. Jos. is more interested in Moses as a lawgiver (νομοθέτης) than as the founder (κτίστης) of a city (but see I.310,315 etc.). However that one should praise the lawgiver is discussed in the second treatise under ML's name under the heading "hereditary custom" (πάτριος; 386,1ff.), where the examples are Solon, Lycurgus and Rhadamanthus. 8)

(A.1) ML suggested that "if the evil reputation of the founder is known, (one must) find an adequate apology", so Jos. argues that Moses was "no charlatan or imposter, as slanderers unjustly call him, but one such as the Greeks boast of having had in Minos and later legislators" (II.161 etc.). 9)

(A.4) Jos. then considers the topic "when our ancestors decided to leave Egypt" (II.157). ML says that in discussing this it must be maintained that an emigrating people were not driven out by revolution or wars, so Jos. must try to overcome the slander that the Jews (originally Egyptians) revolted and were driven out of Egypt. 10)

(A.5) Just as ML suggests, Jos. claims that God was the cause of the founding (II.160,184). 11)

(B.1) Again as ML suggests, Jos. discusses the three kinds of politeiai: monarchy, oligarchy or government by the masses (II 164ff.), but he accepts none of these preferring rather the term "theocracy", for rule belongs to God (II.165; contrast Ant. IV.223). Some maintained that the politeia is the cause (αἴτιον) of a state's success (Polybius, Hist. VI.2.9-10; DH II.3.6), but Jos. disputes this (II.166; cp. AP 192). 12)

(B.3) Jos. skips the discussion of skills, crafts and abilities, although there had been a prior invective that the Jews had no inventors in the arts and "crafts" (II.135,148; cp. I.1; II.182). That he would not discuss crafts is understandable, for ML associates this with the making of statues of the gods and with painting. Jos. counters the charge by insisting that one must remain true to inherited custom (II.182-189). 13)

(C.) Jos. praises the deeds (II.171) according to the four virtues, but for him these are justice, temperance, fortitude and mutual harmony, a modification of the four cardinal virtues in ML. Further, according to Jos., piety is not a department of virtue, but the virtues are departments of piety (II. 170-171); in ML (C.1) piety is precisely a subheading under justice. Jos.'s stress on piety and harmony have a close parallel in the way DH (e.g. II.18. 1-2) used the form.

(B.5?) ML discusses the four virtues with respect to the public life of the city and with respect to the private life of the citizens. Jos. discusses

the life (δίαιτα; II.173-174,235) of the home--eating, working and resting (the Sabbath)--which involves harmony (II.179), piety (II.184,188), justice (II.185) and temperance (II.186). The priests superintend the law and the pursuits of everyday life (ἐπιτηδευμάτων; II.187,234). There could be no more saintly (ὁσιωτέρα) order (II.188). 14)

(C.1.a) Jos. then discusses worshipping God (II.192), being very concerned to counter the invective that the Jews are impious (II.148,291 and passim). 15)

(C.2) Jos. then treats marriage laws (II.199) and the birth and upbringing of children (II.204), which corresponds to ML's concern for temperance (Ap. II.204). The woman is inferior and must be submissive (II.199), an assertion quite similar to DH's statement (II.25.4) that the wife must conform herself entirely to the temper of her husband. The Jews' marriage customs compare favorably with the Spartan contempt for marriage (II.273), a statement which agrees with Aristotle's criticism of Spartan women (Politics II 1269b 12ff.) against Plutarch's defense of them (Lycurgus 14.1). 16)

(C.1.c) Ap. then mentions pious rites for the dead and their monuments (II.205). 17)

(C.1.b) The relationship to aliens is then discussed (II.209-214), over against the accusation that Jews are misanthropists (II.148,291), to which he responds that Jews are "philanthropists" (II.212) who welcome those who share their customs (II.210). Jos. knows that it is especially the Romans who are called philanthropists, because they have shared their name (citizenship) with all mankind--Iberians, Tyrrhenians, Sabines (II.40). It seems that the claim to be "philanthropic", both (1) to have accepted unfortunate "immigrants" who "come" (proselytes) and (2) to have "sent out" settlers who colonize (hellenize, spread one's way of life) 18) is a common element in an encomium (DH II.15.3-4 with 16.1-3; AP 49-61 with 62-66 and 67-74; LA 164-169 with 101-103; Ap. II.255-275 with 276-286). Jos.'s concluding eulogy of the immortality and inter-nationality of the law (II.277,280), its "strength" in spreading through all men (II.284), matches "the power of the city" of Athens (AP 323) in spreading her form of life and dialect over the whole of the inhabited world (AP 322-332), a passage which Oliver (p. 14) calls "the key passage of the whole oration", which leads him to entitle his discussion of the encomium, "the civilizing power". Furthermore, when ML's form is used not for praise but for criticism, it is not surprising that proselytes should be mentioned (TH V.5). However, Jewish philanthropy is not like the Roman: they do not accept everybody, whatever their notion of God; on the other hand they are not misanthropic like the Spartans, who expel all foreigners (Plato, Laws XII 950A-D; DH II.17.2; Ap. II.259). Jews are philanthropic because they are willing to accept proselytes who themselves imitate Jewish customs (II.261 against Apollonius Molon's criticism in II.258). So Jos.'s pride in proselytes (I.166,225; II.40,210,282,284) is typical in an encomium, which makes it possible that the Jewish (and Christian) mission was an imitation of or reaction against (imperialistic) Roman or Athenian "philanthropy". 19)

(C.2.a) Jos. then discusses penalties (II.215). 20)

At the conclusion of the eulogy (II.145-219), Jos. turns to criticism of other legislators and laws (II.220ff.). Geffcken noted long ago that these two parts are standard in apologies 21), but it is also standard in an encomium to compare (critically) one's own lawgiver and laws with those of others (DH passim, e.g. II.17.1; 27.1; AP 238-289; 336-382; Ap. II.220-254). And Aristides was just as hesitant about such comparison and invective as is Jos. (AP 238,284,286; Ap. II.237-238,242).

I conclude that Ap. is an encomium 22) and it has an "apologetic" function (II.147), i.e. it is a response to prior invectives at almost every point, to the slanders listed in the footnotes above. The other encomia

named above also "apologize" for the Romans, Athenians and Antiochenes. DH was written against an anti-Roman, pro-Parthian "historian" (I.4.3), whose invectives are behind I.89.1-4; and note the debate between the Greek, Alban general and the Roman king in III.10.2-6 and 11.1-11). 23) AP actually uses the term "apology" (305,306,311) and refers to accusations (302,303,311,312) and blasphemy (309) against Athens. LA (63,153) defends Antioch against the kind of slanders voiced by Julian, Misopogon (347A-349A) one year later. Thus Jos.' encomium fits into the international atmosphere of the Roman empire where it was common for historians and rhetoricians to describe, compare, contrast, praise, slander and apologize for various cities and peoples. He eulogizes the Jews' lawgiver and laws over against the surrounding Graeco-Roman culture; the laws do not deserve the censure they have received.

NOTES

1) The hypothesis presented here was first developed while doing research with Prof. Abraham J. Malherbe at Yale. I will use the following abbreviations:

Ap.	Josephus, Against Apion ed. Thackeray in Loeb Classical Library
AP	Aristides, Panathenaic Oration (Or. I) ed. Behr in Loeb
DH	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities ed. Cary in Loeb
DS	Diodorus of Sicily, Library of History ed. Walton in Loeb
LA	Libanius, In Praise of Antioch (Or. XI) ed. Foerster
ML	Menander of Laodicea, ed. L. Spengel, Rhetorés Graeci (1856), vol. III pp. 331-367 and 368-446 (see n. 4 below).
TH	Tacitus, Histories ed. Moore in Loeb

2) Aphthonius, Progymnasmata: "It (an invective) is divided into the same topics as the encomium, and it is required to find fault with just as many things as are objects of praise...." (II, p. 40,10-11 Spengel)

3)Jos.'s denial may have resulted from the rule that an encomium should not serve apologetic purposes; see W. Rys Roberts (ed. and tr.), Dionysius of Halicarnassus, The Three Literary Letters (1901), p. 90,9-14.

4) The tractates are not by the same author, both belong to the third century AD, and the authenticity of each has been disputed. See M. Talamanca in Studi in Onore di Edoardo Volterra (Milano, 1971), V, p. 464, n. 51; 465, n. 52, a reference I owe to Prof. James H. Oliver. I will cite the first tractate as ML, but its authenticity is not crucial for my purposes.

5) Cp. πρὸς τοὺς ξένους φιλάνθρωπος...; μεθ' ὁμονοίας συνοικοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις.... (384,22-25).

6) As typical of Egyptian, Greek and Roman anti-Semitism and as examples of authors who use elements of ML's pattern for their invective, I will use DS 34/35.1-2 (Posidonius?); 40.2-3 (Hecataeus of Abdera); TH V.2-5.

7) Actual encomia to be compared with Ap. are DH I.1-II.29 (the references given below constitute an argument that this is an encomium); AP and LA. On the last two authors see the important James H. Oliver, "The Civilizing Power: A Study of the Panathenaic Discourses of Aelius Aristides...", Transactions of the Amer. Philos. Soc. 58/1 (1968); and G. Downey, "Libanius' Oration in Praise of Antioch (Or. XI), tr. with Intro. and Com.", Proceedings of the Amer. Philos. Soc. 103 (1959), pp. 652-686. DH was written 30-7 BC, AP in AD 155, and LA in AD 360. A. Boulanger, Aelius Aristide et la Sophistique... (1923), p. 369 thought AP was the model followed by ML in drafting a theory of the proper way to praise a city, but Ap. and DH prove that the pattern was much older.

8) The invective that the Jews are modern: Ap. I.2-3. Other encomia: DH I.89.2; I passim; AP 25; LA 57.

9) The invective: Ap. I.239-250; DS 34/35.1.3; TH V.3-4. But in DS 40.3.3 Moses is praised. Other encomia: DH II.30.5: the seizure of the Sabines was not for wantonness, but for marriage; LA 59ff., 63: against the allegations that Cambyses, a founder of Antioch, was fierce and not master of himself. But contrast Julian, Misopogon 347A-349A, written one year after LA, who reviles Antiochus' incest.

10) The invective: Ap. II.6,8 and 289; also I.86,223,238,240,271,290, 294,306,310; II.15,68,157; DS 34/35.1.1; 40.3.2; TH V.2. Other encomia: DH I.11.1; 75.4; AP 25; LA 45.

11) Other encomia: DH I.16.3; I passim; AP 382; LA 52,57,85,88,110.

12) The invective: DS 40.2; but 40.3.4-6 is sympathetic. Other encomia: DH II.3.1-4; AP 383-393; LA does not discuss the politeia, but ML (360,14-16) notes that in the time of the Romans this might be left unsaid.

13) Other encomia: DH II.9.1; 28.1-3; AP 191,354,364; LA 89,254.

14) The invective: Ap. II.291,148,175ff.; Philo, Hyp. 8.7.14; DS 34/35. 1.2; TH V.4-5. Other encomia: DH II.23.2-5. I have not determined to what extent the subjects of eating and working are typical in an encomium.

15) The invective: DS 34/35.1.1; 40.3.1-2; TH V.5. Other encomia: DH II.18.1ff.; I.89.4; AP 39-48; 189-192; LA 64-68,109-118,125,235-236, but Julian, Misopogon (357D-363A) says the Antiochenes are impious.

16) The invective: DS 40.3.8; TH V.5. Other encomia: DH II.24.1-27.5; LA 151-154, and contrast Julian's invective against Antiochene women and children in Misopogon 355A-357A, 363A.

17) The invective: DS 40.3.8; but the treatment in TH V.5 is not an invective. Other encomia: I have not found this.

18) ἀποστέλλειν: DH II.16.1; AP 61,113,336. Cp. πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν .. ζῆλος (AP 324) with ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις .. ζῆλον (Ap. II.280).

19) The invective: DS 34/35.1.1-4; 40.3.4; TH V.5.

20) The invective: DS 40.3.5 treats it, but is not an invective. Other encomia: DH II.26.3; 29.1; LA 154.

21) See J. Geffcken, Zwei griechische Apologeten (1907), pp. XXIV, XXVIII.

