

Lecture 13: D and Deuteronomy.

Reading: Deuteronomy 4; 10:12-11:32; 28 (Deuteronomy's theology of history);
Deuteronomy 12 (centralization of the cult);
Deuteronomy 6:4-9 and 31:7-13 (the writing and studying of the Torah);
Kugel 296-316.

Topics:

- Contrast P and D.
- Which is earlier: P or D? What is at stake in this debate?
- What are the distinctive hallmarks of D?

D = the book of Deuteronomy;

Dtr = the Deuteronomist = the narrator of Joshua-Judges-Samuel-Kings (MBS:
Deuteronomy through Kings was originally one long book).

The book of Deuteronomy: a series of farewell discourses of Moses: survey of Israelite history; sermons; laws (12-26); blessings and curses (27-28); two final poems (32-33); death of Moses (34).

Is the book a unity? Is Moses the author of "these words" (1:1)?

MBS link D to the discovery in the temple of "the book of the Torah" (2 Kings 22:8), and the subsequent religious reform under Josiah (ca. 621 BCE) (Kugel).

The speeches are attributed to Moses → the book of Deuteronomy is attributed to Moses (Joshua 8:31 citing Deuteronomy 27:6) → the entire Torah is attributed to Moses (Nehemiah 8:1).

MBS: D has complex and diverse origins:

1. *Jerusalem priests:* centralization of sacrificial cult in "the place in which God shall cause his name to dwell" (Deut 12):

- Permission for secular slaughter:
 - ✦ Contrast with Leviticus 17 which requires that all slaughtered cattle sheep and goats must be brought to the altar, apparently for the disposition of the blood. In D: you may spill out the blood like water.
 - ★ D does not have a tabernacle in the wilderness; only an ark of the covenant (31:9).
- Even Pesah/Passover is to be a pilgrimage festival (16), in contrast with Exodus 12 (P) in which it is a family feast by the tent.
- Similarly: Levitic priests (and the judge) at the central shrine are to be the chief judges in all legal disputes (17:8-13; 33:10).

- But:
 - ✦ odd that Deut nowhere mentions Jerusalem/Zion by name (a sign of northern provenance?);
 - ✦ seems to have a loose and inclusive view of priesthood (the “Levitical priests”; see Kugel).

2. *Scribes*: the king’s scribe played an important role in the discovery of the book (2 Kings 22).

- Prominence of writing the words of God or the Torah (e.g. 6:4-9. 31:9), reading the words;
- But: no mention of the scribal group in D.

3. *Laws and legal traditions*: wide range of subjects:

- Themes:
 - ✦ limit power of the king (17) and prophet (18);
 - ✦ social concern for widows and orphans;
 - ✦ to be merciful (e.g. not to return a runaway slave 23:15, not to take chicks from a mother bird, 22:6);
 - ✦ Israelites are a holy people (14:2) but (almost) no purity rules, no detailed sacrificial rules.
- Seems to revise some earlier laws e.g. the seventh year (Deuteronomy 15:1-11 vs. Exodus 23:10-11; cf. Leviticus 25:1-7), slavery (Deuteronomy 15:12-18 vs. Exodus 21:2-11);

4. *Wisdom traditions*: Deut 4:6 (the word of the Lord is your wisdom in the eyes of the nations); the virtue of study and knowledge (6:4-9).

- But: emphasis on divine retribution (esp. 11) and on sacred history, God’s covenant with the ancestors, Israel’s special place in God’s eyes;
- Importance of the theme of divine justice in D and Dtr.

5. *Traditions from the north*: most obviously prominence of Shechem in Deut 27:

- Hosea (northern kingdom prophet 8th cent BCE): God demands exclusive worship, as a husband demands exclusive loyalty from his wife. This idea (altho not the metaphor) developed by D:
 - ✦ One temple for the one God;
 - ✦ God allows other nations to worship the sun moon and stars (4:19-20) but not Israel. Other Gods exist but our God is better (4:7); Israel is to worship only God (5:7).

- ★ Cf. 18 re soothsayers and necromancers: what they do is real but it is prohibited;
- ✦ Contrast 4:35 “there is none else.”
- Israel is to destroy the Canaanites (7) to preserve exclusive loyalty to God – we’ll come back to this.

6. *Assyrian vassal language* (see Kugel): note esp the hair-raising curses of 28.

Contrast P and D (Kugel):

P: emphasis on purity /holiness of the land and central sanctuary; proper performance of rituals in the central sanctuary keeps the Deity happy; God’s *kavod* (glory) is in the temple, but P is not concerned whether God is anywhere else.

H: a priestly school that establishes priestly holiness as an ideal for all the people (Kugel).

D: emphasis on holiness of the people of Israel; necessity of studying and observing the laws of God. In distress people should turn to God because God is everywhere; only God’s name is in the temple. Little concern about central sanctuary except as site of pilgrimage.

Kugel is concerned about competing visions of P and D all coming from God; but why is this problem worse than the different visions and themes of different prophets?

Scholarly arguments about the relative dates of P and D (summarized by Kugel) reflect some deep seated prejudices: P is “primitive,” therefore early; P is ritualistic “legalistic,” therefore late.

Lecture 14: The Image of God and the Names of God.

Reading: Genesis 32 (Jacob and the angel);

Exodus 3:13-15, 6:2 (re name of God);

Exodus 31:18 (the allure of idolatry);

Exodus 3:19 (hardening of Pharaoh’s heart);

Kugel 107-118, 159-162, 209-216, 413-435.

Topics:

- What are the different images of God that Kugel sees in the Bible?
- Who or what are angels?
- Do humans have free will?
- Is God omnipotent?
- What are the different names of God and what do they mean?

Who is Israel's God?

- Gen 1: *Elohim*, a plural form but grammatically singular (usually), translated "God," apparently the plural of *Eloah*, which in turn is a variant of *El*, a standard ANE name for "God" and the Ugaritic name for the chief god of the pantheon.
 - ✦ Sometimes *elohim* in fact means "gods" and governs a plural verb or adjective (e.g. Exodus 20:2, Deuteronomy 5:7);
 - ✦ When the Bible is speaking universally (e.g. Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes – three "wisdom" books – and Jonah), it uses *Elohim* "the deity."
- Gen 2-3: *YHWH Elohim*, translated "Lord God"; chapter 4 simply *YHWH*, "Lord."
 - ✦ The translation "Lord" derives from the Hebrew *Adonai*, or Greek *Kyrios*, substitutions that Jews used when reading YHWH since they did not want to pronounce the name.
 - ✦ "Lord" or *Kyrios* is standard Christian title for Jesus;
 - ✦ *Adonai* remains the standard Hebrew name for God;
 - ✦ The vocalization *Yahweh* is the work of a nineteenth century German philologist.
 - ✦ Traditionalist Jews to this day do not use that pronunciation.
 - ★ The taboo on writing the name YHWH gradually extended even to translations and substitutes and written forms of this name including G-d or L-rd. No basis in Jewish law.
 - ★ Pronunciation *Jehovah* is the result of an error.
 - ✦ YHWH seems to mean "the being one" or "the one who causes [things to come into] being," but not sure.
 - ✦ Much debate whether YHWH (the God and the name) is originally Israelite or came to the Israelites from elsewhere; YHWH is also found in inscriptions in neighboring areas, much debate how to interpret those inscriptions and their relationship with Israelite religion (Kugel 426).
- Other names too: *El*, *El Shaddai*, *El Elyon*, "the God of Abraham your father" (Gen 26:24, 28:13), "the God of my father Abraham and the God of my father Isaac" (32:9), "the God of your father" (46:3), etc.

How to make sense of all this:

- Traditionalists see here different aspects of God; name = essence, so different names reflect different aspects of God.
- Academic scholars see here the combination of different strata/sources, and homogenization of Gods.
 - ✦ Similarly, modern scholars see "name changes" as a result of the combination of different versions, sources, dialects (e.g. Abram/Abraham, Sarai/Sarah, etc.) (see Kugel);

- ♦ Modern scholars see confirmation of YHWH's newness in Exodus 3:13-15 and 6:2-3. See JSB and Kugel.
- ♦ Exodus 3:13-15 ¹³Moses said to God, "When I come to the Israelites and say to them, 'The God of your fathers has sent me to you,' and they ask me, 'What is His name?' what shall I say to them?"¹⁴And God said to Moses, "Ehyeh-Asher-Ehyeh." He continued, "Thus shall you say to the Israelites, 'Ehyeh sent me to you.'" ¹⁵And God said further to Moses, "Thus shall you speak to the Israelites: The LORD, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you.
- ♦ Exodus 6:2-3 ²God spoke to Moses and said to him, "I am the LORD (YHWH). ³I appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as El Shaddai, but I did not make Myself known to them by My name YHWH.

So who is YHWH?

MBS: a warrior God who comes to Israel from the deserts of the south; various poetic passages seem to reflect this (Kugel 216, 424):

- e.g. Deuteronomy 33:2 The LORD came from Sinai; He shone upon them from Seir; He appeared from Mount Paran, And approached from Ribebboth-kodesh, Lightning flashing at them from His right [meaning not certain].
- Habbakuk 3:3-7³God is coming from Teman, The Holy One from Mount Paran.*Selah*. His majesty covers the skies,His splendor fills the earth:⁴ It is a brilliant light Which gives off rays on every side—And therein His glory is enveloped. ⁵Pestilence marches before Him ,And plague comes forth at His heels.⁶When He stands, He makes the earth shake; When He glances, He makes nations tremble. The age-old mountains are shattered, The primeval hills sink low, His are the ancient routes:⁷As a scene of havoc I behold [meaning not certain] The tents of Cushan; Shaken are the pavilions Of the land of Midian!
- Are these poetic passages "real" theology or "just" poetry?
 - ♦ Cf. poetic references to God's battles with the sea monster.
 - ♦ Mountain of the Lord (=Sinai =Horeb) is in the desert outside the land.
 - ♦ But other poetic passages give YHWH a northern connection, most clearly Psalm 29: ¹Ascribe to the LORD, O divine beings [lit. "sons of Gods"], ascribe to the LORD glory and strength.²Ascribe to the LORD the glory of His name; bow down to the LORD, majestic in holiness.³The voice of the LORD is over the waters; the God of glory thunders, the LORD, over the mighty waters.⁴The voice of the LORD is power; the voice of the LORD is majesty;⁵the voice of the LORD breaks cedars; the LORD shatters the cedars of Lebanon.⁶He makes Lebanon skip like a calf, Sirion, like a young wild ox. ⁷The voice of the LORD kindles flames of fire ...

Israelite poets derived inspiration from many places.

What is God like and how does God relate to the world?

The God of the philosophers: omnipresent, omnipotent, omniscient, without a body (because a body is finite and corruptible and according to Maimonides believing in a corporeal God is a violation of the principle of God's unity).

- This is the God of Judaism and Christianity;
- Philosophical problem: how does this God create, and interact with, the world? How does this God hearken to prayer?

Not clear whether this conception of God can be found anywhere in the Bible.

- In the narratives of Genesis and Exodus usually attributed to J by MBS God is anthropomorphic, anthropopathic, with a body, located in time and space.
- Kugel: this is "the God of Old."

- ♦ “Angels” are the manifestation of this God in interaction with a human;
- ♦ But the function of angels in the narratives are truly confusing, as the text flits from “man” to “angel” to God (classic examples: Gen 18; 32);
- ♦ And even the philosophers might use angels to express how God deals with the world (cf. Logos/Christ in Christianity);
- ♦ So, angel might be a sign of “the God of Old” or a sign of a philosophically sophisticated conception of God, what we might call “the God of New.”

The Torah’s unphilosophical conception of God can be seen from a consideration of the question: who or what dwells in the central sanctuary? Is God universal? If so, how can he be contained in a building?

