Creation in Jewish and Christian Tradition

Edited by
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PREFACE

This fifth volume of papers read at the symposia between the Department of Bible of Tel Aviv University and the Faculty of Protestant Theology of the University of the Ruhr, Bochum, reaches the reader through the kind support of the publisher. On behalf of all contributors and hearers we thank Sheffield Academic Press and its staff for their generosity in helping the volume to appear. The Evangelical Church of Westfalia and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft supported the symposium with grants for the travelling costs. The delegation from Germany was received with the same kindness and generosity by the Chaim Rosenberg School of Jewish Studies in Tel Aviv University as on earlier meetings. The relationship between the departments in Israel and the faculty in Germany has become closer again.

With the general theme 'Creation' our discussion was concentrated on a field that has its roots in the Bible and had a deep impact on Jewish and Christian traditions. The different contributions show a variety of aspects becoming visible on this field. Obviously the files are not closed on the topic; new insights are to be expected. The volume tries to contribute to the forthgoing research.

Yair Hoffmann and Henning Graf Reventlow
Tel Aviv/Bochum
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ABBREVIATIONS

AASF B	Finnish Academy of Sciences Series B
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	David Noel Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992)
AfOSup	*Archiv für Orientforschung*, Supplement
AHw	Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1959–81)
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANEP	James B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
BARev	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BDB	Francis Brown, S.R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907)
BEAT	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
Bib	*Biblica*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BThSt	Biblisch-Theologische Studien
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur *ZAW*
BZNW	Beihefte zur *ZNW*
CAD	Ignace I. Gelb *et al.* (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1964–)

CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Monograph Series
CD	Cairo *Genizah*: Damascus Document
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EdF	Enträge deu Forschung
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia Judaica*
ErJb	Eranos Jahrbuch
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
EWNT	Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neue Testament
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (ed. E. Kautzsch, revised and trans. A.E. Cowley; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910)
GTA	Göttingen Theologische Arbeiten
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HR	*History of Religions*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HST	Handbuch systematischer Theologie
ICC	International Commentary
IDB	George Arthur Buttrick (ed.), *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (4 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962)
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
JANESCU	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBT	*Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JQRSup	Jewish Quarterly Review, Supplement
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JSOTSup	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (3 vols.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962–64)
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament

KEH	Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
KTU	Keilschritt-Texte aus Ugarit
MDOG	Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
NCB	New Century Bible
NEB.AT	Neue Ecter Bibel-Kommentar zum Alten Testament
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NZST	Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie
ÖBS	Österreichische Biblische Studien
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OTE	Old Testament Essays, Department of Old Testament University of South Africa
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RÄRG	Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte
RB	*Revue biblique*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RM	Religionen der Menschheit
Saec	*Saeculum*
SAT	Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
SBLWAW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SJ	Studia judaica
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SPB	Studia postbiblica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
STT	*The Sultantepe Tablets* (ed. O.R. Gurmey and J.J. Finkelstein; London: British Institiute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1957)
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
TB	Theologische Bücherei
TBl	*Theologische Blätter*
TBP	Theologische Brennpunkte
TDNT	Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (eds.), *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; 10 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–)

THAT	Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann (eds.), *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971–76)
ThTh	Themen der theologoie
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*
TRev	*Theologische Revue*
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TTZ	*Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
UGAÄ	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägypteus Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
UNT	Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
VF	*Verkündigung und Forschung*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	*Vetus Testamentum*, Supplements
WA	M. Luther, *Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (= 'Weimar' edition)
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WB.KK	Die Welt der Bibel. Kleinkommentare zur Heiligen Schrift
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZBK.AT	Zürcher Bibelkommentar. Altes Testament
ZDT	*Zeitschrift für dialektische Theologie*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

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Part I

THE BIBLE

POETIC STYLE AND PARALLELISM IN THE
CREATION ACCOUNT (GENESIS 1.1–2.3)

Frank H. Polak

This paper advocates a poetic reading of the creation account in Genesis 1.[1] The decision to read a text as prose or as poetry affects the reader's attitude towards the text: its rhythm, subtleties, repetitions and, by implication, the meanings that it evokes. For this reason the responsible reader must base his stance on careful evaluation of a large number of data, before forming an opinion on the outlook implied in the text. Exegetical studies of the creation account in Genesis often contrast this text to hymns like Psalms 8 and 104, in order to highlight its prosaic character. However, each text should first and foremost be viewed in its own right. Hence, this paper will attempt to define the *genre* of the creation account, to point out its prosody, to indicate some of the ideas suggested by its form, and finally to deal with its Priestly affiliation. The last point must come last, since judgment in advance may lead to stereotyping and prejudice.

Modern scholarship wavers in its attitude towards the creation account in Genesis 1. Skinner bewails the juristic character of its style, and even excuses the prose narrator for the lack of real poetic sublimity,[2] while Wellhausen praises its 'majestic repose and sustained grandeur'.[3] Gunkel's characterization is ambivalent. While he finds evidence of an ancient mythical hypogram (*Vorlage*) in such terms as ברא, תהום and תהו ובהו, which represent for him mythic elements and

2.   J. Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2nd edn, 1930), p. 11.

3.   J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (New York: Meridian, 1957), p. 297.

'uralte Sprache',[4] he nevertheless highlights the sober monotony of the almost scientific account of the Priestly teacher, which is conceived of as a hypergraph (*Überlagerung*).[5] Even then he knows to appreciate the monotonous dignity of the narrative. But the distinction between the mythical hypogram and the Priestly hypergraph remains problematic, since, for example, Gunkel artificially attributes different aspects of the Sabbath to each stratum: the interest in the Sabbath he characterizes as Priestly,[6] while he ascribes the notion of divine rest on the Sabbath to the mythical background.[7] By implication, then, the mythical notion was of interest to the Priestly teacher. Thus, it seems preferable to abandon the distinction between these strata. Indeed, the characteristic features of this account—its 'monotonous dignity', 'majestic repose', and 'sustained grandeur'—all make for its poetic sublimity, highlighted long ago by Pseudo-Longinus, 'On the Sublime'.[8] Morever, Albright, Loretz, Kselman and Andersen all have noted a number of poetic patterns and characteristics of poetic language.[9] While the present study will note additional examples, it focuses on the poetic code suggested

4. H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (HKAT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2nd edn, 1902), pp. 90-91, 104-106; (3rd edn, 1910), pp. 118-19. However, he emphasizes that the ancient, poetic elements reflect the *Vorlage* rather than the Priestly author.

5. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 1902, pp. 103-104; 1910, pp. 117-18; the latter point of view is preferred by G. von Rad, *Genesis* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1961), pp. 45-47, 61.

6. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 1902, p. 104; 1910, p. 118.

7. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 1902, pp. 102, 105; 1910, p. 115.

8. 'Longinus', *On the Sublime* (ed. with intro. and com. by D.A. Russell; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 11-12 (περὶ ὕψους 9.9), on which see Russell's commentary, pp. xxixx-xxx, 92-94, as well as E. Norden, 'Das Genesiszitat in der Schrift vom Erhabenen', in *Kleine Schriften zum Klassischen Altertum* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1966), pp. 286-313; for his rejection of the view that this quote forms a later interpolation see p. 289 n. 2.

9. W.F. Albright, 'The Refrain "And God Saw Ki Tob" in Genesis 1', *Mélanges bibliques redigés en honneur de André Robert* (Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris, 4; Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1955), pp. 22-26; J.S. Kselman, 'The Recovery of Poetic Fragments from the Pentateuchal Priestly Source', *JBL* 97 (1978), pp. 161-73, esp. pp. 162-67; O. Loretz, 'Wortbericht-Vorlage und Tatbericht-Interpretation im Schöpfungsbericht Gn 1, 1–2, 4a', *UF* 11 (1977) pp. 279-87; F.A. Andersen, 'What Biblical Scholars Might Learn from Emily Dickinson', in J. Davies, G. Harvey and W.G.E. Watson (eds.), *Words Remembered, Texts Renewed: Essays in Honour of J.F.A. Sawyer* (JSOTSup, 156; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), pp. 52-74, esp. pp. 54-55, 59-60.

by the creation account as a whole, and in particular its prosodical structure. Study of these elements will show that the basic character of the creation account is hymnic, with only few and superficial adaptations to prose language.

Characterization of a text as poetic should be based on external and internal attributes alike. >From the point of view of content and expressive power, a text should be viewed as poetic if the qualities of its language evoke an image that is too grand and too strong to be expressed by casual or expository discourse.[10] From the formal point of view, the distinctive feature of poetic language is its prosody,[11] while its informal hallmark is the use of metaphor, imagery and a particular lexical and grammatical register.[12]

1. *Hymnic Features*

The creation account is pre-eminently dominated by a number of formal poetic elements, in the lexical and grammatical register, as well as in prosody.[13] In the following discussion we shall pay ample attention to

10.   As Valéry puts it 'cette partie des idées qui ne peut pas se mettre en prose, se met en verse. Si on le demande en prose, elle demande le vers et semble un vers qui n'a pas pu se faire encore' (P. Valéry, 'Calepin d'un poéte', in *Oeuvres*, I [ed. J. Hytier; Paris: Gallimard, 1962], pp. 1447-56, esp. p. 1450).

11.   In the book of Job, for instance, the prose tale is characterized as prose by the lexical register and the lack of imagery and metaphor, although from a formal point of view it is closer to poetry than any other biblical prose text, as shown by F.H. Polak, 'On Prose and Poetry in the Book of Job', *JANESCU* 24 (1996), pp. 61-97, esp. pp. 61-76. In my opinion, the informal characteristics of poetry have not been taken sufficiently into account in such studies as J.C. de Moor, 'Narrative Poetry in Canaan', *UF* 20 (1988), pp. 149-171; *idem*, 'The Poetry of the Book of Ruth', *Orientalia* 53 (1984), pp. 262-83; 55 (1986), pp. 16-46; J.C. de Moor and W.G.E. Watson (ed.), *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose* (AOAT, 42; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1993).

12.   On archaic elements and other lexical and morphological particularities of poetic language see W.G.E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques* (JSOTSup, 26; Sheffield Academic Press: Sheffield, 1984), pp. 49, 51; W. von Soden, 'Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen', *ZA* 40 (1931), pp. 163-227, esp. pp. 163-65; *ZA* 41 (1933), pp. 90-183, esp. pp. 160-81.

13.   Some of these points have been noted previously, in particular by U. Cassuto, who stated that 'the special importance of the subject' leads to 'an exaltation of style approaching the level of poetry': *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis*. I. *From Adam to Noah* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1961), pp. 10-11. Kselman (see

these matters. However, our first concern is the overall character of the text. Wellhausen's judgment concerning the 'majestic repose and sustained grandeur' of the creation account and Gunkel's evaluation of the 'lapidare Grösse' of its style,[14] support the view of the creation account with its powerful images, as poetry, and, more specifically, as a hymn.

The purpose of hymnic poetry is to praise and celebrate the mighty deeds of God. The creation account fulfills this function in a distinctive way, since it presents the divine praise of the world as created by God. Divine self-praise,[15] not unlike the self-praise of Dame Wisdom (Prov. 8.22-36), is conveyed by the series of clauses וירא אלהים כי טוב (1.10, 12, 18, 21, 25), which opens with וירא אלהים את האור כי טוב (1.4), and closes with praise of the creation in its entirety (Gen. 1.31): וירא אלהים את כל אשר עשה והנה טוב מאד.[16]

In addition the first stanza, which describes the divine acts of the first day, contains a number of poetic features, to begin with the phrase כי טוב

a. כי טוב
Significantly, this phrase is found in a number of poetic passages:

note 8 above) points to a number of elements of poetic language and prosody. C. Westermann speaks of a particular mixture of prose and poetry, without noting any poetic feature in particular: *Genesis 1–11: A Commentary* (London: SPCK; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), pp. 90-91. An attempt at a reconstruction of some fragmentary remains of the ancient poetic text, comprising seven bicola with parallelism, is offered by Loretz (see note 8 above).

14. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 1902, p. 103; 1910, p. 117. For Wellhausen's view see note 2 above.

15. In Sumerian hymnody divine self-praise is a conventional theme, e.g., Enki's self-praise in C.A. Benito, ' "Enki und Ninmaḫ'" and "Enki and the World Order"' (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania; 1969), lines 61-82 (pp. 89-91, 117-19); Inanna's self-presentation in G. Farber-Flügge, *Der Mythus 'Inanna und Enki' unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Liste der Me* (Studia Pohl, 10; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1973), lines 6-26 (pp. 16-17); Nanna's self-presentation in A.J. Ferrara, *Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur* (Studia Pohl, Series Maior, 2; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1973), lines 8-16, 260-308 (pp. 44-45, 82-83, 98-102).

16. See also the late verses Jer. 33.1; Ps. 106.1; 107.1; 109.21; 118.1, 29; 135.3; 136.1; 147.1 as well as Ps. 34.9; 69.17; 84.11; 100.5; Prov. 24.13. The passage in Gen. 49 has been noted by Albright, 'Ki Tob', who focuses on the use of כי, in comparison with the Akkadian.

Gen. 49.15   וירא מנחה כי טוב ואת הארץ כי נעמה
Isa. 3.10   אמרו צדיק כי טוב כי פרי מעלליהם יאכלו
Ps. 52.11   אודך לעולם כי עשית ואקוה שמך כי טוב נגד חסידיך
Ps. 54.8   בנדבה אזבחה לך אודה שמך יהוה כי טוב

The fact that the latter two examples are hymnic in character warrants the conclusion that the refrain וירא אלהים כי טוב is couched in hymnic language. Its sustained recurrence indicates a poetic *figura*, a σχῆμα, rather than prosaic repetitiousness. The poetic background of the seven-day pattern, found in the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh, and the Ugaritic epics of Ba'lu, Aqhatu and Kirta, is by now well known.[17]

Additional features of poetic language in the first stanza include the refrain ויהי ערב ויהי בקר as such, as well as the common pair ערב/בקר, the use of אחד as a cardinal, the use of ברא, of מרחפת, of תהו ובהו and of רקיע.

b. ערב/בקר

The refrain ויהי ערב ויהי בקר likewise has a poetic background. First of all, the contrasting nouns ערב and בקר belong to the poetic register of lexical associates, as shown by a large number of passages, for example,[18]

Gen. 49.27   בבקר יאכל עד ולערב יחלק שלל
Isa. 17.14   לעת ערב והנה בלהה בטרם בקר איננו

c. *The Lack of the Article*
In the creation account this phrase generally does not contain the definite article, for example,

17. See S.E. Loewenstamm, 'The Seven-Day-Unit in Ugaritic Epic Literature', in *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures* (AOAT, 204; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1980), pp. 192–209. Loewenstamm also discusses the combination with the three-day pattern in Gen. 1.10, 12-13.

18. So also Ps. 30.6; Zeph. 33 (Janus parallelism); Pss. 55.18; 65.9; 90.6; Job 42.0; Eccl. 11.6. Parallelistic constructions are found in such prose pericopes as Exod. 16.8, 13; Deut. 28.67; 1 Kgs 17.6 ; Ezek. 24.18; 33.22; Est. 2.14. Also note such clauses as מחציתה בבקר ומחציתה בערב (Lev. 6.13; cf. 2 Kgs 16.15). The meristic phrase מן הבקר עד הערב occurs in Exod. 18.13, 14; 27.21; 24.3 (cf. Dan. 8.14, 26; 1 Chron. 16.40; 2 Chron. 2.3; 13.11; 31.3). In a number of passages the clause opens with ערב and closes with בקר (Num. 9.15; cf. Deut. 16.4; 1 Chron. 23.30).

Gen. 1.8   ויהי ערב/ ויהי בקר/ יום שני

And *it* became evening /and *it* became morning/ *the* second day.

This detail is significant, since the definite article, which does not exist in Akkadian and Ugaritic, and is of limited use in Phoenician, is rare in biblical Hebrew poetry.[19] In the refrain, then, the lack of the definite article reflects the poetic register, notwithstanding this particle's high incidence in the pericope as a whole.[20] This finding is all the more important in view of the lack of the article in the opening clause, בראשית ברא אלהים, a phenomenon most plausibly explained as a poetic feature.[21]

19. Statistical data for the different books are offered by F.I. Andersen and A.D. Forbes, '"Prose Particle" Counts in the Hebrew Bible', in C.L. Myers and M. O'Connor (eds.), *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Studies in Honor of David Noel Freedman* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), pp. 165-83. In the corpus of ancient biblical Hebrew poetry (Gen. 49.2-27; Exod. 15.2-17; 15.21; Num. 21.17-18; 21.27-30; 23.7-10; 23.18-24; 24.3-9; 24.15-23; Deut. 32.1-43; 33.1-29; Judg. 5.2-30; 2 Sam. 22.2–23.7; Pss. 2.1–72.17) no more than 184 instances of the definite article have been found by means of the computer program *Accordance 3.0* (Vancouver: Gramcord, 1997). Of these occurrences, 22 were found in Genesis–Deuteronomy (4 in Gen. 49.14-21; 3 in Num. 21.17-30; 5 in Num. 23.15, 21; 24.21; 8 in Deut. 32–33, including the prose opening in 33.1); and 16 in Judges–2 Samuel (7 in Judg. 5, and 9 in 2 Sam. 22–23, including the prose opening of 23.1). In Ps. 2.1–72.17 147 cases have been found. No examples of the article have been found in Exod. 15; Gen. 49.2-13; Deut. 32.5-43; 2 Sam. 22.2-7, 9-30; 23.2-7; and (allowing for the headings 5.1; 6.1; 30.1) Pss. 3.1-8; 4-7; 15–17; 23; 26–27; 30; 39; 43; 53; 55; 60; 64; 67; 69; 72.1-14. The following Psalms contain two instances or more (apart from the heading): Pss. 8; 19; 25; 29; 33–35; 40; 44–45; 47; 49–50; 52; 56–57; 59; 63; 66; 68; 71. If the search is confined to the definite article followed by common noun or adjective, the overall number of instances is 145, 119 of which are found in Psalms, 15 in Genesis–Deuteronomy and 11 in Judges–2 Samuel.

20. In the entire unit, from Gen. 1.1 to 2.4a, we encounter 75 instances of the definite particle. Only the notes on the sixth and the seventh day contain a form with the article, and that in the attribute (1.31; 2.3). In biblical poetry this syntagm is also found in Ps. 104.18, but since it is characteristic of rabbinic Hebrew, as noted by S.R. Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 3rd edn, 1913), pp. 281-83, it could reflect postexilic language, e.g. שער העליון (2 Chron. 23.20), חדש התשיעי (Ezra 10.9), as well as Zech. 4.7; 14.10; as against these instances Driver notes שבע כבשת האלה (Gen. 21.29); 30.37; 41.26; Num. 11.25; 1 Sam. 14.29; 16.23; 17.17. In Driver's view, then, the roots of this syntagm are to be looked for in pre-exilic Hebrew.

21. The syntactic register of poetic language is also implied by the interpretation of the clause ברא אלהים את השמים ואת הארץ as an asyndetic relative clause, a

d. אחד

As to the lexical register,[22] the exceptional use of the cardinal אחד as ordinal in v. 5b is matched by Ugaritic poetic texts.[23] The alleged schematic refrain, then, turns out to embody the stylistic norms of biblical poetry.

Another point worthy of notice is synonymous parallelism, comprising semantic correspondence (three terms in the same semantic field, בקר, ערב and יום; both cola contain one and the same verbal form, ויהי); syntactic congruity (ויהי + subject in both cola) and rhythmical isometry between three cola, the third of which contains a ballast variant (אחד):[24]

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phenomenon that is characteristic mainly of poetry (e.g., Gen. 49.27; Exod. 1.17; Num. 21.18; Deut. 32.14, 15, 17, 18, 35, 37; 33.22, 29; Judg. 5.18; Isa. 11.9; 40.20; 42.1, 16; 48.17; 51.1, 12; 54.1; 55.13; 56.2; 61.10-11; 64.2; 65.1; Jer. 2.6, 8, 11; 23.29; Hos. 4.14; 6.3; Mic. 5.2; Hab. 2.14; Mal. 2.16; Pss. 4.8; 7.7, 16; 14.4; 18.3; 25.12; 32.2; 33.12; 34.2; 49.13, 14, 21; 56.4, 10; 58.5; 65.5; 68.31; 71.18; 74.2; 78.6; 80.18; 81.6; 83.15; 88.2; 90.15; 141.9; Prov. 8.32; 30.17; Job 3.3; 6.17; 7.2; 9.26; 11.16; 13.28; 28.1; 29.12, 16; 31.12; 38.26; Lam. 1.10, 14, 21). In the domain of 'Ancient Poetry' as defined above אשר occurs 45 times (on 3,475 verbs; 1.29 per cent; if the book of Psalms is not taken into account we have 7 instances, on 694 verbs; 1.01 per cent). It is not found in Gen. 49; Exod. 15 (at Num. 21.30 MT is corrupt); 2 Sam. 22–23; it occurs only once in Balaam's sayings (Num. 24.4), in the Song of Moses (Deut. 32.38) and twice in Moses' blessing (33.8, 29); Judg. 5.27 is ambiguous (באשר כרע שם נפל). In the book of Psalms we note 102 instances of the relative (on 5,803 verbs; 1.76 per cent), as against 411 in Genesis (on 5,056 verbs; 8.13 per cent), 305 in Exodus (on 3,753 verbs; 8.13 per cent), 295 in Numbers (on 3,187 verbs; 9.26 per cent); and 584 in Deuteronomy (on 3,551 verbs; 16.45 per cent). The asyndetic relative clause is rarely found in prose texts (apart from Hos. 1.2): Gen. 39.4 (not so according to LXX and SamP); Exod. 4.13; 6.28; 9.4; 18.20; Lev. 7.35 (possibly read הקרב); Num. 3.1; Deut. 4.15; Isa. 6.6 (poetic prose); Jer. 36.2. On this use in the book of Chronicles (also Ezra 1.5; Neh. 8.10; 13.20; Ps. 119.136) see *GKC* §155d.

    22. But note Gen. 2.11 שם האחד פישון, following ארבעה ראשים (v. 10).

    23. S.E. Loewenstamm, 'The Development of the Term "First" in the Semitic Languages', in *Comparative Studies in Oriental Literature*, pp. 13-16. Loewenstamm notes that (a) in the string 'the first day, the second day' Ugaritic has *'ym wtn'*, without the first ordinal; (b) for the phrase 'on the seventh day' Ugaritic uses the cardinal *'mk bšb' ym'*.

    24. On the definition of parallelism see below.

Gen. 1.5b   ויהי בקר   ויהי ערב

יום אחד

And *it* became evening /and *it* became morning/ *the* first day.

Moreover, the first instance of this refrain (v. 5b) follows immediately after a line in which the parallelism of identical verbs stands out:

Gen. 1.5a   ולחשך קרא לילה   ויקרא אלהים לאור יום

And God called the light 'Day, ' and the darkness he called 'Night'

The antithetical balancing of אור and חשך, יום and לילה is remarkable. In this line, then, parallelism is unmistakable.[25] In short, the first verses of the creation account include many elements that are particular to poetic language.

2. *The Poetic Opening*

This view partly accords with Gunkel's recognition of the mythic reminiscences in the description of the chaos, reminding him of the 'uralte Sprache' of myth.[26] Indeed, the entire pericope seems to contain as much as 15 features of poetic language.

a. ברא
Of particular importance is Gunkel's insight that the use of ברא is not so much typical of the Priestly writings as of the creation theme,[27] as demonstrated by the doxology of Amos 4.13, where this verb occurs together with יצר and עשׂה:[28]

הנה יוצר הרים ובורא רוח ומגיד לאדם מה שחו
עשׂה שחר ועיפה ודרך על במתי ארץ
יהוה אלהי צבאות שמו

25. Three different aspects of parallelism are evident in this line: semantic, syntactic (gapping without balance variant), and rhythmic (in accents: 4-3; in syllabic count: approximately 9-8).

26. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 1902, p. 90; 1910, p. 102

27. Other instances of this verb in allusions to the creation theme: Ps. 89.13, 48; Isa. 45.7-8, 12, 18; and as a reminder of divine majesty: Isa. 40.26, 28; 41.20; 42.5; see also: Isa. 4.5; 43.1, 7, 15; 48.7; 54.16; 57.19; Jer. 31.22; Ezek. 28.15; Mal. 2.10; Ps. 102.19; 148.5. In the post-Isaian allusions of Isa. 65.17-18 the creation theme is applied to the announcement of the coming salvation.

28. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 1902, p. 106; 1910, p. 120; the poetic diction of the doxology does not contain any sign of late composition.

> See, he that formed the mountains, and created the wind, and announced man what his wish is / who makes darkness into daybreak, and treads upon the high places of the earth—the Lord, the God of hosts, is his name.

However, in a number of passages ברא is not related to this theme:

Ps. 51.12   לב טהור ברא לי אלהים ורוח נכון חדש בקרבי

> Create a pure heart for me, O God; And renew a steadfast spirit within me.

Ezek. 28.13   ...בעדן גן אלהים היית כל אבן יקרה מכסתך
ביום הבראך כוננו

> You were in Eden, the garden of God, covered with every precious stone (...)[29] prepared for you on the day that you were created.

It is apparent in Ps. 51, as well as in Ezekiel's satire on the primeval wise king of Tyre, that this verb is not directly connected to the creation narrative. The verb ברא, then, belongs to the lexical register of poetry, rather than to the creation theme as such.[30]

b. מרחפת

The poetic register is also attested by the verb מרחפת, meaning 'to hover over' something, and used for the movements of vulture and eagle in the Song of Moses (Deut. 32.11) and in the Ugaritic epic of Aqhat (CAT 1.18. 4. lines 30-32).

c. תהו ובהו

This phrase embodies a fixed common pair in prophetic poetry (Isa. 34.11; Jer. 4.23).[31]

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29. The many textual difficulties in the listing of the precious stones do not affect the clear meaning of the end of this verse.

30. Outside of poetry it appears mostly in elevated prose (balanced coupling, in the terminology, adopted below): Exod. 34.10; Num. 16.30 (pre-P), and often related to the creation theme: Gen. 5.1-2; 6.7 (assigned to J); Deut. 4.32.

31. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 1902, pp. 91, 105; 1910, pp. 103, 119. תהו alone is frequent in poetry as a description of space in state of disorder (Isa. 45.19; Ps. 107.40; Job 6.18; 12.24; and parallel to the poetic phrase בלי מה :26.7); of the desert wilderness (Deut. 32.10); and as a metaphor for the naught (Isa. 24.10; 40.17, 23; 41.29; 44.9; 49.4; 59.4). In the latter function it occurs once in poetry as an image for idolatry (1 Sam. 12.21; cf. Isa. 44.9). בהו does not occur alone.

d. רקיע

Since רקיע (vv. 6-8, 14-15, 17, 20) is a cosmic term, it is no surprise that it is main use is poetic:[32]

Ps. 19.2   השמים מספרים כבוד אל ומעשׂה ידיו מגיד הרקיע

The heavens proclaim the glory of God, and the firmament declares his handiwork.

Isa. 42.5   האל יהוה בורא השמים ונוטיהם רקע הארץ וצאצאיה

God the Lord, who created the heavens and stretched them out, who spread out the earth and what it brings forth.

In view of the fact that רקיע does not occur further in texts attributed to the Priestly source (e.g. in the Deluge narrative, where it would have been relevant),[33] it seems that its usage here should not be considered evidence of the Priestly style, but rather of the poetic register.

In Gunkel's opinion the poetic overtones are limited to the description of chaos in the first stanza.[34] These strophes, however, are not to be viewed in isolation. In modern poetics the opening pericope is considered formative for the rhetorical attitude of the reader and/or listener. A constellation in which almost the entire first stanza consists of poetry evokes the poetic code, entailing a rhythmic, balanced reading, rather than a prosaic stance that centres on the action sequence. As we shall see later, almost the entire opening of the creation account can be read as poetry, maybe apart from the the divine praise of the light (v. 4). Thus the poetic code imposes itself upon the reader.

3. *Additional Features of the Poetic Diction*

Further examples of poetic language are found in the continuation of the creation account, namely in the phrase וחיתו ארץ, in the use of רמש,

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32. In cosmic context: Isa. 44.24; Ps. 136.6; Job 37.18. The daily life usage of רקע, in the meaning 'to stamp' or 'to beat out', is found in prose in Exod. 3.3; Num. 17.3; Ezek. 6.11; 25.6; and in poetry: 2 Sam. 22.43; Isa. 40.19; Jer. 10.9.

33. רקיע occurs frequently in Ezekiel's opening vision (Ezek. 1.22-23, 25–26). This fact might constitute evidence for Priestly language, if the picture of the divine chariot (the מרכבה) could be attributed to the prophet's priestly background, and if חשמל (Ezek 1.4, 7; 8.2) would belong to the traditional Priestly register. That, however, is not the case. For poetic usage of רקיע see Ps. 150.1; Dan. 12.1; the divine chariot, with כרובים, is found in the poetic description of the theophany in 2 Sam. 22.11-13; Pss. 18.11-13; 68.5, 18.34.

34. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 1902, p. 104; 1910, p. 118.

עוף השמים and דגת הים of רדה, of דמות, of כנף עוף, of דשא עשב of.

a. וחיתו ארץ

As noted long ago by Albright, the grammatical aspect of the poetic register is found in the phrase וחיתו ארץ (v. 24), [35] in which the ancient case ending in the status constructus reminds one of the same feature in the hymnic-epic dialect of Akkadian, characterized by such phrases as *mušarbi zikru bābilim* ('who has made the name of Babylon great', Codex Ḥammurapi, Prologue 2.5-6), for the standard phrase *zikir bābilim*.[36] Similar constructions are found in a number of Psalms:

Ps. 79.2	נתנו את נבלת עבדיך מאכל לעוף השמים
	בשר חסידיך לחיתו ארץ
Ps. 104.11	ישקו כל חיתו שדי ישברו פראים צמאם
Ps. 104.20	תשת חשך ויהי לילה בו תרמש כל חיתו יער

The lexical register in the continuation of the creation account also seems close to poetry.

b. רמש

The noun רמש (vv. 24, 25, 26) occurs repeatedly in poetic context:[37]

| Hab. 1.14 | כרמש לא־משל בו | ותעשה אדם כדגי הים |
| Ps. 104.25 | זה הים גדול ורחב ידים שם־רמש ואין מספר חיות קטנות עם־גדלות |

Thus its use in texts attributed to the Priestly source seems context-dependent rather than characteristic for the lexical register of the Priestly sociolect.[38]

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35. Albright, 'Ki Tob', p. 22, with GKC, §90, as against D. Robertson, 'The Morphemes *-Y (-I)* and *-W (O)* in Biblical Hebrew', *VT* 19 (1969), pp. 211-23, esp. pp. 221-23. Although the data for the verbal forms with the *-y* affix remain problematic, this analysis is unimpeachable for the nominal forms with both the *-y* and the *-w* affix.

36. Von Soden, 'Dialekt', pp. 210-13; for the -i phoneme in this position (when the entire phrase is in the genitive) see pp. 209-11. According to A. Dillmann, *Die Genesis* (KEH; Leipzig: Hirzel, 1892), p. 30, this form is chosen because of the elevated character of divine speech.

37. See also Hos. 2.20; Ezek. 38.20; Pss. 69.35; 148.10. In non-priestly prose one also notes 1 Kgs 5.13 (in wisdom context); Deut. 4.18 (vv. 16-17 contain many phrases reminiscent of Gen. 1). In Gen. 1 the verb רמש occurs in vv. 21, 26, 28, 30.

38. The noun occurs (a) in cultic prescriptions (Lev. 11.44, 46; 20.25; note also Ezek. 8.10), (b) in the Deluge tale, in pericopes attributed to P (Gen. 6.20; 7.14, 21,

c. דשא עשב

Another notable detail is the construct state דשא עשב (Gen. 1.11, 12), consisting of two synonymous nouns that form a fixed pair in poetry:

Deut. 32.2	כשעירם עלי־דשא וכרביבים עלי־עשׂב
2 Kgs 19.26	היו עשב שדה וירק דשא חציר גנות ושדפה
Prov. 27.25	גלה חציר ונראה־דשא ונאספו עשבות הרים

In the Hebrew Bible, the use of דשא is restricted to poetry,[39] while עשׂב is found mainly in poetic (or semi-poetic) contexts.[40]

d. עוף כנף

Another phrase that hints at poetic speech is עוף כנף (1.21). Here the tautological attribute כנף is no more than an epitheton ornans. Similar usage is found elsewhere in poetry:

Ps. 78.27	ימטר עליהם כעפר שאר וכחול ימים עוף כנף

Another idiom of this type, כל כנף כל צפור (every bird, every wing), occurs in Ezekiel's parables and in the Deluge narrative:[41]

Ezek. 17.23	ונשא ענף ועשה פרי והיה לארז אדיר
	ושכנו תחתיו כל צפור כל־כנף בצל דליותיו תשכנה

In the Deluge tale the phrase כל צפור כל כנף follows the stereotyped expression וכל העוף למינהו:

Gen. 7.14	המה וכל־החיה למינה וכל־הבהמה למינה
	וכל־הרמש הרמש על־הארץ למינהו
	וכל־העוף למינהו כל צפור כל־כנף

The balance created by this way of doubling has a poetic ring.

23; 8.17, 19; 9.2, 3), and in passages in which this attribution seems problematic (6.7; 7.8).

39. In a distichon: Jer. 14.5-6. As a separate noun: 2 Sam. 23.4; Isa. 66.14; Ps. 23.2; Job 6.5; 38.27; the fixed pair דשא/חציר: Isa. 15.6; Ps. 37.2; and also 2 Kgs 19.26 (= Isa. 37.27); Prov. 27.25; the fixed pair ירק/דשא: 2 Kgs 19.26 (= Isa. 37.27); Isa. 15.6; Ps. 37.2. As a denominative verb דשא occurs in Joel 2.22.

40. For poetic usage see Isa. 42.15; Jer. 12.4; Amos 7.2; Mic. 5.6; Zech. 10.1; Pss. 72.16; 92.8; 102.5, 12; 104.14; 105.35; 106.20; Job 5.25; Prov. 19.12 (Dan. 4.12, 22, 30; 5.21). In prose one notes the collocation with שדה (Gen. 2.5; 3.18; Exod. 9.22, 25; Deut. 11.15; cf. in poetry: 2 Kgs 19.26; Jer. 12.4; Zech. 10.1) and ארץ (Exod. 10.12, 15; cf. Amos 7.2; Pss. 72.16; 105.35; Job 5.25; Dan. 4.12); another frequent collocation comprises ירק and עשׂב: Gen. 9.3; see also Deut. 29.22.

41. Cf. Deut. 4.17; Ezek. 39.4, 17; Ps. 148.10; Eccl. 10.20 (in parallelism).

e. בצלמנו כדמותנו

In the phrase נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו (1:26) the noun דמות, 'likeness', has been considered as more abstract than the concrete term צלם, 'image'.[42] Nowadays, however, it is obvious that דמות also has the exact meaning of 'statue', as shown by the ancient Aramaic inscription from Tell Fekheriye (mid-ninth-century):[43]

line 1   דמותא זי הדיסעי זי שם קדם הדד סכן

'The statue of Haddys'y which he placed before Hadad of Sikani'.

Hence, like so many Aramaic words in biblical literature this word also seems to belong to the poetic register.[44] This conclusion is supported by the asyndetic junction of the two synonyms בצלמנו כדמותנו, a well-known pattern in biblical poetry.[45]

f. רדה

Furthermore, in the clause וירדו בדגת הים ובעוף השמים (1:26b) one notes the metaphoric use of רדה as a symbol of domination, as found more than once in poetry:[46]

42. E.g. Dillmann, *Genesis,* p. 31; von Rad, *Genesis,* p. 56.

43. A. Abou-Assaf, P. Bordreuil, and A.R. Millard, *La Statue de Tell Fekheriye et son Inscription Bilingue assyro-araméenne* (Études Assyriologiques 7; Paris: Éditions Recherches sur la Civilisation, 1982), pp. 23-24 (line 1; see also line 15; in line 12 the word צלם is used). For the proposal of a date between 850–825 BCE see p. 112.

44. G.R. Driver, *Hebrew Poetic Diction* (VTSup, 1; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1953), pp. 26-39; A. Hurvitz, 'The Chronological Significance of "Aramaisms" in Biblical Hebrew, *IEJ* 18 (1968), pp. 234-40.

45. See Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures* (AOAT, 210; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984), p. 122.

46. For 'trampling' as a metaphor for conquest and victory see also Num. 24.19 (rather literal); Isa. 14.2; Jer. 5.31; Ezek. 29.15; Pss. 7.8; 49.15; Lam. 1.13; in the elevated, rhythmic prose of curse and prayer see Lev. 26.17; Neh. 9.28; and in the description of Solomon as ruling over all kings of Western Asia (1 Kgs 5.4), a passage that seems dependent on Pss. 72.8; 110.2. As a picture for enslavement see Ezek. 34.3; and in legal context: Lev. 25.43, 46, 53; 1 Kgs 5.30; 9.23; 2 Chron. 8.10. The distinction between the latter usage and the poetic style is that the metaphor in prose is limited to one fixed context, whereas in poetic language it changes from verse to verse.