22) DH II.7-29 is not simply an excursus belonging to the Gattung "concerning the politeia" begun by Xenophon, as suggested by M. Pohlenz in Hermes 59 (1924), p. 174. See Balsdon in Journ. Rom. St. LXI (1971), 18ff. Rather this section of DH fits into the larger framework of an encomium.

23) Pohlenz, op. cit., p. 162; Schwartz, RE IV, 1888.

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FROM MYSTICISM TO MYSTICISM
THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF PLUTARCH OF CHAIRONEIA

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"When he lifted his eyes the earth was nowhere to be seen; but he saw islands illuminated by one another with soft fire... and he fancied that their circular movement made a musical whirring in the aether..." De genio Socratis 590c

This brief excerpt from a beautiful passage describing the flight of the soul through the heavens comes from one of Plutarch's late essays in a period in which he revelled in descriptions of the afterlife. Yet in many respects the passage reveals a trait in Plutarch which was with him from his earliest days. Plutarch's religious development has generally been described as a movement from youthful rationalism to aged mysticism or even superstition.[1] Such a description overlooks some important essays attributed to his youthful period, places too much stress on an isolated essay, De superstitione, and fails to take account of different aspects of "mysticism" within Greek religious philosophy. Problems of chronology, the loss of more than half his work, his indulgence toward the views of others, the influence of sources, and an epochê inherited from his schooling in the Platonic Academy often make it difficult to assess his exact thought at a particular time. Yet attention to the scholarship of recent years in regard to chronology and the importance of an idea in its context, combined with an appreciation of his use of speakers in various dialogues can help us toward a better appreciation of his own views and their development, as well as of his place and significance in the intellectual and religious world of his time. It seems much better to describe his development as one from mysticism to mysticism rather than from rationalism to mysticism.[2] Beginning with a rather naive Pythagoreanism, partially learned at home, he seems to have learned in the Academy a somewhat unorthodox Platonism, also somewhat Pythagorean. Later life would have impressed upon him a wider picture of the religions and philosophies about him. In his later religious works the endproduct came to be a curious form of religious Platonism reflecting the spirit and unconscious influence of the non-Platonic world about him.

The basis for discovering a period of early rationalistic scepticism in Plutarch rests upon an early essay, De superstitione. In recent times K. Ziegler and D.A. Russell have expressed serious reservations on the importance of this essay in the development of his religious thought.[3] The treatise seems strangely incongruous, with its denunciations of eschatological descriptions, to one who knows the later Plutarch, but it seems best to treat it as a rhetorical and juvenile showpiece, in which the tone, rather than the basic stance, seems odd. Even so, as H. Erbse has noted, the treatise is basically the attempt at a mean between atheism and superstition--an idea which persists through all of Plutarch's religious writing, and we can even find remarkable individual parallels with passages in later works. For example, Pelopidas 21 repeats almost verbatim a passage denouncing the evil of human sacrifice, relating it to a theory of daimones, and stresses the divine goodness. Almost entirely overlooked as part of the "young Plutarch" are essays like De esu carnium and Bruta animalia ratione uti, rhetorical pieces of a Pythagorean nature with some fondness for Orphism. With great and seemingly youthful idealism and sympathy, Plutarch argues for vegetarianism. Typical of this period is possibly 993b-c of De esu carnium:

"Can you really ask what reason Pythagoras had for abstaining from flesh? For my part I rather wonder both by what accident and

in what state of soul or mind the first man who did so touched his mouth to gore and brought his lips to the flesh of a dead creature, he who set forth tables of dead, stale bodies and ventured to call food and nourishment the parts that had a little before bellowed and cried, moved and lived. How could his eyes endure the slaughter when throats were slit and hides flayed and limbs torn from limb? How could his nose endure the stench? And how was it that the pollution did not turn away his taste, which made contact with the sores of others and sucked juices and serums from mortal wounds?"(Loeb, Mor. IX, p. 541)
At 998c we find an unusual and unique statement that the Titans, according to Orphic belief, were imprisoned in human bodies.[4] What is important for our purposes is the youthful tone and the acquaintance with Orphic and Pythagorean beliefs.

It seems very plausible that Pythagorean influence began at a very early age with Plutarch and continued all his life. Some reconstructions can be made from his Symposiacs. In 8.8 he still reveals some hesitancy in eating meat, and more with eating fish. In 2.3 his friends suspect him of abstaining from eggs through Pythagorean or Orphic beliefs, though he tells us that he did so to get rid of a troublesome dream. Both Dodds and Ziegler felt it might have revealed a guilty conscience over abandoning vegetarianism.[5] For our purpose it is important that his friends presumed he was abstaining for Orphic or Pythagorean reasons. We can add to this 1.2 where a dispute over not seating guests according to honor takes place between Plutarch's two brothers and his father. In this generation's conflict Plutarch reveals himself as most akin to his father in temperament. In De sollertia animalium he made his father the spokesman for vegetarianism. Besides this, he had a lifelong friend, Philinos,who grew up with him in Chaironeia, traveled with him to Rome on his second journey, and possibly was on his Egyptian tour, and was a Pythagorean vegetarian. Finally, in De E apud Delphos 387f, he portrays himself as very much given to number mysticism--a typical Pythagorean doctrine-at the time he was to enter the Academy and study under Ammonios. We will return to Ammonios' speech in this dialogue, but he himself reveals strong Neopythagorean influence. One could also recall Plutarch's De genio Socratis, a tribute to Pythagoreanism both in the noble portrayal of the Pythagorean revolutionaries under Epaminondas, and the description of Pythagorean belief in helping daimones.[6] It is no wonder that Zeller described Plutarch as a Pythagoraisirende Platoniker.[7]

Sometime in his mature period, he became interested in the subject of demonology, a relatively minor part of his religious philosophy, blown out of all proportion in studies on it, partly because it is so striking, partly because it did influence the Neoplatonists. Even the rather reserved Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy leaves the impression that demonology was the solution to most problems in Plutarch.[8] The Empedoclean type of daimones appears in the early De esu carnium[9] and an unusual fragment, never commented on, containing an allegorical interpretation along Pythagorean-Empedoclean terms of the Circe passage in the Odyssey.[10] Xenocratic demonology may be in the background of some parts of De superstitione, an early writing. It is explained at great length in De defectu oraculorum, less expansively in De Iside et Osiride--and mainly to make an analogy with Egyptian thought,receives a passing reference in De E apud Delphos, and is largely window dressing in De genio Socratis and De facie in orbe lunae.[11] Close inspection of these works reveals that he treated the theories of demonic interference on a very hypothetical level, prefered to treat daimones, or better,

daimon--somewhat inconsistently--as either departed human souls retaining a bit of their material psyche, or as the higher part of the human composite, identifiable with nous. In so doing he reveals a certain maturity, being able to put demonology both within the context of the development of Greek philosophy and comparative religion. In De defectu oraculorum he goes so far as to compare theories of demons near the Red Sea with those off the coast of the British Isles. In both cases the knowledge may reflect the actual result of his friends' travels, though more likely the Red Sea trip is fictious.[12]

This broadening of interest and tolerance toward other religions leading to a sort of new syncretism can be seen in his De Iside et Osiride. Yet it is in some ways a very queer sort of book. In spite of Plutarch's personal trip to Egypt, he seems to have used no eyewitness knowledge, and draws almost exclusively on books written centuries before his own time.[13] It contains an oddly dualistic strain, treating the world as balanced between two opposing forces of good and evil, in which the good will ultimately be triumphant, and it contains much allegorical interpretation, otherwise not prominent in Plutarch. However, it seems best to side with J.G. Griffiths in his excellent commentary on the work, the viewpoint that both dualism and allegorical interpretation are largely influenced by the subject at hand and his conciliatory attitude in the work.[14] The allegory is ameliorated by an attack on "false" Stoic allegory and the tame terms of the Platonic Timaeus in which it is set. Undoubtedly his sources play a role here, and Griffiths suspects some unnamed compendium, a Stoic author of Neoplatonic sympathies who wrote on Egypt--and perhaps with trepidation--the influence of Poseidonios. This reveals a remarkable turn in scholarship since the reaction to 19th Century Quellenforschung which seems to have produced as many Inspector Clouseaus as Sherlock Holmeses.

Plutarch's eschatological myths are among his most astounding and interesting compositions. These were written toward the end of his life, or at least in his mature period, and would consequently be the product of much conscious and unconscious influence. It appears simplistic to attribute all in the myths to exclusive Platonic influence, even if the doctrines can be drawn from Plato, as well as much of the imagery. D. Babut, Plutarque et le Stoïcisme, detects a growing sympathy to the Stoics. Thousands of books stood between Plato and Plutarch, as well as five centuries. Syncretism, astral religion, demonology, the sun as either the supreme God or his symbol, the voyage of the soul through planetary spheres, the assimilation to the divine, the escape of nous from the human composite all influenced him though almost always he avoids anything which would appear to make him non-Platonic. It is most interesting how point by point one can find ideas which would put him in the Stoic camp, but on second thought are seen to be in Plato. One could think of his use of a material psyche and the theory of krasis. The mistake is to look for direct borrowing from Stoic or other authors, and not influence which would cause him to select this particular idea from Plato, or give it this interpretation.[15]

Most striking in these myths is the use of the moon as the place of punishment or ultimate repose for the souls, or better psychai. He does in places use language of the mysteries, and Dionysiac imagery which seems to be a forerunner of those Dionysiac sarcophagi of later Imperial times. But it is the moon which figures most prominently.[16] In more than one place the underworld geography has been transposed to this place. It is here, in De facie in orbe lunae that a mysterious second death takes place

on the moon, at which time the remaining psyche-nous composite, after the death of the body on earth and the ascent of the soul to the moon, is resolved "through the love of the good (Good?) as imaged in the sun." [17]

This leads us to two difficult problems, Plutarch's conception of God in his later essays, and our assimilation to him. In De E apud Delphos in the speech of Ammonios which runs to the end of the dialogue, we find Apollo chosen as the name for the supreme God. Stress is put upon God, of whom the sun is the symbol, as being at an enormous distance metaphysically from all mortal things, including ourselves. Without expressly making God equal to the Platonic forms, by naming him, for example, the Good or the Beautiful, he treats God, identified with the One (τὸ ἕν) as the only true being (τὸ ὄντως ὄν), and uses language about him which Plato reserved for descriptions of the forms and the intelligible world of which the phenomenal world is only a shadow. In an interesting article on this speech, J.Whittaker tried to track down the source of the major concepts which appear. Noticing heavy stress on the doctrine of flux and the changing identity of man as he goes through successive ages, something to be found in Seneca and Philo, as well as to some extent in Ovid's Pythagorean book of the Metamorphoses, conjoined to the explanation of God as "not many" (a-polla)--and therefore Apollo, he would suggest the Platonist, Eudorus of Alexandria, who wrote a commentary on the Timaeus, which was used by Plutarch.[18] The speech, though basically Neopythagorean must be read in its complete form to catch its full flavor, but a taste can be given here:

"But God is (if there be need to say so), and He exists for no fixed time, but for the everlasting ages which are immovable, timeless and undeviating, in which there is no earlier nor later, no future nor past, no older nor younger; but He, being One, has with only one 'Now' completely filled 'For ever'; and only when Being is after His pattern is it in reality Being...we ought to address Him with the words, 'Thou art'; or even, I vow, as did some of the men of old, 'Thou art One.'" (Loeb, Mor. V, p. 245)

This speech could be interpreted in traditional terms, but H. Dörrie, trying to put his thought within the context of "orthodox" Middle Platonism, has found some surprising shifts in Plutarch. In Dörrie's view the Platonic construction of the universe falls apart in Plutarch, who only gives it lip service.[19] The soul is not only a work of God but a part of him, and the ideas or forms are really identifiable with the creative nous (i.e. God) which is to be imitated by the world in its entirety. There is no room for the intelligible world, the kosmos noêtos: the final, exemplary, and creative causes have all been united into one. More radical and less convincing are Dörrie's interpretation of two world souls in Plutarch and his understanding of the second death passage in De facie as indicating an intelligible central fire to which the human nous is united, as an intelligible, going off to join the Intelligible. Certain it is that in both De defectu oraculorum (415b) and the end of Romulus, he was concerned with the problem of divinization. His analogy with material elements here and the steps man-hero-daimon-god suggests that by discarding the material element, and what is base in the soul, we can truly be called god or gods.[20]