- **God himself:** God himself took the Israelites out of Egypt and accompanies them in their wilderness encampments. Note Exodus 25:8 with reference to the Tabernacle: Then have them make a sanctuary for me, and I will dwell among them (cf. Leviticus 26:11).
- **God’s glory** (or is it God himself?) is represented by cloud and/or pillar of fire: God’s glory fills up the Tabernacle: Exodus 40:34-35: ³⁴Then the cloud covered the Tent of Meeting, and the glory of the LORD filled the tabernacle. ³⁵Moses could not enter the Tent of Meeting because the cloud had settled upon it, and the glory of the LORD filled the tabernacle.
- **Name of God:** esp. in Deuteronomy 12: the place that God “shall choose in which to cause his name to dwell.”
- In P, God is a cosmic god who creates the whole world but who nonetheless is contained by the Tabernacle; the land is sacred.
 - Contrast D: God is everywhere; the Israelites can pray to him from wherever they may be exiled because God can hear them (Deuteronomy 4).

Is the God of the Torah/OT a god of vengeance/war/anger, as opposed to the NT God who is a god of Love?

- This contrast is famously associated with Marcion (a Christian thinker of the mid-second century CE).
- The NT side of this question is not our concern; Matthew 7:13-14, 10:34-39, 24:3-31, 25:31-46 would suggest otherwise. Cf. 1 Corinthians 13 (Paul’s sermon about love).

God suffers bad press in the Torah:

- Punishes humanity with death as a response to sin (at least this is the Christian reading of the Garden of Eden story);
- Destruction of the world in a flood;
- Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah;

- Death of the Egyptian first born;
- Repeated threatened destruction of the Israelites in the wilderness;
- Lex talionis — the principle of retaliation (Exodus 22:24-25);
- God is a warrior (Exodus 15:3);
- Visiting the sins of the fathers (parents) upon the children.

BUT:

There is another side ...

- Matthew 22:34-40 greatest commandment citing Deut 6:5: *You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart (D) and Leviticus 19:18: You shall love your neighbor as yourself (P or H);*

Visiting the sins of the fathers (parents) upon the children:

- God punishes across the generations, an aspect of *divine mercy*: Numbers 14:17-19;
¹⁷Therefore, I pray, let my Lord's forbearance be great, as You have declared, saying, ¹⁸'The LORD! slow to anger and abounding in kindness; forgiving iniquity and transgression; yet not remitting all punishment, but visiting the iniquity of fathers upon children, upon the third and fourth generations.' ¹⁹Pardon, I pray, the iniquity of this people according to Your great kindness, as You have forgiven this people ever since Egypt." [Allusion to Exodus 34:6-7: ⁶The LORD passed before him and proclaimed: "The LORD! the LORD! a God compassionate and gracious, slow to anger, abounding in kindness and faithfulness, ⁷extending kindness to the thousandth generation, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin; yet He does not remit all punishment, but visits the iniquity of parents upon children and children's children, upon the third and fourth generations."]
 - Cash up front vs. a mortgage!!
- God punishes across the generations, an aspect of *divine anger* (softened by the presence of "those who reject me"): Exodus 20:5 ⁵For I the LORD your God am an impassioned God, visiting the guilt of the parents upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generations of those who reject Me, ⁶but showing kindness to the thousandth generation of those who love Me and keep My commandments.
 - ♦ Cf. lex talionis;

The mercy of the Torah's God needs to be judged first and foremost in its historical context.

May other Gods/gods be worshiped too? (see above Lecture 2).

Images and idolatry (see above Lecture 2).

Lecture 15: Joshua and Judges; the Conquest of Canaan.

Reading: Joshua 1-2; 5-8 (Joshua at Jericho and Ai);

Judges 1-5 (The Judges);

Joshua 6:21, 8:22-26 (Treatment of Canaanites (and Amalek));

cf. Deuteronomy 7:1-2, 20:16-18, 25:17-19;

1 Samuel 15;

Kugel 368-385.

Topics:

- Did the Israelites conquer the land of Canaan?
- Are the Israelites guilty of ethnic cleansing or genocide?
- Contrast the story of Jericho and the story of Ai – wherein is God’s power revealed?
- Is Joshua a worthy successor to Moses?

D = the book of Deuteronomy (621 BCE – reign of Josiah);

Dtr = the Deuteronomist = the narrator of Joshua-Judges-Samuel-Kings, the books known as “Former Prophets” (ends with destruction of the temple and the exile of 587 BCE, plus a few small events after that)

The thematic rhetorical connections between D and Dtr are numerous and obvious (Kugel); e.g. Joshua 1:8: This book of the law [Torah] shall not depart out of your mouth; you shall meditate on it day and night, so that you may be careful to act in accordance with all that is written in it. For then you shall make your way prosperous, and then you shall be successful.

What is not obvious is the nature of the literary connection between them. Kugel summarizes the views of MBS. A sequence of editors and editions. Deuteronomistic school.

- The key question is how to relate the book found in the temple in 621 BCE with our narrative which extends to the destruction of the temple in 587 BCE.

Master narrative of D + Dtr:

- Farewell discourses and death of Moses (Deuteronomy);
- orderly conquest and apportionment of the land of Canaan, led by Joshua (Joshua);
- followed by period of disorder (Judges) (“there was yet no king in Israel”);
- followed by emergence of charismatic monarchy (Saul) and prophecy (Samuel);
- followed by emergence of dynastic monarchy (David and Solomon);
- followed by the story of the two kingdoms, the (illegitimate) northern kingdom of Ephraim (Israel), which comes to an end in 721 BCE, and the (legitimate but often sinful) southern kingdom of Judah, which comes to an end in 587 BCE.

Main emphasis of Dtr: reward and punishment by God, esp. punishment, esp. for the sin of worshipping other gods.

- Note remarkable programmatic statement in Judges 2;
- both D and Dtr believe in collective punishment by God:
 - ✦ synchronic (of the same time): the entire people are punished by God for the sin of a few, esp. the king (e.g. 2 Samuel 24, David’s sinful census);
 - ✦ diachronic (across time): parents and children;

- In contrast human punishment—as a rule—is to be not collective but individual (Deut 24:16 Parents shall not be put to death for children, nor children be put to death for parents; cf. 2 Kings 14:6).

Purpose of the Dtr narrative is to show divine justice (cf. Deut 4). Looks like a history but it's not. It is ideologically motivated narrative.

Stories of Jericho and Ai show different aspects of divine control of history / providence:

- Jericho: God does miracles for his people; cf. miracles of Egypt; cf. Judges 5:20 The stars fought from heaven, from their courses they fought against Sisera. Relatively uncommon in Dtr.
- Ai: punishment for sin. Collective punishment: soldiers die because of Achan's sin, Achan's whole family is punished (an exception to the general pattern).

Story line of Joshua: orderly conquest of the land of Canaan and distribution among the tribes under the leadership of Joshua, successor of Moses.

This too is an ideologically motivated narrative; recall the repeated view of the Israelite covenant myth: we are not of this place.

- God chose Abraham and his descendants, and they chose God; God promised to give them the land;
- Abraham migrated to Canaan from Ur and/or Haran;
- Jacob and tribes go to Egypt where they are enslaved for 400+ years, and then return;
- Exodus; the Mountain of the Lord is in the desert outside the land;
- Israelites conquer the land in an orderly process (Joshua).

MBS do not accept the historicity of the Israelite conquest story (as they do not the narrative of Exodus):

- Contradicted by the opening chapters of Judges;
- No archaeological evidence for a large invasion of Canaan by an outside population around 1300-1200 BCE;
- Specific sites like Jericho don't support invasion / conquest;
- MBS suggest instead: immigration model (whether from within Canaan or without), revolt model (peasants against cities), gradual emergence model. Common denominator: the central highlands, not the coast and not the plains, is the Israelite homeland (Judges 1:19 The Lord was with Judah, and he took possession of the hill country, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the plain, because they had chariots of iron; cf. 4:3);
 - ♦ In the new settlements in the central highlands the material culture is Canaanite; but no pig bones discovered (Kugel);

In D Israelites are commanded to kill all the Canaanites, esp. the Amalekites.

Deuteronomy 7:1-6: When the Lord your God brings you into the land that you are about to enter and occupy, and he clears away many nations before you—the Hittites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations mightier and more numerous than you—²and when the Lord your God gives them over to you and you defeat them, then you must utterly destroy them. Make no covenant with them and show them no mercy. ³Do not intermarry with them, giving your daughters to their sons or taking their daughters for your sons, ⁴for that would turn away your children from following me, to serve other gods. Then the anger of the Lord would be kindled against you, and he would destroy you quickly. ⁵But this is how you must deal with them: break down their altars, smash their pillars, hew down their sacred poles, and burn their idols with fire. ⁶For you are a people holy to the Lord your God; the Lord your God has chosen you out of all the peoples on earth to be his people, his treasured possession. (parallel in Exod 34)

- No cultural relativism vis-à-vis the Canaanites!!
- Paradoxically, here MBS defends God from the charge of genocide: it is not God who is commanding genocide, and the Israelites never committed genocide as stated explicitly in Judges 1-3.
 - ♦ Note the peculiar sequence of clauses in 7:1-6.
 - ♦ Exodus 23:28-30: God will wipe out the Canaanites by a plague (hornets?).
- MBS: D's and Dtr's attitude of intolerance towards the Canaanites is the result of closeness with them (!!)(Othering the other in order to define the Self.) We need to kill them because they are us.
- Only the Canaanites and the Amalekites (1 Sam 15) are treated in this way by the text, not non-Israelites in general (not Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Ishmaelites, perhaps because they are related; not even Philistines).

Lecture 16: Saul, Samuel, David, Solomon.

Reading:

Saul: 1 Samuel 9-12 (Samuel selects Saul as king);

1 Samuel 15 (Saul annihilates Amalek; break between Saul and Samuel);

1 Samuel 28 (witch of Endor);

David: 1 Samuel 16-18 (David's youth and selection by Samuel; David and Goliath; David and Saul);

2 Samuel 11-12 (David and Bathsheba);

2 Samuel 21:15-22 (who really killed Goliath?);

Criticism of Solomon: 1 Samuel 8 (extravagant ways of the king; rebellion against God);

Royal ideology of Davidic kingship: 2 Samuel 7 (God builds David a house);

The glory of Solomon: 1 Kings 3 (wisdom of Solomon);

1 Kings 5 (opulence of Solomon's court; dealings with Hiram of Tyre);
1 Kings 10-11 (opulence; queen of Sheba; worship of other gods and the rise of Jeroboam).

Kugel 474-505.

Topics:

- Why did Samuel reject Saul?
- Do you think that David was better than Saul?
- Why does David seem to be cut more slack than Saul?

Master narrative:

- orderly conquest and apportionment of the land of Canaan (Joshua);
- followed by period of disorder (Judges);
- followed by emergence of charismatic monarchy (Saul) and prophecy (Samuel);
- followed by emergence of dynastic monarchy (David and Solomon).

Story of Samuel, Saul, and David in 1-2 Samuel:

- Dtr incorporates pre-existing compositions and creates a narrative;
- Many bumps and inconsistencies, esp. in 1 Samuel; apparently 1 Samuel was not fully edited (e.g. 1 Sam. 17:55-58, which makes little sense after 16:14-23; see also JSB note on 1 Sam 11:1).