Ps. 72.8   וירד מים עד־ים ומנהר עד־אפסי־ארץ
Isa. 14.6   מכה עמים בעברה מכת בלתי סרה
                           רדה באף גוים מרדף בלי תשך
Ps. 110.2   מטה־עזך ישלח יהוה מציון רדה בקרב איביך

g. דגת הים *and* עוף השמים

The noun string בדגת הים בעוף השמים ובכל חיה הרמשת על הארץ,
which follows the verb רדה, also seems close to poetic language:[47]

Hos. 4.3   על־כן תאבל הארץ ואמלל כל־יושב בה
                           בחית השדה ובעוף השמים וגם־דגי הים יאספו
Zeph. 1.3   אסף אדם ובהמה אסף עוף־השמים ודגי הים והמכשלות את־הרשעים

In short, the lexical and grammatical register of the creation account
contains far more poetic features than customary in plain prose texts.
Some features, such as the use of the archaic case ending, are never
found in biblical prose. Thus it should come as no surprise that the cre-
ation account also includes some clear prosodic patterns.

4. *Prosodic Patterns: Prose or Poetry?*

The most obvious instance of a prosodic pattern is found in the verse on
the creation of mankind (1.27). This verse contains a threefold repeti-
tion structure, which is constituted by the recurrence of identical verbs
(ברא/ויברא) in each of the three clauselets:

                           ויברא אלהים את־האדם בצלמו
                           בצלם אלהים ברא אתו
                           זכר ונקבה ברא אתם

In addition one notes the concatenation of בצלמו and בצלם אלהים,
the epiphora ברא אתם/ברא אתו and the delicate counterpoise of opening
(ויברא אלהים) and closure (ברא אתם). The rhythmic balance is remark-
able. In each clauselet the first part contains 6 syllables: ויברא אלהים,
זכר ונקבה, בצלם אלהים. The opening clauselet contains 13 syllables (3-
3, 4-3), while the last two clauselets contain 10 each (6-4). In terms of

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47. See also Jer. 4.25; 9.9; 15.3; Ezek. 29.5; 31.6, 13; 32.4; 38.20; Hos. 2.20;
7.12; Pss. 79.2; 104.12; Job 12.7; 28.21; 35.11; Eccl. 10.20. Phrases of this type are
frequent in the elevated rhythmic prose of curses and poetic narrative, e.g., Deut.
28.26; Gen. 2.19, 20; 1 Sam. 17.44, 46 (contrasting with 2 Sam. 21.10); and in
Deuteronomic context: 1 Kings 14.11; 16.4; 21.24; and in prophetic prose speeches:
Jer. 7.33; 16.4; Jer. 19.7; 34.20.

word accent, the three clauselets embody the 4-4-4 pattern. The convergence of this intricate rhythmic pattern and the rhetorical structure suggests the sublime design of poetry rather than the monotony of repetitive prose.

These findings and those concerning the opening stanza, seem to call for a closer examination of the prosody of the entire account. Such examination requires a definition of parallelism,[48] in view of the ambiguous nature of 'synthetic parallelism' in the classical account, which may be found in prose as well as in poetry.[49]

For the present purpose *parallelism is defined as the typical division of the textual unit into lines (stichs) and balanced cola (half-stichs),*[50] *linked by overlapping correspondences on three constitutive planes, namely, (1) semantics,*[51] *(2) syntactic structure, (3) the number of words and/or accents and/or syllables (isometry).*[52] A parallelistic line

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48. The use of parallelism as specific distinctive has been rejected by J.L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 49-63. Kugel argues that prose also may contain parallelistic clauses (pp. 59-62). This argument, however, fails to convince, as any prose text in any language may contain phrases in poetic prosody, e.g. metre. The problem is whether these features represent a norm that is violated by lack of observance, or an extraordinary expressive function.

49. A discussion of this problem may be found in Polak, 'Prose and Poetry', pp. 62-66 (see note 10 above).

50. This definition is based on B. Hrushovsky, 'Notes on the Systems of Hebrew Versification', in T. Carmi (ed.), *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Poetry* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), pp. 57-72, esp. pp. 58-60; *idem*, 'Prosody, Hebrew', *EncJud*, XIII, cols. 1195-245, esp. cols. 1200-203. The recognition of 'planes' is similar, in a way, to the differentiation between 'aspects' of parallelism in the analysis of A. Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), pp. 26-29, and the perception of 'kinds' of parallelism by D. Pardee, *Ugaritic and Hebrew Poetic Parallelism: A Trial Cut ('nt I and Proverbs 2)* (VTSup, 9; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), pp. 178-79.

51. The semantic correspondence may relate to (a) the lexemes used (including repetition), (b) the information conveyed by the correspondent clauses as a whole. Thus parallelism is a semiotic and not a linguistic phenomenon.

52. The isometric component has been rejected by M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1980), pp. 33-37; Pardee, *Parallelism*, 195, whereas it is emphasized by Hrushovsky, 'Prosody', col. 1203. For the argument that its role is indicated by the 'ballast variant' see E.L. Greenstein, 'Aspects of Biblical Poetry', in *Jewish Book Annual* 44 (1986–87), pp. 33-42, in particular pp. 36-38. A statistic estimate of the amount of non-isometric lines (23 per cent of

typically consists of two cola, which contain a number of semantically related lexemes (repetitive, synonymous, antonymic, hyponymic-hyperonymic, subcontrary, in short, belonging to the same semantic scale),[53] and reveal the same clause structure.

The correspondence implied by parallelism may involve all three planes, in the same order of words or in chiastic arrangement:

Deut. 32.2	תזל כטל אמרתי	יערף כמטר לקחי
Ps. 29.5	וישבר יהוה את־ארזי הלבנון	קול יהוה שבר ארזים

This kind of parallelism may include compound sentences, that is, a number of clauses in which not all syntactic constituents are visible in all clauses (*gapping*), but are implicitly present by force of syntactic coordination. In order to supplement the number of accents and syllables an additional element (often a modifier) may be introduced as '*ballast variant*', for example, חלמיש in the phrase צור חלמיש, motivated by the ellipsis of the predicate; the predicate of the first clause (וינקהו) dominates the second clause as well:

Deut. 32.13b	ושמן מחלמיש צור	וינקהו דבש מסלע

In most cases parallelism involves two constitutive planes out of the three:[54]

(1) *Semantic-syntactic* equipollence, for example,

2 Sam. 1.20	אל־תבשרו בחוצת אשקלון	אל־תגידו בנת
Isa. 1.4b	נאצו את קדוש ישראל	עזבו את יהוה

the material) is given by S.A. Geller, *Parallelism in Early Biblical Poetry* (HSM, 20; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), p. 371.

53. A systematic treatment of the semantic relationships between parallel cola and stichs is given by Geller, *Parallelism*, pp. 31-37. The semantic aspect of the definition is rejected by O'Connor (*Verse Structure*, pp. 50-53), since in his opinion 'meaning' is not a linguistic entity (even though the difference between phonemes is defined by means of differences in meaning). For the definition of 'meaning' see, e.g., B. Russell, *An Inquiry into Meaning and Truth* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), pp. 28-123, 158-93, esp. pp. 179-80.

54. Hrushovsky ('Prosody', cols. 1200-201) states informally that 'in most cases there is an overlapping of several such heterogeneous parallelisms...so that no single element, meaning, syntax, stress, may be considered as completely dominant or as purely concomitant'.

In these verses both parallel cola are couched in similar terms with regard to syntactic structure and semantic content, but they contain a different number of accented words (and syllables).[55]

(2) *Semantic-rhythmic* congruity, for example,

Deut. 32.1   ותשמע הארץ אמרי פי   האזינו השמים ואדברה

In this verse the similarity relates to semantic content ('listen' versus 'hear', 'heaven' versus 'earth', and 'let me speak' versus 'the words of my mouth') but not to syntactic structure: 'the words of my mouth' (אמרי פי) is object, whereas 'let me speak' (ואדברה) forms an independent clause; 'heaven' (השמים) is vocative with the imperative 'listen', as against 'the earth' (הארץ), which serves as subject to the jussive ותשמע.

In these two categories the balancing of the clauses is obvious, even though their correspondence is less outspoken than when all three planes are involved. Problems arise when the semantic component is absent, leaving the field to the syntactic and rhythmic components.

(3) *Syntactic-rhythmic* complementation prevails when the second colon balances the first one, while complementing it syntactically.[56] Lowth categorizes cases of this kind as 'synthetic' or 'constructive' parallelism, but fails to give a general definition.[57] In this configuration

55. In these examples the lack of isometry is the result of the presence of an expanded phrase (קדוש ישראל בחוצת אשקלון), commonly used as a compensatory 'ballast variant', even though such compensation is not necessary in these verses (so also Isa. 41.9).

56. According to E.L. Greenstein, in this case syntactic congruence is preserved by deep structure: 'How Does Parallelism Mean?', in S.A. Geller (ed.), *A Sense of a Text: the Art of Language in the Study of Biblical Literature* (JQRSup; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1982), pp. 41-70. However, not always is parallelism dominated by underlying deep structure. For instance, in Deut. 32.6b the relationship between 'he is your father' and 'he made you' is a matter of semantics.

57. In such cases 'the sentences answer to each other...merely by the form of construction': R. Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (ET; London, 1787), pp. 48-49. This concept has been criticized fiercely by T. Collins, *Line-Forms in Hebrew Poetry: A Grammatical Approach to the Stylistic Study of the Hebrew Prophets* (Studia Pohl, Series Maior, 7; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1978), p. 126; Geller, *Parallelism*, pp. 370, 383; O' Connor, *Verse Structure*, pp. 29-30.

the division into cola is defined by the caesura,[58] which is obvious when each colon consists of a different clause, for example, [59]

Isa. 42.1	מ שפט לגוים יוציא	נתתי רוחי עליו
Ps. 23.1	לא אחסר	יהוה רעי

If the second stretch actually continues the first one, the caesura is given by sentence structure, the first colon containing the core sentence, and the second one the lesser constituents, for example, [60]

Isa. 3.14	עם זקני עמו ושריו	יהוה במשפט יבוא

This verse forms one clause. The *Eigenständigkeit* of the second colon is indicated by the indirect object זקני עמו ושריו, as against the clauselet of the first colon. Another instance of this configuration is found in the well-known royal psalm:

Ps. 2.6	על ציון הר קדשי	ואני נסכתי מלכי

The caesura separates the verbal phrase (1) from the modifier (2), a noun phrase consisting of headword and apposition. The semantic entities of both parts of the sentence are distinct from each other since the one refers to the elected king and the other to the holy mountain, although on a higher plane they actually belong to one semantic category.[61]

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58. This construction is confirmed by those examples of line parallelism in which the one line consists of two correspondent modifiers and the other one of two congruous clauses, for example 2 Sam. 1.22: מדם חללים מחלב גבורים (1); קשת יונתן לא נשוג אחור וחרב שאול לא תשוב ריקם (2). In cases like this the caesura in line (1) is given by the syntactic-semantic correspondence between the two modifiers (so also Ps. 2.2; Mic. 1.4; and in Ugaritic: CAT 1.17, II, lines 27-30).

59. So also, e.g., Pss. 3.7; 15.4; 19.4, 5, 6; 22.2; 23.1b, 4a; 26.6, 11, 12; 27.6; 137.1b; Mic. 1.3. Some of these cases meet Geller's criteria for a looser semantic relationship, e.g. cause-consequence (*Parallelism*, pp. 31-37); the problem is that some of these apply equally to prose and thus are not distinctive.

60. To a certain extent, this analysis is analogous to the distinction drawn in functionalist linguistics between the 'core' and the 'periphery', for which see R.D. van Valin Jr., 'Synopsis of Role and Reference Grammar', in *Advances in Role and Reference Grammar* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1993), pp. 4-7. Rejection of the present analysis entails the acceptance of more than two explicit constituents in one 'line', against the restrictions postulated by O'Connor, *Verse Structure*, pp. 29-30.

61. The same analysis could be applied to such passages as Pss. 23.3b, 4b; 137.1a, 2, 4, 6b, 7, 8, and even to Isa. 1.2b, 6, 8, 14a, 21, 23a (cohesion by parono-

In some cases the first colon consists of a fronted constituent (often including modifier or object), while the second colon presents the other constituents, for example,

Exod. 15.1	רמה בים	סוס ורכבו
Judg. 5.20	נלחמו עם סיסרא	הכוכבים ממסלותם

Thus, the position of the caesura may be plausibly identified when the two parts of the sentence are marked by syntactic features and semantic indications,[62] as well as a rhythmic balance that sets the line apart from prose.[63]

The verse line (the stich) consists of two or three cola. In a tripartite verse one of the cola may be exceptional, introducing the stich as 'first member', or closing it as 'third member', for example,[64]

Ps. 74.9		אין עוד נביא	אותתינו לא ראינו
	third member		ולא אתנו ידע עד מה
Isa. 1.25	first member		ואשיבה ידי עליך
		ואסירה כל בדיליך	ואצרף כבר סיגיך

Parallelism between two lines, each consisting of two cola, is possible as well.[65] A special case is parallelism between two lines (1)(2), such that the two cola (c//d) of stich (2) form the syntactic complement of the two cola of stich (1), for example,

Ps. 2.2	ורוזנים נוסדו יחד	יתיצבו מלכי ארץ
	ועל משיחו	על יהוה

masia; so also Ps. 137.3b). A syntacto-semantic caesura of this kind does not exist in such stretches as 1 Sam. 2.14aα.

62. That is the analogy between syntactic-isometric regularity and semantic correspondence. I wonder whether this condition is still covered by Jakobson's 'compulsory syntactic pause' at the end of the line of Southwest Slavic and Russian oral poetry; see R. Jakobson, 'Slavic Epic Verse—Studies in Comparative Metrics', in his *Selected Writings*, VI, *Slavic Epic Studies* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), pp. 414-63, esp. pp. 418-20.

63. Since parallelism is a code rather than a norm of prosody, the recognition of syntactic-isometric complementation is warranted if the surrounding text contains indications of semantic parallelism.

64. Cf. M. Weiss, *The Bible from within: The Method of Total Interpretation* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984), pp. 251-55 (on Isa. 1.4c); Collins, *Line-Forms*, pp. 223-225 ('tripartite lines').

65. Cf. Avishur, *Stylistic Word Pairs*, pp. 77-78; parallelism within the colon ('half-line' parallelism) also relates to semantic, syntactic and rhythmic correspondence.

Generally speaking, parallelism is to be viewed as a code which imposes a balanced reading and cohesion between the two cola. It is this code which suggests the correct understanding of the text, for example,

Ps. 11.4	יהוה בשמים כסאו	יהוה בהיכל קדשׁו
	עפעפיו יבחנו בני אדם	עיניו יחזו
Isa. 1.3	וחמור אבוס בעליו	ידע שׁור קנהו
	עמי לא התבונן	ישׂראל לא ידע

In Isa. 1.3, the reader's insight that the verb ידע serves as the predicate in the second clause as well, with חמור as subject ('gapping'), follows from the recognition of parallelism, supported by the ballast variant and the structure of the second line. Otherwise one might understand that the donkey is metaphorically conceived of as his master's feeding trough (as undergraduates occasionally suggest). In Ps. 11.4 the clause-let עיניו יחזו could be taken to mean that God's eyes look in general; only the second colon discloses the object.

In prose texts balanced verses may occur, but when they are not buttressed by additional parallelistic structures, rhythmic features and elements of the poetic register, they do not seem to evoke the poetic reading. Fixed pairs are found frequently in a syndetic (or asyndetic) junction within a single syntactic constituent with no consequences for sentence structure, for example,

Exod. 21.33[66]	או כי־יכרה אישׁ בר ולא יכסנו ונפל־שׁמה שׁור או חמור
Deut. 15.14[67]	העניק תעניק לו מצאנך ומגרנך ומיקבך
1 Kgs 17.1[68]	אם־יהיה השׁנים האלה טל ומטר כי אם־לפי דברי

In parallelism, on the other hand, the members of the pair are mostly split up and spread out over the cola of the line, for example,

Job 24.3	יחבלו שׁור אלמנה	חמור יתומים ינהגו
Joel 2.24	והשׁיקו היקבים תירושׁ ויצהר	ומלאו הגרנות בר
2 Sam. 1.21	אל־טל ואל־מטר עליכם	הרי בגלבע

Thus, prose may be almost as rhythmic as poetry, but there always remains a difference regarding parallelistic structure, rhythmic

66. So in prose also: Gen. 32.6; Exod. 20.17; 22.3, 8, 9; 23.4, 12; Deut. 5.14, 21; 22.4, 10; 28.31; Josh. 6.21; 7.24; Judg. 6.4; 2 Sam. 12.3; 15.3; 22.19; and in poetry: Isa. 1.3; 32.20; Job 24.3.

67. So also Num. 18.27, 30; Deut. 16.13; 2 Kgs 6.27; and in poetry: Hos. 9.2; Joel 2.24.

68. טל־מטר in prose here only; in poetry Deut. 32.2; 2 Sam. 1.21; Job 38.28.

regularity, and lexical register. *Such structures, which are tangent on parallelism, without actually realizing full parallelism and lacking the appropriate lexical register, are better characterized as 'balanced coupling'.*[69] Balanced coupling may dominate a prose narrative, as in the tale of Job, where parallelistic structures are far more prominent than one expects, and rhythmic regularity is even striking. However, the lexical register of the Job story is strongly prosaic, and differs sharply from the highly sophisticated diction of the poetry of Job, and for that reason the tale should not be defined as poetry.[70]

The Paradise narrative also opens with some lines of highly poetic structure and diction:

Gen. 2.5	וכל־עשׂב השׂדה טרם יצמח		וכל שׂיח השׂדה טרם יהיה בארץ
	ואדם אין לעבד את־האדמה		כי לא המטיר יהוה אלהים על־הארץ
Gen. 2.6[71]	והשׁקה את־כל־פני־האדמה		ואד יעלה מן־הארץ

However, in the following verses a poetic reading would necessitate the assumption of a large number of cola which contain five accented words or more.[72]

Gen. 2.7	עפר מן־האדמה		וייצר יהוה אלהים את־האדם
	ויהי האדם לנפש חיה		ויפח באפיו נשׁמת חיים
Gen. 2.8	וישׂם שם את־האדם אשר יצר		ויטע יהוה אלהים גן־בעדן מקדם

The section concerning the creation of the woman is almost entirely couched in plain prose, particularly in the long lines of vv. 21a, 22a:[73]

Gen. 2.21			ויפל יהוה אלהים תרדמה על־האדם ויישׁן
	ויסגר בשׂר תחתנה		ויקח אחת מצלעתיו
		ויבן יהוה אלהים את־הצלע אשר־לקח מן־האדם לאשה	
Gen. 2.22			ויבאה אל־האדם

Taken altogether, these findings suggest that the opening of the Paradise tale is phrased almost as poetry, and then is followed by a rhythmic, balanced, prose tale in which divine discourse is further

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69. On 'balanced coupling' see Polak, 'Prose and Poetry', pp. 64, 66-68.

70. See Polak, 'Prose and Poetry in the Book of Job', pp. 62, 68-76.

71. Note the fixed pair אדמה-ארץ.

72. In v. 5a this assumption is not necessary in view of the construct states וכל עשׂב השׂדה,וכל שׂיח השׂדה.

73. Other verses in which isometry is not perceptible include 3.1, 3, 8, 11, 24. In a large number of verses the partition into isometric stichs entails the recognition of long cola.

distinguished by poetic stylization.[74] In this narrative, then, the diction should be characterized as 'balanced coupling' or 'poetic prose', rather than as poetic in the strict sense of the word.

5. *The Hymn of Creation: Prosodical Structure*

In contrast, nearly the entire account of the creation of heaven and earth can be construed as poetry. Only a few verses fail to yield an acceptable division into balanced cola. In the following analysis the poetic structure will be specified by the terms introduced above, with 'ident' (for the occurrence of identical verbs or nouns in both cola) as additional label. The following abbreviations are used: 'synt' for syntactic; 'semant' for semantic; 'rhyt' for rhythmic. 'Line parall' indicates parallelism between two consecutive lines; we also indicate first member, third member, gapping, epiphora, anaphora, opening colon, and closing colon. Where parallelism remains doubtful, the indication 'hardly' is used.

label		
1.1 synt-rhyt	את השמים ואת הארץ	ברשית ברא אלהים
1.2 semant-rhyt	וחשך על־פני תהום	והארץ היתה תהו ובהו
synt-rhyt	מרחפת על־פני המים	ורוח אלהים
1.3 first member	ויאמר אלהים	
semant-ident	ויהי־אור	יהי אור
1.4 synt-rhyt-ident	וירא אלהים את־האור כי־טוב	
	ויבדל אלהים בין האור ובין החשך	
1.5 semant-synt	ולחשך קרא לילה	ויקרא אלהים לאור יום
semant-synt-rhyt	ויהי־בקר	ויהי־ערב
third member	יום אחד	
1.6 first member	ויאמר אלהים	
semant-rhyt-ident	ויהי מבדיל בין מים למים	יהי רקיע בתוך המים
1.7 first member	ויעש אלהים את־הרקיע	
synt-rhyt-line parall/	אשר מתחת לרקיע	ויבדל בין המים
epiphora	אשר מעל לרקיע	ובן המים
third member	ויהי כן	
1.8 hardly	ויקרא אלהים לרקיע שמים	
semant-synt-rhyt	ויהי־בקר	ויהי־ערב
third member	יום שני	

74. On this subject see F.H. Polak, 'The Style of the Dialogue in Biblical Narrative', *Te'uda*, 16-17 (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2001), pp. 47-102 (Hebrew; English summary).

1.9 first member		ויאמר אלהים
hardly[75]	ותראה היבשה	יקוו המים מתחת השמים אל־מקום אחד
closing colon		ויהי כן
1.10 ident-synt-rhyt	ולמקוה המים קרא ימים	ויקרא אלהים ליבשה ארץ
third member		וירא אלהים כי־טוב
1.11 first member		ויאמר אלהים
synt-semantic	מזריע זרע	תדשא הארץ דשא עשב
synt-semantic	עשה פרי למינו	עץ פרי
third member		אשר זרעו־בו על־הארץ
1.12 synt-semantic	מזריע זרע למינהו	ותדשא הארץ דשא עשב
synt-rhythmic	אשר זרעו־בו על־הארץ	ועץ עשה־פרי
third member		וירא אלהים כי־טוב
1.13 semant-synt-rhyt	ויהי־בקר	ויהי־ערב
third member		יום שלישי
1.14 first member		ויאמר אלהים
synt-rhyt	להבדיל בין היום ובין הלהלה	יהי מארת ברקיע השמים
synt-semantic		והיו לאתת ולמועדים ולימים ושנים
1.15 ident-synt	להאיר על־הארץ	והיו למאורת ברקיע השמים
third member		ויהי כן
1.16 synt-rhyt	את־שני המארת הגדלים	ויעש אלהים
gapping / line parall /	לממשלת היום	את־המאור הגדול
double anaphora	לממשלת הלילה	את־המאור הקטון
third member		ואת הכוכבים
1.17 synt-rhyt	ויתן אתם אלהים ברקיע השמים	
third member		להאיר על־הארץ
1.18 synt-rhyt	ולהבדיל בין האור ובין החשך	ולמשל ביום ובלילה
third member		וירא אלהים כי־טוב
1.19 semant-synt-rhyt	ויהי־ערב	ויהי־בקר
third member		יום רביעי
1.20 first member		ויאמר אלהים
synt-rhyt[76]	שרץ נפש חיה	ישרצו המים
semant-synt-rhyt	על־פני רקיע השמים	ועוף יעופף על־הארץ
1.21 hardly	ויברא אלהים את־התנינם הגדלים ואת כל־נפש החיה הרמשת	
synt-rhyt[77]	ואת כל־עוף כנף למינהו	אשר שרצו המים למינהם
third member		וירא אלהים כי־טוב
1.22 first member		ויברך אתם אלהים לאמר
semant-synt	ומלאו את־המים בימים	פרו ורבו
third member		והעוף ירב בארץ

75. In v. 9 one may, however, note the antithesis of מים and יבשה.

76. In v. 20 one notes the figura etymologica, not unlike Ps. 126.1.

77. It is a principal weakness that this division of v. 21 matches a relative clause with a continuation of the main clause. But this structure is corroborated by the epiphora of למינהם/למינהו.

1.23 semant-synt-rhyt	ויהי־בקר	ויהי־ערב
third member		יום חמישי
1.24 first member		ויאמר אלהים
gapping/ident[78]	בהמה ורמש וחיתו־ארץ למינה	תוצא הארץ נפש חיה למינה
third member		ויהי־כן
1.25 hardly	את־חית הארץ למינה	ויעש אלהים
hardly[79]	ואת כל־רמש האדמה למינה	את־הבהמה למינה
third member		וירא אלהים כי־טוב
1.26 first member		ויאמר אלהים
synt-rhyt	בצלמנו כדמותנו	נעשה אדם
1.25 hardly	ובבהמה ובכל־הארץ	וירדו בדגת הים ובעוף השמים
hardly[80]	הרמש על־הארץ	ובכל־הרמש
1.27 ident-synt-rhyt	בצלם אלהים ברא אתו	ויברא אלהים את־האדם בצלמו
third member		זכר ונקבה ברא אתם
1.28 semant-synt-rhyt	ויאמר להם אלהים	ויברך אתם אלהים
semant-synt	ומלאו את־הארץ וכבשה	פרו ורבו
semant-synt-gapping	ובעוף השמים	ורדו בדגת הים
line parall	רמשת על־הארץ	ובכל־חיה
1.29 first member		ויאמר אלהים
hardly		הנה נתתי לכם
hardly	אשר על־פני כל־הארץ זרע זרע	את־כל־עשב
hardly	אשר־בו פרי־עץ	ואת־כל־העץ
last member		לכם יהיה לאכלה
1.30 semant-synt-rhyt	ולכל־עוף השמים	ולכל־חית הארץ
synt-rhyt	אשר־בו נפש חיה	ולכל רמש על־הארץ
last member[81]	את־כל־ירק עשב לאכלה	
closing colon		ויהי־כן
1.31 synt-rhyt	את־כל־אשר עשה	וירא אלהים
third member		והנה־טוב מאד
semant-synt-rhyt	ויהי־בקר	ויהי־ערב
third member		יום הששי
2.1 synt-semant-gapping	וכל־צבאם	ויכלו השמים הארץ
2.2 synt-rhyt	מלאכתו אשר עשה	ויכל אלהים ביום השביע
synt-rhyt-/line-ident	מכל־מלאכתו אשר עשה	וישבת ביום השביעי
2.3 synt-rhyt-semant	את־יום השביעי ויקדש אתו	ויברך אלהים
synt-rhyt	אשר־ברא אלהים לעשות	כי בו שבת מכל־מלאכתו

78.   Note the epipheric repetition of למינה and the repetition of ארץ.

79.   In this line one notes the striking epiphora, although the syntactic-rhythmic division seems doubtful.

80.   The syntactic-rhythmic division of v. 26 may seem doubtful, but is corroborated by the epiphora of על הארץ/ובכל הארץ.

81.   This analysis of vv. 29-30 is based on the sustained game with anaphora (לכל/לכל) and epiphora (לאכלה) of the various noun phrases.

Despite a few doubtful cases that are marked as such (vv. 8-9, 21, 25, 26, 29), the proposed prosodical structure seems well established. The numerous data on which this structure is based could never be accounted for in a prose tale, even if one allows for a high number of cases of 'balanced coupling'. Thus it is impossible to categorize the creation account of Genesis as prose, or even as 'elevated, rhythmic' prose, all the more so as the lexical and grammatical register of this account also belongs to the domain of poetry. Definition of this pericope as hymnic poetry is far more plausible, even though in some lines poetic structure seems doubtful. If the number of these lines is considered too large for a poetic text, the present findings could be interpreted as indicative of a slight prose revision of a poetic text, affected only incidentally by the rewording, probably mainly in the long enumerations of vv. 21, 25, 26.[82] The basic structure, however, is provided by the poetic hymn. Any discussion of the meaning of the creation account must take the hymnic poem as point of departure.

6. *The Hymn of Creation: A Sense of Meaning*

The hymnic poem contrasts the picture of the primaeval void prior to the creation of light with the divine rest of the seventh day, following the completion of the creation. The blessing of the Sabbath, the last word uttered by God in the creation, stands over against the first word, the command 'Let there be light', on the first day. Both these divine proclamations affect the universe in its entirety, since the blessing of the seventh day pertains to time and therefore to the entire creation, while the primaeval light illuminates the entire cosmos.

A steady progression leads day after day from this divine act to the culmination on the seventh day. The point of departure for this progression is marked by the opposition of the two primaeval elements חשׁך and רוח אלהים. Divine decree puts an end to the cosmic darkness, and after light has been called into being, the human world, in all its complexity, is created step after step. This process is controlled by divine approval, וירא אלהים כי טוב, and the blessing of the animals and mankind, and culminates in the blessing of the entire creation and the seventh day. The world thus created is depicted in all its excellence and

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82. In this respect, then, the results of our analysis differ from the view of Albright, 'Ki Tob', who regards the creation account as a prose paraphrase of a poetic hypogram.

beauty, day after day and stage after stage, the ultimate source of all this excellence being the divine word and the divine light. The closed *tempus* of the first week represents the perfection of the universe, epitomized in the perfection of the divine rest on the seventh day. It is this week that is celebrated in the one great image that encompasses the entire process of the creation of the world in which man is placed.

7. The Sabbath and the Priestly Source

How are we to depict the relationship between this hymn and the assumed Priestly source, which it supposedly opens? This question relates to a number of issues. First, one must determine whether the creation account contains any specific element of the characteristic sociolect of the Priestly writings in the Pentateuch. Actually, only few features are specifically related to these strata. A notable styleme is the use of למינהו to indicate a variety of subspecies, a usage found also in Lev. 11.14-16, 19, 22, 29; Deut. 14.13-15, 18; Ezek. 47.10. In addition one notes the use of שרץ and ישרצו (Gen 1.20, 21), lexemes that are also found in the Deluge tale, the Exodus narrative, and cultic law.[83] The syndetic junction זכר ונקבה also has Priestly connections, occurring as it does in cultic law, in the genealogy of Adam's descendants (Gen. 5.2), in the Deluge tale, and in the post-Deuteronomic homily (Deut. 4.16).[84] An element which could be considered priestly, is the verb כלה,[85] indicating completion of the Tabernacle:[86]

Exod. 40.33 ויקם את־החצר סביב למשכן למזבח ויתן את־מסך שער החצר
ויכל משה את־המלאכה

A similar note is found in Exod. 39.32, in a clause that is not represented in the LXX (39.10), and probably originates in a later recension. This context supplies an additional parallel to Exod. 2.1-3, namely Moses' blessing of the Israelites who enabled him to complete this enterprise (Exod. 39.43; = LXX 39.22). However, since these pericopes

83. Gen. 7.21; 8.17; 9.7 (cf. Ezek. 47.9); Exod. 1.7; 7.28 (matched by Ps. 105.30); Lev. 5.2; 11.10, 20, 21, 23, 29, 31, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46; 22.5; Deut. 14.19.

84. Gen. 5.2; 6.19; 7.3, 9, 16; Lev. 3.1, 6; 12.7; 15.33; 27.5-7; Num. 5.3.

85. This verb also occurs in Num. 7.1, but this chapter belongs to a later expansion of the Encampment Complex.

86. In this verse the LXX does not reflect ויתן את־מסך שער החצר, but the final clauselet is represented by the Greek.

probably represent late additions to the Tabernacle account, it is likely that these verses derive from the creation account of Genesis 1, or a similar text,[87] and not the other way around.

Secondly, as a matter of principle, no opposition needs to exist between the recognition of the poetic character of the creation account and its inclusion in the Priestly writings. As shown by M. Paran, many poetic features are found in these writings (which he still considers as 'the Priestly source').[88] However, closer inquiry reveals that such features are *frequent* only in part of these writings. In the Deluge tale the opening pericopes are probably as close to poetry as the creation account (Gen. 6.9-15), but the continuation is hardly based on parallelism (6.16-21). Additional characteristic residues of poetic texts have been detected in the description of the opening of the flood (7.11b).[89]

| synt-semant | וארבת השמים נפתחו | נבקעו כל מעינת תהום רבה |

Residues of a similar construction are found in the description of the end of the flood (8:2):

| synt-semant-gapping | וארבת השמים | ויסכרו מעינת תהום |

This verse, however, does not preserve the predicate of the second colon, so that in the present text the two subjects, מעינת תהום and וארבת השמים, constitute one long noun phrase, dependent on the one remaining verb, ויסכרו. Probably this reduction reflects the adaptation of the poetic text to plain prose language.[90]

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87. It is not sound to analyse the relationship between Exod. 25–31 and Exod. 35–40 without preceding discussion of the recension reflected by the Septuagint.

88. M. Paran, *Forms of the Priestly Style in the Pentateuch: Patterns, Linguistic Usages, Syntactic Structures* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989), pp. 40-61, 98-136 (Hebrew; English summary on pp. viii-xi), basing himself on the work of Cassuto, Kselman (note 8 above) and S. McEvenue.

89. The expression תהום רבה is found in Amos. 7.4; Ps. 36.7; Isa. 51.10; the phrase ארובות השמים occurs in Isa. 24.18 (all poetic sections). The particular character of this verse has already been recognized by Dillmann, *Genesis*, p. 144. For a comparison with the epic of Atramḫasīs see M. Weinfeld, 'Gen. 7.11, 8.1-2 against the Background of the Ancient Near Eastern Tradition', *WO* 9 (1977), pp. 242-48.

90. In *Jub.* 5.29 this verse is quoted in full parallelism, as shown by S.E. Loewenstamm's discussion of the vestiges of parallelism in Gen. 8.2b: 'The Flood', in *Comparative Studies*, pp. 93-121, esp. pp. 112-13, 115; see also *idem*, 'The Waters of the Biblical Deluge: Their Onset and Their Disappearance', *idem, From*

Furthermore, parallelistic structures are prominent in the Complex of Law Proclamation (Lev. 18-22; 26, the 'Holiness Code') in the commandments of Leviticus 19[91] (e.g. 19.2b-4) and in the blessings and curses of ch. 26,[92] (e.g. 26.1-5). In the Priestly writings, then, parallelism is limited to some particular pericopes. In the Deluge narrative and the conclusion of the 'Complex of Law Proclamation' (Lev. 26) this style seems to be related to the genre (covenant blessings and curses) and the prototypes used.

Thus, it would be hard to defend the notion that the highly individual style of the Hymn of Creation issues from the Priestly style. Alternatively, it may be maintained that the redactor of the genealogical framework of the Pentateuch (the *Tôl^edōt* work) used some Priestly language (as well as the closure of 2.4a) in order to adapt the hymn to his prose history. A similar prosaic intrusion into a poetically balanced line is found in the blessings of Deuteronomy (Deut. 28.4)

MT   ברוך פרי־בטנך ופרי אדמתך ופרי בהמתך
     שגר אלפיך ועשתרות צאנך

LXX   Εὐλογημένα τὰ ἔκγονα τῆς κοιλίας σου καὶ τὰ γενήματα τῆς γῆς σου
      τὰ βουκόλια τῶν βοῶν σου καὶ τὰ ποίμνια τῶν προβάτων σου

The Greek does not represent the phrase ופרי בהמתך, which could be viewed as explanatory of the next phrase. Thus the LXX probably reflects a shorter reading, with an excellent poetic balance. Similar expansions could account for the intrusion of prose elements into the poetic hymn.

Thirdly, the climactic position of the Sabbath in the Creation Account of Genesis, where it stands over against the light preceding the creation, seems, on the face of it, to support an argument for its ascription to the Priestly writings. The connection between the divine rest following the

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Babylon to Canaan: Studies on the Bible and its Oriental Background (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992), pp. 297-312, esp. pp. 300-302.

91. In Lev. 19 parallelism permeates most sections, e.g. vv. 2b-4, 7-19, 26-32, 34-36. Some of the exceptions seem connected with rule formulation (v. 32), but most of them relate to detailed laws originating in different corpora, e.g. 19.5-6, 20-24.

92. Parallelism is systemic in Lev. 26.2-2, 3-13, 14-21, 22-26, 27-33, 36-40, 42; in vv. 34-35, 41, 43-45 this style is far weaker. It is important to note that parallelism is at most weak in the blessings and curses of Lev. 20.22-25 (as against v. 26).

creation and the Sabbath is mentioned in the preliminary admonition closing the first part of the Tabernacle Complex (Exod. 31.13-17):

31.15 וביום השביעי שבת שבתון קדש ליהוה   ששת ימים יעשה מלאכה
כל־העשה מלאכה ביום השבת מות יומת
(...)

31.17 אות הוא לעלם   ביני ובין בני ישראל
את השמים ואת הארץ   כי ששת ימים עשה יהוה
וביום השביעי שבת וינפש

These verses are extremely close to the style of the cultic pre-scriptions and the Complex of Law Proclamation (שבת שתון קדש; כל־העשה...מות יומת ליהיה). In many respects they seem similar to the creation account in Genesis, including the use of the characteristic terms מלאכה and שבת.

Nevertheless, the motivation of v. 17 also contains a poetic element which withstands easy identification, the unique phrase שבת וינפש. Its rendering in the LXX ἐπαύσατο καὶ κατέπαυσεν ('he ceased and reposed', just like Onqelos ונח שבת; and in the Vulgate merely *cessavit*, 'he ceased'), serves to preclude the concrete notion of the deity as 'recovering his breath' (וינפש; cf. 2 Sam. 16.14).[93] Apparently this verb, never used in a cultic context, originates from a variant text concerning Sabbath and creation. Hence it is an important detail that this verb occurs as a parallel to נוח in another proclamation of the Sabbath commandment:

Exod. 23.12   וביום השבעי תשבת   ששת ימים תעשה מעשיך
וינפש בן־אמתך והגר   למען ינוח שורך וחמרך

The obvious prosodical structure of this verse indicates its poetic background. In view of these two pericopes it appears that the connections between Sabbath and creation belong to this background rather than to the world of the Priestly writings.