A more exotic accumulation of principles than that in De genio Socratis can hardly be found. In the great vision of Timarchus he looks up to see four principles of all things: life, motion, birth, and decay (zoê, kinêsis, genesis, phthora) The first is linked to the second by unity (monas) at the invisible; the second to the third by mind (nous) at the sun; the third

to the fourth by nature (physis) at the moon. Fate (moira), the daughter of necessity (anankê), presides over each, while Clotho presides over the link at the sun and Lachesis over that at the moon. It is difficult not to see this arrangement as either influenced by the growing interest in hypostases, or as contributing to this development, even if it is unwarranted to take it, as Dörrie does, as an exposition of the movement of the soul through the planetary spheres[21] In his treatment of the Platonic forms we can see Plutarch's caution. He would like to equate them directly with God, or possibly make them ideas in the mind of God. Yet he never does so exactly. By describing God as the only true being--in terms of Plato's description of the being of the forms, by making God that which the world and men imitate, by speaking of him as the pattern, by having the sun as the image of Apollo, the name for the supreme God, by having the soul yearn for the good (Good) as imaged in the sun, he forces us to a logical conclusion. In a lesser way this mode of thought operates in the voyage and destiny of the soul. However, it is important to see that for his interests it is sufficient for the soul merely to get to the ambit of the moon, where the material psyche is resolved back into its element[22] And we might question how serious he is about such a journey ever taking place in reality, in contrast to some of his contemporaries. We must not push his words too far in the direction of astral religion. It is in the end this curious combination of archaism and innovation which in his mature works makes his thought sound at times Pythagorean, at times Platonic, now Stoic, or even Neoplatonic. He remains something of an intermediary between two worlds, and this itself helps to explain his own development. He seems to have sensed and responded to the growing desire of his fellow men for a religious system grounded in philosophy, by modifying academic Platonism rather than radically departing from it.

Notes:

1. See R. Hirzel, Plutarch (Leipzig 1912), pp. 8-10, R. Flacelière, "Plutarque et la Pythie," REG 56 (1943), 72-111, esp. 111, H. Erbse, "Plutarch's Schrift Peri Deisidaimonias," Hermes 70 (1952), 398-424, J.G. Griffiths, Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride (Univ. of Wales: Cambridge 1970), pp. 25-26. The latter two take a modified position on the lack of continuity
2. The standard reference work is K. Ziegler, Plutarchos von Chaironeia (Stuttgart 1964) = RE Bd. XXI (1949/1951), with additions. Other useful works: C.P. Jones, "Towards a Chronology of Plutarch's Works," JRS 61 (1966), D. Babut, Plutarch et le Stoïcisme (Paris 1969), D.A. Russell, Plutarch (New York 1973), J.R. Hamilton, Plutarch, Alexander (Oxford 1969), C.P. Jones, Plutarch and Rome (Oxford 1971), and Griffiths' De Iside.
3. Ziegler, cols. 188-190, Russell, pp. 80-81. See also Griffiths, pp. 25-26, and J. Moellering, Plutarch on Superstition (Boston 1963). Erbse, above, note 1. Moellering overstresses its worth.
4. Discussed by I. Linforth, The Arts of Orpheus (Berkeley 1941) p. 338. See also Babut, p. 54, who perhaps takes them too seriously as anti-Stoic in tone.
5. Ziegler, col. 98; E.R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (Berkeley 1941), p. 121. Ziegler cites Porphyry's use of De æsu.
6. See A. Corlu, Plutarque, Le Démon de Socrate (Paris 1971), M. Detienne, La Notion de Daïmon dans le Pythagorisme Ancien (Paris 1963), and G. Soury, La Démonology de Plutarque (Paris 1942). All greatly stress Neopythagorean influence.
7. Die Philosophie der Griechen III, 2^4 (Leipzig 1889/1909), p. 193.
8. A.H. Armstrong, ed. (Cambridge 1967): P. Merlan, p. 63, doing violence to De defectu oraculorum, De genio Socratis, De sera numinis vindicta. Soury represents the exaggerated view. Caution is advised by Ziegler, Nachträge, col. 327, and Flacelière, Sur la Disparition des Oracles (Paris 1947), pp. 22, 52-53.

9. For Plutarch's scepticism toward demonology see my "Le Songe de Brutus," VIII[e] Budé Congrès 1968, Épicurisme Grec, Plutarque (Paris 1969), pp. 588-594, and "A Most Strange Doctrine" Daimon in Plutarch,"CJ 69 (1973),1-11; cf. Russell, pp.73-79.
10. Fr. 200, F.H. Sandbach, Plutarch's Moralia XV (Loeb:London 1969), pp. 367-375.(Stobaeus 1.44.60).
11. De def. or. 414e-418d, De Is. 360e-361e, De E 394a, De gen. Soc. 589b-e, 593a-594b, De fac. 943a-945d, playfully 945b.
12. De def. or. 419e, Ziegler, col. 36; Flacelière, Dispar. p.24.
13. Griffiths, pp. 75-100. His most important sources belonged to the early Ptolemaic period. Plutarch was young at the time of his Egyptian trip; cf. Jones, Plutarch, p. 15; Ziegler,col.18.
14. Griffiths, pp. 20ff., 100-101; J. Hani, "Plutarque en Face du Dualisme Iranien," REG 77 (1964), 489-525.
15. R. Jones, The Platonism of Plutarch (Menasha 1916), and "Posidonius and Solar Eschatology," Cl.Phil. 27 (1932), 113-131, reacted too strongly against K. Reinhardt, Kosmos und Sympathie (Munich 1926), Poseidonios (Munich 1921).
16. See De ser. num. 565f-566a, Amat. 763a, Consol. ad ux. 611d-e, fr. 177 (Sandbach). In the first two, the Dionysiac grotto, a symbol of attachment, leads to rebirth. Cf. R. Turcan, Les Sarcophages Romains à Représentations Dionysiaques (Paris 1966).
17. 944e: ἀκοκρίνεται δ' ἔρωτι τῆς περὶ τὸν ἥλιον εἰκόνος δι' ἧς

ἐπιλάμπει τὸ ἔφετον καὶ καλὸν καὶ θεῖον καὶ μακάριον οὗ πᾶσα

φύσις ἄλλη δ' ἄλλως ὀρέγεται.
18. "Ammonius on the Delphi E," CQ 19 (1969), 185-192; cf. W. Theiler, Die Vorbereitung des Neuplatonismus (Berlin 1934, rpt. Zurich 1964), p. 12ff. Plutarch is the first extant author to use the etymology a-polla, referred to in De Is. 354f as Pythagorean. The more orthodox Albinos did not use τὸ ἕν for God. The eclectic Platonist Eudoros of Alexandria lived in the 1st Cent. B.C., and is important for Middle Platonism; cf. W. Theiler, Parusia, ed. K. Flasch (Frankfurt 1965), 199ff. Ammonius is a mystery. See C.P. Jones, "The Teacher of Plutarch," HSCP 71 (1966), 205-213; more cautious, Ziegler, col.15-16, Sandbach, Mor.IX (Loeb: London 1961), p. 219.
19. "Le Platonisme de Plutarque," Budé Congrès, pp. 519-530, and "Die Stellung Plutarchs im Platonismus Seiner Zeit,"R.Palmer, ed. Philomathes (The Hague 1971), pp. 36-56. Unfortunately his stimulating treatment is marred by some methodological weaknesses, leading to an overinterpretation of some texts. In Dörrie's view Plutarch would be both an archaic and innovating deviate from "Schulplatonismus." Important texts for deviationism are Qu. plat. 1001b-c (the soul as a part of God), De an. proc. (the world as a likeness of God), Qu. conv. 719a (the idea of the world in God), Qu. plat. 1002a (God among the intelligibles), De ser. 550d (God as the paradigm). One might add to Dörrie's texts, De E 393f (God binding together the substance of the world by his presence).
20. Actually Plutarch is a little circumspect in De def. 415b: he puts the doctrine in the mouth of "others" and in the final stage the soul only partakes of divinity (θειότητος μετέσχον)
21. Dörrie, "Stellung", p. 50. See also his "Zur Ursprung der Neuplatonischen Hypostasenlehre," Hermes 82 (1954), 331-342, and E.M. Yamauchi, Pre-Christian Gnosticism (Grand Rapids1973).
22. Lunar eschatology figures not only in De facie; cf. fr. 201 (Sandbach) Mor. XV, p. 375, Amat. 766b-c, De ser.num. 566c, De gen. Soc. 591c. On De facie see H. Görgemanns, Untersuchungen zu Plutarchs Dialog De facie in orbe lunae (Heidelberg 1970), Sandbach's review, CR 23 (1973), 32-34--noting the harmony of the physical and spiritual teleology, and H. Martin, "Plutarch's De facie," GRBS 15 (1974), 73-78.

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ROMAN ARMY RELIGION

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As is often the case with religious phenomena, the religion of the Roman imperial army was the product of a series of concerns--political, social, psychological, aesthetic, and, of course, military. Accordingly, some features of military life may be interpreted on many levels; as the lessons learned in battle passed into the manuals of military theory becoming military science, so they also evolved into ritual becoming a complex religious structure. Included in this structure were not only those experiences which made the Roman army the dreaded military machine it was but also elements derived from the private and public life of early Rome and its vicinity. To the extent that any army's religion or propaganda embodies the ethos of its nation making it worth fighting for, the army religion of Rome was the symbolic expression of the "Roman people at war."

Due to the limitation of space we are not able to consider many features of army religion. In general, the objective of this paper is to show the manner in which this religion worked to construct and to maintain a plausible world for the soldiers in it, to show how the military career of any soldier would seem meaningful because it was thoroughly integrated into the reality of the empire as a whole. Under the topic of discipline we examine some ways in which the individual soldier is related to the camp, to the emperor and to military society in general. The section on the camp examines how the legion which is the soldier's home is connected symbolically to the city of Rome. Finally, the relationship of the camp to the frontier is that of maintaining a bulwark against the incursion of alien cultures. In the last two sections we examine the Roman perception of space integrally woven into the religion of the army.

I. Discipline

The primary religious ritual relating to discipline was the military oath, the sacramentum. Under the Republic soldiers took the oath to the general of the legion and probably it was renewed each year at the beginning of the campaign during the summer season; they promised to be of service until the consuls disbanded them (Livy III, 20 and XXII, 38). For two reasons the oath in imperial times was given to the emperor rather than the general: first, an oath given to the emperor made it more difficult for an ambitious general to use his legion in a coup d'etat and, second, in the religious restoration of Augustus the emperor as pontifex maximus delegated his religious power and authority to the legatus of the legion. The legatus, as imperial commanders were titled, received the numen of the emperor and symbolically passed that power on to the troops for success in battle. We do not possess a text of the oath. In Republican armies the tribunes administered the oath, each soldier promising "to be obedient and to execute the orders of his officers to the best of his ability"; as each soldier's name was called, he seconded the oath by saying "the same for me" (idem in me. Polybius IV, 21). To betray the oath was tantamount to betraying the Roman gods and the betrayer was regarded as sacer, liable to both divine and human retribution (Livy XXII, 53). Under the empire, as far as we can tell, the content of the oath did not change but, since the armies became professional and standing, the oath was administered regularly--on enlistment, on New Year's Day, and on the anniversary of the emperor's accession to power. In fact, the sacramentum may have been a daily recital in abbreviated form which can be seen in the morning reports preserved in the military papyri excavated at Dura Europos. "Timinius Paulinus, decurion, announced the orders of the day. Whatever may be ordered, we will do; and at every command we will be ready." (1) The religious nature of the oath becomes apparent in so far as the next entry in the reports details the watch over the shrine of the military standards.