Samuel is a pre-literary prophet who fulfills many functions:

- a clairvoyant, a holy man: 1 Samuel 9:9: Formerly in Israel, anyone who went to inquire of God would say, "Come, let us go to the seer"; for the one who is now called a prophet was formerly called a seer." Receives gifts;
 - ♦ Not a miracle worker (contrast Elijah and Elisha) but seems able to summon/predict an out-of-season thunderstorm (1 Sam 12);
 - ♦ The narrative also refers to ecstasies, possessed by the spirit (1 Sam 10);
- has a priestly function: he is a servant at the central shrine of Shiloh and is commissioned there (1 Sam 3); sacrifices to God (1 Sam 7:9); no one eats of a *zevah* until the holy man has blessed it (1 Sam 9:13, 10:8); Saul sins by not waiting for Samuel to officiate (1 Sam 13);
- a circuit judge (1 Sam 7:15-17);
- a military man (1 Samuel 15:33);
- reproves the people (re kingship, 1 Sam 8 and 12);
- controls kings: selects and anoints Saul and David; reproves Saul (1 Sam 13 and 15), even after his own death (1 Sam 28);
 - ♦ strong connection between prophecy and monarchy;
 - ♦ Nathan is a court prophet (2 Sam 12); literary prophets seem to be anti-institutional figures;

- predicts the future (the destruction of the house of Eli, 1 Sam 3; Saul will not have a dynasty, 1 Sam 13 and 15; Saul's death);

Kingship: strong anti-kingship elements in the narrative:

- Relying on king means failure to rely on God (1 Sam 8:7, 12:9) even if God accedes to the people's wishes (1 Sam 8:22);
- People want a king like all the nations (1 Sam 8:5);
- Long list of the abuses that a king will inflict (1 Sam 8:11ff, seems to refer to Solomon);
- How to reconcile this with Deut 17:14-20 is not clear.

Saul is charismatic king: tall, strong, a military leader, an ecstatic.

David is all these plus the founder of a dynasty:

- 2 Sam 7 the charter of the Davidic dynasty: the king is God's son; eternal kingship; God will build a house for David;
- After the failure of the Davidic monarchy biblical writers elaborate conditional character of the dynasty (1 Kings 9:4-9; Ps. 132).

Both David and Saul are flawed heroes; narrative not explain why Saul is cut so much less slack than David:

- Dtr seems interested in covering up or minimizing Davidic misdeeds (Kugel), but plenty still shines through;
- Modern historians supply explanations (Saul weak leader from a weak tribe; David is a cunning power hungry warlord; etc.).

Folkloristic elements in the story of the rise of David:

- David plus seven brothers;
- The youngest;
- a shepherd;
- David vs. Goliath!

Like other heroes, David seems to have absorbed the stories of other, lesser figures (who slew Goliath? David or Elhanan ben Yaarei orgim (2 Sam 21:19; see note of JSB).

David's power base was always his tribe (Judah in the south): conquers Jebus / Jerusalem, makes it his capital; transfers the ark there; Solomon builds temple.

- Both temple and prophecy are appendages of monarchy;
- Prophecy would continue and develop in the north, but not the temple;
- Monarchy splits into two, probably a result of persistent tensions between the southern and the northern tribes, and maladministration by Solomon (Kugel);
 - ♦ Dtr explains the revolt as punishment for Solomon's sin.

MBS debate the glory and power of David and Solomon (Kugel).

Lecture 17: The Divided Monarchy; Tales of the Prophets.

Reading:

The Northern kingdom:

- 1 Kings 12 (rebellion of Jeroboam; golden calves at Dan and Bethel);
- 1 Kings 13:1-10, 33-34 (man of God confronts Jeroboam);
- 1 Kings 14 (Ahiah the Shilonite announces doom to Mrs Jeroboam; Shishak king of Egypt attacks Rehoboam);
- 1 Kings 18 (confrontation between Elijah and priests of Baal on Mt Carmel);
- 1 Kings 21 (Naboth the Jezreelite; Elijah forecasts doom to Jezebel and Ahab);
- 2 Kings 2 (death of Elijah; succeeded by Elisha);
- 2 Kings 4 (miracles of Elisha);
- 2 Kings 14:23-29 (prosperous reign of Jeroboam II);
- 2 Kings 17:1-23 (downfall of the northern kingdom, 721 BCE; reflections of Dtr);

The Southern kingdom:

- 2 Kings 18:1-16 (good king Hezekiah; forced to pay tribute to Assyria);
- 2 Kings 18:17-19:37 (the Assyrians threaten J'lm and insult the Lord; prophecy of Isaiah, prayer of Hezekiah; deliverance of J'lm);
- 2 Kings 20 (illness of Hezekiah; Hezekiah and the emissaries of Babylon);
- 2 Kings 21 (reign and sins of Manasseh; doom for J'lm);
- 2 Kings 22-23 (good king Josiah; cleansing of the temple; God's fury endures);

Kugel 519-535.

Consider:

- According to the book of Kings what caused the downfall of the northern kingdom?
- How did Jerusalem escape capture by the Assyrians – or did it?
- Why in the end did Jerusalem fall to the Babylonians?
- How would you characterize Elijah and Elisha – what kind of “prophets” are they?

Two topics today:

- Divided monarchy; the historiography of Dtr;
- Tales of the Prophets;

The divided monarchy; the historiography of Dtr.

The Deuteronomic narrative:

- David founded a divinely approved royal dynasty; his son Solomon built the divinely approved temple;
- Reign of Solomon: height of fame, power, glory, wisdom (marries daughter of Pharaoh; Queen of Sheba; “cut the baby in half!”);
- After Solomon’s death the kingdom split in two: Jeroboam in the north (chief tribe is Ephraim), Rehoboam continuing the Davidic dynasty in the south (chief tribe is Judah);
- The narrator explains the split on both theological and sociological grounds: punishment for sin of idolatry and result of the foolish policy of Rehoboam;
 - ♦ Modern scholars argue that the split was caused by a host of political /social factors; not clear how united the monarchy ever was;
 - ★ Even under David there were rebellions and unrest; Absalom;
 - ♦ Solomon: oppressive taxation, corvée, maladministration;
 - ♦ Northerners resist dynastic pretensions; northerners never establish a dynasty; longest dynastic reign in northern kingdom is only four generations (house of Yehu) (southern kingdom 16+);
 - ♦ Northerners resist idea of temple; Bethel and Dan seem to have been altar shrines, rather than temples;
- Although the split was divinely ordained and is punishment for Solomon’s sin, according to Dtr the northern kingdom was inherently sinful (“sin of Jeroboam”), when Jeroboam set up two altars and golden calves in Bethel and Dan, thus rejecting the Deuteronomic ideal of one temple for the one God;
- in addition Dtr frequently accuses the northern kingdom of idolatry (worship of foreign gods, notably Baal), thus rejecting the Deuteronomic ideal of monolatry.
 - ♦ MBS: Jeroboam and his successors did not see themselves as sinners;
 - ♦ Dtr applying criteria that are either anachronistic or debated within the Israelite community;
- Deuteronomic cover-up! long and prosperous reign of Jeroboam II (786-746).

Southern kingdom:

- Some kings were righteous (notably Hezekiah and Josiah), but most were not, because “the high places were not removed.” Worst idolater was Manasseh (687-642) (although he also reigned the longest!!);
- God protects his city, king, and temple: Hezekiah:
 - ♦ 2 Kings 18:14-16 Hezekiah must pay tribute to the king of Assyria (confirmed by Assyrian records);
 - ♦ miraculous story (historicity much debated by MBS) that follows explains why Jerusalem did not fall to the Assyrians;

- ♦ Arrogance of the Assyrians explains why God has to see to it that they fail (Isaiah); cf. Isaiah 10;
- ♦ Manasseh idolatry might perhaps be explained as Assyrian loyalty (cf. Ahaz 2 Kings 16:10-18) or perhaps seeking more divine protection against the Assyrians (cf. Jeremiah 44:15ff);
- ♦ Remember: Assyrian treaty forms in Deuteronomy.

Dtr: in both kingdoms the effects of sin carry through the generations:

- The northern kingdom falls because of the sin of Jeroboam;
- The southern kingdom falls because of the sin of Manasseh;

Tales of the prophets: Elijah and Elisha.

- Cycle of prophet stories squeezed awkwardly in the narrative;
- Elijah and Elisha: non-literary prophets, primarily holy men, miracle-workers;
- Some duplication in Elijah/Elisha stories; model for some Jesus stories;
- There are prophets everywhere in society, both of God (1 Kings 18:4) and of Baal at court (1 Kings 18:19);
- *Bene ha neviim*, “the sons of the prophets”, better “members of prophetic guilds” (2 Kings 2:3; 2 Kings 4:1,38 etc.);
- Elisha just a miracle worker; no moral or ethical content (except Naaman story 2 K 5:15 “now I know that there is no God in all the land except in Israel”);
- In contrast Elijah anticipates literary prophecy in two dramatic stories:
 - ♦ 1 Kings 18: YHWH vs Baal:
 - ★ Which god can send fire and rain?
 - ★ Contest of gods also in Exodus narrative.
 - ♦ 1 Kings 21: Naboth: social justice;
 - ♦ In both stories Elijah speaks truth to power like the literary prophets: confronts the king, the queen, the priests of Baal (all 450 of them!).

Lectures 18 and 19: Prophecy I; Prophecy II.

Reading:

Hosea 2-3; 6:6;

Isaiah 1; 10;

Amos 4; 5:18-27; 6;

Isaiah 40; 44-45; 52:13-53:12; 58;

Jeremiah 7; 25; 26; 29; 31;

Ezekiel 6; 18; 33; 37.

JSB pp. 455-461 (Introduction to Nevi'im, beginning with "The Latter Prophets and their Order");

JSB pp. 780-784 (Introduction to Isaiah);

Kugel 438-442 (What is prophecy?);

Kugel 618-626 (Hosea and Amos);

Kugel 538-555 (Isaiahs);

Kugel 555-568 (suffering servant)/

The Latter Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, The Twelve).

Prophet: human intermediary between God and society; Hebrew word is *navi* (plural *nevi'im*), of uncertain etymology.

Prophetic state:

- Ecstatic (or charismatic) possession: Saul and the prophets; priests of Baal in 1 K 18;
- Trance: Balaam (Numbers 24:16);
- Dreams – only Moses speaks to God face to face (Numbers 12:6-8);
- Modern view: prophecy is a paranormal state; society accepts and validates these experiences.

Social function:

- close connection with kingship (Kugel), whether alliance or, more commonly, opposition;
- holy man, seer, miracle worker;
- analogous to diviners and necromancers (Deut 18) (Kugel);
- classic function of literary prophets: to criticize, to warn, to protest; speak truth to power (classic example: Amos 7:10-17);
- literary prophets do NOT foretell the future; "forthteller" rather than "foreteller";
- no dynastic succession among the prophets; some are priests (Jeremiah, Ezekiel); guilds of prophets ("sons of prophets").

The figure of the literary prophet as it emerges in ancient Israel has no precise analogues in ANE (Kugel); mystery of the first literary prophets (Hosea, Amos) writing such poetry.

The emergence of prophetic books:

- transmission and collection, either by the prophet himself (notably Jeremiah and his scroll, Jeremiah 36; cf. Isaiah 30:8-11) or his disciples / audience;

- Editors assemble the collection(s), add superscriptions, add “biographical material” (when they have it) (e.g. Amos 7:10-17) and create a book;
 - ✦ These collections are selective;
 - ✦ “minor” vs. “major” prophets (depends on length of text);
 - ✦ Use various sources, e.g. Hosea 3:1 in first person, 1:2 third person; seams are evident in the book of Jeremiah;
 - ✦ The book of Jeremiah contains poetic prophecies, prose sermons, and biographical narratives that are arranged differently in the Septuagint and in Dead Sea scrolls than in our Hebrew text (cf. 1 Samuel).
- Tension between original oracles and later “updates”; according to MBS all of our prophetic books have interpolations, additions long and short; none is a single organic composition.
- Prophets sound different one from the other, thus supporting the notion of “authorship”:
 - ✦ Amos’ language and concerns differ from those of Hosea although they are contemporaries;
 - ✦ Jeremiah and Ezekiel are very different although they are near contemporaries;
 - ★ Jeremiah has numerous close connections with D, Ezekiel with P;
 - ★ The Talmud notes that the throne vision of Ezekiel 1 is similar to Isaiah 6, but they differ in that “one is written by a city dweller (Isaiah) who sees the king all the time, while the other is written by a rustic (Ezekiel) who sees the king only rarely”.