The poetic structure is less obvious in the motivation for the fifth commandment:

Exod. 20.11   את־השמים ואת־הארץ   כי ששת־ימים עשה יהוה
וינח ביום השביעי   את־הים ואת־כל־אשר־בם
על־כן ברך יהוה את־יום השבת ויקדשהו

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93. Since David must already have been somewhat older, he certainly needed more than simply some rest after the march through the steep hills of Benjaminite country.

This verse preserves some poetic elements, but in the end turns into plain prose. In many commentaries this allusion to the Sabbath following the creation is construed as a quotation from the creation account in Genesis, even though only few elements are quoted in full, such as 'six days', 'seventh', and 'to do.' Characteristic words are absent, such as וכל־צבא, מלאכתו, וישבת.[94] On the other hand, the new text also mentions the sea, which does not appear in the Sabbath pericope in Genesis. Must we then presume that the narrative in Exodus tries to avoid Priestly terminology? It seems more plausible to assume that the text of the Ten Commandments quotes another account of the Creation, similar to the Genesis Hymn in the typological notion of seven days (not inherently Priestly), and the traditional idea of divine repose, matched by Enuma Elish and therefore not specifically Priestly either.[95] It is a notable fact that the idea of creation by the divine word, which stands at the basis of the creation account in Genesis, is also alluded to in Psalm 33, which ascribes the creation of heaven as בדבר יהוה שמים נעשו וברוח פיו כל־צבאם (v. 6), an idea restated after the allusion to the divine victory over the sea (v. 7), since הוא אמר ויהי הוא־צוה ויעמד (v. 9).

These allusions suffice to indicate that ancient Israelite literature was familiar with more than one poetic exposition of the creation and the Sabbath. Thus, the Hymn of Creation, partly preserved by the account of Genesis 1, is a particularly eloquent representative of a rich tradition.

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94. A discussion of this matter is offered by Y. Hoffman in the present volume.

95. The text of Exod. 34.21 (ששת ימים תעבד וביום השביעי תשבת בחריש ובקציר תשבת) may preserve poetic reminisces, for instance in its structure, but is not overtly related to any creation account. Similar considerations hold true for Exod. 35.2.

THE FIRST CREATION STORY: CANONICAL AND DIACHRONIC ASPECTS

Yair Hoffman

1. *Introduction*

The First Creation Story (FCS), Gen. 1.1–2.3 has effectuated a unique status among generations of readers ever since. In a way, it is considered a kind of 'official version' of the Creation in the Hebrew Bible (HB). Consequently, the 'innocent reader', who intuitively sticks to the canonical reading, conceives all other parallel traditions as literary variations of the 'true', 'exact' report. This seems to be also the normative orthodox Jewish concept as well as the common view of the New Testament and the Koran.[1]

It is my purpose in this treatise to examine whether this canonical status of the FCS is inherent in the HB. Does its strategic location at the beginning of the Torah measure up to its intrinsic importance in the whole Canon? Did the FCS, compared with other creation traditions, have a conspicuously favourable standing among the biblical authors?

Such an investigation requires a comparison of biblical associations to the FCS. Their attitude towards the story, as well as their possible contribution to the establishment of its present canonical standing, is

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1. The opening words of John in the New Testament, 'In the beginning was the word and the word was with God and God was the Word,' definitely refer to the FCS. The Epistle to the Hebrews 4.4-10 refers to God's rest on the seventh day. See also Mt. 19.4 (= Mk 10.6); 13.19; Jn 10.6. For more on the theme of Creation in the NT see, e.g., W. Foerster, 'Creation in the N.T.', *TDNT*, pp. 484-86.

There are many references to the creation in the Koran as well as doxologies about the creator God, some of which are clearly based upon the FCS, referring to the six days of creation. See, e.g., 'indeed your God is the God who created the heaven and the earth in six' (11.9; 10.3; 71.52 and more). On the concept of Creation in the Koran see T.J. O'Shaughanessy, *Creation and the Teaching of the Qura'n* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1985).

to be examined. The creation motif in general has been identified in numerous scriptures—more than a hundred in the HB; hence many allusions to the FCS per se might be expected and to testify, if found, to its prominent status among the HB authors. On the other hand, an inconsiderable number of FCS associations in the HB would refute such an hypothesis.

Our subject has also diachronic aspects, since the direction of the reliance should be determined, namely which of the related texts refers to the other, and which is being referred to. Another diachronic aspect is the question, What stage in the development of biblical thinking is represented by the FCS? The story is commonly associated with the priestly tradition.[2] Consequently, many studies of the FCS are based upon an a priori premise regarding the date of the entire P document, as will be demonstrated below. I intend to avoid any presupposition regarding the dates of either the FCS or the P document, making a clear distinction between the canonical and the diachronic aspects in order to escape the trap of a vicious circularity.

Various facets of our subject were mentioned in recent studies. Fishbane dealt with exegetical aspects of some relevant texts in his 1985 study on biblical interpretation.[3] Previously, in a detailed 1971 article, he compared the FCS with Jer. 4.23-26 and Job 3.[4] John Day, in a 1985 study on the *theomachea*, examined alleged relations between the FCS and other creation texts.[5] Some scholars discussed the issue in a monograph edited by Carson and Williamson, dealing with inner biblical citations[6]. R. Rendtorff briefly touched some theological aspects of

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2.   Lately Y. Amit attributed the FCS to H, not to P, an issue which is out of our focus here. See Y. Amit, 'הבריאה ולוח הקדושה', in *Tehillah le-Moshe* (ed. M. Cogan, B.L. Eichler and J.H. Tigay; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), pp. 13*-29* (asterisks represent Hebrew page numbers). In a more recent study Wenham has questioned the P origin of the FCS, while suggesting the priority of P to J. I agree with none of these arguments. See G.J. Wenham, 'The Priority of P', *VT* 59 (1999), pp. 240-58.

3.   M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

4.   M. Fishbane, 'Jeremiah iv 23-26 and Job iii 3-13: A Recovered Use of the Creation Pattern', *VT 21* (1971), pp. 151-67.

5.   J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

6.   D.A. Carson and H.G. Williamson (eds.), *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

the creation in a 1992 article.[7] W.P. Brown discussed some literary and theological aspects of the FCS.[8] Associations between the FCS and the Wisdom Literature are claimed by L.G. Perdue in his study on Wisdom and Creation.[9] James Kugel mentions briefly a few assumed connections between the FCS and some verses from Proverbs and Psalms in his recent book.[10]

In these, as well as in other studies to be mentioned ahead, the biblical status of the FCS is a negligible issue, which therefore calls for a detailed inquiry. I am not so pretentious as to suggest here a comprehensive study of the topic, but I will try to examine some of its undiscussed aspects.

2. Methodology

Any comparative study should be controlled by clear methodological rules. Generations of readers have found in the Bible clues to any desired idea. The reader might be familiar with the popular Jewish 'riddle', 'What is the biblical evidence for Abraham wearing a cap?' The answer is that it is expressed plainly and unambiguously in the words ‏וילך אברהם‎—'then Abraham went'. Could anyone imagine our Abraham walking without a cap?... One can point at many biblical passages whose connections to the FCS were claimed by some scholars but utterly denied by others, being, for this sake, Abraham's caps...

How, then, should the borders be drawn between a sheer personal impressionism and a more objective reading?

I am suggesting the employment of four principles. The first two are of a general character, the other two are restricted to our specific topic.

(1) The very existence of inner biblical associations is a well-known phenomenon. Fishbane, in his above-mentioned book, has suggested a

7.   R. Rendtorff, 'Some Reflections on the Creation as a Topic of Old Testament Theology', in E. Ulrich (ed.), *Priests, Prophets and Scribes: Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp* (JSOTSup, 149; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), pp. 204-12.

8.   W.P. Brown, 'Divine Act and the Art of Persuasion in Genesis 1', in M.P. Graham, W.P. Brown and J.K. Kuan (eds.), *History and Interpretation* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), pp. 19-32.

9.   L.G. Perdue, *Wisdom and Creation: The Theology of Wisdom Literature* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994).

10.   J.L. Kugel, *The Bible as It Was* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,1997), pp. 53-64.

generic categorization of such associations (scribal, legal, aggadic, mantological). I am suggesting a supplementary qualitative classification of three degrees of associations: *citations*, where the associations are unambiguous; *references*, where the associations are less self-evident; and *allusions*, where the associations are highly speculative and doubtful. A further clarification of these terms will be offered below.

I propound that the investigation of any inner biblical FCS association should begin with the most obvious, namely *citations*, continue with the more doubtful *references*, and only then turn to *allusions*. If FCS *citations*, or at least *references*, are found, then *allusions* might also be claimed and more easily accepted. If, on the other hand, no citations or references to the FCS are proved, then an alleged allusion should be legitimately suspected as a mere personal, impressionistic idiosyncrasy of the reader,[11] which has nothing to do with the author's intention. In other words: supportive evidence of the less speculative types of associations increases the viability of a claim to the existence of the most speculative kind—allusions.

(2) A diachronic study of inner biblical associations deals with the question, Which text influenced the other? hence it depends on a relative chronology of the texts. By not avoiding diachronic aspects I express confidence in the scholarly competence of an approximate relative and absolute dating of biblical texts, but not necessarily in all of them. This does not imply that the dating is final and impeccable. Like all conclusions in any scientific field it is at its best no more than a reasonable hypothesis that should always be scrutinized, evaluated, reproved or refuted. I indicate this as against a different approach towards biblical associations, expressed, for example, by Eslinger. Following the historical scepticism of scholars like Davies and others[12] he asserts that no one can rely 'on the Bible's own plot of Israelite history' and therefore one can hardly and rarely date biblical writings. Hence, in the case of inner biblical allusions, one should give up the pretension 'to know which way the vector of allusion points' and stick to the canonical

11. By no means do I dispute the legitimacy of such an idiosyncratic interpretation. My only claim is that a clear distinction is necessary between the two kinds of reading. Whoever is interested in the historical aspects of a certain concept, which is my case here, should give priority, if not exclusivity, to the more 'objective' reading, without ignoring its theoretical and methodological limitations.

12. P. Davies, *In Search of 'Ancient Israel'* (JSOTSup, 148; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992).

order,[13] unless the dating of the compared passages is widely agreed upon by scholars.

Declining this presumption, I intend to treat our subject not only canonically, but also diachronically.

(3) It is much more difficult to prove associations between two specific texts than between a text and a general tradition. Isaiah says: 'If Yaweh Sebaoth had not left us a few survivors we should have been like Sodom, and become like Gomorrah. Hear the words of Yahweh you rulers of Sodom. Give ear to the teaching of our God you people of Gomorrah' (Isa. 1.9-10).

No doubt he had in mind the tradition of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. This, however, does not prove his acquaintance with the text of Gen. 18. Consequently, one might argue that a verification of any degree of FCS associations (namely citations, references, allusions) requires affinities to all the details of this story. Such a demand is of course utterly inapplicable. Adherence to it in the name of an absolute academic pedantry would undermine a priori the possibility of verifying any biblical FCS association. I will therefore be content with a less rigorous, but more pertinent scientific procedure. Indeed, it might lead to more ambivalent conclusions, but this should be accepted as an inevitable compromise, inherent in our field of study.

Thus, I am suggesting the following principles. (a) Since the FCS is commonly considered one literary cast,[14] it is legitimate to assume, that

13. 'The Jeremianic text alludes to the text from Genesis, and not vice versa, because Genesis comes before Jeremiah, as naturally as the creation comes before the Exile': L. Eslinger, 'Inner-Biblical Allusion: The Question of Category', *VT* 42 (1992), pp. 47-58. The quotations are taken from pp. 52 and 57. In response to this see B.D. Sommer, 'Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible: A Response to Lyle Eslinger', *VT* 46 (1996), pp. 479-89. For some theoretical and practical discussion of the problem see J.C. de Moor (ed.), *Synchronic or Diachronic* (OTS, 34; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995).

14. See, e.g., U. Cassuto, *From Adam to Noah* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1959) pp. 1-9; Westermann, *Genesis* (BKAT; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirch-ener Verlag, 1974), pp. 111-26; M. Fishbane, *Text and Texture* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979), pp. 3-16; C. Hyers, *The Meaning of Creation* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1984), pp. 67-71; Amit, *Creation*, n. 3; F.H. Gorman, 'Priestly Rituals of Founding: Time, Space, and Status', in M.P. Graham, W.P. Brown and J.K. Kuan (eds.), *History and Interpretation* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), pp. 47-64 (mainly pp. 50-54). I do not agree with Zeligmann that the Sabbath section, Gen. 2.1-3, is a later addition. See Y.A. Zeligmann, 'Ethiological Elements in Biblical

whoever quoted any substantial portion of it was familiar with the *entire* story. (b) The FCS is structured upon a clear literary form—the six days pattern. Thence any creation text referring or alluding to this pattern or to the idea of six creation days or a seventh day of rest, is likely affiliated to the FCS.[15]

(4) Being a cosmic-universal subject it is only natural for all creation traditions to share some common motifs. They are even more to be expected within traditions of the same cultural milieu, the ancient Near East in our case. This situation calls us to double our attention and caution before deciding the dependence of a specific creation passage particularly to the FCS. I will demonstrate this argument below.

Bound to these four principles we can turn now to the discussion itself.

3. *Biblical Associations with the FCS*

a. *Citations*

My definition of a citation is a literal repetition of at least *one syntactic unit*. An inner biblical citation is a well known phenomenon. In some cases it is obvious that a certain book quotes a previous one, for example, the citations in Chronicles from Genesis, Samuel, etc. Sometimes it is not clear who quotes whom, and whether the citation is inner biblical or perhaps the two related passages quote a third, unknown source (e.g. the parallel texts in Isaiah's and Jeremiah's prophecies against Moab, Isa. 15–16, Jer. 48, or the prophecy against Edom in Obadiah and Jer. 49.7-22; or Isa. 2.1-4 and Mic. 4.1-4). Inner Pentateuchal citations as

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Literature' (in Hebrew), in A. Hurvitz, I. Tov and S. Japhet (eds.), *Studies in Biblical Literature* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992), pp. 141-69. For Schmidt's view see above, n. 23.

15. This methodological principle is in accordance with M. Weinfeld's assertion, that the only new idea of P in the FCS is the pattern of the six days of creation, formed as a theological speculation about the Sabbath, while all the other motifs are influenced by ancient Israeli and non-Israeli traditions. Yet he did not derive from this assertion the necessary methodological conclusion, namely, that no direct dependence between Gen. 1 and any biblical passage could be satisfactorily proved unless the six days pattern is found. See א 'מ' ויִנפלד האל הבורא בבראשית וש'י' ישעיהו ובנבואת', *Tarbiz* 36 (1968), pp. 105-32. For an interesting discussion of the six days motif in the FCS and other creation traditions see: J.D. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), pp. 53-77.

well as citations between the Pentateuch and the Prophets and the Writings are also well recognized, for example, the Ten Commandments in Exod. 20 and Deut. 5; Deut. 1.24; 45 and (respectively) Num. 13.23; 14.45; Num. 21.27-29 and Jer. 48.45-46; Deut. 15.12-18 and Jer. 34.13-14.

One can therefore anticipate also FCS citations, more so if this story had a special status among the biblical authors.

Yet, the matter of fact is that there are no such quotations of the FCS, either in the Pentateuch or in the rest of the Hebrew Bible.

b. *References*

By *reference* I mean an association between two texts sharing a common subject (not necessarily a common view on that subject!) and a common significant vocabulary that is less than a whole syntactic unit.

A few examples of such references will do. Jer. 7.9: הגנב רצח ונאף ...והשבע לשקר וקטר לבעל והלך אחרי אחרים אלהים, clearly refers to some of the Ten Commandments; Hos. 12.10, ואנכי יהוה אלהיך מארץ מצרים, as well as Hos. 13.4. Ps. 81.10-11 refer to the first commandment. The Sodom tradition is referred to in Hos. 11.8; Isa. 1.9. The Patriarchal tradition is referred to in Hos. 12.4-5; Ezra 33.23. The Exodus and the Desert traditions are referred to in Mic. 6.4–6; Jer. 15.1; 32.20-21; Neh. 9.7-25. Some biblical laws are referred to in Jer. 2.34 (= Exod. 22.1); Jer. 3.1, 7-8 (= Deut. 24.1-4); Mal. 3.8 (= Num. 18.26).

Are there biblical *references* to the FCS?

The answer is yes, but they are very rare and are found only in one context—the Sabbath.

1. *Sabbath scriptures* (1) The Exodus version of the ten commandments says:

כי ששת ימים עשה יהוה את־השמים ואת־הארץ את־הים ואת־כל אשר־בם וינח ביום השביעי על־כן ברך יהוה את־יום השבת ויקדשהו

> For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that is in them and rested the seventh day, therefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day and hallowed it (Exod. 20.11).

The direct reference here is not to the entire FCS but only to Gen. 2.1-2, with a change of the deity's name from *Elohim* to *Yahweh*. However, following rule (3) above we can induce that this version of the Sabbath commandment refers to the entire FCS, whose pattern purposely leads

to its pick—the seventh day. Thus the whole FCS becomes a kind of etiology for the law of Sabbath.[16]

On the other hand there is no reference to the FCS in the parallel Deuteronomic version of the Sabbath commandment. The words יום השביעי שבת ליהוה אלהיך (Deut. 5.14) should not be considered an FCS reference, since it utterly ignores the creation.

(2) Except for the Ten Commandments there are 44 occurrences of the Sabbath in the Pentateuch (31 of them in five sections: Exod. 16; 31; Lev. 23; 25; 26), creating many opportunities for the FCS to be referred to. Yet only one is materialized, Exod. 31.17, כי ששת ימים עשה יהוה את־השמים ואת־הארץ וביום השביעי שבת וינפש. Although the reference here is to the Exodus version of the Sabbath commandment, and not directly to the FCS, it still could be considered an FCS reference according to our methodological principles.

The case is different with Exod. 23.12: ששת ימים תעשה מעשיך וביום השביעי תשבות למען ינוח שורך וחמורך וינפש בן אמתך והגר. Just as in the Deuteronomic version of the Sabbath, there is no reference here to the creation tradition.

(3) In the prophetic literature the Sabbath is mentioned 33 times, mainly in Ezekiel (especially chs. 20 and 46) and in Jer. 17.19-27. None of these 33 occurrences refers to the FCS. For example, the words ...ולקדש את־יום השבת לבלתי עשות־בה[17] כל מלאכה (Jer. 17.24) refer perhaps to the Deuteronomic version of the Sabbath commandment, but not to the FCS.

(4) In the Writings section of the Bible there are 22 occurrences of the Sabbath, the largest concentration being Nehemiah, mainly ch. 13. But the only reference to the FCS is the prayer of the Levites, Neh. 9.6:

אתה הוא יהוה לבדך את עשית את־השמים שמי השמים וכל צבאם הארץ
וכל־אשר עליה הימים וכל־אשר בהם ואתה מחיה את־כלם וצבא השמים לך
משתחוים

> You alone are the Lord; you have made heaven and the heaven of
> heavens with all their host, the earth and all things on it, the seas and all
> that is in them and you preserve them all and the host of heaven
> worships you.

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16. See Zeligmann, 'Etiological Elements', pp. 26, 37; Weinfeld, *Tarbiz* 36, p. 109; Amit, 'Creation', p. 15.

17. The Qere is בו, not attested in the Septuagint.

Indeed, there is neither a hint to the seven days tradition, nor a use of the root ברא, yet the words השמים וכל־צבאם probably reflect the conclusion of the FCS, Gen. 2.1-2, thus paving the way to v. 14 ואת־שבת קדשך הודעת להם, 'And made known to them Your holy Sabbath'. Hence the reference to the FCS is quite transparent.

2. Non-Sabbath scriptures. I have found no sure FCS references in non-Sabbath scriptures. Three passages, however, deserve a close examination: Pss. 33; 136; 148.

(1) Pss. 33.6-9: בדבר יהוה שמים נעשו וברוח פיו כל־צבאם כנס כנד מי . הים נתן באוצרות תהומות...כל הארץ...כי הוא אמר ויהי הוא צוה ויעמד The verse expresses the central idea of the FCS—creation by the word of God. The words נעשו רוח, צבאם, תהומות, אמר, ויהי as well as the description of the gathering of the sea water definitely reminds of the FCS one. Yet Weinfeld suggests that neither Ps. 33 nor Ps. 148 is influenced by the FCS, since creation by the word of God is an ancient Near Eastern concept that was not originated by the FCS.[18] To this argument one can add the unawareness of Ps. 33 of the six days pattern, the lack of the central root ברא, the creation of the luminaries, the vegetation and the living creatures. It is therefore doubtful that whether the psalm refers to the FCS.

(2) The same holds true of Ps. 136. This is a hymn praising the mercy of God in history, whose pattern is close to the Levites' prayer in Nehemiah 9. The praise of God begins with universal motifs הודו ליהוה כי טוב כי לעולם חסדו followed by a praise to the creation (vv. 4-9); then come national motifs—the Exodus, the wandering in the desert, the return from the exile

שבשפלנו זכר לנו...ויפרקנו מצרינו (vv. 23-24), and, using a cyclic pattern the psalm concludes with another universal motif, נתן לחם לכל־ בשר כי לעולם חסדו (v. 25). Verses 4-9 have some elements in common with the FCS: Yahweh is the only creator (v. 6): עשה השמים...רקע הארץ על־המים; the sun and the moon are called גדלים אורים, which reminds one of המארות הגדלים in Gen. 1.16, a verse that echoes in Ps. 136.8-9: את השמש לממשלת ביום...את הירח וכוכבים לממשלת בלילה: Yet the psalm does not express the idea of creation by the word of God,

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18. Weinfeld, *Tarbiz* 36, p. 111. For this see W.H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungs-geschichte der Priesterschrift* (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 3rd edn, 1973), pp. 173-78.

the root ברא is not used, but only the root עשה (vv. 4, 5, 7) and there is no hint to the six days pattern.

(3) Ps. 148 is another creation hymn. Its claim הוא צוה ונבראו (v. 5: 'He commanded and they were created') corresponds to the concept of a creation by the word of God. The words שמש וירח...אור...שמי השמים והמים אשר מעל השמים... תנינים וכל־תהמות...רוח...עץ פרי...החיה וכל־ בהמה רמש וצפור כנף (vv. 3-10) are used also in the FCS. Yet here too the six days pattern is missing.

Thus, none of these three creation psalms that praise the Lord for his mercies, reflects the six days pattern nor mentions the Sabbath. Therefore, they can hardly be accepted as FCS references.

c. *Allusions*
With no FCS *citations* and only a very few *references*, all of them concerning the Sabbath, the claim to *allusions* must be very cautiously examined, and accepted only if proved unequivocally.

To what extent such an evidence exists?

In order to anchor the answer in as objective criteria as possible, I have applied three complementary procedures. An examination of biblical texts whose (a) explicit or (b) implicit subject is the creation, and (c), an examination of FCS key words in non-creation passages. The latter test is based upon the assumption that a passage might allude to the FCS by using its vocabulary, even if the creation is not its explicit topic.

1. *Explicit creation passages*. Except for the above-mentioned passages, there are many other references to the creation as such. Some of them, like Gen. 2.2-24; Amos 4.13; Pss. 8; 24.1; 89.10-13; 95.5; 146.6; Prov. 3.19-20, obviously do not allude to the FCS, and they could be dismissed from our discussion.

The alleged FCS connection of the following creation texts deserves an examination: some scattered verses in Second Isaiah; Pss. 74.12-17; 104; Prov. 8.22-29; Job 26.7-14; 38.

(1) Second Isaiah. In his disputes with the heathen Second Isaiah mentions the creation and the creator more than any other prophet, by posing rhetoric questions (Isa. 40.12, 13, 28) and by quoting declarations of God himself (45.7, 12, 18). In these controversies he uses neither citations nor references of the FCS. Are there, at least, FCS allusions? My answer is negative.

In eight short sayings (40.12-13, 26, 28; 42.5; 45.7, 12, 18; 51.9) Second Isaiah refers to the creation. Six of them have no connection whatsoever with the FCS (40.25-26;[19] 42.5; 45.7;[20] 51.9) and we can ignore them in this context. The remaining two (45.18; 40.12-14) call for a discussion, since according to some scholars they do allude to the FCS.

(a) In Isa. 40.12-14 the prophet declares that God is the only creator: מי־מדד בשעלו מים ושמים בזרת תיכן...מי־תכן את־רוח יהוה ואיש עצתו יודיענו. את מי נועץ ויבינהו וילמדהו etc. According to Weinfeld[21] this is a controversy with the plural form נעשהו אדם, 'let us make Adam' in Gen. 1.26. Yet even if this form really meant to signify a plural meaning,[22] which is highly doubted, Second Isaiah's words may not necessarily hint at the FCS. It is more plausible to assume a debate with ideas of Wisdom Literature, where the חכמה is depicted as the creator's assistant. The fact that the words תכן, עצתו, נועץ, תבונה דעת are attested both in this passage and in Prov. 8 (vv. 12, 14, 27), corroborates this supposition.

(b) Isa. 45.18:

כי כה אמר יהוה בורא השמים הוא האלהים יצר הארץ ועשה הוא כוננה
לא תהו בראה לשבת יצרה אני יהוה ואין עוד

Thus says YHWH, who created the heavens, the God who formed the earth and made it, he established it, he did not create it a chaos, he formed it to be inhabited, I am Yahweh and there is no other.

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19. Weinfeld, *Tarbiz* 36, p. 124 suggests that 42.5 (and 46.5) contradicts the priestly tradition of Man having the image of God (Gen. 1.26). Yet the connection between the two verses is too vague to be accepted, even if the prophet argues here with the priestly concept.

20. Whether this verse disputes here the Persian dualism as claimed by many scholars, or debates with 'some remnants' of Israeli dualism as suggested by Weinfeld (*Tarbiz* 36, p. 123), it definitely does not allude to the FCS.

21. Weinfeld, *Tarbiz* 36, p. 125. On Gen. 1.26 and Is. 40.13; 44.24. See also R.N. Whybray, *The Heavenly Counsellor in Isaiah xl 13-14* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 62-63; J. Day, 'Prophecy', Ch. 3 in D.A. Carson and H.G. Williamson (eds.), *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 41.

22. See the discussion in the commentaries to Genesis 1.26. E.g. Skinner, *Commentary on Genesis*, pp. 30-31; E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), p. 7; Westermann, *Genesis, Part 1*, pp. 199-201; Cassuto, *From Adam*, p. 34.

The idea that YHWH is the only creator and the words בורא השמים, עשה[23] האָרץ, תֹהו correlate to the FCS. But there is no hint of the six days concept, and it seems that the term תֹהו (and perhaps also the verb כננה, 'established it') in Second Isaiah refers to tradition in which the תֹהו played quite a different role than in the FCS. Therefore this verse too cannot be considered an FCS allusion.

(2) Ps. 74.12-17 describes the creator's battle with the sea monsters—the *yam, taninim, leviathan*. It differs diametrically from the peaceful, serene atmosphere of the FCS. The battle motif, expressed by such words as שברת רצצת בקעת and פוררת conforms with the author's request from the Lord to take vengeance against his (namely Israel's) historical enemies. Although some words are used in both texts (מים, תנינים, אָרץ, יום, לילה, מאור, שמש) nothing implies the FCS: creation by the word of God, the six days pattern, the light as the first created object—all these motifs are missing. Nor is there a controversy with the FCS, in spite of the diametrically different concepts of the two creation descriptions.

(3) Ps. 104 opens with a description of the creation by saying עשה אור כשלמה נוטה שמים כיריעה, and continues with the water in the upper chambers, the angels, the deep (תהום), etc. In spite of some lexical correlation with the FCS[24] the psalm lacks the six days pattern, the root ברא is not used, the creation of man is marginal and the words תהום כלבוש כיסיתו על־הרים יעמדו מים (v. 6) are not related to the FCS. There the deep (תהום) is associated with the pre-creation darkness (וחשך על פני־תהום), while Ps. 104 connects it to the water after the creation of the light, the earth and the sky.[25] Here too, as in Ps. 74, no controversy with the FCS is discernible,[26] which nullifies the possibility of a connection between the two.

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23. The possibility that the use of the parallel verbs ברא, עשה in Gen. 1 indicates the amalgamation of two different traditions, has been raised by some scholars. See e.g., Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift*, pp.160-73; Weinfeld, *Tarbiz* 36, p. 108.

24. J. Day emphasizes especially the common words חיתו (Gen. 1.24; Ps. 104.11, 12) and למועדים (Gen. 1.14; Ps. 104.19). See J. Day, *God's Conflict*, pp. 51-52.

25. See Ibn Ezra: 'The *tehom* is the deep of the earth, which is covered by water.'

26. This has led Day to antedate Ps. 104 to the FCS, and not vice versa. See *God's Conflict*, p. 52. The lack of controversy with the FCS is even more conspicuous when one is aware of the psalm's polemic tone against the Egyptian hymn to

(4) In Prov. 8.22-29 the personified Wisdom tells about the creation without any allusions to the FCS. The Wisdom is said to have been created even before the deeps, the water, the mountains, the hills, the earth or heaven. The Lord curbed the sea, constructed the earth upon 'foundations' (v. 29). The words אֶרֶץ (v. 26), רֵאשִׁית (v. 22)[27] and שָׁמַיִם (v. 27) might seemingly be connected to the opening verse of the FCS, but the frequent use of these words in so many biblical and extra biblical creation texts invalidates such an argument here as well as in other texts[28] using these words.[29] The same holds true for the repeated word תְּהוֹם (vv. 24, 27, 28): it too belongs to the common stock of ancient Near Eastern creation traditions,[30] and therefore cannot prove any direct connection between Prov. 8 and the FCS.[31]

Ahnathon. See Y. Hoffman, 'תהילים קד' (in Hebrew), in E. Tov and M. Fishbane (eds.), *Shaarei Talmon* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), pp. 13-24.

27. Perdue, *Wisdom and Creation*, p. 90: 'The term for "firstborn" in 8.22 echoes Gen. 1.1.' But he himself indicates that this is a common biblical word and its association with the FCS is therefore not at all self-evident.

28. Including their Aramaic substitutes, such as ארקא\וארעא, שמיא (Jer. 10.11). See also אלהא שמיא וארעא (Ezra 5.11).

29. Compare the beginning of the Enuma elish: 'When the gods in their assembly...had fashioned the sky, had for[med the earth' (A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2nd edn, 1951), p. 64. Day (*God's Conflict*) disputes the connection between Gen. 1 and the Enuma elish, claiming that the creation traditions in the Bible, including Gen. 1, were influenced by the Canaanite and not by the Babylonian tradition.

30. 'In Babylonian *tiamatu* or *timut* is a generic term for "ocean", and it is conceivable that this literal sense may be the origin of the Heb. conception of the Deep' (Skinner, *Commentary on Genesis*, p. 17). In Isa. 51.10 and Prov. 3.20 *tehom* is affiliated to creation traditions different from the one in the FCS.

31. Clements argued that 'in Prov. 8.22-32 and also in Ecclesiastes (Qohelet) the Genesis text (Gen. 1–3. Y.H) has plainly provided the interpreter with a starting point for deeper reflection and elaboration'. This assumption is based upon the premise that 'Genesis 1–3 were available in virtually their extant form to the writers of wisdom' (R.E. Clements, 'Wisdom', in D.A. Carson and H.G. Williamson [eds.], *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988], pp. 68-83 [68]). Yet this conclusion can not be considered a necessary logical deduction of Clement's premise, even if accepted, and he has not presented enough evidence to sustain it. His sole example (p. 71) is the use of רֵאשִׁית (Prov. 8.22; Gen. 1.1: בְּרֵאשִׁית) in both texts; this is definitely not a sufficient proof for a literary dependence of Prov. 8.22-31 upon Gen. 1. As to Job 38–40, I agree with Clement's words: 'The extent to which it is legitimate to find in this speech a knowledge of the Priestly account of creation is less clear than in the comparable case of Prov. 8

(5) Job 26.7-14 refers to the creation and shares with the FCS many words: רוח (13), יׇם (11,12), שמים (11,13), חושך אור (10), מים (8,10), ארץ (7), תהו (7). This however should not lead to the mistaken conclusion that the two texts relate to each other. The Job passage represents a different tradition from the FCS's. The concept here is that the sky is supported by pillars (v. 11), while the earth and the north are suspended upon nothingness (בלי־מה, תהו, v. 7); God fights the monsters, and his hand pierced (חוללה) *Rahab* (v. 12) and *Nahash Bariah* (v. 13).[32] Yet Job 26 too does not argue with the FCS. The two texts are just indifferent to each other.

(6) The same holds true of Job 38. Here too the words שמים, ארץ, תהום are mentioned (vv. 4, 13, 18; 33; 16, 30 respectively), but they do not allude to the FCS. Nor do they share with it the same concepts: the building metaphor—foundations, sockets (אדניה), cornerstone, measures and planning—definitely does not correlate to, but at the same time does not dispute with, the FCS concept of a creation by the word of God.

Thus, none of the creation passages discussed in this section alludes to the FCS either by supporting its concepts or by arguing with them. They all share with the FCS a stock of common expressions used also in other creation traditions, which proves only that they are all fruits of the same orchard, namely, the ancient Near Eastern culture.[33]

2. Implicit creation passages that allegedly allude to the FCS. Jer. 4.23-26 and Job 3 are two poems whose explicit subject is not the creation. Yet some scholars did associate them with the FCS.

(1) Jer. 4.23-26 is a destruction poem. According to some scholars,[34]

[originally '3'—probably a print error. Y. H.]22-31' (p. 72). I also agree with Clement's remark on Ecclesiastes: 'Familiarity with the text of Genesis 1–3 can be confidently presumed' (p. 74). Yet, familiarity (inferred from the very late dating of Ecclesiastes) as such is not relevant to our discussion, as long as dependence is not proved.

32. חללו as in Isa. 51.9...this means *pierceth*, not *formed* or *created* ' (S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job* [ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921], p. 183).

33. This is also the conclusion of Hans-Peter Müller, who recently examined the relationship between Gen. 1–2 and a Greek hymn to Zeus, dated to the sixth century BCE. See Hans-Peter Müller, 'Eine griechische Parallele zu Motiven von Genesis I–II', *VT* 47 (1997), pp. 478-86.

34. See, e.g., J. Bright, *Jeremiah* (AB, 21; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), p. 33. Holladay, after expressing this view in a 1966 article, is more hesitant in his

by describing an upheaval that will bring the world back to the primor-
dial period of תהו ובהו, the prophet alludes here to the FCS. The most
detailed discussion is Fishbane's, who pointed to the following associ-
ations between the two texts.[35]

	Jeremiah 4.23-26	*Gen. 1.1—2.4a*
pre-creation	תהו ובהו[36]	תהו ובהו
first day	אור	אור
second day	שמים	שמים
third day	ארץ הרים גבעות	ארץ יבשה
fourth day		מאורות
fifth day	עוף	עוף
sixth day	אדם	אדם
seventh day	הרון אפו	שבת

Impressive as this comparison might appear, it does not prove an
association with the FCS.[37] Indeed, the order of creation is partly paral-
lel to the FCS, yet Fishbane forces on Jeremiah the six days pattern,
while there are reminiscences neither to 'creation days' nor to the day
of rest, the Sabbath or the numbers six/seven. The poem is structured
upon anaphors: four times the word ראיתי is used in the beginning of
stiches. To a certain extent it resembles anaphors like those used in the
FCS, and had the author intended to allude to the FCS he would have
probably repeated the word ראיתי six[38] or seven times.[39] One may also
point at the lack of both the creation-by-word motif and of the key root

1986 commentary, when speaking of the 'possible parallel intended between Gen
1.2, 3 in v. 23 and Gen 2.5 in v. 25'. See W. Holladay, 'The Recovery of Poetic
Passages of Jeremiah', *JBL* 85 (1966), pp. 401-35; *idem, Jeremiah*, I (Hermeneia;
Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), p. 163.

35. M.A. Fishbane, 'Jeremiah iv 23-26', pp. 151-67. See also Bright, *Jeremiah*,
p. 33; W. McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah*, I (ICC;
Edinburg: T. & T. Clark, 1986), p. 106.

36. ובהו is not represented by the Septuagint.

37. Hence, Holladay is right when preferring an undecided tone, speaking about
(the italics are mine. Y.H.) 'the *possible* parallel intended between Gen. 1.2, 3 in
(Jer. iv) v 23. *If* that parallelism is valid, it suggests that the P account...of creation
was available to the prophet at this time.' See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I, p. 163.

38. Like the *anaphora* in Jer. 50.35-38: six times the word חרב is repeated. In
the first five in the form of *hereb*, 'sword', and in the last time in the form of *horeb*
(MT) 'drought'. See the discussion in McKane, *Jeremiah*, p. 1290.

39. See R.P. Carroll, *Jeremiah* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1986), p. 169:
'There are similarities between the elements listed in the poem and the view of
creation presented in Gen. 1 (but hardly the pattern described by Fishbane).'