For the entry on March 29 the specification of the sacrifice and the oath appear in the same entry; "March 29 (soldiers) will be checked off, a supplicatio and immolatio and at every order we will be ready." (2)

There is no doubt that the sacramentum was a highly effective means to insure the loyalty of the soldier and the legion to the emperor while at the same time it knit the army together in a cultic fashion. If it is correct that the oath appearing in the morning reports is an abbreviation of the longer oath recited twice a year, then the swearing of the oath on those occasions also served to sanctify time for the army and to connect its times with those celebrated in the empire at large--New Year's day and the emperor's anniversary of accession. But in addition to the rite of oath recitation the army had other religious symbols devoted to the maintenance of order and discipline in the army. These are the deified virtues of Honos, Virtus, Pietas, and Disciplina which are honored in inscriptions, inscriptions on altars, and legends on coins. (3) Disciplina, for example, appeared on the coinage of Hadrian famous for his personal inspections of troops all across the empire.

Just as any contemporary soldier knows, discipline and the correctness of one's uniform are inseparable. On the basis of three Christian sources we learn how important this feature of discipline was to the Roman commanders. In the year 211 Tertullian began his treatise De corona militis by recounting how a Christian soldier had appeared at the distribution of a donative carrying his crown (corona) in his hand rather than wearing it on his head; such a ceremony was always religious in nature. Since he refused to be properly in uniform (he no doubt considered the crown an idolatrous object) he was executed for this breach of military custom. During the course of the treatise Tertullian made it clear that the uniform was religiously significant to the extent that it represented a severe conflict with the Christian faith as he understood it. Almost a century later a Christian centurion registered his objection to the religious practices of the army by casting off his sword belt and vine switch (the symbol of the centurion's authority). This and the fact that he did it in the presence of the standards (signa) brought about his execution on the ground that he had thereby rejected the military oath. (4) About the same time another Christian soldier was executed for refusing induction; part of this refusal involved declining to wear a lead seal (signaculum) with the image of the emperor struck on it. (5)

While not a part of the official military religion, the presence of the cult of Mithra among military men and administrators is dependent upon its emphasis on discipline; the "typical" Mithraist was formal, authoritarian and ritualist. (6) As R. L. Gordon has shown, one should focus attention on the social structure of the Mithraic community rather than look to its mythological structure to discover its popularity. Inscriptions show that instead of being egalitarian Mithraism was sociologically a reflection of army society; centurions predominate the upper grades of the seven grades of the cult. As such, the cult mirrored the structure of the army emphasizing rank, social conformity, and submission to authority; women were, of course, excluded from membership.

II. The Military Camp

With the exception of Dura Europos and other camps of less than legionary strength, the Roman army camp was laid out in a uniform model; regardless of whether the camp was constructed for one night on a campaign or a legion's permanent headquarters, the model was the same. Nor did it matter if the camp was the home of footsoldiers and cavalry or a naval detachment for a Mediterranean fleet, an identical pattern seems to have been used. (7) Moreover, the design of the camp seems to have remained constant from the time of Polybius to the time of Vegetius in the fourth century A.D. In his discussion of the Roman military system, Polybius devotes more space to the subject of castramentation than to the arms or the tactics of the Romans. (Polybius VI, 19-42). At the end of this discussion it becomes clear why he

considered that topic at length; by comparison, the Greeks, who adapted their camps to the features of the terrain, ended by creating confusion in the soldiers' minds regarding their positions inside the camp. On the other hand, the Romans would rather work tediously to remove any features obstructing the construction of the model ideal camp; there, each soldier knew where he belonged and had to deal with a minimum of confusion. Accordingly, Mommsen was right when he said that the soldier's only home was the camp. (8).

It is relatively easy to see the military advantages of the Roman system of castramentation. Regarded from a religious point of view, however, the camp appears to be a religious microcosm modeled on the city of Rome, at least this is what I hope to establish. To begin at the center of the camp we find the sacellum, the shrine where the standards were kept, where the altar for sacrifices was located, and where the bust of the reigning emperor was sheltered. The sacellum was located in the praetorium which was the headquarters of the legion. When on the march the scouts selected the campsite and the place of the praetorium, including the sacellum, marking it with a flag. From that spot the camp sprang up at predetermined intervals, all in relation to the praetorium. Permanent camps had the shrine located in the headquarters of the camp. Even Dura Europos which was the camp of a cohort (the first subdivision of a legion) had an altar in the headquarters despite the fact that this camp was included inside the walls of the city of Dura. (9) So sacred was the shrine of the standards that in some timber forts the only stone structure would be the sacellum. (10) In addition, the best men of the legion were posted there to guard it; they had to be trustworthy, since the regimental savings bank was located there as well--the crime of theft would be compounded by that of sacrilege. (11)

To digress slightly, the standards themselves (signa) were considered numina, not gods. (12) The chief standard of each legion, the eagle, was the symbol of Jupiter. So sacred was it that Augustus launched a special campaign to retrieve the ones lost under Varus in AD 9, when those legions were wiped out. Any legion losing its eagle in battle was to be disbanded in disgrace; usually there was nothing left to disband. Along with the eagle were the standards belonging to the cohorts and centuries. In battle they had their use in keeping the lines straight. For example, Caesar used the expression post signos and ante signos to describe positions of his soldiers. Accordingly the signa had acquired the characteristic of sanctifying space, certainly in the sacellum but elsewhere. In the Theodosian Code when a soldier leaves the service or deserts he is spoken of as "leaving the standards" (VII, 1, 2; VII, 1, 12; and VII, 18, 4; these references are from the 4th century AD). Josephus tells about the incident when the standards were brought into Jerusalem and the resulting conflicts; the religious space of the standards evidently violated that of the Jews in Jerusalem (13). We recall that the aggravating offense of the Christian Marcellus was that he threw off his insignia in the presence of the signa. The signa then had religious power which appeared to radiate from them and to control the space in their vicinity. This power is described in Eusebius' account of how the Labarum helped Constantine conquer the army of Licinius. He tells that wherever the Labarum appeared the battle went well and whoever held it was safe from the missiles of the enemy. (14) Although exaggerated in its details, the story was substantially faithful to the nature which Romans attributed to the signa.

Returning to the discussion of the camp, we find that the space in front of the praetorium was a sacred area since it was here that the soldiers held their religious ceremonies, including the various sacrifices prescribed in the Dura calendar. Here, too, they conducted parades and processions; at the edge of the parade ground archaeologists have found altars buried to prevent desecration. (15)

The military camp was, of course, situated on the borders of the empire and, accordingly, was frequently maintained in a hostile vicinity. Up to the time of Diocletian and Constantine the military policy was to defend the empire from fixed bases along the borders, the limes, a policy begun under the reign of Augustus. In this hostile environment the walls of the

camp became most important. A permanent camp would have walls twenty feet high with towers on each corner and in front of the walls the soldiers dug ditches (fossae) twelve feet wide and at least ten feet deep. Not only do good walls make good neighbors but they make good worlds as well. The legendary reason for Romulus killing Remus was that he had jumped over his wall (Livy I, 7). So important to the Romans were the wall and boundary that the gods called Lares were called to protect them. (Probably this is the background of John 10:1-2 where the friend comes through the door but the thief comes over the wall.) The camp took special care in guarding the walls and the death penalty was given to anyone who entered the camp over the wall; anyone who leaped over the ditch was liable to dismissal from the service. (16) If a soldier left his post on the wall, he was to suffer death. These laws, while having an ancient origin, are to be found in the collections of Roman military laws as late as the Digest compiled under the reign of Justinian but reflecting second and third century A.D. laws. The span of time these laws were in effect points to their significance in maintaining the camp as a religiously guarded space as well as to the conservative nature of Roman military life. Inscriptions and graffiti on walls of camps indicate that these walls came under the special province of various gods. (17) From a reverse point of view, there was special significance to breaching the walls of enemy camps and cities; crowns were awarded for the soldier first to cross the walls of an enemy camp (corona vallaris castrensis) and those of a city (corona muralis).

Officially, the military ethos discouraged commitments outside the camp. Until the time of Septimius Severus, soldiers did not have permission to marry and they were always prohibited from owning land in the provinces where they served. In actual practice these regulations were not always obeyed as was the case with cults outside the official army religion which represented a "checquered catholicity of belief." (18) While evidence for unofficial cults outside camp walls, archaeological research finds practically none inside them. Most likely they were prohibited, although we have no literary evidence to make the prohibition explicit. Constantine observed this tradition carefully since he wished to avoid upsetting the morale of the troops. Although he allowed Christian bishops to travel with him and gave them a tent in which to conduct services, the tent was erected outside the walls of the camp. (19) Ironically, the camp which did have some of these religious observances inside its walls (Christianity, Judaism, Mithraism) also yielded our only evidence for a prescribed official military observance, the Feriale Duranum from Dura Europos. (20) (Two reasons explain the uniqueness of the Dura camp: it was not a legion but only a cohort, and it was quartered inside a city from the time of its origin.) The document is a calendar for the celebration of military and civil festivals to be observed in 225 or 226 AD. In it the only celebrations are those which would be celebrated in Rome (it has close similarities to calendars we have from Rome itself) or military festivals which apply to units all across the empire; no private cults find dates specified nor is there any reference to cults practised in the vicinity of Dura. Obviously, a copy of this document was dispatched to every unit in the military system. Conjectures regarding its intent range from the need to produce good Romans out of the barbarians entering the ranks (21) to the need to supply the army with vacation days (22). While these explanations probably have their element of truth, it seems that the identification with the city of Rome implies another interpretation as well. Since the document comes from Rome, since it is substantially similar to the calendar of Rome, and since it contains a celebration for Urbs Roma, it probably served symbolically to connect the camp with Rome itself. For example, the worship of Dea Roma was found dedicated in an inscription from the auxiliary fort of High Rochester (23). Taken together with the architecture of the camp modeled on the city of Rome, the Feriale served symbolically to connect the camp with Rome itself. The camp became a microcosm of Rome and was its symbolic presence on the borders of the empire and was the presence of "the Roman people at war." The walls themselves probably were regarded as a replica of the Pomerium of Rome; the pomerium marked the line beyond which the auspicia urbana were not allowed to go and it fre-

quently coincided with the walls. Inside the walls was the Roman way of life and outside was chaos from which the troops must be protected if Rome itself was to be protected. So, for example, the army always considered city life demoralizing and protected the soldiers from it (24). For this reason the Feriale was important to circulate, particularly in cities like Dura where contact with city life could not easily be controlled.

III. The Frontier

What the walls were for the camp the limes was for the empire. Augustus conceived the frontier system of defense which did not become intact until the reign of Hadrian when access to the empire was effectively controlled. The Romans knew they had limits to their power and they never viewed the empire as boundless (25). How the Romans viewed their territory as opposed to that of the enemy can be seen most graphically in the cult of the fetiales who were charged with the function of honoring treaties and declaring war. If satisfaction for an offer of peace was not forthcoming, initiating hostilities the fetiales would return to the border of the offending nation and hurl a fire-hardened spear into the territory of the offender. In cases where the enemy border was too distant to travel easily, they cast the spear into a plot of land near the columna bellica regarded as hostile territory. Although we cannot be certain how long this college of priests existed, it was in effect in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and if it had a close connection with the cult of Janus, still performed rites in the time of Gordian III in 242. (26) As such, the cult demonstrated the relationship between space, territory, and religion. This relationship applied to the military camp of the legion which guarded the space assigned to it, not only in controlling the movements of people under its authority but also supervising the religion and culture of the territory; the religious power over the territory was symbolized in the genius legionis and altars appeared dedicated to it. (27) Even the Latin would get better the closer one came to the camp. (28)

At the heart of the concept of frontier defense was the construction of the limes which the army was to oversee. Originally, the limes was a path between tracts of land; the path was never to be crossed since one entered another's property only through the gate. Augustus' concept of frontier defense militarily and religiously as well as the system of collecting tolls demanded the construction of the limes. Entry into the empire was only at the "gates" or border stations. (29) Usually it was a road but where the native population was particularly bellicose a wall was needed such as Hadrian's wall in Britain. Native settlements close to the limes had to move further back. (30) As borders along farmlands in Italy were considered sacred and guarded by Lares, so too the borders of the empire were regarded in the same way, for it is no accident that Augustus ordered the protecting deities of the crossroads to be decorated with flowers twice a year. (31)

Conclusion

The world of the Roman soldier was carefully cultivated ritually and traditionally; cyclic time and sacred space, as we now call it, were two of the chief elements used to construct this world. Further data than could be presented here show how the army religion had retained symbolic expressions reaching back to the time of Rome's foundation. First, we have the religion of the home, then the state, and then the army; in imperial times, after the religious restoration accomplished in the reign of Augustus, the army religion was a composite of all these. Even the lustratio religiously potentiating the arms (in storage during the winter) for the spring and summer campaigns appears in the Dura calendar, though no longer appropriate to a standing army. Even as the walls guarded the sacred space of the home, so the walls of camp maintained sacred space there as did the limes for the empire as a whole. The City of Rome was a macrocosm of the home both keeping a fire burning in their respective hearths. The camp was a microcosm of Rome with the sacellum the symbol of the temple of Jupiter; both Rome and the camp were

guarded by walls. In Augustus' fertile mind, the limes became the walls for an imperial home. Along the borders the camps, maintaining strict religious observances, guarded that home symbolically from chaos in the form of alien cultures and literally in the conduct of military operations.