Three main periods of activity of literary prophets.

1. Period of Assyrian domination: eighth century BCE: (key date: : 721 BCE fall of northern kingdom).
 - Amos and Hosea, the earliest literary prophets, both active in the north during the reign of King Jeroboam II (r. 786-746);
 - End of eighth century BCE: Isaiah of Jerusalem, contemporary with King Hezekiah;
2. Period of Babylonian domination: late seventh – early sixth century BCE (key date: 587 BCE destruction of the temple of Jerusalem).
 - Jeremiah (in the land of Israel), Ezekiel (in Babylon);
3. Period of Persian domination: mid-sixth century BCE : (key dates: 539 BCE Persia conquers Babylon; 516 BCE dedication of second temple).
 - Second (and Third) Isaiah; How do we know that Isaiah 40-66 is the work of an anonymous prophet of the Persian period?
 - First Isaiah or Isaiah of Jerusalem: Isaiah 1-39; second half of the 8th cent BCE.
 - ✦ Biographical material: Isaiah 36-39; Judah and Assyria; Isaiah is in contact with monarchy.

- Second (and Third) Isaiah: an anonymous prophet(s) whose work is preserved in Isaiah 40-66. Mid sixth century BCE. Cyrus king of Persia, conqueror of Babylon, mentioned by name in 44:28 and 45:1. No Assyrians anywhere. No Judaeen king.
- Second Isaiah has thematic and literary connections with Isaiah I: centrality of Zion; God is the “holy one of Israel”; divine punishment for pride. We understand why the two collections were juxtaposed.
- Did the editor try to deceive us (Kugel) or is this innocent?
- Anonymous/additional materials collect at the end of the prophetic books [elsewhere too!]:
 - ✦ Isaiah 34-35 may also be the work of Second Isaiah; Isaiah 36-39, parallel to passages from Kings;
 - ✦ Jeremiah 50-51 [if indeed they are additions to Jeremiah]; Jeremiah 52 a passage from Kings;
 - ✦ Ezekiel 40-48 [if indeed they are additions];
 - ✦ The end of the 12 minor prophets: additions to Zachariah and [Malachi].

Five main themes in literary prophets:

1. **Divine exclusivity, monolatry, monotheism;**
2. **Ritual and ethics, social justice;**
3. **Israel and the nations;**
4. **Reward and punishment;**
5. **The future, wonderful and dreadful.**

1. **Divine exclusivity, monolatry, monotheism.**

Dtr shows a clash in ancient Israel between a “YHWH-alone” theology and a theology that permits combining the worship of YHWH with other gods.

The YHWH-alone theology triumphed. Both the Torah and Dtr endorse the “YHWH alone” position and see the other approach as sinful (“idolatry”). Israel is not to worship any God other than YHWH. But many Israelites for a long time were not convinced.

MBS: the literary prophets led the push to monolatry and monotheism.

- Monolatry: the worship of the one God alone without necessarily denying the existence or efficacy of other Gods (cf. Deut 18 re necromancy and soothsaying);
- Monotheism: the belief in, and worship of, the one God, accompanied by the denial of the existence or efficacy of other Gods (= cosmic monism);
- The distinction between the two is clear conceptually even if not always clear textually.

Hosea has classic exposition of the marriage metaphor (Hosea 2-3); like a husband, God demands exclusivity of his “wife” Israel; but if Israel is an adulterous wife, how does God take her back? Jeremiah 3.

- Hosea attacks *Baal* worship; God is not to be Israel’s *baal* but her husband (a pun, 2:18).
- Israel is to put aside her harlotries = worship of other Gods.

Jeremiah complains the Judeans abandon God in two senses: they worship *Baal* and other gods, and they seek foreign political alliances (see esp. Jeremiah 2) (akin to Samuel’s critique of Israel’s request for a king: it shows lack of reliance on God).

The great prophet of cosmic monism is Second Isaiah:

- “I am the Lord and there is no other” (Isaiah 45:5) - a common theme in Isaiah II; God’s universal power; anti-dualistic statement in 45:7:
- Isaiah 45:1-7 ¹Thus said the LORD to Cyrus, His anointed one— Whose right hand He has grasped, Treading down nations before him, Ungirding the loins of kings, Opening doors before him And letting no gate stay shut:²I will march before you And level the hills that loom up; I will shatter doors of bronze And cut down iron bars.³I will give you treasures concealed in the dark And secret hoards—So that you may know that it is I the LORD, The God of Israel, who call you by name.⁴For the sake of My servant Jacob, Israel My chosen one, I call you by name, I hail you by title, though you have not known Me.⁵I am the LORD and there is none else; Beside Me, there is no god. I engird you, though you have not known Me,⁶So that they may know, from east to west, That there is none but Me. I am the LORD and there is none else,⁷I form light and create darkness, I make weal and create woe—I the LORD do all these things.
- God is the only god; brilliant satire of idolatry (Isaiah 44); the stupidity and uselessness of image worship.
- The Babylonian deities cower before God; they are nothing (Isaiah 46).

Paradox: as Israel’s political power diminishes, the power of Israel’s God increases.

2. Ritual and ethics, social justice.

Amos is the great prophet of social justice; God demands justice in society; criticism of the well-to-do (Amos 4:1-2; 6).

Literary prophets (not Ezekiel) regularly contrast ritual and ethics/ social justice. Some verses are more radical than others. Here are the main passages:

- Amos 5:21-25: ²¹I loathe, I spurn your festivals, I am not appeased by your solemn assemblies.²²If you offer Me burnt offerings—or your meal offerings—I will not accept them; I will pay no heed To your gifts of fatlings.²³Spare Me the sound of your hymns, And let Me not hear the music of your lutes.²⁴But let justice well up like water, Righteousness like an unfailing stream.²⁵Did you offer sacrifice and oblation to Me Those forty years in the wilderness, O House of Israel?
- Hosea 6:6 For I desire goodness, not sacrifice; Obedience to God, rather than burnt offerings.
- Isaiah 1:10-17: ¹⁰Hear the word of the LORD, You chieftains of Sodom; Give ear to our God’s instruction, You folk of Gomorrah! ¹¹“What need have I of all your sacrifices?” Says the LORD. “I am sated with burnt offerings of rams, And suet of fatlings, And blood of bulls; And I have no delight In lambs and he-goats. ¹²That you come to appear before Me—Who asked that of you? Trample My courts ¹³no more; Bringing oblations is futile, Incense is offensive to Me. New moon and sabbath, Proclaiming of solemnities, Assemblies with iniquity I cannot abide.¹⁴Your new moons and fixed seasons Fill Me with loathing; They are become a burden to Me, I cannot endure them.¹⁵And when you lift up your hands, I will turn My eyes away from you; Though you pray at length, I will not listen. Your hands are stained with crime—¹⁶Wash yourselves clean; Put

your evil doings Away from My sight. Cease to do evil;¹⁷Learn to do good. Devote yourselves to justice: Aid the wronged. Uphold the rights of the orphan; Defend the cause of the widow.

- **Jeremiah 7** ¹The word which came to Jeremiah from the LORD: ²Stand at the gate of the House of the LORD, and there proclaim this word: Hear the word of the LORD, all you of Judah who enter these gates to worship the LORD! ³Thus said the LORD of Hosts, the God of Israel: Mend your ways and your actions, and I will let you dwell in this place. ⁴Don't put your trust in illusions and say, "The Temple of the LORD, the Temple of the LORD, the Temple of the LORD are these [buildings]." ⁵No, if you really mend your ways and your actions; if you execute justice between one man and another; ⁶if you do not oppress the stranger, the orphan, and the widow; if you do not shed the blood of the innocent in this place; if you do not follow other gods, to your own hurt—⁷then only will I let you dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers for all time. ⁸—See, you are relying on illusions that are of no avail. ⁹Will you steal and murder and commit adultery and swear falsely, and sacrifice to Baal, and follow other gods whom you have not experienced, ¹⁰and then come and stand before Me in this House which bears My name and say, "We are safe"?—[Safe] to do all these abhorrent things! ¹¹Do you consider this House, which bears My name, to be a den of thieves? As for Me, I have been watching—declares the LORD. ¹²Just go to My place at Shiloh, where I had established My name formerly, and see what I did to it because of the wickedness of My people Israel. ¹³And now, because you do all these things—declares the LORD—and though I spoke to you persistently, you would not listen; and though I called to you, you would not respond—¹⁴therefore I will do to the House which bears My name, on which you rely, and to the place which I gave you and your fathers, just what I did to Shiloh. ¹⁵And I will cast you out of My presence as I cast out your brothers, the whole brood of Ephraim.

- ♦ People are relying on inviolability of the temple, God's house [such a theology is often imputed by modern scholars to Isaiah I] but they're wrong; God destroyed Shiloh, and God can destroy Jerusalem – just as he destroyed the northern kingdom.
- ♦ Perhaps a more radical formulation in 7:21-26: ²¹Thus said the LORD of Hosts, the God of Israel: Add your burnt offerings to your other sacrifices and eat the meat! ²²For when I freed your fathers from the land of Egypt, I did not speak with them or command them concerning burnt offerings or sacrifice. ²³But this is what I commanded them: Do My bidding, that I may be your God and you may be My people; walk only in the way that I enjoin upon you, that it may go well with you. ²⁴Yet they did not listen or give ear; they followed their own counsels, the willfulness of their evil hearts. They have gone backward, not forward, ²⁵from the day your fathers left the land of Egypt until today. And though I kept sending all My servants, the prophets, to them daily and persistently, ²⁶they would not listen to Me or give ear. They stiffened their necks, they acted worse than their fathers.
- ♦ **Isaiah 58**: ³"Why, when we fasted, did You not see? When we starved our bodies, did You pay no heed?" Because on your fast day You see to your business And oppress all your laborers!⁴Because you fast in strife and contention, And you strike with a wicked fist! Your fasting today is not such As to make your voice heard on high.⁵Is such the fast I desire, A day for men to starve their bodies? Is it bowing the head like a bulrush And lying in sackcloth and ashes? Do you call that a fast, A day when the LORD is favorable? ⁶No, this is the fast I desire: To unlock fetters of wickedness, And untie the cords of the yoke To let the oppressed go free; To break off every yoke.⁷It is to share your bread with the hungry, And to take the wretched poor into your home; When you see the naked, to clothe him, And not to ignore your own kin... ¹³If you refrain from trampling the sabbath, From pursuing your affairs on My holy day; If you call the sabbath "delight," The LORD's holy day "honored"; And if you honor it and go not your ways Nor look to your affairs, nor strike bargains—¹⁴Then you can seek the favor of the LORD. I will set you astride the heights of the earth, And let you enjoy the heritage of your father Jacob—For the mouth of the LORD has spoken.

Classic Jewish interpretation of all these is that God is rejecting not ritual/sacrifices but the attitude that ritual/sacrifices alone, even without righteousness, suffice. But some of these verses seem more radical than that.

3. Israel and the nations.

God is a universal god enforcing a universal moral code (cf. Gen. 1-11).

Oracles against nations Amos 1-2; Isaiah 13-23; Jeremiah 46-51; Ezekiel 26-33.

Amos reflects on the meaning of “the election of Israel”:

- (3:2) You alone have I singled out Of all the families of the earth— That is why I will call you to account For all your iniquities.
- (9:7-8) ⁷To Me, O Israelites, you are Just like the Ethiopians —declares the LORD. True, I brought Israel up From the land of Egypt, But also the Philistines from Caphtor And the Arameans from Kir. ⁸Behold, the Lord GOD has His eye Upon the sinful kingdom: I will wipe it off The face of the earth...
- Israelites seem to have thought that they were immune to disaster because they are God’s people. Cf. Jeremiah 7 re the temple.