בָּרָא. The emphasis on the mountains and hills seems to reflect a different creation tradition, like Amos 4.13[40], כִּי הִנֵּה יוֹצֵר הָרִים וּבֹרֵא רוּחַ...; Ps. 89.13, צָפוֹן וְיָמִין אַתָּה בְרָאתָם תָּבוֹר וְחֶרְמוֹן בְּשִׁמְךָ יְרַנֵּנוּ; Job 38.6, where the mountains are the foundations of the earth; Prov. 8.25, בְּטֶרֶם הָרִים הָטְבָּעוּ לִפְנֵי גְבָעוֹת חוֹלָלְתִּי . Similarly unconvincing is Fishbane's proposition that חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ alludes to the Babylonian *sapattu, um nuh libbi* and thus to the FCS: 'Thus the functional cosmological opposite of the biblical Sabbath was an *um ibbu*, day of wrath' (p. 152).[41]

The aggregation of the similarities and dissimilarities between Jeremiah's destruction poem and the FCS does not prove an association between the two. It rather leads to one of the two assumptions: either both texts are based upon other common sources,[42] or the FCS was influenced by Jeremiah's poem, and not the other way round.[43]

(2) Job 3.3-13. This curse of Job, according to Fishbane, also alludes to the FCS. He points to the following parallels between the two texts.[44]

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40. In the Greek version: βροντήν, רַעַם (thunder), instead of 'mountains', הָרִים

41. Note that in Jeremiah there is no 'day of wrath' but just 'his wrath', חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ. Being aware of other differences between the two texts Fishbane suggests some explanations, but they are unconvincing: 'The fact that the order of creation in 4.23 is אֶרֶץ, then שָׁמַיִם; or that in v. 25 it is אָדָם then עוֹף; does not disprove our case; on the one hand the synthetic parallelism progresses from below to above in all cases; on the other, there is no one fixed order to these traditional pairs' (p. 152 n. 1).

42. See Day's words: 'I incline to see here [in Jer. 4.23. Y.H] an allusion to the tradition behind the P account of Genesis I rather than to Genesis I itself' ('Prophecy', p. 41). His conclusion is based upon the notion that P is later than Jeremiah, which I do not accept as a premise. Weinfeld, whose point of departure is the chronological priority of P to Jeremiah (which I likewise discard as a premise), necessarily should lead to the same conclusion. He claims that all the motifs in the FCS except the six days pattern are influenced by ancient Israelite and non-Israelite traditions. See Weinfeld, *Tarbiz* 36, p. 112. See also n. 9, above.

43. This is also the conclusion of Tsumura: '...we might conclude that the two single verses, Jer. 4.23 and Gen. 1.2, simply share a common literary tradition in their use of *tohu wabohu*...' See D.T. Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters in Genesis 1 and 2: A Linguistic Investigation* (JSOTSup, 83; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), p. 40.

44. Fishbane's view has been accepted also by Perdue, *Wisdom and Creation*, p. 134, who adds some more alleged associations between Job 3 and the FCS: '...Job's use of sixteen jussives and prohibitions in his formulation of seven curses to counteract the fifteen jussives and prohibitions in the Priestly tradition.' I admit that this argument seems to me another case of 'Abraham's cap'.

	Genesis 1-2 .4a	*Job 3: 3-13*
first day	יהי אור...ויבדל אלהים בין האור ובין החשך	היום ההוא... יהי חשך
second day	ויבדל...ובין המים אשר מעל לרקיע	אל ידרשהו אלוה ממעל
fourth day	יהי מארת...להבדיל...בין הלילה...ולמועדים ולימים ולשנים	הלילה ההוא... אל יחד בימי שנה במספר ירחים אל יבא
fifth day	ויברא אלהים את התנינם הגדלים	יקבהו אררי יום העתידים ערר לויתן
sixth day	נעשה אדם	למה לא מרחם אמות
seventh day	וישבת...כי בו שבת	כי עתה שכבתי ואשקוט ישנתי אז
	(וינח ביום השביעי cf. Exod. 20.11)	ינוח לי

Here too I can find no allusion to, or even an unintentional association with the FCS. Fishbane forces the six days motif upon the poem, which does not imply at all the idea of 'creation days'. The lack of such key words as שמים ארץ, מים, תהו ובהו, ברא, אדם, וירא...כי טוב also undermines Fishbane's reading. The mythological elements in Job's poem (אררי יום העתידים ערר לויתן) definitely contradict the FCS without debating with it, which invalidates the suggestion that the author of Job had the FCS in his mind. In fact, the main part of Fishbane's study is devoted to a comparison between Job 3 and 'ancient magical rituals for a counter-cosmic incantation' (p. 165). It would have therefore been more consistent and logical for Fishbane to assume that Job, the Utzite, is described as one who refers to non-Israelite mythological creation traditions rather than to the FCS.[45] Consequently the shared motifs of Job 3 and the FCS are better explained as a result of a common ancient Near Eastern tradition, which influenced both texts. Moreover, when creation is the issue, a certain proximity of motifs might be expected even between texts that do not share the same cultural context.

Here is an example from quite a different culture, a Hindu creation hymn (*Nasadiya*) taken from the Rig Veda (10.129).[46] It cannot possibly

45. Weinfeld pointed at some connections between Gen. 1 and the Egyptian cosmology. However, his assertion (*Tarbiz* 36, pp. 112-13) that Gen. 1 is closer to the latter than to the Babylonian myth is at least doubtful. For a comparison between the mythological background of the FCS and other ancient Near Eastern creation traditions, including the Egyptian tradition mentioned by Weinfeld see W.H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift*, pp. 21-48.

46. W.D. O'Flaherty (ed. and trans.), *The Rig Veda, an Anthology* (London:

allude to the FCS, yet it could easily be presented as such.

There was neither non-existence	
nor existence...	תהו ובהו -
nor the sky which is beyond...	את השמים ...מתחת לשמים
water bottomlessly deep ...	המים...על פני תהום...
There was no distinguishing	ויבדל אלהים בין האור לבין החשך
sign of night and day—	ויקרא...יום...קרא לילה
Darkness was hidden by darkness	בראשית...וחשך
In the beginning—	בראשית...על פני
all this was water	המים ורוח אלהים מרחפת

One should therefore be very cautious when claiming a direct dependency between two creation texts.[47]

With the lack of any biblical *citations* or *references* to the FCS (other then in the law of Sabbath) one should insist on unequivocal evidence for FCS *allusions*. I have found such evidence neither in Jeremiah's nor in Job's poem.

3. *Distribution of FCS key words in non-creation writings*. Allusions to the FCS should also be searched for in texts whose neither explicit nor implicit subject is the creation. Such allusions might be transmitted by using significant FCS key words. In order to test this possibility I examined the biblical dispersion of the the root ברא, the patterns השביעי ויהי ערב ויהי בוקר; יום אחד; יום שני\ שלישי\ רביעי\ חמישי\ ששי\ הששי \ תהו ובהו; רקיע השמים; כי טוב and the expressions ויאמר...ויהי...ויהי.

This examination[48] has not changed the overall picture depicted so far, namely the meagreness of FCS associations.

Penguin Books, 1981), p. 25. For another example—an ancient Chinese myth that has some important motifs in common with the FCS—see A.C.C. Lee, 'Genesis 1 and Chinese Myth', in *Understanding Poets and Prophets* (ed. A.G. Auld; JSOTSup, 152; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), pp. 186-98.

47. For other examples of an utterly unfounded claim to such a dependency see the following three articles by De Roche: M. De Roche, 'Zephaniah 1.2-3: The "Sweeping" of Creation', *VT* 30 (1980), pp. 104-109; 'Contra Creation, Covenant and Conquest (Jer. viii 13)', *VT* 30 (1980), pp. 280-90; 'The Universal of Creation in Hosea', *VT* 31 (1981), pp. 400-409.

48. See appendix A.

4. *Conclusions and Implications*

(1) More than a hundred biblical passages have a contextual potentiality of referring to the FCS, including some 70 Sabbath passages. But only very few of them have materialized this potentiality.

(a)   The number of biblical FCS *citations* is zero.

(b)   The number of FCS *references* is only three, all of them relate to the Sabbath: Exod. 20.11; 31.17; Neh. 9.6. The latter two, however, refer directly to Exod. 20.11 and not necessarily to the FCS. It is very indicative that in numerous Sabbath writings there is no reference to the FCS.

(c)   Some texts share motifs and expressions with the FCS: Pss. 33; 136; 148; Jer. 4.23-27; Job 3 and few passages in Second Isaiah. Yet, none of them has been proved to be dependent on the FCS.

(d)   None of the FCS key expressions used in other biblical texts alludes to the FCS.

(2) Our main conclusion is therefore, that the scantiness of FCS associations in the Hebrew Bible indicates that the FCS had no authoritative status among the biblical authors. The post-biblical elevated standing of the FCS is therefore not a reflection of its biblical status.

This conclusion evokes some questions of canonical and diachronic aspects, and I would like to touch here only two of them.

(a) If not through its immanent importance among the biblical authors, how did the FCS gain its canonical rank of a nearly 'official' 'authorized' version of the creation?

I suggest three answers to this question.

(1)   Thanks to its strategic location in the very beginning of the Torah. One cannot exaggerate the unique importance of an opening in literature, music, theatre, etc. Just think, how many are familiar with the beginning—and only the beginning—of Beethoven's fifth symphony!

(2)   Equally significant is the unique literary style of the FCS. The formulaic, anaphoric language; the schematic, semi-chronological structure; the parsimonious selection of words, contrary to the common literary inclination to imply variegated and diversified style—all these features implicitly declare that

here we have a dry, factual, reliable report, and not an artistic piece of 'aesthetic' values. Needless to say that such an indirect manifesto is in itself a highly artistic achievement!

(3)   The numerous non-monotheistic biblical texts cannot obscure the clear monotheistic message of the biblical canon as a whole. The FCS proclaims in the best way this most essential canonical concept of monotheism.

(b) How to explain the scantiness of FCS associations in the Bible?

Three answers might be considered. (1) To discard the very question as methodologically illegitimate, claiming that it is not any lack of evidence that we are supposed to explain, but only existing evidence. I do not share this approach in our case. (2) To assume that the biblical authors simply ignored the FCS because it was just another creation text among many others. I eliminate this explanation too. The literary power of the FCS would not have let it be ignored by so many authors who referred to creation. (3) I advocate a third answer, namely that the FCS was unknown to most of the biblical authors, because it is a late composition, at least in its present version. How late? I cannot imagine the author of the Deuteronomic edition of the Ten Commandments ignoring the FCS had he known it; I cannot imagine Second Isaiah ignoring the FCS had he known it. The same holds true as to Jer. 17.19-27, the Sabbath prophecy, or to the authors of some many Sabbath passages, none of which refers to the FCS.

When, then, was the FCS in its present seven days pattern composed? All indications point to the time of Ezra. Such a late date would suggest the best explanation for the absence of FCS associations in any pre-Ezra composition. The idea that the present version of the FCS was composed as an etiology for the Sabbath fits well this period of Ezra and Nehemiah, who emphasized the utmost religious importance of the Sabbath. If this dating is correct, and if, and this is my assertion, Ezra was the one who sealed and canonized the Torah,[49] then the composition of the FCS and its position at the opening of the Torah are synchronous. It is even plausible that the FCS was intentionally written as a *prologue* to the whole Torah, using well-known creation vocabulary and phraseology to invalidate, in its own sophisticated manner, not *foreign* but rather contradictory *Israelite* creation traditions. If so, this

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49. This is presumably the event described in Neh. 8–10, in connection with the signing of the Amanah.

should be considered one of the most significant interpretative accomplishments ever since: the subordination of all other biblical creation traditions to the rank of mere metaphors, poetic variations of the FCS. This opened the biblical gate to other pre- and post-FCS creation traditions without having them out-censured: they had already been sterilized and 'kosherized' by the FCS, their senior, authoritative brother.

What are the implications of the late dating of the FCS on the dating of the P document? It definitely does not prove its entire postexilic origin. It does prove that its final editing was done in the time of Ezra. With such a cautious conclusion even the followers of Y. Kaufmann, who dates the P document to before 621 BCE can live,[50] though perhaps not with ease.

Appendix A: Distribution of FCS Key Words in Non-Creation Writings

(1) The root ברא occurs 54 times in the Bible. Twenty-four of them are clearly connected to the creation, out of which 10 are in Gen. 1–2; 5.1-2. The dispersal of the other 14 is: Second Isaiah, 10;[51] Amos, 1;[52] Psalms, 3.[53] Out of the latter 14 only Ps. 148.5 might be connected to the FCS, and it has been discussed above.

(2) The following expressions occur only in the FCS:

ויהי ערב; ויאמר...יהי...ויאמר...ויהי ; יום שני \ שלישי...ששי-הששי;
רקיע השמים; ממשלת היום \ הלילה; המאורות הגדולים.

(3) The following expressions do occur in other texts, but none has any connection with the FCS:

יהי...ויהי	2 occurences.
ויאמר...יהי \ ויהי	110 occurences.
יום אחד	10 occurences.
ב\ה\ל...ל...יום השביעי	46 occurrences (only the Sabbath occurrences that have been discussed above might refer to the FCS).
כי טוב	45 occurrences

50. Although antedating P to D, namely to 621 BCE, Kaufmann is ready to admit that the editing of the whole Torah was finished not before the beginning of the Second Temple period. See Y. Kaufmann, *Toldot ha-emuna ha-yisraelit*, I (Tel-Aviv: Mossad Bialik and Dvir, 1950), pp. 212-20.

51. Isa. 40.26, 28; 41.20; 42.5; 45.7, 8, 12, 18a, 18b; 65.17.

52. Amos 4.13.

53. Pss. 89.13, 48; 148.5.

(4) The following expressions relate sometimes to the FCS, in passages that have already been discussed above.

ויהי + אמר: 2 occurrences outside the FCS. Only Ps. 33.9, which has been discussed above, possibly relates to the FCS.

תהו ובהו: 2 occurrences outside the FCS. Jer. 4.23, which has been discussed above, and Isa. 34.11. Both do not relate to the FCS.

תהו: 23 occurences. Only Job 26.7, which has been discussed above, might allegedly be connected to the FCS.

Appendix B: Texts Mentioned and Discussed

Gen. *1.1–2: 4. 2.2-24.*
Exod. *16. 20.11. 22.1. 23.12. 31.17.*
Lev. *23. 25.26.*
Num. *13.23; 18.26. 21.27-29.*
Deut. *1.24; 45. 5.14.15.12-18. 24: 1-4. 34.13-14.*
Isa. *1.9. 2.1-4. 15 -16. 40.12-14; 25-26; 28. 42.5. 45.7;12;18. 51.9.*
Jer. *2.34. 3.1; 7-8. 4.23-26. 7: 9. 15.1. 17.19-27. 32: 20-21. 48; 49.7-22.*
Ezra *20. 33.23. 46.*
Hos. *11.8. 12.4-5; 10.13.4;*
Amos *4.13.*
Ob. Mi. *4.1-4. 6.4-6.*
Pss. *8.24.1. 13.89. 33.6-9. 74.12-17. 81.10-11. 89.10-13.95.5. 104. 136. 146.6. 148.*
Prov. *3.19-20. 8 .12; 14; 8.22-29.*
Job *3.3-13. 26.7-14. 38.*
Neh. *9.6.*

GOD AS CREATOR AND LORD OF NATURE
IN THE DEUTERONOMISTIC LITERATURE*

Winfried Thiel

I

It was in the exilic period that the idea of creation in ancient Israel came
to a culmination. Some scholars think that only in this time was the
conception of creation entirely integrated in the faith of Israel.[1] Using a
terminological distinction proposed by C. Westermann it could be said
that if in the pre-exilic time the idea of creation had meant for Israel a
presupposition of thinking ('eine Denkvoraussetzung'),[2] it developed in
the exilic period to a theological conception, a part of the faith of Israel.
This opinion is disputable, but not certain. Surely in the pre-exilic
period Israel was already well acquainted with the idea of creation. The
main witnesses for it are the old creation narrative Gen. 2.4b-25 and
several probably pre-exilic psalms. Moreover, Israel got to know the
epical and mythical traditions on creation from the neighbouring reli-
gions early in its history, especially from the religion of Canaan.

But the bulk of the texts in the Old Testament of the Bible relating to
the creation of world and mankind come from the exilic and postexilic

    1.   Cf., e.g., K. Galling, 'Jahwe der Weltschöpfer', *TBl* 4 (1925), pp. 257-61;
K.-H. Bernhardt, 'Zur Bedeutung der Schöpfungsvorstellung für die Religion Israels
in vorexilischer Zeit', *TLZ* 85 (1960), cols. 821-24 (823-24).
    2.   C. Westermann, 'Das Reden von Schöpfer und Schöpfung im Alten Testa-
ment', in I. Maess (ed.), *Das ferne und nahe Wort* (Festschrift L. Rost; BZAW, 105;
Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1967), pp. 238-44 (238); cf. *idem, Schöpfung* (ThTh, 12;
Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag, 1971), pp. 14-15; *idem, Theologie des Alten Testaments in
Grundzügen: Grundrisse zum Alten Testament* (ATDSup, 6; Göttingen: Vanden-
hoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), pp. 61, 72-73.

literature. Regarding the texts of the exilic period one has primarily to point to the sayings of the Prophet Second Isaiah. In his message the idea of creation is of greatest importance. The notion of God as creator is one of the arguments used to prove that the God of Israel is the one and unique God. Another important witness from this time is the creation narrative of the Priestly Code in Genesis 1.

The bulk of the Deuteronomistic literature originates from the same period. This holds good for the Deuteronomistic History and for the Deuteronomistic redaction of the book of Jeremiah. My essay is limited to these important examples of the Deuteronomistic writings or editions. We find the assertion that the God of Israel is the creator of the world and mankind very seldom in this literature. This can be explained primarily by the fact that the object of the Deuteronomistic History is a historical, not a cosmological or anthropological theme. The allusions to creation in each case are so small that most of the monographs and essays relating to creation hardly mention these few texts.[3] In my essay I hope to fill the gap, partly by scrutiny, partly by a short treatment.

In their literary activity the Deuteronomistic redactors have put together many older traditions in order to create extensive works, the Deuteronomistic History and the book of Jeremiah in an early stage respectively. My investigation, therefore, has to distinguish between redactional texts and statements from the older traditions, which the Deuteronomistic redactors have integrated in their works. Texts that presuppose that the God of Israel is the lord of nature are found in this literature more often than assertions about God as the creator of the world and the people.

II

The first text in our investigation is the verse Deut. 4.32. Deut. 4.1-40 represents a basic discourse introducing the following *torah*. It is nearly generally accepted that the text is of Deuteronomistic origin and has the function of a thematic link between the framework and the Deuteronomic law code. Experiences from the downfall of Judah and Jerusalem in the year 587 BCE and from the exilic situation are apparently converted in this chapter.

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3. Cf., e.g., K. Eberlein, *Gott der Schöpfer—Israels Gott* (BEAT, 5; Bern: Peter Lang, 1986), who very briefly discusses Deut. 4.32 (pp. 236-37) and Jer. 27.5; 32.17 (pp. 238-39), but does not mention 1 Sam. 12.6 at all.

The text shows no coherent chain of reasoning. Instead it always works with new beginnings and different directions of thinking and arguing. The whole text is characterized by the constant change of second person singular and plural of the addressees. These observations have contributed to call in question its unity and integrity.[4] But in the last decades the scholarly situation has shifted in favour of the unity of the text, especially by the investigations of N. Lohfink and G. Braulik.[5] They discern an artificially shaped structure in the text. They regard the change of numbers as deliberately chosen structuring elements of style. A radical literary criticism is accordingly not necessary.

The section vv. 32-40 constitutes the epilogue of the chapter. It substantiates the claims established in the former parts of the discourse, the claim for obedience to the *torah* as the will of God and the claim for exclusive veneration of YHWH. In this section we observe a parallel reasoning in vv. 32-35 and vv. 36-39. In both verses, 35 and 39, the argumentation comes to the same result: YHWH is the only true god.

In v. 32 the audience (addressed in the singular) is called upon to search in the whole past and to universal extent whether any god has ever behaved toward a people like YHWH toward Israel. The investigation, whose negative result is presupposed, leads to the realization, that YHWH is god and no other than he (v. 35). I give the translation of v. 32:

> Ask now of the ancient days which were before you, ever since the day God created man on the earth, and ask from one end of heaven to the other: Has anything as great as this ever happened before? Or has anything like it been heard?

In this statement the mentioning of God's creation of man apparently has no theologically independent significance. It has the function of

4.   Cf., e.g., the different literary criticism of C. Steuernagel, *Das Deuteronomium* (HKAT, I, 3.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2nd edn, 1923), pp. 64-69; M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 3rd edn, 1967), pp. 38-39; S. Mittmann, *Deuteronomium 1,1–6,3 literarkritisch und traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht* (BZAW, 139: Berlin W. de Gruyter, 1975), pp. 115-28.

5.   N. Lohfink, *Höre Israel!* (WB.KK, 18; Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1965), pp. 87-120; G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium 1–16,17* (NEB.AT, 15; Würzburg: Echter, 1986), pp. 38-47, but also M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11* (AB, 5; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1991), pp. 221-23. Cf. however D. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4: Literarische Analyse und theologische Interpretation* (GTA, 35; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), with a detailed literary criticism.

defining a space of time of which people are not able to ask back, because there were not yet people. In this respect the sentence defines the former qualification 'the ancient days which were before you' by establishing a beginning in time. When we look more closely to the wording some facts attract attention:

(1) The sentence speaks about creation with the verb ברא.[6] This term, exclusively denoting the creative activity of God, is a word typical of the Priestly Code and of the literature depending on it. Second, Isaiah uses the verb also. In the whole Deuteronomistic literature the term occurs only in this verse. But this is not surprising because there are only rare witnesses for creation in Deuteronomistic texts.

(2) More attention has to be paid to the subject of the sentence: 'God' created man on earth. God (אלהים) is remarkable in a text that speaks almost exclusively of YHWH. The use of אלהים is restricted to few characteristic fashions of statement. In most cases אלהים appears as a qualification of YHWH. Bound up with a suffix it denotes the relation of YHWH to the auditory ('your god', 'our god', etc.) or to the speaker, Moses ('my god'). In v. 28, however, אלהים means foreign gods, as is proved by the allusion to the divine images (מעשה ידי אדם, 'work from human hands').

In vv. 7, 33 and 34, hence in immediate neighbourhood to v. 32, אלהים signifies in a theoretical way any god who could have done with a people like YHWH with Israel. This אלהים, who does not exist in reality, is contrasted in vv. 7 and 34 with YHWH the God of Israel. Almost as a consequence of this argumentation, it is stated in vv. 35 and 39 that YHWH is the אלהים, the one and true god.

To conclude: The use of אלהים in v. 32, denoting the God of Israel, but without mentioning the divine name (יהוה) is unparalleled in the whole chapter. That God (אלהים) created mankind (ברא את־האדם) is a theological statement of the Priestly Code (Gen. 1.27; 5.1). It finds a parallel in 2nd Isaiah too (Isa. 45.12: בראתי אנכי עשיתי ארץ ואדם עליה).

6. Cf. A. Angerstorfer, *Der Schöpfergott des Alten Testaments: Herkunft und Bedeutungsentwicklung des hebräischen Terminus* ברא *(bara)* 'schaffen' (Regensburger Studien zur Theologie, 20; Bern: Peter Lang, 1979), and esp. pp. 115-19 on Deut. 4.32.

But it is not in accordance with Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic phraseology and thinking. Although there are no tensions in v. 32, it is to assume that the sentence referring to creation in this verse is an addition from the priestly tradition.

The 'appeal to ancient tradition' of v. 32—a term coined by N.C. Habel[7]—can be found in several other texts. They contain a reference to the creation in the beginning (Isa. 40.21), but more often this element is missing. We find an example in Deut. 32.7-9. The appeal to remember the past and to ask the father and the elders (v. 7) has the intention to substantiate the unique relationship between YHWH and Israel by a primordial happening, the relating of Israel to YHWH. But the reference to the creation is not contained in this passage, but appears immediately in the foregoing verse.

Deut. 32.6 speaks about YHWH: 'Certainly, he is your father, your creator, he himself has made you and has given you stability.' The verbs denoting creation are the archaic word קָנָה, which also appears in the old text Gen. 14.18-20 (exactly in v. 19, repeated in v. 22),[8] and the very widely used verb עָשָׂה. That YHWH is the creator of Israel is often said by Second Isaiah too. In the sayings of Second Isaiah this topic is a message of hope for the exiles and for the whole of Judah.[9] YHWH wants to deliver and to keep alive his people. Quite different is the intention of Deut. 32.6. God as father and creator is contrasted to the behaviour of Israel, which is qualified as a foolish and unwise people. This reproach beginning in v. 5 is explicated in the vv. 15-18 and 21 in regard to Israel's apostasy from YHWH to other gods. The mentioning of the creation in Deut. 32.6 differs considerably from that in Deut. 4.32. It precedes the appeal to inquire in the past, it presents other notions of creation and shows a different intention.

Deut. 32, the so-called Song of Moses is a psalm that is integrated in

7.   N.C. Habel, 'Appeal to Ancient Tradition as a Literary Form', *ZAW* 88 (1976), pp. 253-72.

8.   The verb קָנָה with the meaning 'to create' (cf. ugaritic *qnj*, 'to create') is, unlike the verb קָנָה, 'to acquire, to buy', only attested with God as the subject. The objects of his creative acting are different: heaven and earth (Gen. 14.19, 22), Israel (Deut. 32.6), the psalmist (Ps. 139.13) and the personified wisdom (Prov. 8.22). The interpretation of Gen. 4.1 is uncertain.

9.   Cf. R. Rendtorff, 'Die theologische Stellung des Schöpfungsglaubens bei Deuterojesaja' (1954), in *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (TB, 57; Munich: Chr. Kaiser,1975), pp. 209-19.

a Deuteronomistic context, but hardly by the redactors of the Deutero-
nomistic History. The observable allusions to Second Isaiah and Ezekiel
just as the occasional adoption of Deuteronomistic phraseology suggest
a late date of this text. Its origin may be fixed as post-Deuteronomistic.[10]

III

Our next text is 1 Sam. 12.6. The chapter 1 Sam. 12 is one of the
typically Deuteronomistic speeches positioned at the stage of transition
from one part of Israel's history to another. 1 Sam. 12 leads from the
period of judges to the time of the kings. The text does not represent a
pure speech, but it contains some elements of dialogue and narrative
(vv. 4-5, 18 and 19). But these indications are too small for proving the
existence of an older tradition behind the text. We have to assume that
the whole text is formulated by the Deuteronomistic redactors.[11]

In a first section (vv. 1-5) Samuel gets his relief by the people from
his office as judge of Israel, which is removed by the first king, Saul.

In the next section (vv. 6-15) Samuel tells the people the saving
deeds of YHWH in history (the צִדְקוֹת יהוה). The enumeration is to
demonstrate to the people that it has done wrong in wanting an earthly
king, whereas YHWH is its proper king and saviour.

The people and the king nevertheless get a chance from YHWH,
which is expressed in an alternative formulation in vv. 14-15. The des-
tiny of Israel is dependent on the behaviour of the people and of the
kings towards YHWH. Regarding the time of Samuel and Saul, that
means in the narrative situation, this alternative is a true possibility. In

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10. G. von Rad, *Das fünfte Buch Mose: Deuteronomium* (ATD, 8; Göttingen:
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), p. 143; M. Rose, *5. Mose* (ZBK.AT, 5; Zürich:
Theologischer Verlag, 1994), p. 566; O. Kaiser, *Grundriss der Einleitung in die
kanonischen und deuterokanonischen Schriften des Alten Testaments*, I (Gütersloh:
Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1992), p. 96, argue in favour of an exilic or postexilic
date. For a recent attempt at arguing in favour of an early date cf. P. Sanders, *The
Provenance of Deuteronomy 32* (OTS, 37; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996). But it is not
very convincing.

11. T. Veijola, *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen
Historiographie* (AASF B, 198; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1977), pp.
83-99, assigns the text to the nomistic layer of the Deuteronomistic redaction
(DtrN). This is contradicted by P. Mommer, *Samuel: Geschichte und Überlieferung*
(WMANT, 65; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), pp. 127-28.

the time of the redactors, in the exilic period, that means in the prag-
matic situation, the alternative is resolved.

The Israelites and their kings did not listen to the voice of YHWH.
They did not follow the will of God in the *torah* and the word of YHWH
in the message of the prophets. In this respect the text gives a justifi-
cation for the divine doom and the fall of the kingdom.

The second section is opened in v. 6 by a sentence that possibly
contains a statement about God the creator: 'Samuel said to the people:
"YHWH who made Moses and Aaron and who brought up your fathers
from the land of Egypt."' This text calls forth some questions: What
kind of sentence is this? Is the text perhaps disturbed? What is meant by
the formulation 'he made Moses and Aaron', especially with the verb
עשׂה? What function has the verse at all?

The form of the sentence that qualifies YHWH by two relative clauses
but without predicate is unusual. The first possibility is to understand it
as it stands. Then it must be a one-member nominal clause.[12] This form
of sentence is possible in order to express an exclamation or a cry. Then
the predicate הוא 'it is' can be omitted. The sentence could be translated:
'It is YHWH who made Moses and Aaron...' But it is difficult to under-
stand this statement as an exclamation. The assertion of a one-member
nominal clause in v. 6 is not proven.

The second possibility is the insertion of הוא in the sentence.[13] The
word could have been omitted in the process of copying. The transla-
tion would be the same. This explanation is not excluded, because the
text shows in the next verses indications of textual corruption (vv. 7, 9,
11, perhaps also v. 14). But the assumed omission of הוא is not easily
explicable.

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12. This understanding was suggested by H.J. Boecker, *Die Beurteilung der
Anfänge des Königtums in den deuteronomistischen Abschnitten des 1. Samuel-
buches* (WMANT, 31; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), p. 71 n. 3,
with reference to C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neu-
kirchener Verlag, 1956), §13.

13. This is the solution of H. Gressmann, *Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung und
Prophetie Israels* (SAT, II.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2nd edn, 1921),
p. 45, and A. Weiser, *Samuel* (FRLANT, 81; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
1962), p. 84 n. 75. Cf. also the translations of F. Stolz, *Das erste und zweite Buch
Samuel* (ZBK.AT, 9; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1981), p. 78, and of G. Hent-
schel, '1 Samuel', in J. Scharbert, *Rut*/G. Hentschel, *1 Samuel* (NEB.AT, 33;
Würzburg: Echter, 1994), pp. 29-159 (87).

The last possibility is to follow the Septuagint. The Greek text Μάρτυς κύριος suggests the omission of the word עֵד, 'witness' in the Masoretic text.[14] This is the most probable solution, because the omission can be explained by the similarity with the preceding word העם. One has to translate: 'YHWH is witness who made Moses and Aaron...'

What does the phrase 'he made Moses and Aaron' mean? In this respect we have two possibilities, which were defended in the relevant literature. First, the verb עשׂה, 'to make', can be explained as relating to an appointment to a function or an office.[15] Then the sentence must be translated: 'YHWH who appointed Moses and Aaron...' In this interpretation the phrase has nothing to do with creation, and our second possible instance of creation would be eliminated. But I think the solution is not convincing. I found no conclusive proofs for the suggested meaning of עשׂה as 'to appoint' without mentioning the office.[16] The occasionally adduced phrases in 1 Kgs 12.21; 2 Kgs 21.6 show another shaping.[17] It is more probable therefore to understand עשׂה in this context as a term for creation.[18]

It is true that the statement that YHWH has made, that is, created, Moses and Aaron is unparalleled in the Hebrew Bible. But it is not unlikely. By the word עשׂה it can be said that God has created mankind (Gen. 1.26; 2.18; 5.1; 6.6-7; 9.6; Isa. 17.7; Jer. 27.5; Eccl. 7.29), the

14. This explanation was already proposed in the middle of the 19th century by O. Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels* (KEH, 4; Leipzig: Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1842), p. 41. In his wake also W. Nowack, *Die Bücher Samuelis* (HKAT, I, 4.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,1902), p. 53; D.J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant* (AnBib, 21; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963), p. 141 n. 1; P.K. McCarter Jr, *I Samuel* (AB, 8; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), p. 208; R.W. Klein, *I Samuel* (WBC, 10; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1983), pp. 110-11.

15. This is the opinion of H.W. Hertzberg, *Die Samuelbücher* (ATD, 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2nd edn, 1960), p. 77; McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, p. 141 n. 1; McCarter Jr, *I Samuel*, p. 208; Stolz, *Das erste und zweite Buch Samuel*, p. 78; Klein, *I Samuel*, p. 110. However the reservations expressed by McCarter, *I Samuel*, pp. 214-15, and Klein, *I Samuel*, pp. 115-16, should be noted.

16. Cf. K. Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel* (KHC, 8; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1902), p. 79.

17. Cf. Klein, *I Samuel*, p. 115.

18. With Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel*, p. 79; H.J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuel* (KAT, 8.1; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1973), pp. 231, 233; Hentschel, *I Samuel*, pp. 87-88.

nations (Deut. 26.19; Ps. 86.9) and especially the people of Israel (Deut. 32.6; Isa. 43.7; Ps. 100.3). Finally the individual can admit that God has created him (with עשׂה: Job 10.9; 31.15; 32.22; cf. 4.17; 35.10). A famous text shows how this has to be understood. It contains the same idea of the creation of a single person, but does not express it by the verb עשׂה.

In Jer. 1.5 we read a word of YHWH to Jeremiah. It is the word of Jeremiah's vocation: 'Before I formed you in the womb I chose you; before you came out from the belly I set you apart.' In this sentence the verb יצר, 'to form', is used instead of עשׂה, 'to make'. In this word יצר a notion of the creation of mankind is included. According to the second creation narrative in Gen. 2 YHWH has formed man from the dust of the soil (v. 7). The verb יצר, 'to form', describes the workmanlike creating god who like a potter (יֹצֵר) shaped something out of clay. The creator-god, however, does not use this material, but dust from the soil, which is not useful for human potters.[19] This concept of Gen. 2 certainly stands in the background of Jer. 1.5, but it is related to the general human experience of birth: YHWH forms the man in the womb (cf. Ps. 139.13; Job 31.15). The echo of the primordial deed of creation is extended to the whole panorama of the history of mankind. The creative power of God is working in each single human birth. An analogous concept can be assumed in 1 Sam. 12.6.

The formation of 1 Sam. 12.6 between the end of the first section in v. 5 and the new call 'Now take your stand' in v. 7 is not clear. Moses and Aaron are mentioned in their historical context once more in v. 8. In the same way, namely with the verb שׁלח, both are called in Josh. 24.5. But what about v. 6? The most simple and often-proposed solution consists in the omission of v. 6b or of the first relative clause as an addition.[20] This is an improbable assumption. Just the inequality of the essence makes it unlikely to presume an addition. The verse appears in

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19. עפר does not mean 'clay' (חמר, חרשׂ), but the dust of the soil. The importance of this material for the conception of the workmanlike creating god is emphasized by W.H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift*, pp. 197-99; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1. Teilband: Genesis 1–11* (BKAT, 1.1; Neu-kirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2nd edn, 1976), pp. 280-81.

20. Cf. Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel*, p. 79; Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, p. 59 n. 3; Boecker, *Die Beurteilung der Anfänge des Königtums*, p. 71; Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis*, pp. 231, 233, 237; Veijola, *Das Königtum*, p. 85 n. 10; Mommer, *Samuel*, pp. 126-27.

the final form of the text according to the Septuagint as a link between the first and the second section. It contains an originally Deuteronomistic but singular statement about YHWH as creator of specified men.

The third section of this chapter (vv. 16-25) gives a likewise originally Deuteronomistic example of the power of YHWH in nature. As a sign for the sin of the people in wanting a king YHWH arouses thunder and rain. This happens in the time of harvest, in a period in which normally these phenomena of weather do not appear. The miraculous event frightens the audience and causes them to confess their guilt. The chapter comes to an end with an announcement of impending doom, if Israel maintains his guilty behaviour. In this way the Deuteronomistic redactors are in accordance with the past and with the disastrous present situation in the exilic period.

IV

The Deuteronomistic groups who shaped the book of Jeremiah in an early stage worked about a decade after the completion of the Deuteronomistic History. I am not able to give the reasons for this whole concept in the available time.[21] Recently new models for the formation of the book of Jeremiah have been developed.[22] But I have found no cogent reasons to abandon my earlier opinion.

Jer. 27 belongs to the accounts of a symbolic action (or a sign-act) of Jeremiah.[23] Like most of these narratives it is formulated in the first

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21. I refer to my books: W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25* (WMANT, 41; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973); *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45* (WMANT, 52; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981).

22. Cf. S. Herrmann, 'Forschung am Jeremiabuch', *TLZ* 102 (1977), cols. 481-90; *idem, Jeremia: Der Prophet und das Buch* (EdF, 271; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990); Thiel, *Jeremia 26–45*, pp. 116-22; *idem*, 'Ein Vierteljahrhundert Jeremia-Forschung', *VF* 31 (1986), pp. 32-52; H. Weippert, 'Hieremias quadruplex. Vier neue Kommentare zum Jeremiabuch', TRev 87 (1991), cols. 177-88.

23. Besides the commentaries cf. G. Fohrer, *Die symbolischen Handlungen der Propheten* (ATANT, 54; Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 2nd edn, 1968), pp. 40-42; Thiel, *Jeremia 26–45*, pp. 5-10; H. Weippert, *Schöpfer des Himmels und der Erde* (SBS, 102; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1981), pp. 65-70; B. Lang, 'Ein babylonisches Motiv in Israels Schöpfungsmythologie (Jer 27,5-6)', *BZ* NF 27 (1983), pp. 236-37; W. McKane, 'Jeremiah 27,5-8, especially "Nebuchadnezzar, my

person of the prophet. The account is only found in the first section of the chapter (vv. 1-11). It ends in v. 11 with a saying that explains the action ('Deutewort'). The other two sections (vv. 12-18, 19-22) consist of discourses in the typical phraseology of the Deuteronomistic redaction. This characteristic style is also found in the first section beside the narrative elements. After the erroneous dating in v. 1, probably borrowed from 26.1, the account begins with v. 2 and runs to v. 4. It reports that Jeremiah has to wear a yoke by the command of God. To this he has to send a message to the kings of some neighbouring states whose messengers have come to Jerusalem. It is a possible assumption that this diplomatic meeting in Jerusalem served to prepare a rebellion against Babylon. The message of YHWH transmitted by Jeremiah to the kings must be contained in the following verses.