NOTES

1. R. O. Fink, Roman Military Records on Papyrus (American Philological Association, 1971), pp. 187, 196.

2. Ibid., p. 187.

3. Alfred von Domaszewski, "Die Religion des Römischen Heeres," Westdeutschen Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, 14 (1895), pp. 40-45.

4. Herbert Musurillo, The Acts of the Christian Martyrs (Oxford, 1972), pp. 200-259. See also my article "Christians and the Roman Army," Church History, 43 (1974), pp. 149-163.

5. Musurillo, pp. 244-249.

6. R. L. Gordon, "Mithraism and Roman Society: Social Factors in the Explanation of Religious Change in the Roman Empire," Religion (1972), p. 95.

7. Chester Starr, The Roman Imperial Navy (Ithaca, 1941), pp. 86-88.

8. C. E. Brand, Roman Military Law (Austin, 1968), p. 75.

9. M. I. Rostovtzeff (ed) The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Fifth Season of Work (New Haven, 1934), p. 211.

10. Graham Webster, The Roman Imperial Army (London, 1969), p. 189.

11. Ibid.

12. von Domaszewski, p. 10. "Exclamat irent, sequerentur Romanas avis, propria legionum numina." Tacitus, Annals, II, 17.

13. Carl Kraeling, "The Episode of the Roman Standards at Jerusalem," Harvard Theological Review, 35 (1943), p. 275.

14. Eusebius, Life of Constantine II, 16.

15. Webster, p. 268. 16. Brand, pp. 56 and 175.

17. Rostovtzeff, p. 15.

18. I. A. Richmond, "The Roman Army and Roman Religion," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 45 (1962), p. 196.

19. Life of Constantine, II, 14.

20. Robert O. Fink, et al. "The Feriale Duranum," Yale Classical Studies 7 (1940), pp. 1-222. Also in: Fink, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, pp. 422-429.

21. Richmond, pp. 196-197; Fink, YCS, pp. 206-210.

22. A. D. Nock, "The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year," Harvard Theological Review 45 (1952), pp. 188-195.

23. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum VII, 1089. Richmond, p. 191.

24. Ramsay MacMullen, Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 84 and 123.

25. Brand, p. 98. 26. Zosimus I, 18, 1.

27. von Domaszewski, pp. 95-100.

28. MacMullen, p. 165.

29. Limitation on length prohibits the development here of the ancient "gate concept" and the festival of the triumph. See: E. Baldwin Smith, Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages. (Princeton, 1956), pp. 3-51, and H. S. Versnel, Triumphus; an inquiry into the origin, development, and meaning of the Roman triumph (Leiden, 1970).

30. Theodor Mommsen, The Provinces of the Roman Empire, ed by T.R.S. Broughton (Chicago, 1968), pp. 128-129.

31. Suetonius, Life of Augustus XXXI, 4.

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PORPHYRY'S *PHILOSOPHY FROM ORACLES* AS A WORK AGAINST CHRISTIANITY

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In this paper I argue that Porphyry wrote several books against the Christians, among which was the *Philosophy from Oracles (phil. orac.)*, and that the fragment from Eusebius's *Praeparatio Evangelica (prep. evang.)* 1.1.2 (Harnack edition [1916], #1, belongs to the *phil. orac.* not κατὰ Χριστιανῶν *(ad christ.)*. The argument is based on an examination of the works written in defense of Christianity in the early fourth century by Arnobius, *adversus nationes (ad nat.)*, Lactantius, *divinae institutiones (div. inst.)*, Eusebius, *prep. evang.* and *demon. evang.* as well as the *de consensu evangelistarum (cons. evang.)* and *de civitate dei (civ. dei)* of Augustine. I am indebted to the work of John J. O'Meara, *Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine* (1959) for showing the importance of Augustine in reconstructing the *phil. orac.*, though I try to stay clear of his particular conclusions on the relation of *phil.orac.* to *de regressu animae*, chiefly because they are not germane to the immediate discussion (but also because his arguments on this point are not wholly convincing, see P. Hadot, *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 6, 204-244). Most of the study of Porphyry as critic of Christianity has focused on the *ad christ.*, but any attempt to reconstruct this work founders on our fragmentary, and largely second-hand, knowledge of it. The recent article by T. Barnes (*JTS*, n.s. 24, 424-442) has raised anew the question of the authenticity of the fragments published by Harnack in 1916. Since the discovery of the Apocritus of Macarius in the nineteenth century and the exhaustive studies by Crafer early in the century (*JTS* 15, 360-395; 481-512) the relation of the Macarian material to the other fragments has been discussed on and off (Frassinetti, *Nuovo Didaskaleion* 3, 41-56; Pezzella, *Eos* 52, 87-104). But it is clear that the Macarian fragments (which comprise over fifty percent of the material, without the additions since 1916, see Barnes, pp. 425-29) can be used only with reservation, and that without them reconstruction of the *ad christ.* is almost out of the question. All of these writers assume, however, that Porphyry's writings on Christianity took the form of a book in fifteen books entitled κατὰ Χριστιανῶν and ignored the *phil. orac.* This paper attempts to come at Porphyry from another direction in the hope of opening up a different perspective from which to view him as an interpreter and critic of Christianity.

I begin with Augustine and proceed back to Eusebius who is our most important source for the *phil. orac.* Augustine, *civ. dei* 19.23. The question under discussion here is whether the Christians worship the one supreme God. Augustine agrees that worship belongs to the "God whom Porphyry, the most learned of philosophers, though the most bitter enemy of the Christians, acknowledges as a great god, even through the oracles of those whom he considers gods. For in his books called ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας in which he sets forth and discusses the divine oracles *(responsa)* on matters concerned with philosophy, he says...." Augustine cites an oracle from *phil. orac.* critical of Christians for not recognizing the one high God and a second oracle praising the Jews for worshipping this God. He then turns to several oracles on Jesus from *phil. orac.* citing

Porphyry's introductory comments as follows. "What we are going to say," says Porphyry, "will certainly be contrary to one's expectation. For the gods have declared that Christ is very pious (piissimum), and has become immortal, and that they remember him with high praise (cum bona praedicatione eius meminerunt); but the Christians are polluted, stained and caught up in error, and many other such things the gods are accustomed to say against the Christians." An oracle from Hecate follows in which Jesus is described as a pious man who had access to heaven. "Ipse vero pius et in caelum, sicut pii, concessit. Itaque hunc quidem non blasphemabis, misereberis autem hominum dementiam," i.e. the disciples.

This passage from *civ. dei* indicates that Augustine knew *phil. orac.* as a work directed against Christianity, but that it presented an attack not on Jesus, but on the Christians. Jesus is praised as a good and pious man; the Christians are accused of ignorance and folly for not recognizing the one high God. Porphyry's oracles "praise Christ" and "vituperate the Christians," says Augustine. The wise men of the Hebrews, among whom Jesus was one, turned men away from evil demons and taught them "to honor the heavenly gods, and especially to worship god the Father." But his ignorant followers did not heed his words and "turned away from all gods."

As reported by Augustine Porphyry's *phil. orac.* included the following: 1. Praise for Jesus as a good and pious man who taught men to worship the gods. 2. Criticism of Christians for misunderstanding Jesus and turning away from the worship of the gods. 3. Defense of the worship of the gods and especially the one supreme God. 4. Praise of the Hebrews for worshiping this one God.

Civ. dei 20.24. The discussion here centers on the Christian belief in the end of the world. "Why is it," writes Augustine, "that Porphyry when he praises the piety of the Hebrews in worshiping a God who is great and true and terrible to the gods themselves (ipsis numinibus terribilis), on the basis of the oracles of these gods (oraculis deorum suorum) accuses the Christians of extreme folly because they say the world will perish." Augustine believes Porphyry is inconsistent because he draws on the wisdom of the Hebrews and is "so pleased with it that he praises it through the words of his own gods." I leave aside the question of the destruction of the world (a topic that occurs regularly in pagan criticism of Christianity [*Contra celsum* 4.79] and appears in the Harnack fragments [nos. 34, 35, 89, 90]) to single out the point of importance for the present discussion. In this passage Augustine indicates that in a work which appealed to oracles Porphyry praised the Hebrews for worshiping the one supreme God and accused the Christians of folly.

Augustine; *de consensu evangelistarum 1.15.23.* Some pagans criticize Jesus because he wrote no books, and because his fame was spread abroad by his disciples through the use of magic. The pagans attribute "excellentissimam sapientiam" to Jesus "sed tamen tamquam homini," but his disciples mistakenly called him the son of God and the one through whom all things were made. The pagans think he should be "honored as a very wise man, but they deny that he should be worshipped as god" (honorandum enim tamquam sapientissimum virum putant, colendum autem tamquam deum negant). These vain men who are "Christi laudatores et christianae religionis obliqui obtrectatores" do not dare blaspheme Christ "because some of their philosophers, as Porphyry of Sicily has related in his books, consulted their gods to discover what they would respond about Christ and were compelled by their own oracles to praise him?" Further it was the disciples who taught the "eversio templorum et damnatio sacrificiorum et confractio

simulacrorum," not Christ, and it was the disciples who made him an object of worship. The argument here is similar to that in *civ. dei* but it is sharpened somewhat and Augustine mentions that the disciples were accused of using magic to spread Christianity (see *ad Christ.* frg. #4). For our purposes, however, the important point is that in praising Christ as an extraordinary man Porphyry explicitly denies that he is god. The disciples made the error of calling him god, and when they began to worship Jesus as God they turned away from the temples and the sacrifices. Porphyry by praising Christ as an excellent man who taught men to worship the gods was trying to provide a place for Jesus within his religious scheme while criticizing the excessive veneration of Jesus by Christians.

Arnobius' *adversus nationes* was written early in the fourth century, probably before 311. The first two books are a defense of Christianity, the latter an attack on pagan worship and practices, e.g. sacrifices, myths, temples, etc. Throughout the first two books he states and responds to a whole range of criticisms of Christianity. In 1.35 he asks: why are Christians attacked and why do people believe the gods are hostile to Christians? We have, says Arnobius, a "common religion" (una religio est nobis vobisque communis) because we join with you in worshipping the one God. But his opponents reply: "The gods are not hostile to you because you worship the omnipotent God but because you maintain that a man, born a human being...was God and you believe that he still exists and you worship him in daily prayers." Whether and in which passages Arnobius is responding to the criticism of Porphyry has been debated (for a recent positive assessment, especially of *ad nat.* 2.63ff. see P. Courcelle, *Revue des Études Latines* 31, pp. 255ff.; cf. *ad christ.* frgs. 81 & 82), but let me mention only two points. 1. Arnobius not only defends Jesus against the charge that he is only a man, but his opponent links the worship of a human being as God with refusal to recognize Jupiter as God (1.34-36). In 2.67 he also reports to objections to Christian apostasy: "Itaque cum nobis intenditis aversionem a religione priorum." 2. Arnobius begins his *ad nat.* with the statement that his critic appeals to oracles and charges that the coming of Christianity has brought harm to mankind. "The claim has been made, as I have learned, by some who believe profoundly in their own wisdom and speak as though inspired and disposed to speak from an oracle (bacchari et velut quiddam promptum ex oraculo dicere), that after the Christian race began to exist in the world the whole earth went to ruin, mankind was afflicted with many and varied ills, and even the heavenly beings as a result of the abandonment of the ceremonial sacrifices by which they were formerly induced to look after our affairs, were exiled from the regions of the earth."