God uses the nations to punish/benefact Israel:

- Most striking in Isaiah 10: Assyria is God’s staff of anger but Assyria will in turn be punished; same point Deuteronomy 32:27ff;
- Jeremiah 25: ⁸Assuredly, thus said the LORD of Hosts: Because you would not listen to My words, ⁹I am going to send for all the peoples of the north—declares the LORD—and for My servant, King Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon, and bring them against this land and its inhabitants, and against all those nations roundabout. I will exterminate them and make them a desolation, an object of hissing—ruins for all time. ¹⁰And I will banish from them the sound of mirth and gladness, the voice of bridegroom and bride, and the sound of the mill and the light of the lamp. ¹¹This whole land shall be a desolate ruin. And those nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. ¹²When the seventy years are over, I will punish the king of Babylon and that nation and the land of the Chaldeans for their sins—declares the LORD—and I will make it a desolation for all time. ¹³And I will bring upon that land all that I have decreed against it, all that is recorded in this book—that which Jeremiah prophesied against all the nations. ¹⁴For they too shall be enslaved by many nations and great kings; and I will requite them according to their acts and according to their conduct.
 - ♦ God is using Nebuchadrezzar for his own ends – to punish Israel (cf. Isaiah 10 re Assyrians);
 - ♦ In order to allow this to happen God is giving Nebuchadrezzar, who is “my servant” or “my subject” (25:9, 27:6), an empire of 70 years (25:11, 29:10); the states to be subjugated by the Babylonians are listed in 25:19-26;
 - ♦ Therefore “put your necks in the yoke” of Babylon; resisting Babylonia is not only foolish it is also against God; those who claim that God will protect us are false prophets (27-28);
 - ♦ In Babylon do not resist the government; live quietly and normally, and wait (29:4-9);
 - ★ This is the charter of Jewish diasporism.
 - ♦ After 70 years God will punish the Babylonians “according to their deeds” – their sin is not stated – and Israel can be restored (29:10).
 - ★ This is proto-apocalyptic thinking; scripted history; rise and fall of empires; tenuous connection with notion of sin and punishment; pre-determined periods.

Isaiah II: God gave Cyrus an empire, so that he can benefit Israel (45:4); Cyrus is “my shepherd” (44:28), the “anointed one” (45:1).

4. Reward and punishment.

Nexus of sin and punishment is central to the prophets; God’s ways are just and comprehensible. (Why was the temple destroyed? See Jeremiah and Ezekiel.)

Prophets have much more to say about sin and punishment than about virtue and reward.

Prophet is a warning figure; he does not predict disaster so much as he (in the name of God) warns people of impending disaster in the hope that they will repent (Ezekiel 33; Jeremiah 7 and 26; see esp. Isaiah 1-5 (see JSB note on 6:1)).

Doctrine of individual responsibility and repentance: people complain that “the parents have eaten sour grapes but it is the children whose teeth are set on edge.” (Ezek 18:2, Jeremiah 31:28-29) For Jeremiah, a day will come when people will see that this is not true; for Ezekiel it simply is not true. “Each person dies for his own sin.”

[Judaism and Christianity: punishment and reward in the hereafter, a doctrine not yet known to the Bible.]

The suffering servant songs of II Isaiah, most famously Isaiah 53, depict someone who suffers for the sins of others, who “takes away the sins of the many.” Endless debate about who this figure is and his significance (see Kugel). Probably not a Davidic king since Isaiah II (unlike Isaiah I) has nothing to say about future ideal Davidic king. The people of Israel? The prophet?

5. The future, wonderful and dreadful.

Prophets routinely speak of the future, either the near term (Babylon is coming! The Temple will be destroyed!) or some indefinite future (“end of days,” “coming days”).

Prophecies of (immediate) gloom and doom are offset by prophecies of (ultimate) restoration and “golden age.”

The great prophet of end-time prophecies is Isaiah, both I and II.

Gloom and doom:

Isaiah 13 ⁶Howl!For the day of the LORD is near;It shall come like havoc from Shaddai.⁷Therefore all hands shall grow limp,And all men's hearts shall sink;⁸And, overcome by terror,They shall be seized by

pangs and throes, Writhe like a woman in travail. They shall gaze at each other in horror, Their faces livid with fright. ⁹Lo! The day of the LORD is coming With pitiless fury and wrath, To make the earth a desolation, To wipe out the sinners upon it.¹⁰The stars and constellations of heaven Shall not give off their light; The sun shall be dark when it rises, And the moon shall diffuse no glow. ¹¹“And I will requite to the world its evil, And to the wicked their iniquity; I will put an end to the pride of the arrogant And humble the haughtiness of tyrants.¹²I will make people scarcer than fine gold, And men than gold of Ophir.”¹³Therefore shall heaven be shaken, And earth leap out of its place, At the fury of the LORD of Hosts On the day of His burning wrath.

See note of JSB on Joel 1:15 for other “Day of the Lord” passages, day of judgment for the wicked, cosmic upheaval.

Tribulations/wars remove the wicked, a righteous remnant endures: Isaiah 24-27.
Modern MBS debate whether these chapters are real Isaiah.
Later Jews and Christians read Ezekiel 38-39 Battle with Gog of Magog as another version of this.

Isaiah is also the prophet of restoration:

Ideal Davidic king: 9:1-6 (9:2-7) ¹ The people that walked in darkness Have seen a brilliant light; On those who dwelt in a land of gloom Light has dawned. ²You have magnified that nation, Have given it great joy; They have rejoiced before You As they rejoice at reaping time, As they exult When dividing spoil. ³For the yoke that they bore And the stick on their back— The rod of their taskmaster— You have broken as on the day of Midian. ⁴Truly, all the boots put on to stamp with And all the garments donned in infamy Have been fed to the flames, Devoured by fire. ⁵For a child has been born to us, A son has been given us. And authority has settled on his shoulders. He has been named “The Mighty God is planning grace; The Eternal Father, a peaceable ruler”— ⁶In token of abundant authority And of peace without limit Upon David's throne and kingdom, That it may be firmly established In justice and in equity Now and evermore. The zeal of the LORD of Hosts Shall bring this to pass.

- Who is this mysterious child? Has he already been born? Or is he yet to be born? If so, in the immediate future (Hezekiah), or in the distant future?
- The name of the king is praise of God (see note in JSB); punctuation of vs. 6 is debated.
- Another mysterious child in 7:14:

¹⁰The LORD spoke further to Ahaz: ¹¹ “Ask for a sign from the LORD your God, anywhere down to Sheol or up to the sky.” ¹² But Ahaz replied, “I will not ask, and I will not test the LORD.” ¹³“Listen, House of David,” [Isaiah] retorted, “is it not enough for you to treat men as helpless that you also treat my God as helpless? ¹⁴ Assuredly, my Lord will give you a sign of His own accord! Look, the young woman is with child and about to give birth to a son. Let her name him Immanuel. ¹⁵(By the time he learns to reject the bad and choose the good, people will be feeding on curds and honey.) ¹⁶ For before the lad knows to reject the bad and choose the good, the ground whose two kings you dread shall be abandoned.

- ♦ Discussion in Kugel. The “young woman” (not “virgin”) is probably Mrs Ahaz, and the child is Hezekiah, unless it be Mrs Isaiah.
- ♦ What exactly is “the sign” is not clear (see note in JSB).

Another portrait of ideal Davidic king: 11:1-9 ¹But a shoot shall grow out of the stump of Jesse, A twig shall sprout from his stock. ²The spirit of the LORD shall alight upon him: A spirit of wisdom and

insight, A spirit of counsel and valor, A spirit of devotion and reverence for the LORD. ³ He shall sense the truth. by his reverence for the LORD: He shall not judge by what his eyes behold, Nor decide by what his ears perceive. ⁴—Thus he shall judge the poor with equity And decide with justice for the lowly of the land. He shall strike down a land with the rod of his mouth And slay the wicked with the breath of his lips. ⁵Justice shall be the girdle of his loins, And faithfulness the girdle of his waist. ⁶The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, The leopard lie down with the kid; The calf, the beast of prey, and the fatling together, With a little boy to herd them. ⁷The cow and the bear shall graze, Their young shall lie down together; And the lion, like the ox, shall eat straw. ⁸A babe shall play Over a viper's hole, And an infant pass Over an adder's den. ⁹In all of My sacred mount Nothing evil or vile shall be done; For the land shall be filled with devotion to the LORD As water covers the sea.

- ♦ Either a depiction of an ideal, utopian future, when nature itself is at peace, or an allegorical vision of Judah at peace with its neighbors (Kugel);
- ♦ The universalism of verse 9 appears elsewhere, notably Isaiah 2:2-4 (=Micah 4:1-4): ²In the days to come, The Mount of the LORD's House Shall stand firm above the mountains And tower above the hills; And all the nations Shall gaze on it with joy. ³And the many peoples shall go and say: "Come, Let us go up to the Mount of the LORD, To the House of the God of Jacob; That He may instruct us in His ways, And that we may walk in His paths." For instruction shall come forth from Zion, The word of the LORD from Jerusalem. ⁴Thus He will judge among the nations And arbitrate for the many peoples, And they shall beat their swords into plowshares And their spears into pruning hooks: Nation shall not take up Sword against nation; They shall never again know war.

This universal ideal will be spectacularly developed in Third Isaiah (the anonymous author of the last chapters).

II Isaiah esp. is the prophet of restoration; God will restore Israel;

- beautiful image Isaiah 54, God will take Israel back as wife;
- Isaiah 56: God's house will be a house of prayer for all nations, including eunuchs and foreigners (56:3-4);
- Isaiah 60, all the nations shall serve you and bring back your exiles to Zion;
- Isaiah 66:21 God selects from the nations people to be his priests (!)

Jeremiah and Ezekiel too have prophecies of restoration:

Jeremiah 31: ultimate restoration by God, and a new covenant (discussion in Kugel):

²⁷See, a time is coming—declares the LORD—when I will sow the House of Israel and the House of Judah with seed of men and seed of cattle; ²⁸and just as I was watchful over them to uproot and to pull down, to overthrow and to destroy and to bring disaster, so I will be watchful over them to build and to plant—declares the LORD. ²⁹In those days, they shall no longer say, "Parents have eaten sour grapes and children's teeth are blunted." ³⁰But every one shall die for his own sins: whosoever eats sour grapes, his teeth shall be blunted. ³¹See, a time is coming—declares the LORD—when I will make a new covenant

with the House of Israel and the House of Judah. ³²It will not be like the covenant I made with their fathers, when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt, a covenant which they broke, though I espoused them—declares the LORD. ³³But such is the covenant I will make with the House of Israel after these days—declares the LORD: I will put My Teaching into their inmost being and inscribe it upon their hearts. Then I will be their God, and they shall be My people. ³⁴No longer will they need to teach one another and say to one another, “Heed the LORD”; for all of them, from the least of them to the greatest, shall heed Me—declares the LORD, for I will forgive their iniquities, And remember their sins no more.

- In the future, unlike now, God’s justice will be manifest;
- In the future, unlike now, the Israelites will have a covenant that is inscribed in their hearts so that they automatically and naturally observe it;
 - ♦ The content of this new covenant is not the issue here; rather the obedience of the covenanters.

Restoration of Judah and Ephraim: Ezekiel 36:24-28 I will take you from the nations, and gather you from all the countries, and bring you into your own land. ²⁵I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse you. ²⁶A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will remove from your body the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. ²⁷I will put my spirit within you, and make you follow my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances. ²⁸Then you shall live in the land that I gave to your ancestors; and you shall be my people, and I will be your God. Same idea in Jeremiah 31.

Ezekiel 37: Valley of dry bones; reunification of Judah and Ephraim under Davidic king (David himself? 37:24).

Ezekiel 38-39: Gog of the land of Magog.