But the verses 5-10 represent a discourse in the style and in the language of the Deuteronomistic redactors. The original saying belonging to the prophetic action is probably to be found in v. 11. This verse does not show the style of address like the preceding verses; it has a clear reference to the action ('shoulder', 'yoke', but in another wording); finally it contains a word-play with עבד ('to serve'–'to till the soil'). The verb עבד is the catchword in the Deuteronomistic discourse too. It appears in each verse from vv. 6-10, although the point of view changes a little in vv. 9-10 to the false prophets.

The Deuteronomistic discourse begins in v. 5 with a self-characterization of God. It is he who has made the earth, mankind and the animals. The verb עשׂה, 'to make', denotes unquestionably the process of creation. The specification of the creatures, earth, mankind and animals, but not the heavens, is determined by the intention of the redactors. They use the reference to the creative act of God as evidence of his power of disposition about countries, men and animals on the earth (note the word-play with ארץ: 'earth' in v. 5, 'country' in v. 6). God has decided in his plan of history to give Nebuchadnezzar the hegemony over the countries of the world, over the nations and even over the animals. All these creatures have to serve the king of Babylon. In their discourse the Deuteronomistic redactors give an interpretation and continuation of the original saying (the 'Deutewort') of the account in v. 11, referring to the verb עבד, 'to serve'. By the statement about

God the creator in v. 5 they formulate a starting point for their dis-
course, but yet without a reference to the symbolic action described in
the older account. The reference to the creation works as an impulse
and has no independent weight. But it shows that the redactors were
entirely familiar with the idea of God as creator.

The notion of creation has a similar function in Jer. 32.17.[24] The
nucleus of the chapter is once more an account of a sign-act, formulated
in the first person of Jeremiah (vv. 6b-15). But the message of this
action, the purchase of a field from the family estate in the time of the
siege of Jerusalem shortly before the city was conquered, means hope,
hope in the time of despair.[25] The concluding sentence expresses this
clearly: 'Houses, fields and vineyards shall again be bought in this land'
(v. 15). This sounds like a moderate promise, but in the situation of the
siege it means ascertaining the future. There will be a future with a
return of normal daily life.

The Deuteronomistic redactors have added to the account a reflection
on disaster and salvation. It begins with a prayer of Jeremiah (vv. 16-
25), which is followed by a divine answer (vv. 26-44). In his prayer
Jeremiah, that is the Deuteronomistic Jeremiah, directs the attention of
God to the contradiction between his promising word and the present
situation (vv. 24-25).

At the beginning of the prayer Jeremiah speaks to God: 'It is you who
made the heavens and the earth by your great power and your out-
stretched arm, nothing is impossible for you.' The sentence contains the
creation term עשׂה, 'to make', and the 'power-formula' like Jer. 27.5.
But differently from 27.5 the verse 32.17 presents the current phrase 'to
make the heavens and the earth', which is attested very often (Exod.
20.11; 31.17; 2 Kgs 19.15/Isa. 37.16; Pss. 115.15; 121.2; 124.8; 134.3;
2 Chron. 2.11, expanded in Ps. 146.6; Neh. 9.6, connected with the
older term קנה: Gen. 14.19, 22, with ברא: Gen. 1.1). Most of the exam-
ples belong to prayers and psalms. In the prayers God's reminder of his

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24. Cf. Thiel, *Jeremiah 26–45*, pp. 29-37; Weippert, *Schöpfer*, pp. 71-73;
H. Migsch, *Jeremias Ackerkauf: Eine Untersuchung von Jeremia 32* (ÖBS, 15;
Bern: Peter Lang, 1996).

25. The contesting of this interpretation and the characterization of v. 14 as
the original 'Deutewort' by G. Wanke, 'Jeremias Ackerkauf: Heil im Gericht?', in
V. Fritz, K.-F. Pohlmann and H.-C. Schmitt (eds.), *Prophet und Prophetenbuch*
(Festschrift O. Kaiser; BZAW, 185; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1989), pp. 265-76, are
untenable.

creation always stands in the beginning (2 Kgs 19.15/Isa. 37.16; Jer. 32.17; Neh. 9.6; cf. 2 Chron. 2.11). In Jer. 32.17 it is an expression of the confidence in the unlimited power of God. This intention is proven by the whole sentence with the 'power-formula' and the conclusion 'nothing is impossible for you'. Observing the contradiction that is the object of vv. 24-25 the redactors prepare the answer to this problem in the divine speech of vv. 26-44.

Many scholars[26] propose to omit vv. 17aaβ (beginning with הנה אתה) to 23 as a late insertion and to assess vv. 17aα, 24-25 as an original prayer of Jeremiah. If this holds true, my interpretation would not be essentially changed. But the proposition is not convincing. The relevant verses do not show any tensions or breaks. An original prayer of Jeremiah would not find any answer, because the following verses are clearly Deuteronomistic. It makes more sense to view the section vv. 16-25 as the uniform redactional part of a greater composition.

En passant Jer 14.22 should be mentioned. The so-called Liturgy of Drought in 14.1–15.4 is an editorial composition by the Deuteronomistic redactors, containing several originally independent units.[27] 14.19-22 looks like a collective lament psalm with the lament proper, a confession of sins and the petition. Verse 22 declares that the gods of the nations are not able to give rain. But YHWH, the god of the lamenting community, is able to do so because 'he has made all these things'. The God of Israel is able to give rain, he also preserves the cosmos, because he has the power of disposition over nature.

Some observations in the word field of the text lead to the assumption that the little psalm belongs to the exilic period. But the phraseology of the text is not properly Deuteronomistic. The Deuteronomistic groups were therefore hardly the authors. But they have integrated a psalm or the part of a psalm from their own time in their composition. The idea of giving rain in v. 22 constituted the point of contact to the theme of drought. This statement about God as creator is therefore not of Deuteronomistic origin, but belongs to one of the traditions that the Deuteronomistic groups used in their editorial activity.[28]

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26. Cf. the literature quoted in Thiel, *Jeremia 26–45*, p. 29 n. 2.

27. Cf. Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, pp. 178-94

28. Cf. W. Thiel, 'Hēfer bᵉrît. Zum Bundbrechen im Alten Testament', *VT* 20 (1970), pp. 214-29 (220); *idem, Jeremia 1–25*, pp. 191-93.

V

Some other examples of notions of creation were found in the traditions and integrated by the Deuteronomists. In the famous saying of Solomon at the consecration of the temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 8.12-13) the text passage relating to the creation is missing in the Hebrew text, but is preserved in the Septuagint. This fact is evident, because the poetic structure is disturbed in the Hebrew text of v. 12. The parallelism of the line is incomplete. According to the Septuagint one has to translate:

> Yhwh 'has established the sun in the heavens',
> But has said that he would dwell in darkness.
> I certainly have built you a lordly house,[29]
> An established place for your dwelling for ever.

The completion of the first line by the text שמש הכין בשמים is evident. The use of the verb הכין (hi. of כון) in connection with the creation is attested in Jer. 10.12 = 51.15; Pss. 65.7; 74.16 (in Ps. 89.3 the text is uncertain). The next parallel is Ps. 74.16: 'The day is belonging to you, the night is belonging to you also, you have established light [the luminaries] and sun.' The verse substantiates the power of God over the cosmic phenomena like day and night by the creative act of God.

The power of disposition over the sun exercised by YHWH is also taken for granted in Josh. 10.12-13, a tradition that is now a part of the Deuteronomistic History. In this account of a fight between Israel under the leadership of Joshua and five Canaanite kings, perhaps developed from a Benjaminite tradition, YHWH supports Israel by intervention in the order of nature. The text belongs to the accounts of a 'holy war' (or 'war of Yhwh') in which God fights for Israel and confuses the enemies by divine terror.[30] The catchword for this tradition, המם, 'to terrify', appears in v. 10. Verse 11 describes how YHWH threw great stones from heaven on the fugitive enemies. Verses 12-13 report that the sun

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29. This translation of בית זבל is perhaps more appropriate than 'an exalted house'.

30. Cf. the 'classical' treatment by G. von Rad, *Der Heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 3rd edn, 1958), and the criticism expressed by M. Weippert, '"Heiliger Krieg" in Israel und Assyrien' (1972), in *Jahwe und die anderen Götter* (FAT, 18; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1997), pp. 71-97. In addition, cf. S.-M. Kang, *Divine War in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East* (BZAW, 177; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1989).

was stopped in its natural course till the end of the battle. In this connection v. 12 contains a poetic fragment originating from the 'Book of the Brave'. This could be the same source from which the saying in 1 Kgs 8.12-13 originates, if we accept the correction of 'Book of the Song' (ספר השיר) to 'Book of the Brave' (ספר הישר) in 1 Kgs 8.13. The mistake could have emerged already in the Hebrew text used by the Greek translators. But this is not certain.

In 1 Kgs 8.12-13 the reference to the sun has quite another purpose than in Josh. 10.12-13 or in Ps 74.16. It is true in all three texts the sun is subjugated to the domination of God and has no power of its own and no divine character as in the neighbouring religions. 1 Kings 8.12 formulates a contrast: the sun is visible in the sky, but YHWH is hidden in the darkness, however present in the Temple. The Temple is a house of God, a place of YHWH, his everlasting residence on the earth.

The content of the passage helps us to a precise understanding of the presence of God in the Temple. The verses do not say that YHWH has left the darkness in order to enter the Temple. The dark Holy of Holies, the דביר of the sanctuary, is not identified with the cosmic dwelling of YHWH. Both phenomena, the cosmic and the earthly, rather were connected with one another. Both are valid, and both belong together. The Temple as the house of God is the earthly representation of the celestial palace of YHWH. Here his presence can be experienced because the celestial and the earthly world meet each other at this place.[31]

Much more could be said on the theology of God's presence in the Temple in comparison to the earlier concept of the roving God, and on the relation between 1 Kgs 8.12-13 to 2 Sam. 7.5-6, where the building of the temple is forbidden, when in 1 Kgs 8.13 the building is stated. But this is another topic.

The remaining statements on creation in the traditions of the Deuteronomistic redactors are passages in psalms and prayers. Deuteronomy 32.6 from the Song of Moses was treated in connection with Deut. 4.32. 2 Kgs 19.15/Isa. 37.15, the beginning of a prayer, was briefly mentioned in connection with Jer. 32.17. I have to add 1 Sam. 2.8, a verse from the Song of Hannah. This is a psalm of praise secondarily inserted in the context because of the mention of the childless wife in v. 5. The text runs from vv. 6-8 with the following points of view: YHWH exercises power over the realm of death; he overthrows the revelations of human

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31. Cf. M. Metzger, 'Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes', *UF* 2 (1970), pp. 139-58.

power; and the world belongs to him because he has created it. The last thought is explicated in a mythological form that corresponds to the cosmological views of the ancient Near East. The same intention is found in Pss. 24.1-2; 89.12 and—without allusion to creation—in Deut. 10.14. Possibly the Song of Hannah (1 Sam. 2.1-10) was taken over together with the youth story of Samuel by the Deuteronomists. Perhaps, however, it was inserted later.

VI

From their early history the Israelites were aware of the power of their God over nature. In the oldest account of the rescue at the sea—except for the short victory song in Exod. 15.21b—YHWH drives away the sea by a strong east wind. At the right moment he brings back the sea and shakes the Egyptians into the water (Exod. 14.21, 27). The Israelites were probably convinced of the superiority of God over nature, before they took over the idea of creation from the Canaanites.

Texts witnessing the dominion of YHWH over nature are often attested in the Deuteronomistic History, partly in the redactional passages, more often in the included traditions. One of the relevant texts of redactional origin (1 Sam. 12.17) was discussed in connection with the farewell speech of Samuel in 1 Sam. 12. Moreover, the announcements of blessing and curse in Deut. 28 and 29.19-22 presuppose the sovereign management of YHWH over climate and weather, over health and sickness and over the fertility of men, animals and fields. At the least the curse-section of ch. 28 was expanded by the Deuteronomists, and ch. 29 is probably of Deuteronomistic origin.

But the conviction that the God of Israel is the lord of nature can be found much more in the earlier traditions of the Deuteronomistic History. I have already pointed to the text Josh. 10.10-13 containing a poetic fragment from the 'Book of the Brave' in v. 12 and belonging to the 'holy war' accounts like Exod. 14 in its most ancient layer. 1 Samuel 7.10 also belongs to this tradition. By his thunder, it is reported, God exercises a divine terror against the Philistines and grants Israel victory.

The best examples, however, are found in the prophetic miracle stories about Elijah (1 Kgs 17–18; 2 Kgs 1.9-15), Elisha (2 Kgs 3-7; 13.20-21) and Isaiah (2 Kgs 20.1-7/Isa. 38.1-6, 21; 2 Kgs 20.8-10/Isa. 38.22, 7-8). They witness God as lord over rain and drought, over abundance or absence of food, over the meteorological phenomena, over the

animals and over life and death. Above all, the Elisha legends show a real repertory of examples for this topic.

But it is disputed whether the Elisha traditions were an original part of the Deuteronomistic History.[32] I choose therefore 1 Kgs 17–18 as an example to be discussed. The composition dealing with a drought, with the decision between Baal and YHWH on mount Carmel and with the return of the rain is shaped from several transmitted stories. The earliest of these traditions are apparently the word of Elijah announcing the drought (17.1) and the short account on the return of the rain (18.41-46).

Some scholars state that Elijah and Elisha were originally miracle workers who possessed extraordinary powers. Only a theological editing has allegedly imputed the miracles to the power of YHWH.[33] This assumption is rather doubtful. It is true that the announcement of the drought in 17.1 is not shaped like a prophetic word of doom with YHWH as the originator of the disaster. It is the word of Elijah that shall cause and finish the drought. But in reality YHWH gives rise to the drought, because it is before him that Elijah stands (עמד לפני). This means, that Elijah is standing in the service of YHWH. He has spoken his word in the commission of God. It is impossible to eliminate the relative clause in 17.1 as a secondary theological insertion.

The same holds true for 18.41-46. Seemingly it is Elijah who works and brings back the rain by magical means. But the mentioning of the hand of YHWH in the last verse points, like 17.1 in a similar indirect way to God as the author of the event.

It is impossible to analyse the composition of 1 Kgs 17–18 as carefully as would be needed.[34] I will restrict myself to a concluding remark. The whole text is almost a didactic story on our subject, although its didactic character is not placed in the foreground. But it demonstrates in a narrative way that the fertility gods of the land of Canaan, in the first place Baal, were not responsible for rain and

32.   Cf. H.-J. Stipp, *Elischa—Propheten—Gottesmänner* (ATSAT, 24; St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1987).

33.   This is the conception of E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. 1. Kön. 17–2. Kön. 25* (ATD, 11.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), esp. pp. 269-72, 366-68. It was prepared by H.-C. Schmitt, *Elisa* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1972).

34.   I refer to my commentary on the books of Kings (beginning with the interpretation of 1 Kgs. 17) in BKAT (Könige. 2. Teilband. Lfg. 1 [BKAT, IX.12.1; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000]).

drought, for feeding and supply, for life and death. They have no power, they are not able to work, not even in their seemingly own realm, fertility. The one god who is effective in the proceedings of nature and in history is YHWH the God of Israel.

DEUTERO-ISAIAH'S TYPOLOGICAL USE OF JACOB
IN THE PORTRAYAL OF ISRAEL'S NATIONAL RENEWAL*

Meira Polliack

I would like to add two commandments to the ten commandments:
This is the eleventh commandment: do not change
And this is the twelfth commandment: change, you will change.[1]

1. *Introduction*

The process of creation, whether experienced by the individual or the collective, as a manifestation of God's involvement in life and history was a major concern to the towering exilic prophet whose oracles have been preserved in Isaiah 40–55.[2]

Much attention has been given to Deutero-Isaiah's conception of the cosmological event as a prototype for Israel's historical redemption, and to his reinterpretation of the biblical creation accounts (particularly Gen. 1.1–2.4), Exodus and Wilderness traditions in depicting the return from Babylon to Zion in terms of a 'new creation' and 'second exodus'.[3]

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* For Diana Lipton, friend of inspiring revisions.

1. Quoted from the poem 'My Son is joining the army', by Yehudah Amichai, *Open, Closed, Open* (Jerusalem: Schocken Books, 1998), p. 164 (the translation is mine).

2. I generally accept the distinctiveness of this part of the book and its identification with Deutero-Isaiah (including some parts of chs. 60–66). On the structure of Isa. 40–66, cf. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66* (trans. David M.G. Stalker; OTL; London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), pp. 27-30; R.N. Whybray, Isaiah 40–66 (NCB; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), pp. 38-43.

3. See M. Weinfeld's seminal work on the 'The Creator God in Genesis 1 and the Prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah' (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 37 (1968), pp. 105-32, and cf. M. Fishbane's discussion on Deutero-Isaiah's exegetical transformation of

Notwithstanding the centrality of these allusions, the theme of creation in Deutero-Isaiah extends beyond the cosmological-historical sphere. It functions as a powerful psychological and literary symbol, enfolding an array of subjects experiencing the process of change as a re-genesis, including the universe and humankind, the people of Israel and the land of Zion, but no less importantly the individual among the prophet's exilic audience, and the person of the prophet himself. The complexity of the symbol of creation explains the recurrence and radical usage of the image of birth in Deutero-Isaiah's rhetoric, for instance, in his depiction of God as a woman in labour or a midwife (42.14; 46.3-4; 66.9, 13).[4]

The prophet's frenzied search after a language to communicate the richness and intensity of his vision of creation results in the repetition and amalgamation of the verbs עשׂה יצר and ברא in different contexts, so as to afford them different shades of meaning. The dynamic of creation is often expressed by Deutero-Isaiah in relation to Israel's renewed purpose in God's universal scheme. Yet it appears that this is only one stratum in which we come to understand his prophecy, whereas his contemporaries and editors perceived various other strata that have since become obscure to us. These strata concern what Moshe Greenberg described as the 'common ground on which prophet and audience stand, not only regarding historical traditions but religious demands as well'. In other words, they find expression in Deutero-Isaiah's sense of continuity and solidarity with the values and language of prophetic tradition, and in his ability to rely on his audience's immediate recognition and identification of these values and the conventional language in which they are cast.[5]

pentateuchal traditions, *Biblical Interpretation in* Ancient Israel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 322-29; 354-68.

4.   See P. Trible's influential discussion of God's maternal qualities in Deutero-Isaiah, in her ground-breaking work *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), pp. 33-69. For a detailed survey of feminist criticism on Isaiah see J. Sawyer, *The Fifth Gospel: Isaiah in the History of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 198-219.

5.   See M. Greenberg, *Biblical Prose Prayer as a Window to the Popular Religion of Ancient Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 56. See also Michael Walzer's comment in his essay 'The Prophet as Social Critic', in *Interpretation and Social Criticism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), p. 81: 'The prophets invoke a particular religious tradition and a particular moral law, both of which they assume their audience know. The references are

The classical prophetic themes of socio-religious rebuke and impend-ing punishment are notably replaced in Deutero-Isaiah by the promise of consolation and announcement of deliverance. This thematic shift led some commentators to question Deutero-Isaiah's claim to prophecy, describing him as a 'preacher' or 'writer'. Yet, as pointed out by others, Deutero-Isaiah appears to have perceived himself as an integral link in the chain of prophetic tradition, and acted as an exponent of its long-standing commitment to social criticism.[6] It is the nature and circum-stances of this criticism that changed in his times, not their function. In fact, no other prophet seems so indebted to the dialogue with his prede-cessors than Deutero-Isaiah, most particularly to the works of Proto-Isaiah and Jeremiah with whom he engages through various forms of inner-biblical allusion and interpretation.[7]

Deutero-Isaiah's appropriation of earlier biblical materials, whether Pentateuchal or prophetic, has been analysed from the perspective of

constant, and while some of them are mysterious to us, they were presumably not mysterious to the men and women who gathered at Beth-El or Jerusalem to listen. We need footnotes, but prophecy is not, like some modern poetry, meant to be read with footnotes.'

6. As an example of this general view see Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, p. 7: 'Deutero-Isaiah regarded himself as the lineal descendant of the pre-exilic prophets...'; and cf. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, pp. 23-25.

7. On the relationship between Deutero-Isaiah and Proto-Isaiah and its impli-cations for canonical criticism, see R. Rendtorff, 'The Book of Isaiah: A Complex Unity and Diachronic Reading', in: R.F. Melugin and M.A. Sweeney (eds.), *New Visions of Isaiah* (JSOTSup, 214; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), pp. 32-49, and cf. Melugin's Introductory essay to this volume (pp. 13-29). As to the continuity between Deutero-Isaiah and prophetic tradition (particularly that of Jeremiah), see the careful analysis of B.D. Sommer in the above volume, 'Allusions and Illusions: The Unity of the Book of Isaiah in Light of Deutero-Isaiah's Use of Prophetic Tradition', pp. 156-86, and cf. the earlier works of U. Cassuto, e.g., 'On the Formal and Stylistic Relationship between Deutero Isaiah and Other Biblical Writers', in U. Cassuto, *Biblical and Oriental Studies* (in Hebrew), I: Bible (trans. from Hebrew and Italian by I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1973 [1929]), pp. 143-60 and S. Paul, 'Literary and Ideological Echoes of Jeremiah in Deutero-Isaiah', in P. Peli, *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, I (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1969), pp. 109-21. For further discus-sion of Deutero-Isaiah's use of biblical traditions as a whole see the references in n. 4 above and cf. B.J. Sommer's recent comprehensive volume, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusions in Isaiah 40–66* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

various, and sometimes overlapping, theoretical categories such as (what is called) 'intertextuality', 'inner-biblical exegesis' or 'literary allusion'. The problematics of these terms and their underlying conceptions, especially when applied to biblical literature, lies outside the scope of this article. In this limited context, I prefer to define the general prophetic activity of relating to earlier traditions or texts as a form of 'intertextuality', in accordance with Bakhtin's basic definition of this phenomenon as the 'dialogical orientation' characteristic of all discourse: 'Discourse comes upon the discourse of the other on all roads that lead to its object, and it cannot but enter into intense and lively interaction with it.'[8]

More limited than 'intertextuality', the theoretical category of 'typological exegesis' or 'inner-biblical typology' more accurately describes Deutero-Isaiah's tendency to offer a continuous interpretation of earlier biblical texts or traditions. Inner-biblical typology is defined by Michael Fishbane as a:

> literary-historical phenomenon which isolates perceived correlations between specific events, persons, or places early in time and their later correspondents...in so far as the 'later correspondents' occur in history and time, they will never be precisely identical with their prototype, but inevitably stand in a hermeneutical relationship with them... Typological exegesis celebrates new historical events in so far as they can be correlated with older ones. By this means it also reveals unexpected unity in historical experience and providential continuity in its new patterns and shapes.[9]

In other words, inner-biblical typology is an interpretative method, that relates to certain characters or events as archetypes of characters or events that are conceived of as operating in a later time zone. Deutero-Isaiah's references to Jacob may be assigned to the subcategory defined

8.   See M. Bakhtin quoted in T. Todorov, *Mikhail Bakhtin: the Dialogical Principle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 62, as discussed by D. Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 22-23. It is often difficult to differentiate between an allusion that functions as inner-biblical exegesis that is, serves as a hermeneutical tool, intended to explain a known biblical text or tradition, and one that reflects literary creativity, and serves as a rhetorical tool intended to deepen the effect of the prophet's message. On the problematics of terminology, and the importance of distinguishing literary allusion from inner-biblical exegesis, see Sommer, 'Allusions and Illusions', pp. 156-57.

9.   See Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation* (1988), pp. 351-52.

by Fishbane as 'biographical typology', which constitutes 'the typologi-
cal alignment in the Hebrew Bible of persons and the correlation or
interfacing of their personal traits and personal behaviours'.[10] The per-
sonality of Jacob is aligned in this respect with that of his descendants,
born of the twelve tribes of Israel. While typologies of a cosmological-
historical nature have been recognized as a typical feature of Deutero-
Isaiah's prophecy, his use of biographical typology has generally been
overlooked. It has mostly been discussed in respect of the allusions to
Abraham in 41.8 ('seed of Abraham my lover') and 51.2 ('recall Abra-
ham your forefather and Sarah who bore you; for he was one when I
called him, but I blessed him and made him numerous'). The latter
verse has been explained in terms of inner-biblical polemic with Ezek.
33.24 ('Abraham was but one and he inherited the land, and we are
many [so how much the more so] is the land given to us as an inher-
itance?'); a verse that seems to condemn the claim of those who
remained in Canaan that they are the legitimate progeny of Abraham,
unlike the Babylonian exiles or returnees.[11]

Whereas Abraham is mentioned twice by name, Jacob's name is used
in various combinations, merging the individual with the collective, 17
times throughout chs. 40–48 alone (21 times in 40–66). These contain
the highest concentration of references to Jacob outside the Jacob cycle
in Genesis (25–36). Perhaps the identification of Jacob with Israel, so
common a coin of biblical rhetoric, makes it easier to disregard the
specific contours of his persona in Deutero-Isaiah's allusions, whereas
the references made to Abraham, Sarah (51.2) and Noah (54.9) seem
more evident.[12] Deutero-Isaiah builds, nevertheless, on this common

10. See Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation* (1988), p. 372.

11. See Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation* (1988), p. 375, and cf. S. Japhet,
'People and Land in the Restoration Period', in *Das Land Israel in biblischer Zeit*
(Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), pp. 103-25. The implication is that
whereas Ezekiel criticizes those who remained in Cannan for their typological
alignment with Abraham, as part of their false claim to the land, Deutero-Isaiah
encourages this identification, among the returning exiles as well as those who
remained, as a means of fostering hope in a combined future. This is but one
example of Deutero-Isaiah's tendency to reverse the message of earlier prophets,
particularly of Proto-Isaiah and Jeremiah, by reiterating their words in a new context
(cf. Sommer, 'Allusions and Illusions', pp. 158-60).

12. Unambiguous biographical allusions to Jacob are sometimes completely
ignored in favour of other patriarchs. Consider Westermann's analysis of Isa. 43.1
as alluding to Abraham (*Isaiah 40–66*, pp. 116-17). The possibility that some

identification of Jacob with Israel in order to drive home the eponymous link between the patriarch and his descendants. When listened to alongside other allusions to the Jacob cycle, the constant naming of Jacob and the references to his 'calling by name' almost cry out from the pages of Deutero-Isaiah.[13]

While modern critics generally ignore the prophet's frequent naming of Jacob, they often identify 43.27 as a single allusion to the sinful character of the patriarch: בי פשעו ומליציך חטא הראשון אביך ('your father was the first to sin...' or 'your first father sinned, and your medi-tors transgressed against me' (RSV). According to Whybray, for instance

> this verse shows how completely Deutero-Isaiah stands in the tradition of his predecessors the great prophets of the pre-exilic period. He sweepingly denounces Israel's record of sin from the very beginning of its history. The first father is probably Jacob. Deutero-Isaiah appears to be following a tradition recorded in Hosea 12.3-4, where also Jacob is singled out as a notorious sinner.[14]

prophets may have regarded Jacob in a positive light is rarely raised by ancient and modern Christian exegetes, see further on this topic M. Polliack, 'Jacob's Figure in Hosea 12—Typological Approaches in Medieval Jewish Exegesis and in Modern Bible Criticism' (in Hebrew), *Beit Mikra* 154-55 (1998), pp. 277-301; 156 (1998), pp. 39-54.

13. Considering Deutero-Isaiah's audience, the constant naming of Jacob appears deliberate, since he is addressing exiled Judaites as if they were Israelites, thus appropriating to them the full status of Jacob's descendants. In this he provides an answer to the problem that so preoccupied his generation, namely, who is the real Israel? By referring to each and every one of his audience as an heir of Jacob–Israel, the prophet is claiming that the entire nation has been forgiven its transgres-sions, northerners and southerners alike. There is only one Israel, therefore, whose common ancestor is Jacob, the father of all tribes.

14. See Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, p. 93. Cf. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, p. 133, who considers the verse alleges: 'Israel's wrongdoing began as early as the time of her ancestors. The reference is certainly to Jacob, and Deutero Isaiah takes his stand on a tradition concerning him, which is also presupposed in Hosea 12:3-5, a tradi-tion in which, clearly, the Jacob stories are tried and found wanting.' Mediaeval Jewish commentators, however, interpret the reference to the 'first father' in Isa. 43.27 as alluding to Abraham (see Rashi, *Rabbinic Bible*) or Adam (see Kimhi, *Rabbinic Bible: Mikra'ot Gedolot Haketer, Isaiah* [ed. M. Cohen; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1996]), deliberately refraining from stating the obvious iden-tification, apparently due to polemical motivation (cf. n. 10 above and see following discussion on pp. 93-94; 99).

Hosea's words are generally interpreted as reflecting a negative stance towards Jacob whom the Lord will punish 'according to his ways...in the womb he took his brother by the heel, and in his manhood he strove with God.'[15]

This stance is also attributed to Jeremiah (see 9.3-5: 'for every brother is a supplanter, and every neighbor goes about as a slanderer'), a prophet who was indebted to Hosea, on the one hand, and who served as a great influence upon Deutero-Isaiah, on the other hand.[16]

It is likely that the parallelism first drawn by Hosea between Israel's innate rebelliousness and that of their forefather was conceived by later generations as one of the reasons for Ephraim's predicament. With time, Jeremiah's indictments were added to those of Hosea, and in the exile period they were understood as a reason for Judah's fall, and for God's rejection of the nation as a whole. This is why Deutero-Isaiah, as an exilic prophet, had to address the figure of Jacob, both in his ancestral and collective attires, without deflecting the issue of his guilt. Jacob was the patriarch most identified in the collective consciousness of his audience with 'the sins of the fathers': his character is portrayed in Pentateuchal traditions as the shadiest amongst the patriarchs, and the pre-exilic prophets taught that some of that shadiness rubbed off on his descendants.

It seems that the consciousness of the Judaean exiles was torn between a deep sense of guilt, on the one hand, which led to the conclusion that God had utterly abandoned them, and a more self-preserving historical reflection that they were punished unjustly for the sins of previous generations. Both these sentiments are reflected in the text of Lamentations, which, on the one hand, asks 'Has thou utterly rejected us? Art thou exceedingly angry with us?' (5.22), and on the other hand asserts, 'We have become orphans, fatherless; our mothers are like widows...our fathers sinned and are no more; and we bear their iniquities' (5.7).

Deutero-Isaiah himself voices this latter sentiment in his contention that Jerusalem has payed 'doublefold' for her sins (40.2), that is, more than was her due. The sensation of total abandonment, on the other hand, is touched upon in his first address to Jacob: 'Why do you say, O Jacob, and speak, O Israel, "My way is hidden from the Lord, and my

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15. For detailed discussion of mediaeval and modern exegetical trends concerning these verses see Polliack, 'Jacob's Figure in Hosea 12'.

16. Cf. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation* (1988), pp. 376-79.

right is disregarded by my God"?' (40.27-31). It is repeated in the second half of the book, wherein the feminine personification of Israel, Zion, complains: 'The Lord has forsaken me, my Lord has forgotten me' (49.14). In both cases the prophet's answers assert that the Lord has not forgotten Israel, emphasizing the constancy of his love and implying that their sins have been forgiven.[17]

In my view, Deutero-Isaiah ingeniously sought to tackle the conflicting sentiments of the exiles, namely that God abandoned them and that they suffered unjustly, through concentrating on Jacob as a double symbol of patriarchy and nationhood. On the one hand, he admits to Jacob's guilt, as in the verse אָבִיךָ הָרִאשׁוֹן חָטָא (43.27, and see further the discussion on 48.1-5, 8), and so positions himself as the direct bearer of pre-exilic prophetic tradition. Unlike his predecessors, however, he cannot leave his audience locked in the sense of a preordained tragic destiny. He therefore has to remould Jacob's image in their eyes, by emphasizing other aspects of his character, known from tradition, which have a positive, life-giving force. He does this through shifting the emphasis from Jacob's mendacities and rebellious nature to his personal journey from a state of rejection to one of acceptance and hence refound hope.[18]

More than that of Abraham, Jacob's narrative cycle in Genesis is structured by the symbols of struggle and transformation; his overcoming of failure and fear through trust in God is presented as a gradual process, fraught with difficulty and incomplete. In this respect, Jacob's story is more relevant to the experiences of an exilic audience than any other biographical typology. By re-emphasizing Jacob's personal journey, and de-emphasizing (or even reversing) the transmitted prophetic presentation of his character, Deutero-Isaiah sought to re-establish the patriarch's image as a model of identification for his audience. In his prophecy, the forefather's struggle foreshadows their struggle, while his personal transformation and constant hope in God serves as a means of

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17. Cf. similar questions raised by postexilic prophets such as Zechariah (1.2) and Malachi (1.1), which reflect the concern of the exiles and returnees over the constancy of God's love for Israel in the light of its ancestral past.

18. This shift is achieved through the intricate positioning of allusions to Jacob's born underhandedness (in the tradition of pre-exilic prophecy) alongside new allusions to unemphasized junctures of his biography, such as the special circumstances of his birth and his renaming by God, see in the following, pp. 84-99.

strengthening the exiles' self-image and restoring their confidence in God's guidance.[19]

This reversal of Jacob's image is achieved through continuous allusions to his character that build up the typology and are threaded throughout chs. 40–48. They are particularly concentrated in six passages, hence referred to as the 'Jacob passages', found in 40.27-31; 41.8-13; 43.1-7; 43.22–44.4; 44.21-24; and 48.1-20. The allusions to Jacob serve both a rhetoric and a thematic purpose.

Thematically, they highlight Israel's national renewal through invoking scenes of common experiences to Jacob the patriarch and the Israelites in Egypt, in order to infer from them concerning the fate of the Babylonian exiles. In other words, the theme of Israel's national renewal functions as a foreground scene of a vast panoramic painting that has two competing background scenes, that of Jacob in the house of Laban and Israel in Egypt, the house of bondage. As an additional strategy the prophet relies on the common typological nexus of the patriarchal and Exodus traditions as interrelated models of the 'return home'. He often deliberately juxtaposes and blurs between their common motifs, such as the passage through water on the way to Canaan, in the way that he blurs between the Creation and Exodus accounts.[20]

19. The growing consensus among scholars concerning the dating of the final redaction of Genesis in the exilic period strengthens the possibility that the Jacob cycle was ultimately fashioned to highlight the connections between the life of Jacob and the situation of Israel in the Babylonian exile. It is difficult to assess how much Deutero-Isaiah influenced the Genesis redactors, or, in turn, how much they influenced him in this respect. Here we can only point out Deutero-Isaiah's rhetorical use of the Jacob cycle in highlighting these same connections. For a fascinating and detailed analysis of Gen. 28 as a dream of confirmation, whose final redaction dates from the exilic period, validating that 'despite being the exiled brother, Jacob was the chosen son', and providing 'a form of typological confirmation that the Jewish exiles would return from Babylon in a position of superiority over the remnant who stayed behind', see D. Lipton, *Revisions of the Night* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 63-114 (citation from p. 113, and cf. her discussion of Deutero-Isaiah and the notes provided on pp. 111-13).

20. For an example of the blurring of the Exodus and Creation accounts within a single passage see 51.9-11. On the connection between the motifs of creation and redemption in Deutero-Isaiah, cf. B.W. Anderson, 'Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah', in B.W. Anderson and W. Harrelson (eds.), *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (New York: Harper & Brothers; London: SCM Press, 1962), pp. 177-95; G. von Rad, 'The Theological Problem of the Old

The merging of the Jacob and Exodus traditions strengthens the sense of the historical precedent that the Judaean exiles are about to relive, involving the earlier stages of transgression, punishment and recognition of guilt, and the current stages of forgiveness and restoration through the return to the Promised Land.

Rhetorically, the allusions cluster into four major literary motifs, which underscore the correlations between biographical Jacob and collective Israel. These motifs, around which the following discussion is structured, include the journey, the exhortation 'fear not for I am with you', the calling by name and the creation from the womb. Their effect is strengthened by other motifs and leading words strewn throughout chs. 40–48.

2. *The Journey*

The typological correlation between Jacob's return journey from Aram to Cannan and that of the Israelites' from Egypt to the Promised Land has often been discussed with regard to the editorial structuring of the Pentateuch and need not be elaborated in this context.[21]

In order to present the exiles' prospective return journey as an established historical fact, Deutero-Isaiah makes ample use of the known parallelisms between Jacob's journey and that of Israelites in the wilderness, sometimes deliberately blurring between the two, as in 43.1-7. He deepens the journey motif by drawing on the universal, literary and

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Testament Doctrine of Creation', in G. von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1966), pp. 131-43.