Lactantius' *div. inst.* were written sometime after 303 as a response to two recent works against the Christians, the one in three books by an unnamed person who considered himself "antistitem philosophiae" and the other by Hierocles. In *div. ins.* 4.13 Lactantius cites part of an oracle from Apollo which is similar to the oracle cited by Augustine in *civ. dei* 19.23. "He was mortal as to his body, being wise with wondrous works." Lactantius acknowledges that the oracle speaks part of the truth, but it errs in not acknowledging him as god. If Jesus was wise, says Lactantius, his followers must be wise. But we are considered "foolish, delusive and senseless." Here again the same theme occurs, that the oracles praise Jesus as a wise man but consider his followers deluded for worshipping him as god.

Eusebius, *demon. evang.* 3.6.39 - 3.7.1. The discussion here centers on the question whether Jesus was a sorcerer. To defend Jesus against this charge Eusebius cites the "oracles of your

gods" who testify that Jesus is not a "sorcerer but pious and wise and has access to the heavens." What, he asks, could be a more persuasive testimony "than the writing of our enemy against us which he entitled *Philosophy from Oracles* where he says in the third book συγγράμματι word for word. 'What I am about to say may seem surprising to some, namely that the gods have proclaimed Christ to be most pious and immortal, and that they remember him in a laudatory way.'" (This is the same passage cited by Augustine in *civ. dei* 19.23.) Eusebius cites several oracles from Porphyry to that effect. This discussion comes at the end of a long discussion in *demon. evang.* discussing Christ as an ordinary man and also as a magician. Eusebius cites the *phil. orac.* against those who call Jesus a magician and sorcerer. Porphyry refutes the critics of Jesus, for he did not consider Jesus a magician but one who was "pious, and most just and wise and an inhabitant of the vaults of the heavens." Porphyry praises Jesus as a wise man, but he criticizes the disciples for relying on magic and sorcery, as Augustine reported in *civ. dei* (18.53-4; 22.25).

In the *prep. evang.* Eusebius cites Porphyry some ninety-six times, the most frequently cited author after Plato, and most of these citations come from the *phil. orac.* The *prep. evang.* was a massive attempt to answer in detail the charge that Christianity had brought harm to mankind by deserting the traditional gods. To mount a defense Eusebius sets forth the theology of the various ancient peoples, e.g. the Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Greeks to show that "our revolt is reasonable" (book 2, pref.). After discussing Egyptian theology he says that one can understand why we "revolted with abhorrence." (2.1.51) Our work, says Eusebius, will show "the reasonableness of our revolt from gods falsely so called." (2.4.3) In book four he discusses the political theology of the Greeks to answer the charge "that we are guilty of the greatest impiety in making no account of powers so manifest and so beneficent, but directly breaking the laws, which require everyone to reverence ancestral customs, and not disturb what should be inviolable, but to walk orderly in following the religion of his forefathers and not to be meddlesome through love of innovation." (4.1.2-3) His opponents say that punishment for such lawbreaking is death. Eusebius' chief source throughout is Porphyry's *phil. orac.*

At the beginning of book five Eusebius recapitulates the argument and turns to the specific question whether the coming of Jesus has brought harm or good to mankind and whether "those honored in the cities and in the country are gods" or evil daimones. He wishes to show that even the Greeks acknowledge the "oracles have failed" since the coming of Jesus and that the evils of former times have been overcome. To establish his point he cites a passage from Porphyry comparing Jesus and Asclepius. "The same one [Porphyry] who is the defender of the demons in our day in the plot against us ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευῇ testifies speaking somewhere in the following way. 'Now they are amazed that for so many years the plague has seized the city, since Asclepius and the other gods are no longer present. Since Jesus was honored no one has learned of any public aid from the gods.'" (*prep. evang.* 5.1.10) Porphyry wishes to say that the city (i. e. Rome) would be better served if it continues to honor Asclepius who had been brought to it in the early third century B.C.E. Eusebius, however, takes the passage to mean that since the coming of Jesus, Asclepius and the other gods have lost their power. That is, Jesus is more powerful in warding off evil demons than Asclepius. Some [Porphyry] say of Jesus, says Eusebius, that "he is a mortal man," but others [possibly Hierocles] "might say he was a deceiver," whereas "they [Asclepius and others] are gods and saviors...." But if this is so, asks Eusebius, why have they fled "and having turned their backs on this mortal and one after

another handed over all mankind into the hands of one who no longer exists, as they say." Even after his death Jesus "continues to be honored daily among all nations...," clearly showing that he and not the gods of the city is truly divine (*prep. evang.* 5. 1.13).

Now the comparison between Jesus and other gods occurs in Arnobius. In book one he defends Jesus against the charge he is merely a man by comparing him to the gods of his opponents, Liber, Asclepius, Ceres, et al. The criterion by which one judges whether they are gods is whether they have brought any "bounty" (gratiam munerum) to mankind. Liber gave wine, Ceres bread, Asclepius herbs, et al. Arnobius appeals to Jesus' miracles. In 7.44 he discusses Asclepius in greater detail and the issue centers on Asclepius and the city of Rome in time of plague. Arnobius' opponents say that when Asclepius was brought to Rome, presumably in 293 B.C.E. at the time of plague, the people recovered and the disease fled. On this basis they say he was divine, because the ability to drive away the plague and restore health are signs of divine power. Arnobius disagrees, but then adds: "Perhaps someone will say that the reason why the protection of such a god has been wanting in the more recent ages since that time is that the modern way of life is godless and reprehensible; that he brought help, however, to the former ages because they were innocent and not given to contracting guilt." These words seem to provide the context in which Porphyry introduces the comparison between Asclepius and Jesus as reported in Eusebius, *prep. evang.* 5.1. Return to the worship of Asclepius will insure the safety and well being of the city.

The passage from Porphyry cited by Eusebius in *prep. evang.* 5.1.10 is usually assigned to *ad Christ.* (Harnack, frg. 80). If it were not for the term συσκευή to describe it I would immediately assign this fragment to *phil. orac.* The difficulty is that in *prep. evang.* 1.9.20 and 10.9.11 Eusebius cites from book 4 of the "*suskeuē* against us" and *phil. orac.* had three books (see G. Wolff, *Porphyrii de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* [1856], pp. 38-43). We shall return to the term, but if the fragment is not from *phil. orac.* it is inspired by it and dependent on it.

In the first five books of *prep. evang.* Eusebius uses *phil. orac.* extensively as a source, but it is essential to recognize that it is not used simply as a source. In a number of places he attempts to refute the *phil. orac.* by an appeal to other works of Porphyry. For example in the *phil. orac.* Porphyry urges sacrificing to the gods, but Eusebius points out that in *de abstinentia* Porphyry says we should not "offer incense or sacrifice to the God who is over all." Only spiritual worship is appropriate to the one God. Demons desire sacrifice and offerings. In the *de abstin.,* says Eusebius, Porphyry criticizes sacrifices as an inferior form of worship, but in *phil. orac.* he praises sacrifices (*prep. evang.* 4.9.). Further, criticism of *phil. orac.* is continually offered even when the criticism is not explicit. The chief point of Eusebius that the "apostasy" of the Christians was "reasonable" responds directly to the argument of *phil. orac.* that the disciples, by worshipping Jesus as God, abandoned the worship of the one supreme God and the traditional cult.

To summarize the argument. The *phil. orac.* was not an anti-Christian work in the style of Celsus, though many of its themes are similar; it was a positive statement of the ancient "theology" and a sustained attempt to provide a rationale by an appeal to oracles for the worship of the one God in the traditional manner. It gathered together an enormous body of traditional material to defend the religion of the "cities and the country." Jesus is made an integral part of this religion by characterizing him as a wise man who taught men to worship the one supreme God.

In short, Jesus is made to conform to the religious ideas of Porphyry. More specifically Porphyry fits Jesus into his hierarchy of divine beings. At the pinnacle of this hierarchy was the "first God...the Father and king of all Gods." After him is the "race of gods" which includes the heavenly bodies. The third category includes the *daimones* and under them are the heroes (*prep. evang.* 4.5; see also G. Wolff, pp. 42-43). For each of these different gods different veneration is appropriate. In the *de abstin.* Porphyry distinguishes the "first God who is incorporeal, immoveable and indivisible" from the visible gods, e.g. stars, and the daimones who need to be pacified by sacrifices. The *daimones* also "desire to be considered gods," i.e. to be honored in a way beyond that which is due to them. In this hierarchy of divine beings Porphyry placed Jesus in the lowest category, i.e. among the heroes. He was a wise man to be compared with Heracles or Pythagoras. He cannot even compete with Asclepius. The Christians have, mistakenly, attempted to elevate him beyond this status and even to assert that he has a unique relation with the one high god. Thus the charge that Christianity has deserted the traditional worship is a piece with the view that Jesus belongs among the wise and pious men. Porphyry is willing to bring testimony from the oracles that Jesus should be honored as a wise man, but he is adamant in refusing him any greater honor.

In light of these considerations I think that the long passage at the beginning of *prep. evang.* 1.1.2 (identified by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in *ZNW*, 1, 101ff. as derived from Porphyry and assigned to the preface of *ad christ.* by Harnack, frg. 1) belongs to *phil. orac.* It reads in part: Our opponents say "we agree neither with the opinions of the greeks nor the customs of the Barbarians....What is the strangeness among us and the newness of our life? How can men not be in every way impious and atheistic who have apostasized from the customs of our fathers, through which every nation and city is sustained. What good can reasonably be hoped for from those who stand as enemies and warriors against their guardians and cast off their benefactors. What else are they than fighters against God. What types of pardon will they be worthy who have turned away from those recognized as Gods from the earliest times among all Greeks and Barbarians, both in cities and in the country, with all types of sacrifices, and mysteries and initiations by all, kings and lawgivers and philosophers and have rather chosen what is impious and atheistic among men." "They have not adhered to the god who is honored among the Jews...but cut out for themselves a new way...." The arguments in this passage are similar to the arguments in *phil. orac.* as reflected in Augustine and Arnobius and discussed at length in the first five books of *prep. evang.* Futher, in *prep. evang.* Eusebius is concerned almost wholly with *phil. orac.* not *ad christ.*, and even where he may be citing *ad christ.* (1.9.20, 5.1.10) we cannot be certain that he is doing so. Frg. 80 on Asclepius is doubtful and the other passage (repeated in *prep. evang.* 10.9.11) dealing with the date of Moses would fit into Porphyry's discussion of the Hebrews in *phil. orac.*

To turn now to a number of problems raised by the arguments presented above. In several passages in *prep. evang.* Eusebius refers to the συσκευὴ καθ' ἡμῶν (1.9.20, 5.1.9, 5.5, 5.36.5, 10.9.11). In 1.9.20 and 10.9.11 he quotes a passage from the "fourth hypothesis" of the *suskeuē* about the date of Moses, in 5.1.9 he cites the passage from Porphyry on Asclepius, in 5.5.5 he cites from the *phil. orac.* of "the one who made τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευήν," and in 5.36.5 he also says he is turning to the *phil. orac.* of the "one who made the *suskeuē* against us." (In demon. 3.6. he cites *phil. orac.* as the "writing of our enemy against us.") These passages can be read to say that the one who wrote

the *"suskeuē* against us" also wrote the *phil. orac.* but they may mean that the *"suskeuē* against us" is the same work as the *phil. orac.* Linguistically the former is more likely, but the question remains as to why Eusebius links the *"suskeuē* against us" so closely to the *phil. orac.*

The term *suskeuē* was translated "compilation" by Gifford, but it seems to mean a plot against someone. It is used this way in Herodianus (3.12.3 and 12.9) to describe the plot against the emperor S. Severus, and Mras, in his edition of *prep. evang.*, suggests "heimtueckisches Werk" (II, 575). It may be that the term *suskeuē* allows us to make a firmer identification between Porphyry's trip because of a "need of the Greeks" mentioned in *Ad Marcellam* 4 (see H. Chadwick, *The Sentences of Sextus*, 142f. and Poetscher's edition, p. 66). Perhaps the journey on behalf of the Greeks refers to a trip he took to prepare a *suskeuē* exposing the Christians and offering the emperors a religious and philosophical basis for persecution.