Ezekiel 40-48: Restored temple and temple city.

Lecture 20: Ketuvim, Wisdom Literature and Psalms

[Thanks to Eric Fredrickson, Yonatan Miller, and Matthew Rasure for their help.]

Ketuvim, part three of the Hebrew Bible, an overview:

- Literally “Writings”; also called Hagiographa (*hagios* sacred + *grapha* writings)
- There is no single thread that binds the eleven books in this collection;
 - ♦ The Ketuvim are subdivided by ancient Jews:
 - ★ Psalms, Proverbs, Job;
 - ★ Five Scrolls: Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther;
 - ★ Everything else: Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Daniel.
 - ♦ The Christian canons are four-part, not three-part, and do not have *Ketuvim*; they have:
 - ★ Law (or Torah, not our concern at the moment);
 - ★ Historical books, which include: Ruth [an appendix to Judges], Chronicles [known as *Paraleipomena*, “the left-overs,” “the things omitted”], Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther;

- ★ Wisdom literature: Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs;
- ★ Prophecy: which includes Lamentations [an appendix to Jeremiah], Daniel.
- ♦ The relationship between the Jewish and Christian arrangements is much debated. Christian bibles also contain many books not found in the Jewish Hebrew Bible.

The presence of three of the *Ketuvim* books in the Bible is particularly problematic: Job, Ecclesiastes or Qohelet (see next lecture), and Song of Songs.

Song of Songs: A collection of love poems sung by him to her and her to him:

- While authorship is ascribed to Solomon in its first verse and by traditionalists, MBS argues that while the book may contain ancient material, there is no evidence that Solomon wrote it. Dated by MBS to the 4th or 3rd centuries BCE.
 - ♦ What is a collection of erotic poems doing in the Hebrew Bible? Indeed, some ancient rabbis were uneasy about the book's inclusion in the canon.
 - ♦ Allegory (male = God; woman = Israel) for both Jews and Christians; liturgical use; wedding song.

Other bits to Ketuvim that we won't have time to pursue:

- Ruth: A short tale about the virtues of family loyalty and commitment. Set during the period of the Judges (see verse 1:1). Traditionalists ascribe authorship to Samuel (whom they also credit with composing Judges and Samuel). MBS is not able to identify an author, and the book is very tentatively dated to the 5th century BCE.
 - ♦ Notable features: (1) The book ends with a genealogy which asserts that David descended from Ruth. (2) The book has no qualms with Ruth being a Moabite and marrying an Israelite; Deut. 23:4-9 prohibits the "admission" of Moabites into the Israelite people. In contrast Ezra and Nehemiah rail against marriage with Moabites.
- Lamentations: Laments the destruction of the First Temple in 586/7 BCE. Graphic portrayal of the aftermath of the destruction. The Israelites brought the destruction upon themselves because of sin; God, not the Babylonians, is the agent of punishment.
 - ♦ "The eternal lament for all Jewish catastrophes, past, present, and future." (S.J.D. Cohen)
- Esther: Set in the Persian diaspora. The book is read by traditionalists as a historical account of a near-genocide that was foiled by a Jewish woman, Esther. The book very much wants its reader to believe that it was produced in Persia, but for MBS, it has all the hallmarks of legend and etiology (to explain the origins of the festival of Purim).
 - ♦ Notable features: (1) No mention of God or religious observance; (2) Esther marries the king, a non-Jew.
- Chronicles: Much of Chronicles is a retelling and reworking of Samuel and Kings. The book begins with nine chapters of genealogical tables, from Adam through Saul. There is almost no narrative in these chapters which, significantly, omit

mention of the Exodus, revelation at Sinai, and the conquest of Canaan. Pivotal to Chronicles are the Davidic covenant and the Temple cult.

- ♦ Likely composed during the 4th century BCE. Traditionalists ascribe authorship to Ezra (and for a long time MBS did as well), but scholars are now more skeptical of this idea.
- Ezra-Nehemiah: A “continuation” of Chronicles; the book begins with the proclamation of Cyrus calling for the Judean exiles to return and rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. Ezra arrives on the scene almost one century later, in 458. The books narrate the resettlement of the Judeans, the rebuilding of the Temple and the wall around Jerusalem (and their attendant trials and tribulations), and ritual instruction.

Wisdom Literature

- Common designation for those biblical books that focus on “wisdom” (skill, insight; Heb. *hokhmah*).
- Similar texts found in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, and elsewhere.
 - ♦ Proverbs 22:17-24:22 “The Words of the Wise” draws from some version of The Instruction of Amenemope (an Egyptian wisdom text).
- Generally lacks references to Israelite history, covenant, law, ritual, other distinctive themes of Israelite religion. *Elohim* normally used instead of YHWH in Job and Qohelet.

Standard/Positive (Proverbs) vs. Speculative/Negative Wisdom Texts (Job, Qohelet) (Kugel uses the term “orthodox” rather than “standard” here).

Book of Proverbs:

- Introduction (1-9) + several collections of sayings, with extended poems and other forms interspersed (10-22:16; 22:17-24:22; 24:23-24; 25-29; 30-31)
- Sample proverbs:
 - ♦ “Hatred stirs up strife/But love covers up all faults.” (Prov 10:12)
 - ♦ “As a dog returns to his vomit/So a dullard repeats his folly.” (Prov 26:11).
 - ♦ “A soft answer turns away wrath/But a harsh word stirs up anger.” (Prov 15:1).
 - ♦ “Like a gold ring in the snout of a pig/Is a beautiful woman bereft of sense.” (Prov 11:22).
 - ♦ “A friend is devoted at all times; A brother is born to share adversity.” (Prov 17:17)
- Collected by and for the royal court (Prov 25:1) “These too are the proverbs of Solomon, which the men of King Hezekiah of Judah copied.”

The main message: the wise prosper, fools suffer.

- The wise person (*hakham*) uses prudence and good judgment to make everyday decisions and lives a prosperous life as a result.
- The fool lacks wisdom and his life comes to ruin.
- Topics: greed, proper speech, generosity, diligence, humility, anger, many more.
- Reward/Punishment:

- ♦ Right living is its own reward and unethical living its own punishment:
 - ★ “Better is a little with righteousness than a large income with injustice.” (Prov 16:8)
 - ★ “The righteousness of the blameless man smooths his way/But the wicked man is felled by his wickedness.” (Prov 11:5)
 - ★ “He who digs a pit will fall in it/ And whoever rolls a stone, it will roll back on him.” (Prov 26:27)
- ♦ But there also many other expected blessings – long life, children, “good name” after death, others – and curses, e.g.:
 - ★ “The eye that mocks a father/ And disdains the homage due a mother/ The ravens of the brook will gouge it out/ Young eagles will devour it.” (Prov 30:17)
- This is not exactly the same as the doctrine of divine providence that is found throughout the Bible; the two views are assimilated in many passages such as 1:7 “The beginning of wisdom is fear of the LORD.”

Psalms.

Psalms (the book of Psalms is sometimes called the Psalter): anthology of hymns and prayers to God.

All the Psalms are to or about God.

Traditional view: David is the author of the Psalms; many Psalms bear the ascription “To David” – some ambiguity in what that means.

MBS: Psalms range in date from early (pre-Davidic? Psalm 29 with its numerous Ugaritic echoes; Kugel) to exilic (Psalm 137; discussed by Kugel) to late (Hellenistic? Psalm 119 and others).

Two basic types of Psalms: hymns of praise (including thank you) and prayers (please);

- Wide variety of types propounded by H. Gunkel (Kugel).

Hymns of Praise:

- Overwhelming sense of trust in God, of God’s reality and presence, not only in the temple but also in the life of the Psalmist (Kugel)
- Psalm 23 (trans. KJV) ¹The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. ²He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters. ³He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his names sake. ⁴Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me. ⁵Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over. ⁶Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.
- Psalm 146: ¹Hallelujah. Praise the LORD, O my soul! ²I will praise the LORD all my life, sing hymns to my God while I exist. ³Put not your trust in the great, in mortal man who cannot save. ⁴His breath departs; he returns to the dust; on that day his plans come to nothing. ⁵Happy is he who has the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the LORD his God, ⁶maker of heaven and earth, the sea and all that is in them; who keeps faith forever; ⁷who secures justice for those who are wronged, gives food to the hungry. The LORD sets prisoners free; ⁸The LORD restores sight to the blind; the LORD makes those who are bent stand straight; the LORD loves the righteous; ⁹The LORD watches over the stranger; He gives courage to the orphan and widow, but makes the path of the wicked tortuous. ¹⁰The LORD shall reign forever, your God, O Zion, for all generations.

Hallelujah.

Psalms of Lament (prayers):

- God the Creator can do anything, even deliver the pray-er from death. Hence the passion and pathos of psalms of lament
- Psalm 79: A psalm of Asaph. ¹O God, heathens have entered Your domain, defiled Your holy temple, and turned Jerusalem into ruins. ²They have left Your servants' corpses as food for the fowl of heaven, and the flesh of Your faithful for the wild beasts. ³Their blood was shed like water around Jerusalem, with none to bury them. ⁴We have become the butt of our neighbors, the scorn and derision of those around us. ⁵How long, O LORD, will You be angry forever, will Your indignation blaze like fire? ⁶Pour out Your fury on the nations that do not know You, upon the kingdoms that do not invoke Your name, ⁷for they have devoured Jacob and desolated his home. ⁸Do not hold our former iniquities against us; let Your compassion come swiftly toward us, for we have sunk very low. ⁹Help us, O God, our deliverer, for the sake of the glory of Your name. Save us and forgive our sin, for the sake of Your name. ¹⁰Let the nations not say, "Where is their God?" Before our eyes let it be known among the nations that You avenge the spilled blood of Your servants. ¹¹Let the groans of the prisoners reach You; reprieve those condemned to death, as befits Your great strength. ¹²Pay back our neighbors sevenfold for the abuse they have flung at You, O LORD. ¹³Then we, Your people, the flock You shepherd, shall glorify You forever; for all time we shall tell Your praises.

Common image: kingship of God, God enthroned, God above all other gods (82)

Bible has two good examples of the use of pre-existing psalm-like texts:

- Hannah, mother of Samuel, in 1 Samuel 2 (at the central shrine):
¹My heart exults in the LORD; I have triumphed through the LORD. I gloat over my enemies; I rejoice in Your deliverance. ²There is no holy one like the LORD, Truly, there is none beside You; There is no rock like our God. ³Talk no more with lofty pride, Let no arrogance cross your lips! For the LORD is an all knowing God; By Him actions are measured. ⁴The bows of the mighty are broken, And the faltering are girded with strength. ⁵Men once sated must hire out for bread; Men once hungry hunger no more. While the barren woman bears seven, The mother of many is forlorn. ⁶The LORD deals death and gives life, Casts down into Sheol and raises up. ⁷The LORD makes poor and makes rich; He casts down, He also lifts high. ⁸He raises the poor from the dust, Lifts up the needy from the dunghill, Setting them with nobles, Granting them seats of honor. For the pillars of the earth are the LORD's; He has set the world upon them. ⁹He guards the steps of His faithful, But the wicked perish in darkness— For not by strength shall man prevail. ¹⁰The foes of the LORD shall be shattered; He will thunder against them in the heavens. The LORD will judge the ends of the earth. He will give power to His king, And triumph to His anointed one.
- Jonah from the belly of the fish in Jonah 2 (Psalms are becoming fixed prayers, phenomenon discussed by Kugel)

Book of Psalms became a prayer book:

- When the Psalms were gathered into a single book [we don't know when that happened] many of them were thought to have originated in specific historical circumstances, and headings were added to make these circumstances clear (e.g. 3: "when David fled from before Absalom his son,"; 51: "when Nathan the prophet came to him, after he had had intercourse with Bathsheba");
- Pious Jews and Christians recite the Psalms and don't care about their real or imagined original setting. (Is this a problem? Kugel thinks so.)