21. Consider the motifs common to both narratives, such as the pursuit by enemies, the crossing of water, the hostile encounter with brothers. On the national-ethnic considerations (dating from the period of the United Monarchy) reflected in the Jacob cycle, see M. Fishbane, *Biblical Text and Texture* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979; reprinted Oxford: One World, 1998), pp. 60-62 (and cf. n. 18 above); *idem, Biblical Interpretation* [1988], pp. 376-77. This typological correlation finds particular expression in the thanksgiving prayer of the bearer of first fruits (Deut. 26.6-10), which begins: 'A wandering Aramean was my father; and he went down into Egypt; and sojourned there...' and in the prophecy of Hos. 12.13-14, who openly juxtaposes the figures of Jacob and Moses: 'Jacob fled to the land of Aram, there Israel did service for a wife, and for a wife he herded sheep. By a prophet the Lord brought Israel up from Egypt, and by a prophet he was preserved.'

mythological symbol of the journey, which signifies the process of change or transformation, that takes place through time and space, in the life of the individual and that of a group.[22]

The symbol of the 'journey' (Hebrew דרך, 'way', 'voyage', 'passage through') underlies the first Jacob passage found in ch. 40.27-31, which opens with Jacob's complaint 'my way is hidden from the Lord' (נסתרה דרכי מיהוה).Though this complaint is cast in the common style of the individual lament (cf. Job 3.23; Pss. 13.2; 22.25), and the word דרך occurs only once, the passage as a whole develops the theme of one who has tired on the journey, and to whom the belief in God provides extraordinary power and strength: 'they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint' (v. 31).

The motif of the journey (with the mention of דרך) recurs in other Jacob passages, including 41.9; 43.2; 48.17. In 43.2, דרך denotes 'passage through' waters, yet it is used in a way that deliberately blurs between Jacob's journey back to Canaan and that of the Israelites, as will be shown below.

The biographical typology relies not only on the use of the form דרך, but on the wider motif of the journey, both of which are particularly associated with Jacob's character. Jacob's life story is presented in the Genesis cycle as one 'on the move' as a sequence of three journeys, whose destinations are Aram, Canaan and Egypt. In all three God promises to guard the patriarch 'on the way'. First, on fleeing from his brother to Aram and resting at Beth-El, he is assured in his dream והנה אנכי עמך ושמרתיך בכל אשר תלך (Gen. 28.15), after which he pledges אם יהיה אלהים עמדי ושמרני בדרך הזה אשר אנכי הולך (Gen. 28.20). Secondly, on his return to Canaan, this time after fleeing from Laban and the feared encounter with Esau, Jacob describes God to his household as the one 'who answered me in the day of my distress and has been with me on the way, wherever I have gone' (ויהי עמדי אשר הלכתי , Gen. 35.3).

In this manner, both junctures of Jacob's traumatic journey away

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22. For a comparative literary analysis of the Jacob epic as one depicting the physical and mental passage from a state of unawareness to one of mature self-knowledge, see for instance, R.S. Hendel, *The Epic of the Patriarch: The Jacob Cycle and the Narrative Traditions of Canaan and Israel* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) and cf. W.T. Miller, *Mysterious Encounters at Mamre and Jabbok* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1966), pp. 97-155.

from Canaan and back to it are marked by the notion that God answered him and was with him on the 'way'. Moreover, the experience of God's absence 'on the way', is also one identified with Jacob, in less fortunate and lengthier periods of his lifetime, as when he tells Joseph of Rachel's dying upon him 'in the land of Canaan on the way' (מתה עלי רחל בארץ כנען בדרך, Gen. 48.7), or when Judah reports his father's fear that Benjamin may befall a tragedy 'on the way' (וקראהו אסון בדרך, Gen. 42.38). It is hard to prove that Isa. 40.27-31, and especially Jacob–Israel's complaint in v. 27 (נסתרה דרכי מיהוה) contains a biographical allusion. When viewed, however, in the wider context of this passage and the other Jacob passages, it does appear to point at the Genesis intertext. Within the remainder of Isa. 40.27-31, the prophet's choice of the rare term אין אונים (v. 29) draws attention. The root און appears four more times in the Hebrew Bible, all of which are connected in some way with Jacob: Rachel's naming of Benjamin in Gen. 35.18 (בן־אוני ויהי כי מתה ותקרא שמו); Jacob's blessing to Reuben in Gen. 49.3 (אתה כחי וראשית אוני בכרי); and most notably Hosea's negative typology, comparing Jacob's over-confidence in his strength to that of Ephraim in 12.4, 9 (ובאונו שרה את אלהים ... אך עשרתי מצאתי און לי).

In this light it is possible to read Isa. 40.27-31 as a continuous allusion to Jacob, who became powerless (אין־אונם) when he fled from his homeland. His reliance and hope in God throughout the long journey provided him with a different, miraculous kind of strength, as is hinted in the Genesis cycle: the strength to roll the rock off the well after a long journey; to produce an abundant flock while slaving for Laban; to struggle and overcome the man-angel. The analogy with the prophet's current audience is thus singled out: they too have become powerless and tired through exile, yet their hope in God will provide them with a newly found strength that will sustain them on their journey back to Canaan: 'But they who wait for the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings like eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint' (וקוי יהוה יחליפו כח יעלו אבר כנשרים ירוצו ולא יינעו ילכו ולא ייעפו, v. 31).

Deutero-Isaiah does not chastise Jacob for his reliance upon his own strength and his over-confidence, as did Hosea. Rather, he makes use of paradox (as he does in other contexts) in order to emphasize that strength is found in the lack of strength. The biographical allusion focuses on God's accompaniment of Jacob in the time of his greatest weakness, by reminding the audience of the forefather's constant hope

in God. This reinterpretation of Jacob's journey is also underlined by several other motifs that appear in the next Jacob passage, 41.8-14.[23]

2. *God's Accompaniment on the Journey in Face of Adversaries*

In Isa. 41.8-16, the cry 'fear not' and its substantiation 'for I am with you' function as a refrain. The exhortation appears in full in v. 10, while the cry 'fear not' is repeated in vv. 13-14. Variations of the exhortation also recur in other Jacob passages, including 43.1, 5 and 44.2. Some modern critics interpret Deutero-Isaiah's use of the exhortation in the context of a salvation oracle, in light of its parallel function in Akkadian royal hymns and edicts, particularly Cyrus's edict. Others, interpret its function in light of biblical forms of the individual's lament (Pss. 23.4; 49.6, 17), theophany (Dan. 10.8) or holy war (Exod. 14.13; Deut. 1.21; Jos 8.1).[24]

Rarely is it suggested, however, that the exhortation in 41.10 simply functions as an allusion to the promises made by God to all three patriarchs, especially when considering the specific mention of Jacob and Abraham in v. 8.

Commentators tend to disregard the similarity between v. 10, אל תירא כי אני עמך and God's words to Isaac after the quarrel with the herds-men of Gerar (Gen. 26.24), אל תירא כי אתך אנכי וברכתין והרביתי את זרעך בעבור אברהם עבדי. The second stitch of the exhortation, 'I

23. The mediaeval Spanish Jewish commentator Nahmanides noted the connec-tion between Isa. 40.31 and the description of Jacob's special strength in his com-mentary on Gen. 29:2 (Nahmanides, nevertheless, does not discuss whether Isaiah actually alluded to Jacob): ויאריך הכתוב בספור הזה להודיענו כי קווי ה' יחליפו כח ויראתו תתן עז כי הנה יעקב אבינו בא מן הדרך והוא עיף ויגל לבדו האבן אשר היו צריכים אליה הדועים ושלושה עדרי צאן אשר להם רועים רבים ושומרים כלם רועים עליה אינם יכולים להניעה (= This story is lengthy in order to inform us that 'they who wait for the Lord shall renew their strength', and that belief in the Lord will give strength, for Jacob our father came (there) tired from the way, and he rolled the rock off the well on his own.' See H. Shavel, *Nahmanides Commentary on the Pentateuch* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Mossad Harev Kook, 1996), p. 162 (the English translation is mine).

24. Outside Israel, the exhortation is found in various Sumerian and Akkadian hymns, in which the substantiation 'I am with you' is also attested; see C. Wester-mann, *Isaiah 40–66*, pp. 71-72. There is also acknowledgment of the parallelisms between Deutero-Isaiah's exhortations and those of Jer. 30.10-11 and 46.27-28: see S.M. Paul, 'Deutero-Isaiah and Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions', *JAOS* 88 (1968), pp. 180-86.

am/will be with you', occurs also in Gen. 26,4 and 28, both verses stressing Isaac's ability to face his adversaries.[25]

According to the patriarchal narratives all three fathers were subject to some part of this exhortation at least once in their lifetime, usually in connection with the fate of their offspring,[26] Abraham in Gen. 15.1 (אל תירא אברם אנכי מגן לך שכרך הרבה מאד) and Jacob, before he embarked on his last journey to Egypt in Gen. 46.2-3, where the patriarch's name is mentioned three times (ויאמר אלהים לישראל במראת הלילה ויאמר יעקב יעקב ויאמר הנני ויאמר אנכי האל אלהי אביך אל תירא מרדה מצרימה כי לגוי גדול אשימך שם:). In Jacob's case the cry 'fear not' is meant to dispel both aspects of his fear, that of a prospective journey to Egypt and that concerning the fate of his offspring there. As noted in the discussion of the journey motif, the second stitch of the exhortation, namely 'I am with you', appears in the context of Jacob's earlier travels to Aram and from it (Gen. 28.15, 35.3). To this may be added God's command to Jacob in Aram (Gen. 31.3): שוב אל ארץ אבותיך ולמולדתך ואהיה עמך. The allusion to Jacob is particularly relevant to Deutero-Isaiah's exilic audience, since Jacob is the only patriarch told not to fear before embarking on a journey. Moreover, he is the forefather who most professes to the experience of fear, particularly in relation to adversaries who threaten his offspring, such as Laban and Esau (Gen. 28.17; 31.31 and especially 32.8 (וירא יעקב מאד ויצר לו) and 32.11).[27]

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25. Though Deutero-Isaiah does not refer to Isaac by name, his mention of Jacob and Abraham in v. 8, and the specific phraseology of the exhortation appear to allude to Isaac as one of the three patriarchs, see Amos Khaham, *The Book of Isaiah* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem: Mossad Harev Kook, 1984), p. 431. For other commentators who note the connections between the exhortation formula and the Jacob cycle, particularly with regard to Isa. 43.1-7, see Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, pp. 140-41 and the notes provided there; Lipton, *Revisions of the Night*, p. 112.

26. It is worth noting that two matriarchs, Hagar (Gen. 21.17) and Rachel (Gen. 35.17) are also subject to its first part: אל תראי.

27. In the patriarchal narratives, Abraham is never described by the root ירא as experiencing fear related to human adversaries, whereas Isaac is described so only once, in Gen. 26.7: כי ירא לאמר אשתי. The ancient typological nexus between the Jacob and Exodus narratives is underlined by the use of the root ירא in similar contexts, cf. Exod. 14.10: והנה מצרים נסע אחריהם וייראו מאד to Gen. 32.7 (quoted above). In this context, note Westermann's far-fetched assumption that the cry 'fear not' in Isa. 43.1 functions as an allusion to Abraham (*Isaiah 40–66*, pp. 116-17: 'Just as it was once said to Abraham, "fear not, Abraham" (Gen. 15:1), so now

The lengthy description of Jacob's contenders who will be put to shame (Isa. 41.11-13) may be interpreted in this typological context as an allusion to Laban and his household, in their oppression and pursuit of Jacob. Verse 11, הן יבשו ויכלמו כל הנחרים בך יהיו כאין ויאבדו אנשי ריבך, seems especially charged in this respect. Its parallelism between the roots ריב and חרה is mirrored in Jacob's outburst against Laban (Gen. 31.36): ויחר ליעקב וירב בלבן ויען יעקב ויאמר ללבן מה-פשעי מה חטאתי כי דלקת אחרי[28] Isa. 41.8-9, and especially the words: 'I have chosen you and not cast you off' (בחרתיך ולא מאסתיך), reverberate as an answer to Jacob–Israel's complaint of rejection in 40.27: 'My way is hidden from the Lord'. The answer underlies the prophet's wider attempt to redress the exile's negative self-image; one which was partly fashioned by the emphasis put by pre-exilic prophets on God's 'disgust' with Jacob–Israel, by use of the form מאס (see, for instance, Amos 5.21, Isa. 5.24; 8.6; Jer 6.30; 14.19; 33.24).

By describing Jacob as God's chosen one, a link in the chain of 'beloved' forefathers (the form בחרתיך is mentioned twice, in vv. 8-9, with a possible wordplay on ברכה, cf. Isa. 44.3), Deutero-Isaiah hints at Jacob's worthiness of the blessing, despite his evil deeds. In this he reverses the pre-exilic phraseology concerning God's rejection of Jacob–Israel and continues the note of reassurance (as begun in 40.1), directed towards Jacob's current descendants among his audience.[29]

again, in the hour of her deepest humiliation, it can be said to Israel "Fear not, Jacob". And the significance of the words "I have called you by name" is made perfectly clear in the story of the offering of Isaac, in which, at its most terrible moment, Abraham hears a voice calling to him: "Abraham, Abraham"'. It seems more likely that the reference to 'calling by name' serves as an allusion to Jacob, whose story provides the subtext for the entire passage, see further below. The refusal to accept that Jacob may be the referent of a 'positive' prophetic allusion is tendentious to modern biblical criticism.

28. This root sequence may be a mere coincidence, or it may reflect one instance of Deutero-Isaiah's tendency to split up a phrase from his inner-biblical source, see the illuminating discussion of Sommer, 'Allusions and Illusions', pp. 158-59. Other examples of the form ויחר suggest tension among family members, or close acquaintances cf. Gen. 30.2; 31.35; 34.7; 39.19; 44.18; Song 1.6.

29. Cf. the prophet Malachi's similar reversal in reference to the national-ethnic typology of struggle between Jacob and Esau in 1.2: אהבתי אתכם אמר יהוה ואמרתם במה אהבתנו הלא אח עשו ליעקב נאם יהוה ואהב את יעקב ואת עשו שנאתי and see Rashi's comment on Isa. 41.9; קראתיך בשם לחלקי: בני בכרי ישראל. ולא מאסתיך (מלכי א,ג) כעשו שנאמר: ואת עשיו שנאתי.

The biographical typology in Isa. 41.8-16 is strengthened by four other leitmotifs, some of which recur in other Jacob passages. These tend to underscore the common nexus of the Jacob and Exodus traditions:

(1) The adjective 'my slave' appears twice in Isa. 41.8-9, וְאַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל עַבְדִּי יַעֲקֹב אֲשֶׁר בְּחַרְתִּיךָ...וָאֹמַר לְךָ עַבְדִּי אַתָּה בְּחַרְתִּיךָ וְלֹא מְאַסְתִּיךָ, and is also attached to the names of Jacob or Israel in the other passages, such as 44.1, 2, 21; 48.20. Regardless of its wider function in the servant songs, which do not directly concern us here, and in Near Eastern royal inscriptions, it may allude to Jacob's status as a slave in the household of Laban, which is emphasized time and again in the Genesis cycle by the use of the form עֶבֶד.[30]

It may also hint at the wider parallelism between the accounts of Jacob's abuse in the house of Laban (extended by Joseph's experience of slavery, see Gen. 37.27-28; 44.16) and the Israelites' bondage in Egypt, in which the form עֶבֶד also functions as a leading word (see Exod. 13.3, 14; 14.13; Deut. 6.21; etc.).

(2) The description of Jacob–Israel's adversaries in vv. 11-12 may allude to Laban's hot pursuit of Jacob (see Gen. 31.23, 36), which is paralleled by Pharaoh's pursuit of the Israelites (see Exod. 14.9, 25; 15.9).[31]

(3) Verse 14, אַל תִּירְאִי תּוֹלַעַת יַעֲקֹב מְתֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲנִי עֲזַרְתִּיךְ נְאֻם יהוה וְגֹאֲלֵךְ קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל , and, especially the juxtaposition of the 'worm of Jacob' to the description of God as Israel's 'redeemer', was likely to strike a cord in the hearts of Deutero-Isaiah's listeners. The use of the form גָּאַל in its various biblical connotations (including a slave-freer, the performer of a Levirate marriage, the protector of a widow and orphans), is typical of Deutero-Isaiah as a whole, and the Jacob passages in particular, including 43.1, 44.6 and 48.20.

While the verb גָּאַל is often associated with God's rescue of Israel

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30. See especially Gen. 31.6-7: וְאַתֵּנָה יְדַעְתֶּן כִּי בְּכָל־כֹּחִי עָבַדְתִּי אֶת אֲבִיכֶן וַאֲבִיכֶן
31.41-42: הֶתֶל בִּי וְהֶחֱלִף אֶת־מַשְׂכֻּרְתִּי עֲשֶׂרֶת מֹנִים וְלֹא נְתָנוֹ אֱלֹהִים לְהָרַע עִמָּדִי; זֶה לִי עֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה בְּבֵיתֶךָ עֲבַדְתִּיךָ אַרְבַּע־עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה בִּשְׁתֵּי בְנֹתֶיךָ וְשֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים בְּצֹאנֶךָ וַתַּחֲלֵף אֶת מַשְׂכֻּרְתִּי עֲשֶׂרֶת מֹנִים לוּלֵי אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם וּפַחַד יִצְחָק הָיָה לִי כִּי עַתָּה רֵיקָם שִׁלַּחְתָּנִי אֶת־עָנְיִי וְאֶת־יְגִיעַ כַּפַּי רָאָה אֱלֹהִים וַיּוֹכַח אָמֶשׁ.

31. See the above discussion and n. 25 above. The notion that biographical Jacob's adversaries belong to his own flesh and blood may have served the prophet, since the notion of the internal enemy (symbolized by Esau and Laban) as opposed to the external one (symbolized by the Egyptians and Pharaoh) was closer to the historical reality of the exiles, who received external support in their struggle to return, but were threatened by internal strife and competition.

from Egypt (see Jer. 31.11; Exod. 6.6; 15.13) the participle גואל occurs only once in Genesis, when Jacob refers to the 'redeeming angel' who protected him on his life's journey, before the blessing to Ephraim and Manasseh (48.15-16):

האלהים אשר התהלכו אבתי לפניו אברהם ויצחק
האלהים הרעה אותי מעודי עד היום הזה
המלאך הגאל אותי מכל־רע יברך את הנערים
ויקרא בהם שמי ושם אבתי אברהם ויצחק
וידגו לרב בקרב הארץ

The biographical and historical allusions are generally merged in Deutero-Isaiah's choice of leading words, such as 'redeemer', 'slave' and 'adversaries', yet in each case the biographical typology is the more salient one.

It has been shown, so far, that the interlocking major motifs of the journey and God's accompaniment upon this journey (expressed through the exhortation 'fear not') are embroidered by other leitmotifs, such as the fear and suffering caused by loss of power, slavery and adversaries, and Jacob's ability to prevail through his constant hope in God's redeeming power.

(4) The fourth leitmotif that builds up the journey motif is the 'passage through waters'. It is first documented in the Jacob passage of Isa. 43.1-7: ...כי תעבור במים אתך אני ובנהרות לא ישטפוך (vv. 2-3: 'When you pass through the waters I will be with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you, when you walk through fire you shall not be burned, and the flame shall not consume you; for I am the Lord your God, the Holy One of Israel, your Saviour...).

Verse 2 is usually interpreted as describing the salvation from Egypt in cosmological terms, alluding to the pillars of fire and cloud that protected the Israelites (see Exod. 14), and to their passage through the Red Sea (see especially Exod. 15.16). This is yet another example of Deutero-Isaiah's tendency to rely upon the parallelisms between the Jacob and Exodus narratives, apparently known to his audience, in order to merge between the biographical and historical typologies, as he does in relation to Jacob's slavery, pursuit by adversaries and redeeming angel.

In the biographical context, the phrase 'pass through rivers' and the root עבר may allude to Jacob's passage of 'the river' on the way to Gilead (Gen. 31.21: ויקם ויעבר את הנהר וישם את פניו הר גלעד), to his passing the Jordan (Gen. 32.11: כי במקלי עברתי את הירדן הזה) and

particularly to the struggle at the passage (מעבר) of Jabbok (Gen. 32.23-24), after which Jacob is given a new name (Gen. 32.29; 35.30; Hos. 12.5).[32]

The expression קרא שם forms the core of another major motif found in the Jacob passages, that of the patriarch's renaming. It is employed alongside the journey motif in the prophet's recharting of the positive development in Jacob's character.

4. *The Calling by Name*

The 'calling by name' of a king by a deity is a known feature of Akkadian royal edicts (also found in the Cyrus cylinder), as are the description 'my slave' and the exhortation 'fear not'. When viewed in the context of biographical typology these elements take on an additional significance, often overlooked by modern scholars.[33]

Jacob-Israel's calling by name is first introduced in 43.1-7. It appears in v. 1, after the mention of two leitmotifs that already appeared in ch. 41, namely the exhortation 'fear not' and the description of God as 'redeemer': אל־תירא כי גאלתיך קראתי בשמך לי אתה. It then reappears in v. 7 (כל הנקרא בשמי ולכבודי בראתיו יצרתיו אף עשיתיו) and in the Jacob passage of ch. 48 (see vv. 1, 12).

In all these passages there is a play on two possible meaning of the Hebrew figure of speech קרא בשם, as denoting the act of 'calling out' or that of 'giving a name' to someone. In pre-exilic prophetic tradition, God is depicted as 'calling out' to the Israelites when in Egypt, and thus bringing them out of it (cf. Hos. 11.1: כי נער ישראל ואהבהו וממצרים קראתי לבני). The calling out from Egypt is also conceived as a stage of betrothal and marriage, wherein God, as a husband, called his name upon his people, thus forming and owning them as a nation (Deut.

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32. In Gen. 32.23-24 the root עבר appears four times, and is suggestive of the psychological transition about to occur, also symbolized in the struggle with the man-angel that immediately follows in v. 25 (cf. Hos. 12.5). Isa. 43.4, ואתן אדם תחתיך ולאמים תחת נפשך may also allude to this struggle. It is reminiscent of Isaac's blessing to Jacob in Gen. 27.29: יעבדוך עמים וישתחוו לך לאמים. In this light, אדם may also hint at Esau/Edom, who was overcome by Jacob in the womb (see below).

33. The passage is mostly analysed as an oracle of salvation with limited or no intertextual significance. See C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, p. 116; Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, pp. 81-82. Note, however, Lipton's reference to Isa. 43.5 (*Revisions of the Night*, p. 112) as a verse 'which may be linked to the reassurance offered to Jacob in Gen. 28.15 and later in 46.3-4'.

28.10; Jer. 7.11: הַמְעָרַת פָּרִיצִים הָיָה הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שְׁמִי עָלָיו
בְּעֵינֵיכֶם; cf. 14, 30; 14.9; 15.16; 32.34; 34.15). This latter sense of
ownership is underlined by Deutero-Isaiah in the appendage to v. 1:
קָרָאתִי בְשִׁמְךָ לִי אָתָה.

In this as in other Jacob passages the patriarchal scene seems no less
relevant than that of the Exodus in shadowing the prophet's painting of
Israel's national renewal. This is not only because the name of Jacob
appears in parallelism with that of Israel in v. 1, nor because v. 2,
describing Israel's passage through waters, may also hint at the patri-
arch. The point of the argument lies in the function of the figure of
speech קרא בשם in the context of the Jacob biographical typology.
Apart from the meanings of 'calling out' and 'giving a name', it takes
on a third and special meaning, namely that of 'renaming'.

In the biblical world as in other cultures, the changing of a name is a
form of rebirth. In vv. 1 and 7 the prophet emphasizes the connection
between God's creation of an entity and his naming of it. In the case of
one who was called Ya'akov because he grasped his brother's heel at
birth (Gen. 25.26: וְאַחֲרֵי כֵן יָצָא אָחִיו וְיָדוֹ אֹחֶזֶת בַּעֲקֵב עֵשָׂו וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ
יַעֲקֹב) and who was considered to be crooked from birth (Gen. 27.36;
Hos. 12.2; Jer. 9.5), the giving of a new name symbolizes outward
recognition of a change in character and destiny, and hence amounts in
itself to a form of redemption.

The changing of names from Ya'akov to Yisra'el is highlighted twice
in the Jacob cycle as the culmination point of the forefather's return
journey to Canaan, and as a form of reward for his sufferings and
perseverance:

Gen. 32.29   לֹא יַעֲקֹב יֵאָמֵר עוֹד שִׁמְךָ כִּי אִם יִשְׂרָאֵל
Gen. 35.10   וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ אֱלֹהִים שִׁמְךָ יַעֲקֹב לֹא יִקָּרֵא שִׁמְךָ עוֹד יַעֲקֹב כִּי
אִם יִשְׂרָאֵל יִהְיֶה שְׁמֶךָ וַיִּקְרָא אֶת שְׁמוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל

The significance of this change in the name of Israel's eponymic father,
from one associated with underhandedness or moral failure to one asso-
ciated with power, and even uprightness, could not have escaped
Deutero-Isaiah's audience. In my opinion, the prophet alludes to this
change when he refers to God's calling of Jacob-Israel by name, using
the figure of speech קרא בשם in chs. 43 and 48. Moreover, it is likely
that Deutero-Isaiah used the journey and renaming motifs, both integral
features of Jacob's biography, in order to draw a comparison between
the process of physical and psychological change undergone by the
patriarch and that which will be undergone by his descendants among

the exiles, now called by God to return to the land. The biographical typology pressed home the fact that, through answering God's call, the exiles themselves would be transformed, as in the giving of a new name. They would rid themselves, in their own eyes and those of their surroundings, of the guilt and shame that had stuck to them since they were forced to leave their land as a consequence of their sins.

The passage in 43.1-7 weaves together the Jacob and Exodus typologies, playing on all three meanings of the expression קרא בשם: God has not rejected Jacob, rather he redeemed him through giving him a new name, Israel, by which he was effectively reborn. The nation too has not been rejected. God is calling it out of Babylon, as he called Jacob out of Aram and the Israelites out of Egypt. God is investing his name in the reborn nation, in the way that a husband gives his name to his wife, as was done to the nation's forefathers, the patriarchs and the Exodus generation. In all this God shows that he is bound to renew the Babylonian exiles' existence as a nation, hence: 'I will say to the north, give up, and to the south, do not withhold; bring my sons from afar and my daughters from the end of the earth, every one who is called by my name, whom I created for my glory, whom I formed and made' (43.6-7).

The end sequence of three verbs, בראתיו יצרתיו אף־עשׂיתיו, emphasizes that Israel's creation, as an act of God, is aimed at every individual within the group. The verbs also underscore the process of transition from a state of mere formation through birth, and the mere calling of a child's name, to a state of fully realized identity and potential, symbolized in the giving of a new name (which corresponds to one's 'grown' nature).[34] The process of re-birth through the calling by name is clearly prefigured in the experience of the patriarchs and matriarchs, but most of all in that of Jacob.[35]

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34. This interpretation may rely on a different understanding of the last verb עשׂיתיו in the sense of 'made him famous/known' (i.e. as in the modern figure of speech 'making a name for oneself'), rather than in the common and synonymous sense of 'created him'. In his comment on Isa. 44.2 (though not with regard to 43.7), the mediaeval commentator David Kimhi suggests the possibly of 'making famous' as an alternative denotation of the verb עשׂה in analogy to 1 Sam. 12.6: כה אמר ה' עשׂך ויצרך מבטן - כמו: ''אשר עשׂה עשׂה את משה ואת אהרן (ש''א י''ב, ו). שפירושו: אשר הגדלים ולמדם או יהיה פירוש עשׂן כמו ''בוראך'' שפירשנו (ראה יש' מג, זה). See his commentary in the *Rabbinic Bible*, p. 287.

35. Further on the significance of קרא בשם, in Isa. 44.5 see p. 94.

This brings us to another important typological motif already described as connected with Jacob's naming, that of his creation from the womb.

5. *The Creation from the Womb*

Jacob–Israel's 'creation from the womb' is emphasized twice in 44.2, 24 by the expression יצרך מבטן.[36] These instances have generally been overlooked by modern critics as allusions to Jacob, despite the fact that he is the only patriarch whose unique birth circumstances, as the younger twin, are recorded in relative detail and are central to his development as a character. Moreover, Hosea's allusion to Jacob begins with the seeming accusation '*in the womb* he took his brother by the heel' (בבטן עקב את אחיו) (12.4). The key-word בטן also functions in the birth oracle pronounced to Rebecca (Gen. 25.23): שני גיים בבטנך ושני לאמים ממעיך יפרדו and in the narrative sequence that follows (Gen. 25.24): וימלאו ימיה ללדת והנה תאמים בבטנה.[37]

Some mediaeval commentators, however, have noted the similarity between Isaiah's wording and that of Hosea and the Genesis narrative. Abraham Ibn Ezra, for instance, comments on Isa. 44.2:

> He alluded to Jacob, in the same sense as 'in the womb he took his brother by the heel' (Hos. 12.4), and there I shall comment on it. Alternatively, it may be a metaphorical expression—from the womb—meaning from the day you became the people of God.
>
> רמז ליעקב כטעם בבטן עקב את אחיו ושם אפרשנו או זוא על דרך משל - ומבטן -מיום היותך לעם לשם

David Kimhi further elaborates Ibn Ezra's stance in his comment on this verse:

> Ibn Ezra explained that the prophet alluded to Jacob, as it is said 'in the womb he took his brother by the heel' (Hos 12.4), meaning, he that created Jacob from the womb, with the power to grasp the heel of Esau in a manner not like that of other fetuses, since a fetus does not stick his

36. Isa. 43.1 also contains the expression יצרך ישראל yet without the adverb מבטן. Isa. 48.8 contains the expression פשע מבטן. The verb יצר also recurs in relation to Jacob in 44.21.

37. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, pp. 135, 153-56; Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, pp. 94, 102-103, and other commentators prefer to consider the key-word בטן in the context of the Cyrus cylinder, Jer. 1.5 and Job 10.1-11.

hand out of the placenta, all the more so grasps in his hand, and this was
a miracle, and he who was with your father in the womb will be with you
in exile which is a place narrow for you as is the womb to a fetus.[38]

Rashi's comment on Isa. 44.24 also reflects his typological understanding of this verse as an allusion to Jacob:

ויצרך מבטן - מאז ויתרוצצו הבנים בקבבה הייתי לך לעזרה ובחרתי

Since the time of 'the children struggled together within her' [Gen.
25.22] I have been a help to you and have chosen you.

In general, the mediaeval Jewish commentators interpreted the
Genesis account of Jacob's grasping of his brother's heel typologically,
as a special sign or miracle on behalf of God, symbolizing Israel's
ability to overcome those who threaten her. This mediaeval interpretation provides insight into Deutero-Isaiah's rhetorical purpose, more
than that of Hosea, yet its importance lies in the recognition that the
mention of 'creation from the womb' functions in the case of both
prophets as an allusion to biographical Jacob.[39]

Chapter 44.1-8 contains most of the typological motifs discussed
above, including Jacob as God's chosen one (vv. 1-3), his slavery–
servitude (vv. 1-2), the exhortation 'fear not' (vv. 2, 8), and the calling
by name (v. 5). The novel motif of 'creation from the womb' forms part
of the sequence of vv. 1-3, which are particularly dense in biographical
allusions:

But now hear, O Jacob *my servant*, Israel whom *I have chosen*! Thus
says the Lord who made you, *who formed you from the womb* and will
help you: *fear not*, O Jacob my servant, Jeshurun whom *I have chosen.*

For I will pour water on the thirsty land, and streams on the dry
ground; (so) I will pour my Spirit upon your descendants, and *my
blessing* on your offspring.

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38. In the Hebrew original: פרש ראב"ע כי רמז ליעקב כמו שאמר בבטן עקב את
אחיו כלום מי שיצר את יעקב בבטן בכח שאחזא ידו בעקב עשו שלא כדרך אשר
העורים כי אין העובר מוציידו ידו מן השל"א כל שכן שיתפש בידו וזה היה מעשה נס ומי
שהיה עם אביכם בבטן יהיה עמכם בגלות במיזים שהוא מקום צר לכם כבר הבטן
לעובו.

39. For the Hebrew commentaries see Ibn Ezra, Kimhi and Rashi in *The
Rabbinic Bible*, pp. 286-87, 292. For the English translation of Ibn Ezra, see M.
Friedlander, *The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah* (New York: Philipp Feldheim,
1st edn, 1873), pp. 198-99. For a detailed analysis of the general stance of the mediaeval Jewish commentators concerning Hosea's mention of Jacob, see Polliack,
'Jacob's Figure in Hosea 12.'

Verses 1-2 are framed by the repetition of the expression בחרתי בו,
which continues the motif of Jacob as God's chosen one, already
highlighted in the discussion of the Jacob passages in 40.27, 41.8-9,
43.4. In this passage, however, God's choice of Jacob (בחרתי) is
underscored by his blessing to him (ברכתי), mentioned in v. 3, the only
instance of the noun ברכה in Deutero-Isaiah. As demonstrated by
Buber, the form ברכתי functions as a leading-word in the Jacob cycle,
highlighting the patriarch's transition from the stealing of the blessing
to its rightful gaining (see Gen. 27.35; ויקח ברכתך, 27.36; והנה עתא
קח נא את ברכתי; 33.11; לקח ברכתי). Deutero-Isaiah's singular mention
of the exact same form (ברכתי) alliterates with the form בחרתי and may
well have served to highlight the transition from Jacob's conniving for
the blessing to his eventual and rightful gaining of it.[40]

Moreover, Deutero-Isaiah's juxtaposition of the archaic-poetic name
ישורון with that of יעקב at the end of v. 2 has the effect of an oxymoron,
in which a pair of roots designating opposites (עקב - ישר) appear in
conjunction. This juxtaposition may allude to the process of Jacob's
renaming, and emphasizes the process of 'making straight' that which
is 'crooked'.[41]

Jacob's renaming is further stressed in Isa. 44.5: זה יאמר ליהוה אני
וזה יקרא בשם יעקב וזה יכתב ידו ליהוה ובשם ישראל יכנה ('This one will
say, "I am the Lord's", another will call himself by the name of Jacob,
and another will write on his hand 'The Lord's' and surname himself by
the name of Israel'). Although this verse is often understood in
connection with, and sometimes attributed to Trito-Isaiah (cf. Isa. 56.3,
6-8), in typological terms it continues the motif of Jacob's renaming,
highlighting the change in character and destiny signified by the
transition from Jacob to Israel. The LXX and other versions that read
בידו may even preserve an allusion to the singular form וידו in the key

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40. On the function of ברכה as a leading word in the Genesis cycle see Buber,
Werke, II. *Schriften zur Bibel* (Munich: Kösel, 1964), pp. 1131-46, in Hebrew:
הדפסה) "סגנון המלה המנחה בסיפורי התורה", דרכו של מקרא ירושלים, תשל"ח
שנייה), 299-84.

41. The same oxymoron is employed to a similar effect in the expression והיה
יעקב למישור (Isa. 40.4), which may also have been intended as an allusion to the
transformation of Jacob–Israel. The name Jeshurun is otherwise found only in the
Song of Ha'azinu (Deut. 32.15) and in the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33.5, 26,
where it appears in parallelism with the name Israel). On Isa. 44.5 see Westermann,
Isaiah 40–66, pp. 136-38; Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, p. 95.

verse: ואחרי־כן יצא אחיו וידו אחזת בעקב עשו ויקרא שמו יעקב (Gen. 25.26).[42]

By further incorporating into this Jacob passage the novel motif of the 'Lord who made you, who formed you from the womb and will help you' in the beginning of v. 2, the prophet seems to tie up the strings of his allusive net. God's choice of Jacob, the fact that he did not reject him, is presented here for the first time in connection with the special circumstances of his birth, and with his striving for the birthright blessing. It was already in the act of Jacob's formation, hints Deutero-Isaiah, that God came to his aid by giving him a symbolic hold over his brother. The patriarch's subsequent efforts to secure the blessing were in accordance with God's greater plan, which began to unfold at his birth.

In this I tend to agree with the understanding of the mediaeval commentators, namely, that the traditions surrounding the birth of Jacob are interpreted by Deutero-Isaiah as symbolic of his 'miraculous' ability to prevail, overcome difficulty, and not as indicative of his mendacity. In this, the exilic prophet continues or revives a nationalist strand that is reflected in the Jacob narratives as we know them, and which suits his era and rhetorical purpose of lifting the exiles' spirits. The self-critical strand, also reflected in the Jacob narratives, was more suited to the era and purpose of the pre-exilic prophets, such as Hosea and Jeremiah.

The argumentation behind this interpretation is made even clearer when 44.1-8 is read as a direct continuation of 43.22-28, thus preserving the thread of the Jacob typology, which runs through them both.[43]

We have already noted that some modern commentators consider Isa. 43.27 ('your first father has sinned') as an allusion to Jacob. This is indeed likely, just as it is likely that Isa. 44.2 ('who formed you from

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42. I would like to thank Professor Francis Landy for drawing my attention to the special significance of this verse and for his sensitive observations, after listening to my talk pertaining to the subject of this article at the SBL International Meeting in Helsinki-Lahti, July 1999.

43. The chapter division and other considerations have led mediaeval and modern exegetes alike to treat these passages as separate sequences, and even to ascribe the chastising verses to Trito-Isaiah, thus severing the thread of the Jacob typology, which runs through them both. In my opinion, the typology should serve as one argument for allowing the chastising comments to remain within the corpus of Deutero-Isaiah as an integral part of his dialogue with pre-exilic prophecy.

the womb')—as the mediaevalists have it—is also an allusion to Jacob. When both allusions are read as part of a continuous text, Deutero-Isaiah's polemic with pre-exilic prophecy becomes integrated and focused: In ch. 43.22-28 the prophet asserts that the nation Israel has sinned by not turning to God and calling upon him (43.22), and by presuming to make God its slave (v. 24). Its first father, Jacob, also sinned in trying to take the birthright—which God had promised and preordained to him—through acts of force and cunning, which demonstrated his lack of trust in God. In both cases this led to severe punishment and rejection (v. 28). So far, Deutero-Isaiah accords with the typological nexus presented by Hosea and Jeremiah. Yet he takes the argument a step further in the remainder of the sequence, reversing its traditional conclusions.