In any case, during this time Porphyry wrote several works dealing with Christianity. It is instructive that references to Porphyry in the fourth century always refer to his *"books"* (plural) against the Christians and that the title κατὰ Χριστιανῶν does not appear until Suidas. Fourth century writers do not speak of a specific work but in general of Porphyry as critic of Christianity. "Scripserunt contra nos Celsus atque Porphyrius; priori Origenes, alteri Methodius, Eusebius et Apollinaris fortissime responderunt" (Jerome, *ep.* 70).

Eusebius says that Porphyry wrote συγγράμματα against us, and Rufinus says that in "scriptis suis" he attempted to overthrow the Christian religion. But these terms may be used loosely and the "books" may refer to the divisions of a work, not separate works (e.g. *Demon.evang.* 3.6.39). Yet the condemnation of Porphyry by Constantine speaks of συντάγματα ἄττα παράνομα Socr. *h.e.* 1.9). Socrates also speaks of "blasphemous works" and the condemnation of Theodosius II (*Cod. Iust.* 1.1.3) uses the plural. The evidence is not certain, but it is only by positing the existence of several works of Porphyry that I can reconcile the references to specific books by number in the fourth century writers. Eusebius cites from a book three (*hist. eccles.* 6.19), a book four (*prep. evang.* 1.9.20 and 10.9.11); Jerome cites a book one (*Comm. Gal. Prolog.*) and a book twelve (*Comm. Daniel prolog.*), thirteen (*Comm. Mt.* 24:16), and fourteen (*de principio Marci ad* 1.1). Significantly, however, the work mentioned by Lactantius in *div. ins.* 5.2. as coming from an unnamed philosopher included three books, and the *phil. oracles* is usually thought to have had three books (Wolff, pp. 38-43).

What these scattered references may suggest is that late in life Porphyry followed up the work begun by the school of Plotinus to refute the "Christians and others, sectarians who had abandoned the old philosophy...." (*Vita Plot.* 16). Even Plotinus, in his treatise against the Gnostics, criticized them for their "innovations," for establishing their "own philosophy" and for "degrading the teachings of Plato " (*Enneads* 2.9.6). The works of Porphyry dealing with Christianity may have grown out of a series of polemical treatises against new sects (Hans Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy* [1956], 449-456). I am inclined to think that *phil. orac.* was the chief theoretical work and that another work, perhaps what is usually called *ad christ.*, may have dealt specifically with exegetical and historical questions, e.g. the book of Daniel, the unreliability of the gospel record, et al.

That these writings came late in Porphyry's life is clear from the efforts of apologists to answer him early in the fourth century, but internal evidence from Eusebius also helps establish

the date. In the *prep. evang.* Eusebius uses the following phrases to refer to Porphyry's polemic against Christianity: "he who gained distinction in our time (καθ' ἡμᾶς) for the things against us" (*prep. evang.* 1.9.6); "he who in our time made a plot against us" (5.1.9); "the one celebrated in our time for his accusations against us" (4.6.1). In *hist. eccl.* 6.19.2 he says that the συγγράμματα against us were written in Sicily "in our time." In Eusebius the phrase καθ' ἡμᾶς refers to the recent time, not to events thirty or forty years earlier. Eusebius ends book 7 of the *hist. eccl.* with the statement that he will now leave in writing for those "after us (μεθ' ἡμᾶς)" the things that "happened in our time" (καθ' ἡμᾶς). In *hist. eccl.* 8 preface he begins an account of the "things in our own day" (τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς), i.e. the "persecution in our day" (καθ' ἡμᾶς). Here he is relating events of the very recent past, i.e. after 300. When he wishes to speak of events twenty or thirty years earlier he uses other phrases, e.g. καθ' ὃν (7.29.1), καθ' οὓς φηλίκα (7.32.1), κατὰ τούσδε (7.32.2). Whatever the specific form and number of Porphyry's writings against the Christians, they were written late in his life, perhaps early in the fourth century.

The *phil. orac.* has traditionally been assigned to Porphyry's youth, partly on the basis of the statement of Eunapius (*Vita Sophist.*, 457) and partly on the basis of its character, i.e. a work defending sacrifices and appealing to oracles. O'Meara (pp. 33-34) has shown the difficulty of drawing firm conclusions from Eunapius on this point. And the common assumption that Porphyry moved from a superstitious to a critical outlook after meeting Plotinus oversimplifies his intellectual development (see A. C. Lloyd in *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* [1967], p. 285). If it is recognized that *phil. orac.* is a sophisticated and comprehensive defense of the worship of the one high god as well as the traditional cult and that it is a mature and powerful argument, there is no difficulty in placing it late. It is not an uncritical, naive, and superstitious collection of oracles but a rich work reflecting a deep understanding of ancient religion as well as a profound grasp of Christianity. Both characteristics would have been beyond Porphyry when he was still writing Homeric criticism under the tutelage of Longinus. Finally, the growing importance of oracles as religious sources in the late second and early third centuries (see Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* [1950], II, 447ff.) provided Porphyry with a new way of grounding the philosophical and religious concerns of the neo-Platonic schools, and it is a testimony to his brilliance that he could appropriate these new developments both to serve his philosophy and to expose the weaknesses of Christianity.

S 195 THE MITHRAEUM AT CAESAREA MARITIMA

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During the summers of 1973 and 1974, excavation teams operating as part of The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima[1] discovered a series of Roman barrel vaults near the harbor front of Caesarea, the city which for almost 600 years served as the port and capital of the Roman and Byzantine province of Syria Palestina.[2]

The first vault uncovered, labeled Vault I, was 4.94 m. high, 4.95 m. wide and had an extant length of 20.5 m. The western end of the vault had suffered collapse and it was only after several weeks of excavation that its original length of 31.30 m. was determined. Vault I was stratigraphically excavated and found to have had six phases of use, the first of which was the Herodian foundation of the first century B.C.

In the third phase of its history during the third century A.D. and perhaps earlier, the eastern 13.5 m. of Vault I was adapted for use as a Mithraeum. Podia (1.60 m. wide, .40 m. high and 10.40 m. in length) were constructed at the eastern end of the vault and against its northern and southern walls. A bench (1.10 m. wide and .40 m. high) was built against the eastern wall joining the eastern ends of the two longer podia. The remains of an altar (.60 m. by .60 m. by .22 m. high) constructed of two hewn blocks, was placed in the aisle between the northern and southern podia, .25 m. in front of the eastern bench. Immediately behind the altar and built approximately on and along the east-west center line of the eastern bench was a stone construction (1.05 m. long, .32 m. wide and .32 m. high) which ran from the western end of the podium to the eastern wall of the vault. This construction was in effect a low wall which divided the bench into two equal divisions north and south. In the floor .25 m. from the southern podium and 2.10 m. from the eastern wall of the vault, at the north-east corner of the altar, was a circular concave depression (.45 m. in diameter and .10 m. deep) with a drain at its bottom which led off in a northern direction.

Other adaptations to the vault which date from the time of its use as a Mithraeum were found, but the limit set upon this paper permits only the listing of some of them. 1. A tiled anti-chamber and entrance to the Mithraeum was partially excavated at the western end of the vault. 2. Evidence was found for a wooden splay or sunburst of 19 rays originally used to separate the eastern fourth of the Mithraeum from the western part, somewhat in the fashion of an iconostasis-- A feature not found in other Mithraea to the author's knowledge. 3. A small connecting vault joins Vault I with another parallel and contiguous vault of the same size as Vault I. There is evidence that the second vault was in use in conjunction with the Mithraeum, but collapse of the second vault prevented its examination until additional excavation is undertaken. 4. An off center opening cut into the ceiling of Vault I admits light to the eastern end of the Mithraeum. While work was being done in the Mithraeum it was noted that a shaft of light from the opening progressed daily in the direction of the altar until late in the month of June in the mid-afternoon the shaft of light illuminated the altar. Whether or not the phenomenon of the Mithraic altar being lit by a shaft of sunlight at the time of the summer solstice was part of the planning of those who adapted Vault I must await further study, both archaeological and astronomical.

In a series of trenches laid across Vault 1, 3rd century pottery along with ash, carbon and quail bones were found on the floor of the Mithraeum under a layer of debris. Of this pottery the most clearly datable were three third century lamps found in the stratigraphy between the altar and the eastern podium. It was in this earth layer that the most important artifact related to the Mithraeum was found. This artifact was a small circular medallion on which was depicted in bas relief, Mithra slaying the bull, a tauroctone (ταυροκτόνος). The medallion, carved of white crystalline marble is .075 m. in diameter and .01 m. in thickness. On its reverse a finished bevel reduces the reverse diameter to .065 m. while the reverse surface was left with a rough comb dressing. The obverse of the medallion is divided horizontally into two registers, the upper of which is twice the size of the lower and features the tauroctone. The lower of the two registers depicts three scenes from the life of Mithra. Mithra and associated figures in the upper register have been cut in much higher relief than the figures found in the smaller scenes in the lower panels.

In the upper register, Mithra wearing a Phrygian cap, his cloak flying in folds behind him, is inclined to the right in the act of slaying the bull. The bull has fallen to its knees with its foreleg folded under it and its hind leg fully extended out behind. Mithra, whose relative size is about the same as that of the bull, holds down the beast as he leans across it, his left leg folded under him on the back of the bull and his right leg fully extended behind him allowing him to secure with his right foot the shank of the bull's extended hind leg. With his right hand Mithra thrusts a dagger into the upper right fore flank of the bull at the base of the neck as he grasps the muzzle of the bull in his left hand and pulls its head up and back. The head of Mithra is turned sharply to his right so that he appears to be looking over his right shoulder in the direction of the bust of Sol in the upper left of the medallion. The turned head of Mithra permits his full face to be seen, but either because the face was never fully carved or because it has been badly worn, or both, the facial features are only faintly discernable. In the creases of the folds of Mithra's cloak where it drapes over his left shoulder and falls between the head of the bull and Mithra's right arm, there are traces of red color.

Certain of the figures usually associated with the bull slaying scene are clearly present on the medallion; others are indistinctly represented, if at all. The raven usually located behind Mithra and frequently found resting on his flying cloak may be represented by a poorly defined protuberance at the upper left of the medallion to the left of the bust of Sol, and on the top fold of Mithra's cape. The snake, its body almost totally extended vertically, has its head at the point where the dagger enters the body of the bull. The scorpion, usually seen at the testicles of the bull, may have originally been what is now only a small ill-defined ovoid at the junction of the right rear flank and the under body of the bull. Above and to the right and left of Mithra are two almost identical and almost featureless busts; the one on the left of the medallion is traditionally identified with Sol and the one on the right with Luna.[3]

On the right of the medallion and in front of Mithra and the bull is a standing male figure with crossed legs wearing a Phrygian cap and holding in his right hand a torch held

upright. His left arm is at his side and he stands facing the bull slaying scene. Details of his costume are no longer clear and there is only a slight trace of his facial features. A crouched dog, its foreleg extended, its shoulder beneath the right knee of the crossed leg of the standing figure, thrusts its head toward the bull as though barking. The stance, location, upright torch and presence of the dog, indicate that the standing figure is Cautes.[4]

On the left of the medallion and behind the bull is a second standing male figure. His legs are not crossed and his right arm is extended downward and across the front of his body. What is probably an inverted torch, held in the figure's right hand, is thrust toward the rump of the bull, though Mithra's right leg obscures much of its length. The figure wears a Phrygian cap and his head is turned away from the scene of the slaying; few other details of his face and dress are preserved. In his left hand he grasps what appears to be a short staff no part of which extends below the point where it is held. Partly obscured by the standing figure's left leg and at the left of the extended right leg of Mithra is the head of a lion.[5] The stance, location, inverted torch and the presence of the lion indicate that the standing figure behind Mithra and the bull is Cautopates.