Lecture 21: Job (and Ecclesiastes = Qoheleth).

Reading:

Kugel 635-643;

JSB intro to Job;

Job 1-3, 28, 38-42;

Some biblical texts that mention *satan* or *the satan*:

- 1 Kings 11:14, 23, 25;
- Psalm 109:6; Zechariah 3:1-2;
- Numbers 22:22, 32.

<http://onpoint.wbur.org/2013/10/10/book-of-job>

Standard/Positive (or Orthodox as Kugel calls it) Wisdom (Proverbs; many Psalms)
vs. Speculative/Negative Wisdom (Qoheleth and Job).

Standard Wisdom: Virtue is rewarded, a life of virtue is a good life. Folly is punished, a life of folly is a bad life.

Qoheleth and Job share many characteristics of Wisdom lit:

- International, cosmopolitan:
 - ♦ Job and friends are all non-Israelite;
 - ♦ No references to Israelite history (contrast Qoheleth 9:14-15), practices, or figures; the virtues that are mentioned (e.g. alms, industry, self-control) are not Israelite specific;
 - ♦ Job's piety is generic piety (Job 31);
- The literature is upper class: by and about the wealthy; Job is wealthy, Qoheleth talks about the transfer of wealth (2:18-19);
- praise of Wisdom (Job 28).

Negative (speculative) wisdom: rejects classic wisdom teaching. There are some analogues to this in ANE, but nothing quite like Qoheleth or Job.

Qoheleth is about death, Job is about suffering.

Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes):

- Traditionally assigned to Solomon, but his name nowhere appears in the book and the Hebrew is clearly "late" (Kugel).

Themes:

- all is vanity or vapor or futility; no apparent plan or purpose; futility of toil and the accumulation of wealth;

- death the great leveler; rich and poor, righteous and wicked, humans and animals;
- enjoy the life that you have; enjoy your youth while you have it.

Qoheleth often called “pessimistic”; perhaps “realistic” is better.

Amazing that Qoheleth is in the canon!

Like Qoheleth, **Job** too is ambiguous

- Date and setting much debated (see intro)
- Narrative frame (1,2, 42) reflects a prior-existing folk-tale (“patience of Job” James 5:11)(we call it a folk-tale because of the ending)
- Structure of the central portion of the book (Job and each of his three friends gives a speech in turn, with Job responding to each) shows signs of growth (Elihu, Lord of the Whirlwind) and omission (dialogue cycle not complete); place of chapters 27-28 in the argument is not clear (see JSB intro)

Why do the righteous suffer?

First answer: suffering as a test

- Bet of God with Satan?! Satan not mentioned anywhere in the body of the book or the epilogue.
- Who is Satan?
- Some biblical texts that mention *satan* or *the satan*:
 - ✦ 1 Kings 11:14, 23, 25: God raised up an adversary / trouble-maker against Solomon;
 - ✦ Psalm 109:6; Zechariah 3:1-2: an accuser stands at his right side;
 - ✦ Numbers 22:22, 32: an adversary, to be an adversary.
- In Job “the adversary” (*ha-satan*) is not yet a proper name; he is a member of the divine court; the prosecuting attorney;
- Not yet cosmic dualism; Satan/Beliar/Mastema/the Dragon will emerge in later second temple Judaism, and find a home in some apocalyptic works, some brands of Judaism, and especially Christianity;
- Job and the three friends agree that God is somehow responsible for Job ‘s suffering.
 - ✦ This is unusual in Wisdom lit. which does not as a rule appeal to divine providence in spite of the fact that in Job as in Proverbs there is melding of Wisdom with theodicy (Job 28:28 “Fear of the Lord is Wisdom; to shun evil is understanding”).

Second answer: Job must have done something wrong – this is the argument of the three friends.

- Job protests his innocence (esp. Job 31). God is a bully and unfair.

- No one seems to wonder about the death of his children! Death of children part of punishment of parents.
- Job's three friends, who uphold traditional wisdom teaching, are in the end declared to be wrong – Job must intercede with God on their behalf (Job 42:7-10).
 - ♦ Job as intercessor: Ezekiel 14:14.

Third answer: there is no answer; Lord's two speeches out of the whirlwind/tempest: God created the world (Job 38-39), including the primordial monsters (40-41), and can do with his creation as he sees fit. Who does Job think he is? In response Job concedes that he understands nothing (42:1-6).

- Wisdom lit. as a rule has no divine revelation; human reason or wisdom is supreme. But here God appears to Job and Job concedes limits of Wisdom.
- Seems to be the point of Job 28: Job says that only God knows where true wisdom is to be found.

Fourth answer: in the end all will be well; God rewards Job and doubles his wealth.

- In Job the final reward is in this world. No hereafter.
- Ignores the individuality of Job's children; seems to ignore Ezekiel 18.
- Similarly Qohelet rejects any notion of reward/punishment in the hereafter (3:19-21).
- Later Jews and Christians elaborate theories of reward and punishment in the hereafter.

Job is an anti-wisdom book.

Lecture 22: Daniel.

Reading: Daniel 1, 3, 7, 10-12.

Daniel is the latest book in the Bible:

- At the cusp between biblical and post-biblical periods (parts of the Book of Enoch and some Qumran texts are older than Daniel)
- About half the book in Aramaic (Dan 2-7)
- Its date probably explains why it's not in the Neviim (Prophets)
- Court tales: Daniel 1-6; presumably had a long history before achieving their current form; other Daniel tales found in the Apocrypha and at Qumran
- Visions: Daniel 7-12 clearly refer to the events of the 160s BCE
- Tension between real date and fictive date (6th century BCE: Babylonian and Persian kings)

Court tales: Daniel (and his three friends) is a courtier (parallel in Joseph, Mordecai); is a dream interpreter (parallel in Joseph).

Model Jew:

- Eats vegetarian food rather than the rations provided by the king (Daniel 1)
- Prepared for martyrdom: Daniel 3 (refusal to worship an image; fiery furnace); likewise Daniel 6 (Daniel persists in praying to his God in spite of a royal decree; lions' den).

Two of the tales (Daniel 2 [Nebuchadnezzar's dream] and 5 [writing on the wall, Belshazzar's feast]) concern the rise and fall of empires; parallel in Daniel 7-12

- Daniel 2 (and Daniel 7): sequence of four empires: Babylon, Media, Persia, Greece.
 - ♦ Presence of Media implies that this scheme came from Mesopotamia, and is not native to Judaea
 - ♦ Scripted history; the fourth empire is wicked, but is not said to be in league with Satan (who is absent from Daniel)

Daniel 7-12 contain a series of visions by Daniel all provoked by the events of the 160s BCE; numerous references to end time, final battles and cataclysms, secrecy and mystery:

- Dan 7: vision of four beasts (including Ancient of Days and One Like a Son of Man):

⁹As I looked on, Thrones were set in place, And the Ancient of Days took His seat. His garment was like white snow, And the hair of His head was like lamb's wool. His throne was tongues of flame; Its wheels were blazing fire.¹⁰A river of fire streamed forth before Him; Thousands upon thousands served Him; Myriads upon myriads attended Him; The court sat and the books were opened.

¹¹I looked on. Then, because of the arrogant words that the horn spoke, the beast was killed as I looked on; its body was destroyed and it was consigned to the flames. ¹²The dominion of the other beasts was taken away, but an extension of life was given to them for a time and season.

¹³As I looked on, in the night vision, One like a human being ("one like a son of man") Came with the clouds of heaven; He reached the Ancient of Days And was presented to Him.¹⁴Dominion, glory, and kingship were given to him; All peoples and nations of every language must serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion that shall not pass away, And his kingship, one that shall not be destroyed.

- Jews and Christians argue the identity of the One Like a Son of Man (notes in JSB): is this a reference to a/the Messiah?
- Daniel 8: vision of ram and he-goat
- Daniel 9: meditation on the 70 years of Jeremiah; interpretation of dreams and visions; parallel in the interpretation of written prophecies

- Daniel 10-12: long report by angelic intermediary
 - ♦ No fantastic images here, but all in code
 - ♦ At approx 11:40 the prophecy becomes real and wrong: the king of the south (=Ptolemy) did not lock horns with the king of the north (Antiochus IV Epiphanes); approx. 165 BCE
 - ♦ 12:1-4: ¹At that time, the great prince, Michael, who stands beside the sons of your people, will appear. It will be a time of trouble, the like of which has never been since the nation came into being. At that time, your people will be rescued, all who are found inscribed in the book. ²Many of those that sleep in the dust of the earth will awake, some to eternal life, others to reproaches, to everlasting abhorrence. ³And the knowledgeable will be radiant like the bright expanse of sky, and those who lead the many to righteousness will be like the stars forever and ever.
 - ★ Note: angelology (each nation has a heavenly prince [Daniel 10]; named angels); resurrection of many, for the purpose of reward and punishment; astral immortality for the righteous; all this part of the end time; secrecy of the revelation
 - ★ Dan 12:3 inscribed in Latin above the stage in Sanders Theater

Daniel provides evidence for Judaism in the second century BCE

Development from Israelite religion → Judaism

- a process, not an event
- some key moments in the transition:
 - ♦ 587 BCE Babylonian exile
 - ♦ restoration under the Persians (516 BCE temple rebuilt)
 - ♦ emergence of the Torah book (5th century BCE)
 - ♦ Synagogues appear in Egypt (3rd century BCE)
 - ♦ Hasmonean revolt against the Greek kings of Syria (Seleucids) 167-164 BCE
 - ♦ Arrival of the Romans 63 BCE
 - ♦ Destruction of the second temple in 70 CE

Israelite society and religion: king, prophet, temple, sacrifices, land;

Jewish society and religion:

- priests and sages instead of a king;
 - ♦ after 70 CE priests become marginal.
- scripture and scriptural interpretation instead of prophecy
 - ♦ Literary prophecy (with the infusion of motifs from wisdom literature) becomes apocalyptic (Kugel):
 - ★ Symbolic visions intermediated by angels (see Zechariah 3-4; Daniel);
 - ★ Scripted history (as in Jeremiah);
 - ★ Remythologization of Judaism, esp. true in Daniel 7;
 - ★ Revealing the secrets of history, esp. the end time;
 - ★ pseudepigraphy.
- synagogues and portable piety instead of the temple

- ♦ prayer, torah study, and entire regimen of observing the Torah instead of sacrifices
- diaspora and political quietism instead of land
 - ♦ Emergence of communal markers: refusal to worship other gods, eat other foods, circumcision, Sabbath, conversion to Judaism, prohibition of intermarriage

Reward and punishment in the hereafter.

Lecture 23: The Hebrew Bible in Judaism.

Reading:

JSB 1863-1875 (“Midrash and Midrashic Interpretation” by David Stern);

JSB 1929-1937 (The Bible in the Synagogue” by Avigdor Shinan).

Daniel provides evidence for Judaism in the second century BCE.