He first declares that it is within God's power to annul sins (already in 43.25).[44] In other words, Jacob's stealing of the blessing was a rash deed expressing a distrustful streak in his character, but, unlike the innuendoes of Hosea and Jeremiah it is one capable of change. An immoral deed cannot be held against an individual or a collective forever, particularly if punishment has been endured and payment of sin considered doublefold (Isa. 40.2).

Secondly, he suggests that the circumstances of Jacob's birth were God's doing. God 'made' and 'created' Jacob from the womb (44.2) as one bound to compete with his twin brother for the blessing of the birthright. In forming this argument, the Jacob passage in ch. 44 is a necessary continuation of the end of ch. 43. Since God set the circumstances, he has a share in their outcome. His responsibility towards Jacob is that of the creator towards his creation. God must enable the annulment of Jacob's sins through punishment, as part of this responsibility, and of his 'choice' of Jacob, that is, his wider intention that Jacob should prevail and receive the blessing (hinted in Isa. 44.3-4). In the sequencing of chs. 43–44, the prophet argues against the supposition that transgression is innate to Jacob–Israel, rather he presents transgression in the wider context of God's creation. It is an aspect of Jacob's creation, both biographical and collective, just as it is an aspect of the creation of any man. Israel's 'first father' (43.27), could be Jacob,

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44. This verse seems to be out of place in the current sequence, and possibly should be moved to the end of the chapter. Note the parallelism between אנכי אנכי הוא מחה פשעיך למעני וחטאתיך לא אזכר and Jacob's wording in answer to Laban's unfairness: מה פשעי ומה חטאתי כי דלקת אחרי (Gen. 31.36).

father of the twelve tribes, but as David Kimhi astutely points out, he could also be Adam, the father of all human race.[45] What both men did was their responsibility, but was also part of the divine scheme and circumstance of their creation. It therefore rests within God's creative power to enable man to reform. Moreover, it is also within God's responsibility to do so, since only through this deliverance can he be perceived as a just and universal God, one worthy of the people's continuous faith in him.

The motif of 'creation from the womb' is thus added to other motifs, which are meant to highlight dormant and positive aspects of Jacob's character. It is all the more effective precisely because it reverses the chastisements of the pre-exilic prophets concerning his womb-driven stealthiness and their justification of his nation's doom. Deutero–Isaiah uses this motif in order to achieve a 'corrective' effect on his audience: God knew in advance of Jacob-Israel's personal and collective capacity for sin and repentance, and is therefore committed to their deliverance as he was to their punishment.[46]

The last part of ch. 44 is also anchored in the Jacob typology. Verses 21-28 seem to sway between biographical Jacob and collective Jacob, in a transitory mode, moving towards the ultimate realization of the typology within the actual history of the exiles:

> (21) Remember these things, O Jacob, and Israel, for you are my *servant*; I *formed you*, you are my *servant*; O Israel, you will not be forgotten by me. I have swept away your *transgressions* like a cloud, and your *sins* like a mist; return to me, for I have *redeemed* you... (23) For the Lord has *redeemed* Jacob, and will be glorified in Israel. (24) Thus says the

45. See David Kimhi's commentary on Isaiah in the *Rabbinic Bible*, p. 286: והוא אדם הראשון כי האדם מוטבע בחטא כי יצר לב האדם רע מנעורין (He is Adam, for man has been fashioned in sin, for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth [Gen. 8.21]).

46. God's responsibility as 'king of Israel and its redeemer' is also emphasized in Isa. 44.6-8. His omnipotence and omniscience are offered to Jacob's current descendants, the exiles who stand at the juncture of history, as insuring this responsibility. The circumstances that led to their rejection and suffering have expired: God was responsible to hear and accept their plea of repentance. Now, he must help them realize their potential for re-birth and re-naming through national redemption and renewal. Consider the emphasis of Isa. 48.8: 'for I knew you would certainly betray, for you have been called a rebel from the womb.' The mention of the womb, בטן, in this verse may also be regarded as an allusion to the biographical Jacob, but its context suggests a more pronounced collective interpretation.

Lord, your *Redeemer*, who *formed you from the womb*: (25) I am the
Lord who made all things... (26) Who says of Jerusalem, 'She shall be
inhabited, and of the cities of Judah, 'They shall be built, and I will raise
up their ruins'... (28) who says to Cyrus: 'He is my shepherd and he
shall fulfill my purpose'.

In these verses the theological argument that was first sketched out in
43.22–44.8 is drawn in full: in as much as Jacob transgressed, and
admitted to his sins, these have been forgiven through God's redeeming
power, and through God's responsibility towards the one he created
from the womb. The current descendants of Jacob, the exiles, are to be
reassured that God is responsible towards them in the same way: the
transgressions to which they have admitted will be erased through
God's redeeming power, and through his recognition of the fact that he
created them in the special role of God's people. In this act of the
people's formation, their potential for doing evil was measured against
their potential for doing good; and it is in the latter that God takes pride
(44.23). Only the omniscient and omnipotent God is the one capable of
responding to regret as he responds to sin. The logical outcome of this
reasoning is the naming of Cyrus as the one commissioned to fulfil
God's redemption plan, 'for the sake of my servant Jacob, and Israel
my chosen' (45.4). In this verse the appellation Jacob signifies the
collective of Israel alone. By this stage the biographical typology has
effectively completed its rhetorical purpose. Jacob's life cycle of guilt
and repentance has been reinstated in that of his descendants. The role
of the servant is temporarily passed on to a flesh-and-blood figure,
Cyrus, to be later bestowed upon the returning nation itself or the
prophet himself, depending on how we interpret the major servant songs
that follow.

In conclusion, with the introduction of the motif of 'creation from the
womb' in chs. 43–44, Deutero-Isaiah puts forward his case in the
polemic dialogue with pre-exilic prophecy, by reversing one of its typo-
logical conventions. Rather than emphasizing the subversive nature of
Jacob's character from birth—as did Hosea, Jeremiah, and the narrator
of Genesis 27—he emphasizes the miraculous or symbolic uniqueness
of this birth in terms of God's involvement in it and responsibility for it,
in a manner similar to that of the narrator of Genesis 25. What the exilic
prophet chose to highlight reflects his dialogue with the popular and
ancient Jacob traditions, on the one hand, and their pre-exilic prophetic
versions, on the other hand. Naturally, we cannot recover the original

core of these traditions, and it is plausible that they never existed in one version or story of Jacob. We can only recover the rhetorical purpose that they served in respect of the prophet's exilic audience and its actual concerns.

After the end of ch. 44 the prophet gradually abandons the typological exegesis of Jacob's character; the name of Jacob–Israel appears sporadically, in the collective sense alone, in 45.11, 17, 19; 46.3, and almost disappears from the book altogether after the end of ch. 48. Jacob is mentioned collectively in chs. 45–46 usually in relation to God's function as a parent, whether cast in the image of a woman in labour, who cannot be reproached for that to which she has given birth (45.9-11), or as a mother, who carries and suffers the child 'from the womb' until he or she reaches old age (46.3-4). The emphasis thus moves from the role of the object of creation, Jacob–Israel, to the subject of creation, God.

6. *Chapter 48: A Synopsis of the Typologized History of Jacob*

In its entirety this chapter is based on the Jacob intertext. In my view, it integrates all of the typological motifs and leitmotifs found in the earlier Jacob passages within a large-scale scene that functions as a finale to the theme of Israel's national renewal, underlying chs. 40–48. The opening words, 'Hear this, O house of Jacob, who are called by the name of Israel,' are addressed directly to the patriarch's descendants among the prophet's current audience. They identify and single out the collective of Israel, for the first time, as the unambiguous subject of the prophet's message. In respect of their destiny, the theological argument is spelt out once more and in full, reworking all the biographical allusions of the previous Jacob passages into the collective self-image of Israel.

The first theme of the Jacob passages to be restated in respect of the nation is the chastisement of Jacob–Israel's inherent, womb-driven transgression. It is developed in length in vv. 1-8 of ch. 48, culminating in the words of v. 8: כי ידעתי בגוד תבגוד ופשע מבטן קרא לך ('For I knew that you would deal very treacherously, and that from birth you were called a rebel'). Commentators who choose to ascribe these words to Trito-Isaiah ignore the chain of argumentation that I have tried to construct on the basis of the Jacob passages as a whole. The chastisement is an integral part of Deutero-Isaiah's message, in my view, since

Jacob–Israel's transgression must be admitted as a historical fact in order to enable forgiveness and deliverance.

The words פשע מבטן in v. 8 echo the expression יצרך מבטן in 44.2, 24, by restating the pre-exilic prophetic claim concerning Jacob's inherent rebelliousness. The words קרא לך strengthen the motif of creation from the womb by hinting at the original sense of the name יעקב, as one denoting the patriarch's born crookedness (especially as described by Esau in Gen. 27.36 and cf. Hos. 12.4; Jer. 9.5).

Verse 4 also reflects an attempt to merge between the figures of collective and biographical Jacob: מדעתי כי קשה אתה וגיד ברזל ערפך ומצחך נחושה ('Because I know that you are obstinate and your neck is an iron sinew and your forehead brass'). Though the verse itself, as indeed the entire sequence of vv. 1-11, is permeated with pre-exilic prophetic phraseology (most particularly that of Jeremiah, see the parallelisms between Isa. 48.1 and Jer. 4.9, Isa. 48.3 and Jer. 3.3, Isa. 48.8-11 and Jer. 9.3-6), the compound גיד ברזל is unusual. The form גיד is noted another six times in the Hebrew Bible, twice in Ezekiel (37.6-8) and twice in Job (10.11; 40.17), designating a bodily organ. As a genitive noun, however, it only occurs in the expression גיד הנשה, which appears twice in Gen. 32.33, in the description of Jacob's struggle with the man-angel at Jabbok. It is possible that the prophet's use of גיד as a genitive noun alludes to this primordial struggle, and that the form קשה (found earlier in v. 4) is intended as a wordplay with נשה.[47]

The description of collective Israel in 48.1-8 refocuses once again on the pre-exilic prophetic theme of Israel's inherent mendacity, recasting its phraseology, which was well known to Deutero-Isaiah and his audience. Yet as in the case of the biographical typology elaborated in chs. 43–44, Jacob's born capacity for sin is reinterpreted by the prophet as an aspect of God's prior knowledge of him: 'The former things I declared of old... Because I know that you are obstinate' (vv. 3-4); 'For I knew that you would deal very treacherously' (v. 8). Transgression is a feature identified by God with Israel's very formation as a nation, just as it is identified with their forefather's birth. God fashioned Jacob's birth and enabled the formation of the Israelite nation, knowing that they could and would transgress.

In the fact of God's omniscience lies the salvation of Jacob the

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47. For similar types of word-play in Deutero-Isaiah's intertextual references see Sommer, 'Allusions and Illusions', pp. 158-72. Also note the consonontal alliteration between נשה and נתושה.

patriarch and the 'house of Jacob'. This salvation is achieved in both cases through a process of punishment and regret, which is the second common theme to the forefather and his descendants, highlighted in 48.9-11.

The description of Israel's refinement and trial in a 'furnace of affliction' (v. 9) employs the charged Hebrew verb 'I chose you' (בְחַרְתִּיךָ בְּכוּר עֹנִי) a verb already employed in the Jacob passage of Isa. 44.1-8. This description relies primarily on the Exodus typology. It alludes to the suffering of the Israelites in a place described elsewhere in biblical literature, and particularly by the Deuteronomistic school as a 'furnace of iron' (כוּר בַּרְזֶל Deut. 4.20; 1 Kgs 8.51; Jer. 11.4). The adjective עֹנִי, 'poverty/affliction', rather than 'iron' is a deliberate variation of this figure of speech, which effectively softens it, stressing God's empathy with Israel's poor state under the hand of the Egyptians, as described in the Exodus narratives, rather than his anger and punishment.[48]

Deutero-Isaiah's use of 'furnace of affliction' may also serve as an allusion to Jacob's state of 'poverty/affliction' at the hands of Laban, as described in Gen. 31.42: 'If the God of my father, the God of Abraham and the Fear of Isaac, had not been on my side, surely now you would have sent me away empty-handed. God saw my affliction and the labor of my hands, and rebuked you last night' (לוּלֵי אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם ופַחַד יִצְחָק הָיָה לִי כִּי עַתָּה רֵיקָם שִׁלַּחְתָּנִי אֶת עָנְיִי וְאֶת יְגִיעַ כַּפַּי רָאָה אֱלֹהִים וַיּוֹכַח אָמֶשׁ).

As demonstrated in our reading of the Jacob passages, affliction and poverty are generally identified with this patriarch's experiences as a runaway. In ch. 48 as in ch. 43, the prophet merges between his allusions to the Exodus and Laban traditions, relying upon their common typological nexus, which by his time may have been an established feature of their narrative form. This merging technique is also apparent in the rest of ch. 48 through the use of what may be termed 'pregnant allusion', meaning allusions that have two identifiable intertexts as their referents.[49]

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48. See especially Exod. 3.7-8: 'Then the Lord said, "I have seen the affliction [עֳנִי] of my people who are in Egypt, and have heard their cry because of their task-masters; I know their sufferings and I have come to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians..."' and cf. Exod. 4.31.

49. Apart from the Jacob and Exodus intertexts, Deutero-Isaiah often relies on Jeremiah as a third intertext. Chapter 48.8-11 is conspicuously similar in structure and wording to Jer. 9.3-6. (Cf. Is. 48.10: הִנֵּה צְרַפְתִּיךָ וְלֹא בְכָסֶף בְּחַרְתִּיךָ בְּכוּר עֹנִי

Verses 12-19 point to yet another theme common to Jacob the patriarch and the Israelites in Egypt, that of the deliverance from the hands of the oppressor and the subsequent return to the Promised Land. The theme of deliverance is expressed through two main motifs used in the earlier Jacob passages.

The first motif concerns the 'calling' of Jacob, as found in 48.12: שְׁמַע אֵלַי יַעֲקֹב וְיִשְׂרָאֵל מְקֹרָאִי (Hearken to me, O Jacob, and Israel, whom I called!). The *hapax* form מְקֹרָאִי captures both denotations of the root קרא: that of making contact by 'calling out' and that of 'calling by name'. The first sense may allude to God's calling out to Moses and the Israelites while in Egypt (see Exod. 3.7-10; 15-17; 4.12; 15-16; 6.2-9 and especially Hos. 11.1: וּמִמִּצְרַיִם קָרָאתִי לִבְנִי). It may also allude to God's contacting of Jacob while in the house of Laban (see Gen. 31.3, 11).[50] The second sense may allude more specifically to Jacob, as one who was called after, or by, the name of God. In this manner the phrase יִשְׂרָאֵל מְקֹרָאִי could spark the memory of Jacob's renaming, which was emphasized in the earlier Jacob passages through the use of the phrase קָרָא בְשֵׁם (see the above discussion of the Jacob passage in Isa. 43.1, 7, on the basis of Gen. 32.29; 35.10).

The second motif that builds up the theme of deliverance in vv. 12-19 is that of the journey (דֶּרֶךְ), found in 48.15, and particularly v. 17: כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה גֹּאַלְךָ קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מְלַמֶּדְךָ לְהוֹעִיל מַדְרִיכֲךָ בְּדֶרֶךְ תֵּלֵךְ ('Thus says the Lord your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel: I am the Lord your God, who teaches you to profit, *who leads you in the*

Jer. 9.6: הִנְנִי צוֹרְפָם וּבְחַנְתִּים; see Sommer, 'Allusions and Illusions', pp. 167-68). This similar structuring may serve as yet another indication of Deutero-Isaiah's intended allusion to Jacob the patriarch in 48.1 (cf. Jer. 9.5), since in both cases the allusion to the figure of Jacob precedes God's announcement concerning Israel's 'refinement' through punishment.

50. Note that the verb קרא is also underscored in vv. 13 and 15 of ch. 48, yet there it relates to God's 'calling out' as a form of controlling and determining the activity of nature and history. Note the use of the noun שֵׁם in 48.19, which is generally cast in the language of God's promises to the patriarchs: 'Your offspring would have been like the sand, and your descendants like its grains; their name [שְׁמוֹ] would never be cut off or destroyed from before me'. The positioning of קרא in v. 12 and שְׁמוֹ in v. 19 may function as a truncation of the phrase קָרָא בְשֵׁם, providing a frame for the entire passage of vv. 12-19. This passage describes Israel's deliverance in typological terms, which utilize Jacob's renaming by God as a symbol of transformation. In this manner we see how a biographical motif employed in the earlier Jacob passages is woven into the prophet's final synoptic vision.

way you should go'). The allusive use of דרך in respect of the patri-arch's life- journey and the Israelites' journey from Egypt was analysed in the context of the earlier Jacob passages. Here, God's role is fully stated as one who not only accompanies Israel on its historical journey, but also acts as its leading force. In 48.17 the noun 'way' functions as a metaphor for human conduct as well as for the life process itself. The parallelism between he who 'teaches you to profit' and he 'who leads you in the way' shifts the stress from man's role to God's instruc-tive capacity, thus highlighting God's involvement and responsibility towards the process of personal and collective change and transforma-tion.[51]

The journey motif is conglomerated in v. 17 by the leitmotif of the redeemer, כה אמר יהוה גאלך (the verb גאל recurs in v. 20), and by that of the (passage through) river/sea in v. 18. ויהי כנהר שלומך וצדקתך כגלי הים, both of which functioned in the earlier passages as pregnant allusions to Jacob the patriarch and the Israelites in Egypt. Verse 20, in fact, also reuses the leitmotif of the servant/slave (עבדו יעקב) as a dou-ble allusion to Jacob and the Israelites in Egypt.

Verse 20, which is dense in repetitive motifs, functions as the final stroke and concluding verse of ch. 48. Its affect is gradually heightened, beginning with the imperatives 'Go forth from Babylon, flee from Chaldea' (צאו מבבל ברחו מכשדים), continuing with the open and uni-versal celebration of liberation 'declare this with a shout of joy, pro-claim it, send it forth to the end of the earth' (בקול רנה הגידו השמיעו זאת הוציאוה עד קצה הארץ) and culminating in the order to 'say: 'The Lord has redeemed his servant Jacob!' (אמרו גאל יהוהעבדו יעקב). These final words create a clear sense of closure, by reverberating the bio-graphical typology for the last time.[52]

In this final declaration Deutero-Isaiah extrapolates the common nexus of the Jacob and Exodus typologies by pointing to their current historical referent, the exiles in Babylonia. These are introduced in their actuality for the first time in v. 20, which opens with the demand to leave Babylon, צאו מבבל ברחו מכשדים. This demand is cast in typo-logical phraseology, since it echoes that pronounced by Pharoh to Moses

51. Consider, in this respect, the similarity between מדריכך בדרך תלך and ושמרתיך בכל אשר תלך (Gen. 28.20). In respect of God's role as 'leader of the way' through the desert, see Exod. 13.17-20.

52. Verses 21-22 seem awkwardly latched on to this sequence and may reflect an editorial addition.

and Aaron (Exod. 12.31: קומו צאו מתוך עמי גם אתם גם בני ישראל). The root יצא is particularly associated with the Exodus, technically referred to as 'the going out/bringing out from Egypt' throughout biblical literature (Exod. 6.13; Num. 11.20; Deut. 9.7; Ps. 81.6; etc). The allusion is further consolidated by the verb ברח, known from the description of the Israelites' rushed departure from Egypt (i.e. Exod. 14.5: ויגד למלך מצרים כי ברח העם).

Apart from the Exodus typology, the prophet's call to depart from Babylon also reverberates with the order pronounced by God to Jacob in Aram (Gen. 31.13): קום צא מן הארץ הזאת ושוב אל ארץ מולדתך (Now arise, go forth from this land, and return to the land of your birth). In the same vein, the root ברח occurs several times in the Laban cycle, in describing Jacob's rushed and clandestine departure back to Canaan.[53] In the second part of v. 20 Deutero-Isaiah further develops the pregnant allusion to the respective departures of Jacob and Israel from their houses of bondage by referring to their common clandestine nature. It has been suggested that in describing the exiles' joyful celebration and open declaration of their departure from Babylon ('declare this with a shout of joy, proclaim it, send it forth to the end of the earth'; cf. Isa. 51.11, 55.12) the prophet reverses the theme of the Israelites' stealthy fleeing from Egypt under the cover of night and deception of their enemies (see Exod. 3.21-22; 12.34-39; Deut. 16.3).[54] In this he draws attention to the historical reality of his audience, who were openly liberated by Cyrus' edict and were in no need of hiding their departure. He interprets this edict as a miraculous sign of God's corrective intervention in history, presenting the Second Exodus as even greater than the first. The biographical typology, however, is even more salient with regard to Israel's joy over their departure from Babylon (48.20). It echoes with Laban's rebuke to Jacob in Gen. 31.27: למה נחבאת לברח ותגנב אתי ולא־הגדת לי ואשלחך בשמחה ובשרים בתף ובכנר (Why did you flee secretly, and cheat me, and did not tell me, so that I might have sent you away with mirth and songs, with tambourine and lyre?). This time, promises the prophet, it will be different; the patriarch's descendants will receive due accompaniment on their departure, as they themselves chant the words, recalling specifically the private name of יעקב the patriarch: 'The Lord has redeemed his servant Jacob!'

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53. See Gen. 31.20-22, 27: למה נחבאת לברח ותגנב אתי, and cf. Rebecca's order to her son in Gen. 27.44: קום ברח לך אל לבן אחי חרנה.

54. See, for instance, Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, p. 205.

Conclusion

As a midrashic after-thought to this paper I had in mind the alternative title: והיה העקב למישור (Isa. 40.4, which is translated ineffectively by 'every valley shall be lifted up'), as a way of connecting it to the general theme of creation, to which this volume is devoted. It is likely, I believe, that the prophet thought of this before me. The phrase seems charged, consciously tying God's ability to transform the universe with his capacity to allow the individual, Jacob, and the nation named after him, to be transformed, as in the oxymoron יעקב ישורון (44.2), from a state of unevenness-crookedness to a state of uprightness.[55]

Whether or not this 'midrash' is original to Deutero-Isaiah it highlights the primaeval connection between creation and transformation, or, to put it differently, between the power to create and the power to change, as two facets of the same universal symbol, which has deep psychological and cultural significance. This brings me back to my opening remarks on the wider meaning of the symbol of creation in biblical literature as a whole, and in Deutero-Isaiah in particular.

The notion that every act of creation involves change is by no means self-evident. This is true of the cosmological event, wherein God created something *ex nihilo* or out of undefined matter. Unlike the mediaeval exegetes and philosophers, the Genesis narrators seem less concerned with determining 'what' was before. They seem to emphasize that whatever was created was different to that which was before, in other words, they concentrate on the process of distinction that takes place both in time and in space between what was and what is.

The philosopher Emmanuel Levinas contended

> the great miracle of the Bible lies not at all in the common literary origin, but inversely, in the confluence of different literatures toward the same essential content. The miracle of the confluence is greater than the miracle of the unique author. Now the pole of this confluence is ethical, which incontestably dominates this whole book.[56]

55. I would like to thank my colleague, Professor Edward Greenstein, for his remarks on this essay and especially for strengthening my conviction that the pun was intended by Deutero-Isaiah.

56. See E. Levinas, *Ethics and Infinity* (trans. Richard Cohen; Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1985), p. 115. For a recent discussion of this passage in a broader context, see G.A. Phillips and D.N. Fewell, 'Ethics, Bible, Reading as If', *Semeia* 77 (1997), pp. 1-22.

In view of the Bible's ethical stance, we should ask, what was the point of God's creation of the universe and man in it, if this creation could not accommodate the moral possibility of change, that is, the dynamic wherein self-recognition leads to alteration of one's behaviour vis-à-vis the other, and the form of one's existence within the context of a complex moral ideal. One could even argue that, from an ethical biblical stance, the significance of creation lies in the personal and collective capacity for change.

The biblical narrators certainly struggled time and again to reach a literary language that could adequately express this psychological process. The character of Jacob, as fashioned by these narrators, is but one magnificent example of the slow, frustrating and incomplete way in which change takes place in the life of a human being. The force of the patriarchal narratives and that of Jacob in particular lies in this blood-shedding struggle for change, alteration and moral perfection, as an expression of what God requires from man.

The prophets, whose social role was even more pronounced than that of the narrators, could hardly have conceived of change in lesser terms. The more God was abstracted as an omnipotent power, he was to be identified with a dynamic of change, and so eventually, and particularly in postexilic thought, he became the God of change, that is, the God that enables change to take place in nature, in history and in man. Deutero-Isaiah and his school were not only responsible for developing the concept of an abstract God. Also, and perhaps no less importantly, they legitimized or brought to the fore of prophecy man's capacity to transcend the circumstances of his birth, social position and political reality: Jacob is not for ever guilty of his youthful sins, he can transform, that is, find a new form of existence, in the same way as an eunuch or a barren woman can transform the boundaries of his or her physical being and continue their existence in forms more lasting than those of biology (cf. Isa. 49.20-21; 56.3-5).

In allowing this paradoxical argumentation to enter biblical thought, Deutero-Isaiah and other prophets of his era achieved a break-through in the ethical stance of biblical tradition.

They achieved this also because the connection between creation and transformation had to be emphasized in a time of loss of identity, wherein the collective consciousness was unable to find a voice within the suffocating and static notions of the 'sins of the fathers'. The exiles had to rid themselves of this preconception and expand their ethical

horizons, by allowing the concept of change, as a realisable concept, to enter their historical and personal awareness, as well as their depiction of God as the creator.

Hence Deutero-Isaiah's emphasis on God's capacity for change and renewal; portraying him in active terms as one who is constantly in the grips of creation and change, and who is painfully experiencing creation as a woman in labour (42.14), or a midwife (46.3-4; 66.9-13). If God is capable of change himself then Jacob–Israel are certainly capable of it and meant to realize it in their own personal and collective existence. In this message, I think, lies the prophet's transformative contribution to his age, and its lasting universality. From an existential and ethical stance, the capacity to change becomes a prerequisite of the capacity to create, just as the outcome of creation is change.

This understanding of the creator as one who is himself capable of alteration, and therefore must enable man to alter and transform, may explain the prophet's transition from masculine to feminine symbolism in the second part of his book (i.e. 49–55). What interests us here is not the prophet's abandonment of traditional male imagery, but the nature of the connection between the feminine portrayal of God and of Israel–Zion in 49–55 and the masculine portrayal of God and of Israel–Jacob in 40–48.[57]

As an after-thought to the above discussion, this transition may be interpreted as a natural outcome of the prophet's search for a symbol that combines creation and transformation. The feminine being is more identified with the process of creation through change than is the male being, especially through the experience of giving birth, which in biblical thought is presented as woman's lot. God takes on this ability in Deutero-Isaiah because he is the God who is capable of change and who can sustain change in others.

The prophet's adoption of feminine symbolism in 49–55 extends to the land of Zion, which serves as the counterpart of the nation of Israel in 40–48, and to the figure of Rachel the matriarch as the typological counterpart of Jacob the patriarch. Although Rachel is not mentioned by name in Deutero-Isaiah, I consider her to be 'the figure in the carpet' of the second half of the book, and a necessary focus to a new type of imagery that centres on the woman rather than the man.

57. Cf. P. Trible's works cited in n. 3 above. Also cf. M. Callaway's discussion of Deutero-Isaiah's approach to the matriarchs in *Sing, O Barren One: A Study in Comparative Midrash* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), pp. 59-90.

In the key passage of 49.14-21, Zion is portrayed by the double image of an abandoned mother (גלמודה) whose ungrateful children have returned to her (49.17-18, 21), and as a bereaved mother (שכולה) whose lost children, effectively considered for dead (בני שכלי) have returned to her (49.20-21). The metaphorical mixture of abandonment and bereavement is repeated in variation in the following chapters: Zion appears as an abandoned mother whose children have returned to her (54.13; 60.5, 9); sometimes as a mother whose ungrateful children openly abandoned her (51.18); as a barren woman who is given children (54.1; 66.8-19); and as an abandoned wife who is remarried (54.4-8). The core of the biographical typology lies in the fact that Rachel was the only matriarch whose children—Joseph and Benjamin—were effectively taken for dead at one stage in their lives, and were eventually found (regardless of the fact that her own death occurred before the sale of Joseph and the imprisonment of Benjamin).

The Genesis accounts give some indication of the popular and ancient tales attached to Rachel's figure. These appear to have concentrated on her struggle to give birth, on her premature death while giving birth (a most powerful psychological symbol), and on the danger of death that hovered over her two sons. These particular motifs led to the typological identification of Rachel with the land and the people at a critical time of peril and exile. Her struggle to survive through her children may have been no less significant in popular lore than Jacob's struggle, and it found immortal expression in the biographical typology of Jer. 31.15-17 (which may be of exilic or postexilic origin). Deutero-Isaiah was deeply influenced by the Jeremian image of Rachel crying over her children, who refuses to be comforted (cf. Jer. 31.15: מאנה להנחם with Isa. 40.1: נחמו נחמו עמי). In ch. 40 he presents himself as the prophet who has come to comfort and to fulfil the promise of Rachel's reward (cf. Jer. 31.16: כי יש שכר לפעלתך with Isa. 40.10 [and 62.11], הנה שכרו אתו ופעלתו לפניו). By portraying Zion as raising her voice to pronounce the actual return of her children, he uses wording reminiscent of Jeremiah's typology (cf. Jer. 31.15, קול ברמה נשמע with Isa. 40.9, הרימי בכח קולך).

Jeremiah's depiction of the 'high place' from which Rachel's voice is heard crying over her children (ברמה may also be interpreted as an adverb, relating to the strength of her voice) is taken up by Deutero-Isaiah in his call to Zion to lift up her eyes and look around (presumably from a viewing point of a high place, 49.18) and see her children return

to her, and in his call to her to climb up on a high mountain (40.9) from where she can raise her voice to declare the return of her children. In fact, the opening verses of Deutero-Isaiah (40.1-11), which are partly cast in female imagery may be analysed as a response to Jeremiah's depiction of the matriarch, and as an introduction to the Jacob–Rachel sequence of both parts of the book of Deutero-Isaiah as a whole.

I believe that as part of his dialogue with pre-exilic prophecy and patriarchal tradition Deutero-Isaiah adopted the Jeremian image of the matriarch, developed and transformed it, in the way that he did concerning Jacob's image. He shifted the emphasis of the typology from one that identified Rachel's unrealized potential with that of her people, and which transfixed her in a state of bereavement, as an unfulfilled mother and wife who died in the midst of her life's journey, to one that emphasized the matriarch's achievement of the purpose of her struggle, who could enjoy—in typological terms—the fruits of her labour.

In a way, Deutero-Isaiah's liberation of the people and the land is the liberation of Rachel. She may come down from the high place (Rammah) of her burial and celebrate with her refound children. As Jacob may transform himself from a sinner to one worthy of the blessing, Rachel may transform her loss and pain into achievement and pleasure. In other words, Jacob's capacity to transcend the special circumstances of his birth is expanded in typological terms by Rachel's capacity to transcend the circumstances of her barrenness and her death.[58]

The prophet's parallelism between the biographical typologies of Jacob and Rachel is apparent from 49.14, where Zion complains, 'God has left me and forgotten me,' in a similar manner to Jacob–Israel's complaint that his way is hidden from God (40.27). Both are reassured by the prophet of God's commitment, which in Zion's case is compared to more than that of a mother towards its child (49.15). In the biographical context it is recalled that Rachel's pregnancy is interpreted as a sign that 'God remembered her and heard her' (Gen. 30.22), and as a lifting of her shame (cf. the use of חרפה in Gen. 30.23 and Isa. 54.4), whereas her barrenness is interpreted as a sign of God's rejection or abandonment of her (Gen. 30.1-2).[59]

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58. On the parallelism between the figures of Jacob and Rachel as a known feature of the Genesis narratives, see for instance I. Pardes, *Countertraditions in the Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

59. There is also some merging of Rachel's figure with that of Jacob, as when Zion asks 'who bore her these' in 49.21. This recalls Jacob's question to Joseph in

Deutero-Isaiah's biographical typologies rely on allusions to the figures of Jacob and Rachel. These reverse their depiction by pre-exilic prophecy (and narrative), by shifting the emphasis from a passive inherited notion of destiny to one that allows the possibility and process of change. The prophet deems this transformation necessary for Israel's national renewal and new-found role in history. He therefore considers the struggle for transformation and rebirth as an aspect of the deity itself, certainly as an aspect of its creation of the universe. It is clear that the Jacob–Rachel biographical typologies are in some form of dialogue with each other, and with their prophetic and Pentateuchal intertexts, in the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah. I hope to expand this afterthought at a future opportunity, and so elaborate on the Rachel typology and its relationship to the questions raised here.

Gen. 48.8 and 11. The exhortation 'fear not' in 40.9 recalls the one directed to Rachel at Benjamin's birth (Gen. 35.18). The function of this exhortation with regard to Jacob–Israel has been analysed above.

CREATION IN PAUL'S THEOLOGY

Gottfried Nebe

1. *Introduction*

My subject in this paper is the role of the 'creation' theme in the theology of Paul. I begin with some general remarks about Paul and the interpretation of Paul's writings in the New Testament. In the main part of my paper I regard some central points relating to the topic creation in Paul's theology. Finally I shall try to come to a conclusion. We will see that Paul in his utterances on creation as a Christian is to a high degree influenced by the Bible (our Old Testament) and Judaism, but that at fundamental points his own, special Christian view is also important. At the same time we have to take in consideration the horizon of pagan culture and ancient religion outside Judaism and Christianity.

In the following considerations we have to regard creation as an action (*nomen actionis*) and as the result of this action (*nomen acti*). In the Greek vocabulary of Paul's writings κτίσις and related words for creation and terms like κόσμος, τὰ πάντα for the cosmic universe are important. But the ideas of creation, cosmic universe, etc. can also be expressed without the use of the special terminology. Here not only the cosmology, but also the anthropology will be important, and we cannot restrict our topic to the creation at the beginning.

2. *General Considerations on Paul and the Interpretation of Paul*

What can we know about Paul, based on his Letters in the New Testament? Of what kind is his literary heritage? The literary sources are his letters, which we find in the New Testament as part of the Christian Bible. In conformity with modern critical Protestant research, I am assured that not all the so-called letters of Paul in the New Testament are really written by Paul himself. The genuine letters of Paul are only seven: one to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, one each to the

Galatians and Philippians, the first to the Thessalonians, one to Phile-mon.[1] Like other scholars I believe that all these genuine Pauline letters date from the time of the climax and the end of the missionary activity of the Apostle.[2] They date from about 50 CE until the middle of the sixth decade of the first century. Paul was then at the height of his theology. The earliest letter of Paul in the New Testament is 1 Thessalonians.

Who was this Apostle Paul? What was his historical and theological position? >From his letters, the autobiographical testimonies in his let-ters,[3] and in critical evaluation of the Acts of the Apostles we can say that Paul was born a Diaspora Jew. His home was Tarsus in Cilicia (Asia Minor). He was an Israeli by race, of the tribe of Benjamin, and in his attitude to the law a Pharisee. He received his training in rab-binical Scriptural study (as a pupil of Gamaliel the Elder?). Initially he persecuted the Christians. Then he was converted by an occurrence on his way to Damascus: he met the crucified Jesus of Nazareth risen from the dead. From this conversion on he was convinced that no human being is justified by doing what the law (Torah) demands (οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου) but only through faith in Christ (cf. Rom. 3.20, 22, 24, 28; Gal. 2.16). The law (Torah) keeps its importance in so far as it brings the consciousness of sin (cf. Rom. 3.20) and instructs the Christian who lives in his faith (cf. Rom. 13.8-10). All this impelled Paul to his activity as missionary of the Gentiles. Paul started with it in the wake of the missionary activity of the congregation of Antioch in Syria. As a Hellenistic Christian mission it was directed towards the Gentiles. Then he built up his own missionary work in Asia Minor and Greece. This missionary work produced a Jewish and Jewish-Christian opposition against Paul, which Paul attacks in his letters, like Galatians. Such passages contain his famous arguments about his doctrine of justification by faith.

For example, Paul says in Gal. 6.14-15 against the Jewish or Jewish-Christian claim that originally Gentile Christians should be circumcised: 'May I never boast of anything except the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world.

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1.   It is contested if all these letters are originally written in the size that we find in the New Testament.

2.   Cf. W.G. Kümmel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 21st edn, 1983), p. 216.

3.   Cf. 2 Cor. 11.21-33; Gal. 1.13–2.5; Phil. 3.4-6.

For neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything; but a new creation is everything.'[4]

The missionary preaching of Paul in the period when he was engaged in the context of the Antioch congregation show in 1 Thess. 1.9-10: '...how you turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead— Jesus who rescues us from the wrath that is coming.' Monotheism and eschatology are central here, both important elements of the theology and missionary propaganda in the Hellenistic Judaism of that time. In the Christian view Christology, the reference to Jesus Christ and his significance, are added to the message.[5]

For the wider religious background of Paul we can follow the famous Protestant scholar R. Bultmann. He said just after the Second World War (I quote his words in English translation):[6]

> Paul originated in Hellenistic Judaism... At any rate, in his home city he came into contact with Hellenistic culture and became acquainted with popular philosophy and the phenomena of religious syncretism. It remains uncertain, however, to what extent he had already appropriated in his pre-Christian period theological ideas of this syncretism (those of the mystery-religions and of Gnosticism) which appear in his Christian theology.