The panel on the left of the three panels which comprise the lower register contains both a kneeling and a standing figure. The standing figure on the right of the panel faces left and with an extended left arm, lays his hand on the lowered head of the crouched figure before him. Apart from a slight indication that the standing figure wears a Phrygian cap, few details of either figure have been preserved. The acute angle formed by the circumference of the medallion and the divider between the upper and lower registers has probably caused some distortion in the juxtapositioning of the two figures, but the basic relationship between them remains clear. Similar scenes on other Mithraic bas reliefs and paintings indicate that the standing figure is Mithra and the kneeling figure is Sol, although on all other bas reliefs known to the author, Mithra is at the left laying his hand on the head of kneeling Sol who faces to the left.[6]

The center panel depicts two figures at table, facing the observer. The details of these faces, like those of all faces in the lower panels, are featureless and were, perhaps, originally painted on and subsequently worn or washed away. The figure on the right seems to be wearing a Phrygian cap. Since the banquet of Sol and Mithra was one of the important events in the life of Mithra and one which appears on Mithraic paintings and with great regularity on Mithraic bas reliefs, it seems probable that the middle panel of the lower register records that event. Details of the banquet scene on a great number of bas reliefs are lacking and as a result, it is frequently impossible to distinguish Sol and Mithra from one another. Sol is usually on Mithra's right, that is, on the left of the panel.[7] The only clear exception to this known to the author is on a bas relief found at Dieburg where the positions are reversed.[8] The hint of a Phrygian cap on the head of the figure on the right helps confirm the judgment that the figure is Mithra and that middle panel of the Caesarea medallion depicts Sol and Mithra in their usual positions at table.

In the panel on the right of the three panels in the lower register, a figure is depicted riding a bull to the right. The rider, his cape flying out behind him, holds the head or horns of the beast as he drives the animal towards an indistinct and perhaps recumbent figure before him. The recumbent figure raises what may be his extended right arm in the direction of the advancing rider. The positioning of the figures in the panel may be distorted by the fact that the scene is depicted in the acute angle between the register divider and the circumference of the medallion. The rider apparently has his face turned to the observer and there can be seen the faint outline of a Phrygian cap on his head. Other details of both figures are almost entirely lacking. Indentification of the mounted figure is not difficult. Scenes from bas reliefs which show Mithra, his cloak flying behind him while riding a bull and holding on to the animal's horns as they advance to the right, are common.[9] There is, however, no instance known to the author where Mithra mounted on the bull is depicted advancing upon a second figure standing or reclining in the same scene. The reclining figure with arm extended is the least clear of all the figures depicted on the Caesarea medallion. Similar figures found in the same general location are usually identified with Saturnus or Oceanus.[10]

Marble bas reliefs depicting Mithra slaying the bull, with associated scenes from the life of Mithra, are well known. But circular bas reliefs exhibiting the tauroctone are rare[11] and have been found in Noricum and Upper Moesia.[12] The Caesarea medallion is similar not only in shape but also in style of execution to those bas reliefs found along the Danubian frontier.[13]

The entire Mithraeum, floors, furniture, walls and ceiling were at one time covered with hard plaster. Exposure to weather which came directly off the sea after the western end of the vault had collapsed and before the opening in that end had become blocked with sand and debris, probably caused the plaster surface on the walls and ceiling to disintegrate. On the ceiling a few small areas of blue painted plaster can still be seen while on the walls small areas of white plaster and a few patches of deep reddish brown painted plaster remain. Under an encrustration of salt, a large area of plaster, located on the eastern end of the southern wall of the vault, has been preserved. Earth and debris which accumulated on the floor, podia, and altar preserved much of the plaster covering those items. Some moisture from the surface may have reached through the stones which form the vault and caused the loosening and loss of plaster in the western end of the vault, but similar damage could not easily have occurred in the eastern 20 meters of the vault where the Mithraeum and its frescos were located. The builders of the Mithraeum in order to protect their sanctuary and its decorations constructed above the vault, and specifically above that two thirds of the vault which housed the Mithraeum, an elaborate water shield and drain. Over an area 20 m. long and 5 m. wide, a thick layer of hydraulic cement surface was fixed in regular rows east and west, north and south .10 cm. high stone piers. On the tops of these piers had been set and cemented 3.5 cm. thick ceramic tiles (.46 m. wide and .58 m. long). Upon the ceramic tile surface, 4 cm. thick polished white marble slabs the same width and length as the ceramic tiles beneath them were laid and cemented in place. Thus a white marble surface 20 m. long by 5 m. wide on top of a 10 cm. high drain set on hydraulic cement and pitched at 2.5% grade afforded effective protection against water seepage into the Mithraeum in the

eastern end of the vault. Three columns bearing military memorial inscriptions in latin of the third century A.D. have been found on this structure.

One large section of plaster (2.20 m. long by 50 cm. high) has been preserved at about 2.10 m. above the podium on the southern wall at the eastern end of the vault. This section of plaster contains the remains of three fresco panels, labeled (from east to west) Panels A, B and C, in the order in which they were cleaned and examined. The plaster containing the frescos is in a poor state of preservation, has become detached from the stone wall of the vault and is being held intact and against the wall of the vault by a layer of crystalized salt, between 1 cm. and 2 cm. thick. Study of the frescos and the photography of them was possible only after the salt layer was in part dissolved away by action of water and alcohol sprayed in a fine mist on the encrustation, a slow process which lasted over several weeks. The danger of course was that the application of too much water would dissolve the salt crystals which held the plaster to the wall of the vault and the whole fresco be lost. The color photographs which accompany this paper have been taken through a salt layer which is less than 2 mm. in thickness. The photography was done by Professor George Whipple of Ohio Northern University who managed with inadequate light sources and under trying conditions, to produce the good color copies of the frescos which are here presented. Infra-red and ultra-violet photography were used but they added no significant information to our understanding of the frescos. The extant fresco colors are faint and many of the details obscure, but there is little hope that more salt can be removed without grave risk of destroying the frescos.

Panel A is approximately .65 m. wide and .50 m. high and although there is a faint reddish brown line which represents the surface on which the figure at the left is standing, there is no evidence of a lower or upper border to the panel. Traces of a panel divider separate Panel A and Panel B. The bottom of the divider is indistinct and blue in color but the top of the divider is a stylized vine or tree with a long trunk. The upper foilage is green and individual branches or leaves can be distinguished. No trace of a panel divider on the left side of Panel A can be found. Within the panel are two poorly preserved figures. At the left are the lower legs and a small part of the upper torso of a standing figure. The figure is advancing to the right and is colored a light purple with traces of red particularly at the edges of the garments. The figure is clad in close fitting trousers (anaxyrides) and wears a tunic or cape the lower edge of which can be seen hanging back of the figure at about the level of the knees. Most of the head and much of the upper part of the body is missing, but the general stance of the body indicates that the figure is in the act of extending one or both arms forward, that is to the right. A second figure at the right of the panel is .25 m. high and kneeling to the right. The hands, arms and legs of the figure are colored a solid red. The cloak is also red but that impression is generated by a series of thin parallel stripes painted diagonally from upper right to lower left across the white or grey background of the garment. The figure appears to be kneeling on the right knee with the lower right leg, partially destroyed, extended behind and with the flat line of the bottom of the right foot angled at 45° behind the body. Both arms of the figure are extended to the right and in the right hand is held a rounded object. The object is proportionally about the size of the head of the kneeling figure and is shaped like a

flattened sphere which has been divided horizontally so that the upper and lower hemispheres are separated by a space. The object is shaped very much like a large clam or hamburger. The extended left arm rises above the extended right arm and hand which holds the rounded object. The left hand has the fingers extended and spread apart so that the observer views the open palm of the hand. The head of the kneeling figure is obscured by damage to the plaster. An indistinct blue area above and beyond the kneeling figure suggest to the author that a third figure standing at the right and standing to the left may have originally been part of the panel.

Panel B is .80 m. wide and is the widest of the three preserved panels. Between the panel divider which separates Panel A and B and a vertical green panel divider between Panel B and C are the remains of two figures. The general stance of the two figures in Panel B is the same as that of the two figures found in Panel A except that in the second panel the two figures are much farther apart. A standing figure .43 m. high on the left of the panel advances to the right with the upper part of the body inclined to the right and with one or more of the arms extended. The figure wears close fitting trousers (anaxyrides) and the bottom edge of a cape or tunic can be seen behind the figure. The trousers are light blue with green decoration while the cape or tunic is blue with traces of red decoration at the edges. The figure at the right of the panel is .25 m. high and is kneeling to the left on both knees with both arms extended in a lowered position which conveys an attitude of supplication. The kneeling figure is painted red and is probably nude apart from the cape across the back which is painted green and blue. The distance between the two figures is such that the standing figure on the left even though slightly inclined to the right and with left arm fully extended could not reach the head of the kneeling figure. The narrow horizontal section of damaged plaster between the two figures has a faint red line extending from it which suggests that the standing figure is holding a long narrow rod or sword the end of which is near to the head or shoulder of the kneeling figure.

In the upper right and upper left of Panel B are two ill defined golden or yellow areas one above and behind the standing figure and one above and behind the kneeling figure . The object on the right is the more clearly defined. It appears to be either a bust or more probably a vase. A flaired base supports a bulbous body the top of which rises to a point. The whole figure is ca. 15 cm. in height. No details on the surface of the vase are apparent.

Panel C, .45 m. wide, is the narrowest of the three panels and is defined by vertical green panel dividers both of which appear to be stylized trees similar to the one found between Panels A and B. Within the panel two standing figures, each .43 m. high, face one another. Between them and rising from the ground is a rectilinear shaped object ca. 10 cm. wide and ca. 15 cm. high, painted in red outline. On top of the rectilinear object is a yellow disk outlined in red with short curved red lines extending out from it. The rectilinear object and the red disk on top of it rise to just less than half the height of the two standing figures on either side. The figure on the left is dressed in green trousers and the green of his garment also covers the front of his torso to the shoulders. Behind him hangs a cloak or cape of purple. The head has been damaged and only a faint outline remains. The arm appears to be extended from the shoulder but is foreshortened perhaps

due to an effort to depict the lower arm held laterally in front of the figure. A faint red line rises vertically in front of the figure as though he were holding a staff or rod upright in his hand before him. His right arm and hand is extended out over the yellow disk which is on top of the rectilinear object between the two figures. The right hand of the figure at the left appears to join the right land of the figure at the right.

The standing figure on the right advances to the left. His body is red and perhaps nude. If he is clothed he wears red trousers and over them a red cloak. The position of his left arm is not clear but his right arm is extended and touches the extended right arm of the standing figure opposite. The standing figure on the right wears a crown and behind his head is a yellow nimbus with what appears to be a yellow ray rising vertically above the head. The head appears almost frontal, hair may be seen either side of the head which may be bearded.

The standing figures in the frescos at Caesarea, especially those found on the left side of each of the panels, are wearing clothing similar in form and color to the standing figures found on the walls above the _podia_ at Capua Vetere.[14] The kneeling figures, on the other hand, more closely resemble the red figures associated with initiation of the _mystes_ found on the front of the _podia_ of the Capua Mithraeum. Unlike the kneeling figures at Capua, both kneeling figures at Caesarea wear a cloak and the kneeling figure in Panel A has a cloak with red diagonal stripes similar to that of the standing _Pater_ in the initiation scenes at Capua.[15] It seems clear that the frescos at Caesarea do not depict the initiation of the _mystes_, but probably because of their prominent position near the place of the _tauroctone_, beside the altar and at eye level on the walls, depict scenes from the life of Mithra or scenes of rites undertaken by members of the cult of advance grade.

The scenes on the frescos at Caesarea are difficult to interpret. Panel C probably depicts the _iunctio dextrarum_ taking place over a burning altar, but whether it depicts Mithra and Sol or Mithra and a _Heliodromus_ shaking hands is not clear. Panel A has no parallel known to the author. There are bas reliefs which show a kneeling figure with a standing figure behind it, but none show an object in the kneeling figure's hand.[16] Panel B has a number of parallels.[17] There are bas reliefs of Mithra touching the head of kneeling Sol with an object. There is an initiation scene at Capua where a standing figure extends a sword or rod in the direction of the kneeling _mystes_. But the identity of both figures and the action depicted in Panel B remains unclear.

1. Space limitation prevented the inclusion of the footnotes to this paper. The author will be glad to supply same to those interested.