Development from Israelite religion → Judaism:

- a process, not an event
- some key moments in the transition:
 - ♦ 587 BCE Babylonian exile
 - ♦ Restoration under the Persians (516 BCE temple rebuilt)
 - ♦ Emergence of the Torah book (5th century BCE)
 - ♦ Septuagint, Torah translated into Greek in Egypt (3rd century BCE)
 - ♦ Synagogues appear in Egypt (3rd century BCE)
 - ♦ Hasmonean revolt against the Greek kings of Syria (Seleucids) 167-164 BCE
 - ♦ Arrival of the Romans 63 BCE
 - ♦ Activity of Jesus c. 30s CE
 - ♦ Destruction of the second temple in 70 CE
 - ♦ Second century CE: emergence of Rabbinic Judaism
 - ♦ Ca. 200 CE: the appearance of the Mishnah

Continuity and discontinuity:

Israelite society and religion: king, prophet, temple, sacrifices, land;

Jewish society and religion:

- priests and sages instead of a king;
 - ♦ after 70 CE priests become marginal;
 - ♦ after 70 CE emergence of sages (also known as rabbis);
- scripture and scriptural interpretation instead of adding or modifying the text
 - ♦ abundance of non-canonical literature last centuries BCE;
 - ★ apocalypses, pseudepigraphy, apocryphal books;
 - ★ biblical interpretation: translations, commentaries, paraphrases;
 - ★ but no more literary prophecy;
 - ♦ emergence of the Torah book;

- ♦ growth of midrash, legal interpretation and non-legal interpretation (Stern);
- ♦ importance of the Torah;
- ♦ post-70: doctrine of the Oral Torah.
- synagogues and portable piety in addition to, and then instead of, the temple
 - ♦ prayer and scriptural study, and entire regimen of observing the Torah instead of sacrifices.
 - ♦ Scriptural study and reading in synagogue (Shinan):
 - ★ Lections, lectionary cycle, Targum.
 - ★ Use of Greek and Aramaic alongside Hebrew.
 - ♦ Use of Bible, esp. Psalms, in prayers (if you're interested, essay in JSB).
- diaspora and political quietism instead of land and independence.
 - ♦ Emergence of communal identity markers: refusal to worship other gods, forbidden foods (including "food sacrificed to idols"), circumcision, Sabbath, conversion to Judaism, prohibition of intermarriage.
- Reward and punishment in the hereafter instead of this world: after death, end of days, resurrection, messiah.
 - ♦ Philosophically minded people like Philo believed in immortality of the soul rather than resurrection of the body.
 - ♦ Not all Jewish texts have a messiah in their end of days scenario e.g. Daniel does not.
- Instead of the cosmic monism of the Bible, some apocalypticists have a cosmic dualism; rabbinic piety reasserts monism.
 - ♦ Cosmic dualists posit the existence of some force (e.g. the Devil) antagonistic to YHWH which currently and temporarily controls the world but which will ultimately be overthrown.
 - ♦ Cosmic dualism more characteristic of Christianity than Judaism in post 70 period.

In spite of these discontinuities, elision of distance between the readers and the text: Jews, Israelites, Hebrews

Some notes on rabbinic Judaism:

- Rabbinic texts, esp. Mishnah and its derivatives, is scholastic
- Rabbis engage in very selective reading of the Hebrew Bible
- "Literal" reading of many biblical laws, even if very unliteral in interpretation of details (see Stern; classic example: prohibition of boiling a kid in its mother's milk)
 - ♦ Allegory (seeing biblical laws as representing moral qualities, undoing the literal meaning completely) more characteristic of Christianity than Judaism

- The Bible esp. the Torah is the source of ultimate authority, but intermediated through tradition, exegesis, midrash, supplemented by Mishnah. Similarly, the American constitution.

Lecture 24: The Hebrew Bible in Christianity.

Reading:

Oxford Companion to Christian Thought s.v. "Old Testament" (by Hugh S. Pyper);

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lection> (somewhat technical, get the gist);

http://www.vocationnetwork.org/ask_alice/53 (very untechnical).

Some important dates:

early 30's career of Jesus

early and mid 50's letters and travels of Paul (seven genuine letters of Paul: 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, Philippians, Romans, Philemon, 1 and 2 Corinthians)

70 Jerusalem temple destroyed by the Romans

c. 70 Gospel of Mark

80's Gospels of Matthew and Luke

ca. 90-100 gospel of John

90's the book of Revelation

ca. 100 beginnings of Christian literature that will not find its way into the NT (the "apostolic fathers" like the Epistle to the Corinthians by Clement of Rome or the Didache)

112 the Roman government takes notice of the Christians: letter of Pliny the Younger, governor of Pontus and Bithynia, to the emperor Trajan concerning Christians

ca. 120 the letters of Ignatius of Antioch, first appearance of the term "Christianity"

ca. 130 Letter of Barnabas, allegory of Torah Law

ca. 160 Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, argues that OT is a Christian book

ca. 160 Marcion in Rome, who upholds the God of Love (NT) against the God of Law (OT)

ca. 178 Irenaeus of Lyon, *Against the Heresies*, speaks of a New Testament similar to ours with our four gospels

ca. 200 the appearance of the Mishnah

Christianity begins as a kind of Judaism; a sect; strongly imbued with apocalyptic spirit (a sense of living at the end time).

The Jewish foundations of Christianity are evident (many of them still evident):

- Belief in the one God, creator of heaven and earth
- Denial of polytheism/paganism
- Affirmation of divine providence, including afterlife, resurrection, final judgment, messiah
- Covenantal relationship with God

- Affirmation of the truth and divine origin of the Hebrew Bible (Ten commandments, the greatest commandment), esp. the prophets
- Lection in church, lectionary cycle, juxtaposition of OT with NT
 - ✦ The biblical liturgical year, modified: Sabbath/Sunday, Easter/Passover
 - ✦ Psalms as a book of Christian liturgy

- Possession of “Jewish” books:
 - ✦ the Hebrew bible (altho Christians quickly lose Hebrew),
 - ✦ the apocryphal books (these are Jewish books but many of them not written in Hebrew or not hiding the fact of their origin in post-Persian period, hence not in Hebrew canon),
 - ✦ general Jewish literature (e.g. Philo, Josephus)
- and much else!

So, Christianity as it emerges in the second century derives from second temple Judaism, just as rabbinic Judaism does.

Rabbinic Judaism reads the Bible through the lens of midrash/Oral Torah/inherited custom/scholasticism, the Mishnah; Christianity reads the Bible through the lens of belief in Christ, the NT.

Rabbis : Mishnah :: Christians : NT.

But Christians develop quickly (by the second century CE) a not-Judaism:

In population: gentile

In theology: worship of Jesus as Lord,
cosmic dualism

In approach to the laws of the Torah: self-consciously critical

In self-identity: sense of newness; replacement (supersession) of the old.

Population: gentile. Demographic shift began in first century CE, associated primarily with Paul, story told in the book of Acts.

- Appeal to the prophecies esp. Second Isaiah, universal knowledge of God.

Theology: worship of Jesus as Lord and ultimately as (part of) God; identification of Jesus with divine figure “Son of Man” from Daniel 7 (Mark 13:24-27) or with some other divine intermediary, e.g. the Logos (John 1); cf. Christ hymn in the Letter to the Philippians 2:5-11.

[hard to find logos theology in post-70 Judaism]

Cosmic dualism: overwhelming sense of sin (Original Sin), of this world being under the control of evil forces antagonistic to God (Satan, the devil, the great dragon: Revelation 12:9), of the necessity of salvation to escape the dominion of sin and the torments of the final judgment, of a great battle with the forces of evil. This dualism good/evil, next world/this world, ultimately in Christianity becomes identified with body (bad)/spirit (good). Hard to find any of this in the Judaism that develops after 70 CE.

Self-consciously critical approach to the laws of the Torah:

Endless debate in Christianity, ancient and modern, about the status of the Old Testament (see nice survey by Pyper).

Of the four parts of the Old Testament, Christians have no trouble with narratives (histories), prophecies, or wisdom.

They have trouble with the laws (the Law) and develop various approaches:

- Laws are valid only if confirmed by NT: e.g. Paul in Romans 1 confirms Leviticus' prohibition of male homosexuality in Leviticus 18 and 20
- Laws are valid only if they are not suspended by the NT (e.g. Mark 7 seems to set aside food laws; Paul in Galatians sets aside circumcision)
- Laws are valid only if they are "moral," not ritual

Justin Martyr (ca. 160 CE) argues that the laws of the Torah are of three sorts:

- Those that are true and are to be observed by Christians (Love the Lord your God; Love your neighbor as yourself)
- Those that are true only in a metaphorical sense, as allegory or typology. Christians are not to observe their literal sense. (Sacrificial goat of the Day of Atonement represents Christ.)
- Those that have no moral value, were intended for the Jews solely, in recognition of their wickedness and obstinacy

Self-identity:

Sense that a new covenant has superseded the old (doctrine of supersessionism). Letter to the Hebrews 8:13, *In speaking of a new covenant he treats the first as obsolete; and what is becoming obsolete and growing old is ready to vanish away*, commenting on Jeremiah 31:31-34.

Christians sometimes see themselves in the Torah, sometimes not.

As a rule, when Israelites are sinning, Christians posit distance between themselves and the text; when the Israelites enjoy divine favor, Christians see themselves in the text.

This self-conscious newness is characteristically Christian throughout the centuries.

Lecture 25: Conclusions and Reflections.

Reading: Kugel 662-689.

Why study the Bible?

1. It's fun/interesting/intriguing;
2. It's a classic! Part of a good humanistic education;
3. A/the foundation document of Judaism;
4. A/the foundation document of Christianity, hence of western culture (stories, art, theology, philosophy, etc.);
5. Ultimate source for various traditions in Quran and in Islam;
6. For guidance how to be a good person / how to lead a good life / inspiration / knowledge of God.

The first two reasons apply to many books/subjects.

The next three also apply *mutatis mutandis* to many books/subjects.

Merriam Webster Online Dictionary: *mu-ta-tis mu-tan-dis*

1 : with the necessary changes having been made

2 : with the respective differences having been considered

#6 is what makes the Bible the Bible.

The people who canonized the Bible, its earliest interpreters, did so because they accepted reason #6 (Kugel).

Modern scholars began with an attempt (Protestant in origin) to get back to the original word of God = the original biblical text (Briggs, discussed by Kugel), but that is not how it turned out.

- MBS are functional atheists, treat the book like any other human artifact, looking for signs of redactional activity, contradictions, etc.
- Attempt to recover original (= contextual) meaning of texts
- Attempt to recover the historical "facts"; hermeneutics of suspicion
- Ancient Israelites were simply one of the peoples of the ANE
- No attempt to use the Bible to get closer to God (except in epilogues!)

"Has biblical scholarship destroyed the Bible?" For traditional Jews and Christians, according to Kugel, the answer is yes (see esp. 681)

- Kugel never states clearly whether he believes biblical scholarship to be true
- Kugel has a narrow definition of Judaism; self-defined as Orthodox
- In defense of MBS: what scholars reject is sometimes, at least, what later generations said about the Bible, rather than what the Bible says about itself; for Kugel this distinction may not matter but it is worth noting nonetheless
 - ♦ Mosaic authorship of the Torah, Davidic authorship of the Psalms

- ♦ The divine origin of the Bible is (for Christians at least) a given because of 2 Timothy 3:15-17: *from infancy you have known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make you wise for salvation through faith in Christ Jesus.*¹⁶ *All Scripture is God-breathed and is useful for teaching, rebuking, correcting and training in righteousness,*¹⁷ *so that the servant of God may be thoroughly equipped for every good work.* But important to note that many books in the Bible do not claim divine inspiration or authorship (e.g. narratives. Wisdom lit., Psalms).
 - ★ Even traditionalists have to concede that prophetic books have a large human component in their composition (inspiration rather than revelation);
 - ★ Maimonides says that the Torah is written in human language, hence its unphilosophical images of God.
- Modern Bible Scholarship is based on *sola scriptura*;
- For Jews and Christians the meaning of the Bible is circumscribed by its place within a community of believers.
- For traditional Jews and Christians (Catholics) the meaning of the Bible is circumscribed by tradition but liberal Jews and Christians can live with scriptural polyphony.

For me (sjdc) it is certainly preferable if the ugly / troubling parts of Scripture have human, rather than divine, origins:

- Command to exterminate the Canaanites and Amaleqites;
- Low status of women in society and law (women as objects rather than subjects);
- Adultery and male homosexual intercourse are punished capitally (Lev 18 and 20);
- Validation of slavery (nota bene: NT too validates slavery);
- Execution of juvenile delinquents (Deuteronomy 21:18-21).