The tradition-historical roots of Paul's theology were an important topic of Pauline research. I start again with R. Bultmann:

> The historical position of Paul may be stated as follows: Standing within the frame of Hellenistic Christianity he raised the theological motifs that were at work in the proclamation of the Hellenistic Church to the clarity of theological thinking. He called to attention the problems latent in the Hellenistic proclamation and brought them to a decision and thus—so far

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4. English translations of the Bible follow the NRSV.

5. For monotheism and eschatology in Hellenistic Judaism, cf, e.g. Pseudo-Sophokles (*Pseudo-Justinus, De Monarchia* 3; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* 5.14. 113, 121-22; Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 13.13.40, 48). Cf. *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt Graeca una cum historicorum et auctorum Judaeorum Hellenistarum fragmenta* (A.M. Denis, Pseudepigrapha VT Graece, 3; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), p. 168; P. Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel, übersetzt und erklärt* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2nd edn, 1966 [1928]), p. 1046, no. 52 1.1-9, 2.1-11.

6. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I (trans. K. Grobel; London: SCM Press, 1952), p. 187.

as our sources permit an opinion on the matter—became the founder of Christian theology.[7]

Not having been a personal disciple of Jesus, he was won to the Christian faith by the kerygma of the Hellenistic Church. The question thrown upon him by this kerygma was whether he was willing to regard the crucified Jesus of Nazareth, whom the kerygma asserted to have risen from the dead, as the expected Messiah. But for Paul, the former fervent champion (ζηλωτής) of the traditions of the fathers (Gal 1.14), straightway recognised how basically the Torah was called into question by the Hellenistic mission. This meant whether he was willing to acknowledge in the cross of Christ God's judgement upon his self-understanding up to that time—i.e. God's condemnation of his Jewish striving after righteousness by fulfilling the works of the Law. After he had first indignantly rejected this question and become a persecutor of the Church, at his conversion he submitted to this judgement of God.[8]

This position became very important for Pauline research in the following time. But many other scholars tried to make some more distinctions or even to apply other viewpoints. One was to detect distinctions within in the Hellenistic Church. Scholars tried to prove a development in the meaning of Paul. So, I refer here, for example to G. Strecker—they distinguished between a christological phase just after the Damascus event and the conversion and a phase when Paul developed his doctrine of justification by faith on the ground of the struggle with Jewish Christians, attested since Galatians.[9] But there are also scholars, like J. Becker, who propose developments with more particular phases.[10]

M. Hengel investigated the pre-Christian period of Paul and showed that Paul was rooted in a Judaism[11] originating in both its Palestinian and Hellenistic form. He concluded:

7.   Bultmann, *Theology*, p. 187.
8.   Bultmann, *Theology*, p. 187.
9.   Cf. G. Strecker, 'Befreiung und Rechtfertigung' (1976), in G. Strecker, *Eschaton und Historie: Aufsätze* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), pp. 229-59.
10.   Cf. J. Becker, *Paulus: Der Apostel der Völker* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1989). Already at Antioch the justice of baptism seems to have been interpreted in an antinomistic way. We find a kind of justification statements opposite to the law (pp. 303-304). Later Paul develops a theology of election (cf. 1 Thess.) and a theology of the cross (cf. the Corinthian correspondence). Galatians is the oldest testimony for the detailed justification message of Paul (pp. 294-96).
11.   M. Hengel, 'Der vorchristliche Paulus', in M. Hengel and U. Heckel (eds.),

Paul initially learnt his theological thinking nowhere else but in the Jewish teaching-house. Before he preached Christ to the Gentiles, he explained the law in the Synagogue—most likely in Jerusalem itself—to Jews from the Diaspora. Only before this background can the formulation be understood that was basic for him: τέλος γὰρ νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι (Rom. 10.4). It describes the revolutionary turning point in his life, and he experienced its truth, in a deeper way than other people in his life.[12]

3. *Creation, Cosmic World, Universe, View of the World and of God, Jesus Christ, Cosmic Powers.*

Generally Paul's view of the creation, the cosmic world and the universe is based on the Hebrew Bible or the Septuagint and Jewish tradition. But Paul does not cite extensively passages of the biblical story of the creation of the world in Genesis 1–3. He does not form a midrash on it. He only gives single aspects and central points. We note that Paul is very much influenced here by Jewish and Christian Apocalyptics, by Hellenistic Judaism and the Hellenistic Church, by Platonism and Stoicism, which are especially mediated by Hellenistic Judaism and in its wake by early Christianity. Possibly, Paul speaks here also in the context of a wider general popular view of the cosmic world in his time.[13]

The Greek words for creation κτίσις, κτίζω relate to God as creator, to the act of creation, the whole creation, the universe and single creatures, male and female (cf. Rom. 1.20, 25; 8.19-23; 1 Cor. 11.9). In Greek τὰ πάντα means cosmically the universe (cf. 1 Cor. 15.27-28), παντοκράτωρ means God as the ruler of all being (cf. 2 Cor. 6.18, quoting the Old Testament). Paul uses the Greek term κόσμος for the universe, the earthly world, the human world, also as a bad power (cf. Rom. 1.8, 20; 5.13; 1 Cor. 1.20-21; 7.31; Gal. 4.3).

Paulus und das antike Judentum (Tübingen-Durham-Symposium; WUNT 58; Tübingen: J.C.M. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1991), pp. 177-291 (discussion pp. 291-93).

12. Hengel, 'Der vorchristlichle Paulus', pp. 290-91 (ET).

13. 'For God as creator and his government of the world, for his immanence and transcendence on the ground of stoicism and Hellenistic Judaism, cf. Bultmann, *Theology*, p. 65; for the growing influence of the idea of God as creator in ancient Judaism, cf. W. Bousset and H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (HNT, 21; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 4th edn,1966), pp. 358-78.

Generally Paul starts with monotheism. Only one single God exists. Paul sharply distinguishes between creator and creation, monotheism and polytheism, monotheism and worship of idols or demons (cf. Rom. 1.23, 25; 1 Cor. 8.5-6; 10.20; 12.2; Gal. 4.3-4, 8-9; 1 Thess. 1.9-10). In his criticism of polytheism and idolatry the typical Hellenistic-Jewish background of his thinking becomes visible. Passages about God as Source, Guide and Goal, as in Rom. 11.36a; 1 Cor. 8.6a show the impact of Stoicism, but without pantheism.[14] The relation of visible and invisible, seeing in a mirror and face to face can refer to Platonic thinking or Apocalyptics (cf. Rom. 8.24-25; 1 Cor. 13.9-12).

When Paul connects creation (κτίσις) and the cosmic world (κόσμος)[15], he does not allude to the way from chaos or disorder or unformed matter to order like the well-known ideas of creation in the pagan ancient world or even in Hellenistic Judaism.[16] But we see here, as in ancient Judaism and Hellenistic Judaism, the so-called *creatio ex nihilo*. God the creator summons things that are not yet in existence as if they already existed (Rom. 4.17).[17] Paul also can stay closer to Genesis 1 (cf. 2 Cor. 4.6). He knows God as the creator of heaven and earth, but does not express it directly in the tradition of Gen. 1.1; 2.1 etc., as the Judaism of his time used to do. [18]

Paul can speak about Jesus Christ in connection with the creation at the beginning. In 1 Cor. 8.6 he says. '…and there is one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom all things came to be, and we through him.' But with Paul we do not find passages that develop the idea of Jesus Christ as mediator at the act of creation as we meet it in later New Testament writings (cf. Col. 1.15-20; Jn 1.1-18). In the future Jesus Christ as risen from the dead and exalted will be engaged in abolishing every kind of domination, authority and power to deliver up the kingdom to God the Father (cf. 1 Cor. 15.24-28). Paul's arguments in this field are identical with the common ideas of the early church.

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14. But see the final formulation in 1 Cor. 15.28 'thus God will be all in all'. 1 Cor. 10.26 follows the Old Testament (quoting Ps. 24.1 LXX).

15. Cf. Bultmann, *Theology*, §§21, 26.

16. Cf. Wis. 11.17, 25; Philo, *Spec.Leg.* 4.187.

17. Here connected with God who makes the dead alive. Cf. in 2 *Bar.* 48.2, 8; 2 Macc. 7.28; Philo, *Spec.Leg.* 4.187; *Virt.* 130; *Vit. Mos.* 2.100. We find the summary about God and the world (κόσμος) in the context of creation in Philo, *Op. Mund.* 170-72.

18. Cf. Bousset and Gressmann, *Religion*, pp. 359-60.

Similar to the Judaism of his time we can observe with Paul that God moves into the background. In the place of God mediator beings like hypostatic ideas, angels and powers come to the foreground. But they are nevertheless strictly subordinated to God. Such beings can exist in heaven, can exist or work in the air or in the earthly world. They can be good or neutral or evil like the Satan and be in opposition to God.[19] If Paul uses the term οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου (1 Cor. 2.8), that is, the powers that rule the world, we do not find here speculations about the aeons as they belong to later gnostic systems.

In Paul the view of world and universe can be dual with heaven and earth (1 Cor. 8.5), heaven and abyss (Rom. 10.6-7)[20], threefold with heaven, earth and the depths (Phil. 2.10).[21] Paul can distinguish between the sky of sun, moon and stars and the heaven of God (cf. 1 Cor. 15.40-41; Phil. 3.20-21). In the heavenly direction he knows the third heaven and the paradise above (2 Cor. 12.2, 4). It may be that Paul prepares a way to the dualism of heavenly and earthly world in the system of Gnosticism or pre-Gnosticism, with a corresponding descent of the saviour (1 Cor. 2.7-8). But Paul does not distinguish between the supreme good God and the evil creator of the world, the demiurge. The human beings exist between God and the creation and are a part of the creation. Light and darkness can express the created elements of the beginning as well as the eschatological dualism in the sense of good and evil (cf. Gen. 1.3-5; 2 Cor. 4.6; 6.14). God's planning before creation is not as important with Paul as in later letters of the New Testament; this planning relates in Paul primarily to salvation (cf. Rom. 8.28-30; 1 Cor. 8.6; Eph. 1.4).[22]

Creation, the universe, the world are the realm of powers, the realm of humankind, the stage of the fall of humankind and sin, the stage of the salvation events and eschatology, the place of dualism. The creation bears the consequences of this fall until the eschatological events. The

19. Cf. Bultmann, *Theology*, pp. 50-51, 54-55, 84-85, 126-27, 134, 305.

20. Cf. Bousset and Gressmann, *Religion*, pp. 302-57; for the Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran, the Essenes, cf, H. Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus: Ein Sachbuch* (Herder/Spektrum, 4249; Freiburg: Herder, 1993), pp. 280-84.

21. Cf. the biblical tradition in Deut. 30.12; Ps. 107.26.

22. Cf. the universe with its three parts, heaven, earth, abyss, in the context of the ideas of the ancient Near Eastern world, and in the Dead Sea Scrolls 1QH 3.19-36 in the Jewish Apocalypses *2 Bar.* 48.4-16.

good or at least neutral creation of the beginning is infected by the fall of man, which brought dualism into the world (cf. Rom. 5.12-13; 8.19-22). The world as κόσμος can be for itself the cause of problems like sin and evil.[23]

We may ask for the relationship between creation (cosmos, universe) and history. It seems that with Paul history has a bigger part to play. We can conclude that Paul's ideas of creation are neither cosmological or Apocalyptical speculations, nor objective science. Creation and world, universe, God and the so-called deities are not a theme of the conception of the world and ideology.[24] Here we rather find the meeting of powers and their relationship, and human life in the presence of God, in the world and in faith.[25] The problem of mythology is still open.

Let me insert some remarks on special aspects and problems. It is obvious that with Paul we meet just some selective aspects of the ideas about creation and cosmology in the wider horizon of the ancient world. We do not find, for example, the discussions about a geocentric or heliocentric view of the world, the special cosmological, ontological and metaphysical ideas in the wake of Aristotle and his school. But we have to notice with Paul a kind of cosmological proof of God's existence in Rom. 1.19-20:

> For what can be known about God is plain to them; because God has shown it to them. Ever since the creation of the world his eternal power and divine nature, invisible though they are, have been understood and seen through the things he has made. So they are without excuse.[26]

Here the theology and philosophy of Classical Antiquity influenced Paul, especially Stoicism and Hellenistic Judaism.[27]

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23. Cf. the contrast to the Hellenistic Jew Philo Alexandrinus, who, on the ground of Platonism, distinguishes in *Op.Mund.* between two creations: the creation of the intelligible and the visible world, of the ideal man and the first man Adam. See also the contrast to the Dead Sea Scrolls, as in 1QS 3.15-23. Cf. J.A. Fitzmyer, *Qumran: Die Antwort. 101 Fragen zu den Schriften vom Toten Meer* (Stuttgarter Taschenbücher, 18; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1993), pp. 189-90.

24. CF. Bultmann, *Theology*, pp. 254-59 (§ 26); H. Conzelmann, *Grundriß der Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1967), pp. 195, 215-16.

25. Cf. H. Conzelmann, *Theologie*, pp. 196-97.

26. Paul here argues in connection with a kind of proof for God's existence that we call today the cosmological, teleological, physico-theological proof.

27. Cf. Bousset and Gressmann, *Religion* , p. 359; Bultmann, *Theology*, p. 74.

Finally let us have a look at the problem of the so-called *creatio ex nihilo* in connection with ontological terms and categories. We mentioned above the *creatio ex nihilo*.

Neither in Genesis 1–3 nor in the Hebrew Bible (the Old Testament) as a whole we find this idea directly.[28] We meet with it no sooner than in later Judaism. Especially Jewish—Hellenistic traditions seem to be important on the way to Paul. Paul says in Rom. 4.17. '[This promise (to Abraham), was valid] in the presence of the God in whom he believed, who gives life to the dead and calls into existence the things that do not exist.' *Creatio ex nihilo* and resurrection of the dead are connected with one another on the basis of the greatness and power of God. Paul uses here ontological categories, but they are not very much developed (τὰ μὴ ὄντα καλεῖν ὡς ὄντα[29]). This Greek seems to be a kind of popular ontology, if we compare it with the well-known ontological terms and arguments in Greek philosophy. But Paul does not continue or develop the line of Classical or Hellenistic ontology and metaphysics. His aim is to stress the difference and opposition of God and creation, to show that the beginning and the further existence of the universe depends alone on God's creative power. Paul speaks here in the tradition of the biblical and Jewish concept of God and creation, especially in the wake of Hellenistic Judaism.[30] 2 Macc. 7.28 is a remarkable passage in Jewish literature compared to Rom. 4.17.[31] The

28. In spite of Gen. 2.5.

29. Cf. Gen. 1 ('God said... So it was', etc.).

30. Cf., e.g., Philo Alexandrinus, *Aet. Mund.* 5; 78 (in the context of the ideas of pagan Antiquity); *Migr. Abr.* 9 (about the faith of Abraham). In Judaism the passages I quoted above like *2 Bar.* 48.2; 2. Macc. 7.28; Philo, *Spec. Leg* 4.187; *Virt.* 130; *Vit. Mos.*

We should not forget that in the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls of the Palestinian Qumran-area we find the connection of creation by God and ontological terms and ideas, too, as in 1QS 3. 15-16: 'From the God of knowledge stems all that is and all that shall be (כול היוה ונייה). Before they existed (היותם) he made all their plans, and when they came into being (בהיותם), they will execute all their works in compliance with his instructions, according to his glorious design without altering anything' (F.G. Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* [trans. W.G.E. Watson; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994], p. 6).

31. 2 Macc. 7.28-29 describes the situation of the martyrdom of a Jewish family with a mother and her seven sons. The mother here says words to one of her sons, flouting the cruel tyrant (Antiochus IV Epiphanes), which connect creation and resurrection of the dead: 'I beg you, my child, to look at the sky and the earth and see everything that is in them, and recognise that God did not make them out of

application of ontological terms and categories by New Testament scholars like R. Bultmann to their interpretation of Paul's theology[32] betrays also specially modern presuppositions.

4. *The 'New Creation' (2 Cor. 5.17; Gal. 6.15) as Statement about the Christians in Connection with the Eschatological Relation between Old and New*

Paul also uses in his letters the term and concept 'new creation' (καινὴ κτίσις) in 2 Cor. 5.17; Gal. 6.15. He says in 2 Cor. 5.17. 'So if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation; everything old has passed away; see, everything has become new!' and in Gal. 6.15: 'For neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything; but a new creation is everything!' These Pauline passages do not mean the cosmos, the universe, but the Christians. This is a restricted use of the term. In the New Testament this term can be found just with Paul. But the idea of a universal new creation exists elsewhere in the New Testament, sometimes connected with the promise or vision of a new heaven and a new earth (cf. 2 Pet. 3.13; Rev. 21.1). What is the exact meaning and the tradition-background of these statements? Our century reached a progress in their understanding. We owe it to the methods of religion history, tradition history and form-critical exegesis. Hermann Gunkel's famous book about Creation and Chaos in Primaeval and Final Times stands at the beginning of a new area.[33] Especially in Germany, the research of the Old Testament led to new insights in the exegesis of Israel's traditions of election and salvation ('Erwählungstraditionen'). G. von Rad and

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things that existed (οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ θεός). And in the same way the human race came into being. Do not fear this butcher, but prove worthy of your brothers. Accept death, so that in God's mercy I may receive you back again along with your brothers.' In Hellenistic Judaism we find ideas of the traditional view of the ancient world combined with traditions of the Bible. I mention Wis. 11.17: 'God's almighty hand created the world out of matter without form' (ἡ παντο-δύναμός σους χείρ καὶ κτίσασα τόν κόσμον ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης); Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 4.187: God called things not being into being, making order instead of disorder... light instead of darkness (τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι, τάξιν ἐξ ἀταξίας...ἐκ δὲ σκότους φῶς ἐργασάμενος).

32. Cf. Bultmann, *Theology*, pp.191-92, 198-99, 227-28.

33. H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine religions-geschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und ApJoh 12* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2nd edn, 1921).

others investigated these ancient ideas of Israel like the traditions of exodus, Sinai, David, Zion and covenant. In the books of the prophets[34] a contrast between Old and New can be found: the opposition between an old and new exodus, an old and a new David, an old and a new covenant. The prophets put their hearers into the situation of an imminent break from the Old to the New, which would carry with it the judgment of the Old and the promise of something New. This leads us to the rise and development of eschatology in the context of history and eschatology in the message of the prophets of ancient Israel. The new epoch would bring eschatological events in a future that would be definitive. Here begins the development to eschatology and also to the dualism of the two aeons in Jewish and early Christian Apocalyptics (cf. the contrast between עולם הזה and עולם הבא).

The problem of eschatology is—as is well known—a very difficult and controversial field, which has been fiercely discussed in many scholarly contributions. What I have just said must be sufficient in our context.

In the prophetic books the creation tradition plays a role even for the predicted eschatological New. The book of Isaiah and in it especially the so-called Second Isaiah (Isa. 40–55) and the so called Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 56-66) show this in the passages from exilic and postexilic times very well. So we find in Isa. 65.17 and 66.22 after the exile the idea of an eschatological and universal new creation as the creation of a new heaven and a new earth. We also meet this concept of a universal new creation later in early Judaism and the early church. I give some examples:[35]

> New creation: 1QS 4.25; 1QH 13.11-12.; *2 Bar.* 32.6; *4 Ezra* 7.75; *1 En.* 72.1; *Jub.* 1.29; 4.26.
> New heaven and new earth: Isa. 65.17; 66.22; *1 En.* 45.4-5; *Jub.* 1.29

34. Cf. G. von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* II (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1960), pp. 112-25, 139-40; E. Rohland, 'Die Bedeutung der Erwählungstraditionen für die Eschatologie der alttestamentlichen Propheten' (theology dissertation, University of Heidelberg, 1956, unpublished).

35. Cf. U.B. Müller, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (ÖTK, 19 Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1984), pp. 348-53; P. Stuhlmacher, 'Erwägungen zum ontologischen Charakter der καινὴ κτίσις bei Paulus', *EvT* 27 (1967), pp. 1-35 (with references in religious history to the Bible, esp. Isa. 40–55, 56–66, to Apocalyptic, the Dead Sea Scrolls, Hellenistic Judaism, Rabbinic sources, Gnosticism).

and in the NT Rev. 21.1; 2 Pet 3.13 (with quotation from Trito-Isaiah).

New heaven: *1 En.* 91.16.

New world: *2 Bar.* 44.12.

The world to come (παλιγγενεσία) in the New Testament in Mt. 19.28.

Renewal and transformation (different to a total new creation): *1 En.* 45.4-5; *2 Bar.* 32.6.

Annihilation of the old elements by fire in the New Testament: 2 Pet. 3.10, 12.

More generally we may also point to the time of the Messiah and the two apocalyptic aeons. In the history of religions we may refer to well-known ideas like the successive periods of the world in Stoicism, where one period ends by fire after a special time, and then a new period follows with an analogue development.[36]

But how shall we understand the statements of Paul about the new creation, which do not contain aspects of a universal eschatology and development? Are they simply anthropological and individual or similar interpretations of the universal idea of a new creation?

When we look at the Pauline passages we see that Paul in Gal. 6.15 points to the problem of circumcision and the observance of the law (Torah). Jews or Jewish Christians in Galatia had demanded that people who were converted from the Gentiles to Christianity should be circumcised. Paul refuses this demand. He writes in Gal. 6.13-15:[37]

Even the circumcised do not themselves obey the law, but they want you to be circumcised so that they may boast about your flesh. May I never boast of anything except the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world. For neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything; but a new creation is everything!

Here circumcision and uncircumcision are nothing and therefore Judaism and Gentile origin are nothing. Only a new creation is important. The new creation means in this context being destined by our Lord Jesus Christ and not by circumcision and the law, not by the world and cosmic relations. Therefore we must conclude that the new creation breaks through the actual reality of the cosmos, the world and the body doomed to death. Paul and the Christians are a new creation because they are crucified to the world and the world to them by the cross of Jesus Christ. The new creation is connected with the new Christian life.

36. Cf. on this problem Philo, *Aet. Mund.* 45-51,76-112.
37. I.e. at the end of this letter.

In 2 Cor. 5.17 Paul deals with the apology for his apostolic office.[38] He says in 2 Cor. 5.17-19:

> So if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation: everything old has passed away; see, everything has become new! All this is from God, who reconciled us to himself through Christ, and has given us the ministry of reconciliation; that is, in Christ God was reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting the message of reconciliation to us.

Here we find condensed salvation horizons. The tradition history of the passage is complicated.[39] We find Christ's death of substitution and atonement for sin, reconciliation through Christ as the work of God, the message of reconciliation and Paul as messenger, the justice or goodness of God, his counting misdeeds or not, the death and resurrection of Jesus, the cosmos as a human world. We see Old and New, new life and especially to be united to Christ (ἐν Χριστῷ). Paul characterizes what happened in Christ and being in Christ as the basis for the existence as new creation. This is the sphere in which the single Christian and the Christian Church exist. In 2 Corinthians the new creation is as in Galatians an ecclesiological collective and individual term.

Can we find prototypes for the idea of the universal new creation in the Hebrew Bible and Judaism, too?[40]

Actually in Second Isaiah there are statements that promise special new mighty deeds of God in connection with situation of Israel in the Babylonian exile and announce the return across the desert (cf. Isa. 42.9; 43.19; 48.6). In the Dead Sea Scrolls we find passages that combine the way into the congregation with ideas of creation, like 1QH 3.20-21 (cf. 3.23-33):[41] 'And I knew that there is hope for someone you

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38. Critical scholars here discuss the subject 'apology of the Apostolic ministry' in 2.14–7.4 , either as a singular Pauline letter or as part of a special letter that is worked up in 2 Corinthians in the context of the Corinthian correspondence of Paul.

39. Cf. C. Breytenbach, *Versöhnung: Eine Studie zur paulinischen Soteriologie* (WMANT, 60; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989), pp. 107-42, 178-83, 189-92.

40. P. Stuhlmacher, *Erwägungen,* pp. 8, 10-20, points to the cosmologic and universal, anthropological and ecclesiological meaning for 'new creation' in Isa. 40–55 and 56–66, in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Apocalyptic.

41. For the idea of 'new creation' in this context cf. H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran* (SUNT, 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), pp. 44-78.

fashioned out of clay to be an everlasting community...'[42] We see that
the Dead Sea Scrolls connected the return to the rest of Israel in the
Community with aspects of the new creation. The rabbinical traditions
can associate the remission of sins, becoming a proselyte, the healing of
a defect, the removal of troubles and dangers to the ideas of a new
creation and a rebirth or new birth.[43]

Similar observations can be made in 2 Macc. 7, the story about the
martyrdom of a Jewish family for the sake of the law. Here creation and
resurrection of the dead in the future are connected as individual events.
The Jewish mother says in 2 Macc. 7.23:

> The Creator of the world, who shaped the beginning of humankind and
> devised the origin of all things, will in his mercy give life and breath
> back to you again, since you now forget yourselves for the sake of his
> laws.

A statement about the present time we find in the Hellenistic-Jewish
narrative *Joseph and Aseneth*. The conversion of Aseneth to Judaism is
understood as a new creation, so in *Jos. Asen* 15, especially 4-5: 'Be
encouraged Aseneth... Since today you are newly created and formed
and newly animated. You eat a blessed bread of life and you drink the
cup which is filled with immortality. You are anointed with the oint-
ment of incorruptibility.'[44]

Paul could build upon such Jewish traditions. It may be that Hellenis-
tic Judaism especially was the connecting link to Paul. But in Paul the
new creation has to do with Jesus Christ, his death and resurrection,
therefore with the conversion to Jesus Christ and to Christian faith, to

42. Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 332.

43. Strack, H.L., and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus
Talmund und Midrasch* (4 vols.; Munich: C.H. Beck, 2nd edn, 1956 [1924–28]).
esp. II, pp. 420-23; III, p. 519.

44. Cf. M. Philonenko, *Joseph et Aséneth: Introduction, texte critique, traduc-
tion et note*, (SPB, 13; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968). The edition by P. Batiffol (*Le livre
de la Prière d'Aseneth*, in Studia patristica 1, Paris: Trevoux, 1889–90, pp. 1-87) is
not up to date. Cf. on the problems of text and edition the recent C. Burchard, 'Zum
Stand der Arbeit am Text von Joseph und Aseneth', in *Das Ende der Tage und die
Gegenwart des Heils: Begegnungen mit dem Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt*
(Festschrift; H.W. Kuhn; ed. M. Becker and W. Fenske; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999),
pp. 1-28. Cf. on this passage of *Jos. As.* Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum*, p. 516;
Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, p. 51 n. 4; G. Nebe, *'Hoffnung' bei Paulus: Elpis und ihre
Synonyme im Zusammenhang der Eschatologie* (SUNT, 16; Göttingen: Vanden-
hoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), pp. 311 n. 382, 316 n. 416, 320-21 n. 440.

the life as a Christian in Church and world.[45] Baptism is important here, because it is the way to the new existence of Christians.[46] We heard already about the connection between becoming a proselyte and rebirth or new creation. But in the wider field of religious history we can also think of the well-known rites of initiation. In the time of Paul the mystery-religions[47] come to mind, but also again Joseph and Aseneth. The understanding of the conversion to Judaism in connection with a kind of sacrament in the passage we quoted above is a form of thinking that reminds us of the ancient mystery-religions.[48]

5. *Adam or Man as the Old and the New, the First and the Last in Connection with Anthropology and Christology*

We have seen the relation of the new creation to Christians and the Church. Now we will ask what Paul says directly about the creation of man and anthropology. In the religions and cultures of the world we find—as it is well known—not only the idea of the creation of the world, but also the idea of the creation of man.

Paul starts with the old biblical tradition of creation: that Adam and then Eve[49] have been created by God as part of the creation in the beginning and as a good, unspoiled creation. In the view of anthropology the body (σῶμα) is very important in this connection. We can look back upon an important and long discussion about the meaning of this term and idea. In our century R. Bultmann founded a school of interpretation. His—and I agree with him—is the basic opinion that

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45. Cf., e.g., Rom. 6.3-4, 6-7; 4.17.

46. Cf. H. Umbach, *In Christus getauft—von der Sünde befreit: Die Gemeinde als sündenfreier Raum bei Paulus* (FRLANT, 181; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), esp. pp. 5, 218-234, 314.

47. The old distinction between Gnosticism and mystery religions is well known: In Gnosticism man by γνῶσις of salvation becomes again what he was and has forgotten (ὃ ἤμην), while in mystery religions man gets by deification what he was not before (ὁ πρίν). Cf. H.-M. Schenke, 'Die Gnosis', in J. Leipoldt and W. Grundmann, *Umwelt des Urchristentums: I. Darstellung des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 6th edn, pp. 371-415 (379), 1982).

48. Cf. already R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 3rd edn, 1973 [1927]), pp. 248-52.

49. Cf. later 1 Tim. 2.13.

man does not *have* a body (σῶμα), but *is* body—σῶμα which makes this term an expression for the relationship to himself.[50] Other anthropological terms also become important in this context (cf. ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, ψυχή, πνεῦμα, ζωή, νοῦς, δοκιμάζειν, συνείδησις, καρδία etc.).[51] Paul can argue in the line of a dichotomic or trichotomic idea of man (cf. 2 Cor. 4.16; 1 Thess. 5.23).

But we have to note that Adam, the human being as a creature, has the possibility of miscarrying, of sin, of failing. The biblical creation story presupposes this before the fall. R. Bultmann has formulated this very well:

> The characterisation of man as soma implies, then, that man is a being who has a relationship to himself. It implies that this relationship can be either an appropriate or a perverted one; that he can be at one or at odds with himself; that he can be under his own control or lose his grip on himself... That man is *soma* means that he stands within such possibilities. The fact that he is *soma* is in itself neither good nor bad. But only because he is soma does the possibility exist for him to be good or evil— to have a relationship for or against God.[52]

But then Adam apostatized from God. Sin came into the world. On the basis of the Bible Paul can specify that the way has gone from the serpent to Eve and from Eve to Adam (cf. 2 Cor. 11.3). But Paul has especially Adam in view. Adam is an individual, but also a collective person, a so-called 'corporate personality'. 'In Adam' all human beings are sinners.[53]

From an anthropological viewpoint this means, that the body (σῶμα) came under the control of forces that overpower the body trans-subjectively by the influence of sin. Human beings are now enslaved and have deserted their original destination as creatures. R. Bultmann says:[54]

> These phenomena indicate that this is Paul's opinion: Man has always already missed the existence that he seeks at heart, his intent is basically perverse, evil. Indeed, the view that all men are sinners, which he

50. Cf. Bultmann, *Theology*, pp. 195-96.

51. Cf. Bultmann, *Theology*, §§17-20.

52. Bultmann, *Theology*, pp. 197-98. Bultmann can refer here to ontological terms and ideas (as pp. 198-99).

53. Cf. the ideas of sphere, field, connection with destiny or fate, be descendants of..., metaphor–metonymy relations, etc.

54. Bultmann, *Theology*, p. 227. Bultmann can use here ontological terms and ideas again, cf. pp. 227-28.

develops at length in Rom. 1.18-3.20, is a basic one for his doctrine of
salvation. Through Adam, sin and death came into the world as dominant
powers (Rom. 5.12-19).

Paul says that this is the case since the fall of Man, 'in Adam'. Since
then sin and death are working. Paul thinks that the law (Torah) intensi-
fies the situation because it makes us conscious of the dilemma. There-
fore the law joins the powers like sin and death. Body and flesh (σῶμα
and σάρξ) are connected with one another or are identified, as Romans
7 shows (cf. Rom. 7.18-19, 24).

But Paul knows the way to deliverance and salvation. So in Rom 8.1-
2: 'There is therefore now no condemnation for those who are in Christ
Jesus. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set you free
from the law of sin and of death.' Thus God's deeds in Jesus Christ and
the power of the Holy Spirit bring liberation and salvation. In this
context the relation between the old and the new Adam, the old and the
new man are at stake—in the connection of Adam, Jesus Christ and
anthropology, in the contrast between an Old and an eschatological
New. Let us illustrate this by a look on two passages from Paul's
letters.

In Rom. 5.12-21 Paul develops his ideas of Adam/man. Through
Adam, the first man, sin came into the world and through sin death.
Thus death pervaded the whole human race, in as much as all men have
sinned (note the *aorist* in v. 12). So Adam seems to be a kind of cor-
porate personality. To him Paul opposes by a typological argumentation
the new Adam, a new epoch that has been brought by Jesus Christ (the
new man, the new Adam), as another and new kind of corporate
personality. So Paul can say:

> Therefore just as one man's trespass led to condemnation for all, so one
> man's act of righteousness leads to justification and life for all. For just
> as by the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, so by the
> one man's obedience the many will be made righteous (Rom. 5.18-19).

In 1 Cor. 15 we find similar arguments. But there Paul looks explicitly
from the first coming of Jesus Christ and his resurrection into the
future, bridging epochs in universal history and arguing anthropolog-
ically (1 Cor. 15.21-22, 35-57). Paul deals with the problem of the
bodily resurrection of the dead. He seems to argue against opinions in
Corinth denying the resurrection of the dead in the future (v. 12), being
content with a present salvation (v. 19). Paul emphasizes that the resur-
rection of Christ and the resurrection of the dead are interrelated. The

body (σῶμα) is important here.[55] For the significance of the resurrection of the dead we may remember Paul' former Pharisaic background.

So for Paul Adam and Jesus Christ stand in an antithetic parallelism to one another as the old and new Adam, as the first and last man. The eschatological relation of Old and New returns. Both are a kind of corporate personality with individuals or people belonging to them. This has also anthropological consequences and is important for the salvation of man (cf. Rom. 6.5-8).[56]

Now the question arises again, of if and how Paul thinks in biblical and Jewish contexts or whether we have to consider wider horizons of religious history at this point. Can we understand Paul here in the tradition of the Judaism of his time?

Passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls are important here again. We have to remind ourselves of how statements of a member of the Qumran congregation about his salvation are combined with expressions of his humbleness. Thus in 1QS 11.9-12:

> However, I belong to the evil humankind, to the crowd of wicked flesh. My failings, my transgressions, my sins [...], together with the depravities of my heart, belong to the throng of worms and of those who walk in darkness. For to man (does not belong) his path, nor does a human being direct his step. Because righteousness belongs to God, and from his hand is the perfection of the path. By his knowledge everything has come into being, and all that does exist he directs with his plan and nothing is done outside of him. As for me, if I stumble, the mercies of God shall be my salvation always, and if I fall in the sin of the flesh, in the righteousness of God, which endures for ever, shall my judgement be.[57]

The Dead Sea Scrolls also know 'the glory of Adam' or 'the glory of man' (כבוד אדם) as a state of salvation in the future, which we see for instance in 1QS 4.23; CD 3.20.

The consequences of the Fall since Adam with sin and death have frequently been reflected in Judaism.[58] In *4 Ezra* and *2 Bar.* we find very remarkable statements, as in *4 Ezra* 3.21: 'Because of his bad heart

55. Cf. R. Bultmann, *Theology*, pp. 198-99 again with reflections about ontological structures.

56. Paul does not yet use the term 'new man' (νέος ἄνθρωπος). But see later the school of Paul in Eph. 4.22-24; Col. 3.9-10.

57. Cf. Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 18.

58. Cf. passages in H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, III, pp. 155-64, 226-30.

the first Adam fell in sin and guilt and then also all who are born from him.' and *4 Ezra* 7.118. 'Oh Adam, what have you done! When you sinned, your fall not only came upon you but also upon us your descendants!'

But *4 Ezra* and *2 Bar* are not written before 70 CE, and we have the problem of the relation of Paul to the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran traditions. Nevertheless it is clear that the Judaism of the first century could think in such directions.[59] Certainly we have to consider a wider horizon of the idea of the primitive man in the history of religions. Though Paul at such points might come from Jewish conceptions of his time, the significance of Jesus Christ in this context and his critical view of the law transgress the principles of ancient Judaism.

6. *The Created Universe Suffering and in Hope in Romans 8.18-25, Combined with the Dualism of the Two Ages and Universal Eschatology*

What do we find in Paul's letters about the creation as universe, about the future of the cosmos and about an universal eschatology? We have seen that Paul does not speak in this context about a new creation. But what does he mean and say here? For an answer on such problems the statements of Paul in Rom. 8.18-25 are remarkable.[60]

These verses draw a comprehensive line from the creation to the Christians. They sharply divide the present and the future as epochs. Marked eschatological differences appear between the creation and the Christians. The creation is enslaved, has become the victim of frustration, is now far away from welfare or salvation. But the Christians are already saved in the present time qualified by an 'Already' and 'Not yet'. For both, the creation and the Christians, the future contains the

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59. Cf. at this point E. Brandenburger with two important books: *Adam und Christus: Exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Römer 5, 12-21* (1. Kor. 15) (WMANT, 7; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962), and *Fleisch und Geist: Paulus und die dualistische Weisheit* (WMANT, 29; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968). See also B. Schaller, "Ἀδάμ Adam' in EWNT I (1980), I cols. 65-67; J. Frey, 'Die paulinische Antithese von "Fleisch" und "Geist" und die palästinisch-jüdische Weisheitstradition', *ZNW* 90 (1999), pp. 45-77.

60. For this passage cf. H.R. Balz, *Heilsvertrauen und Welterfahrung: Strukturen der paulinischen Eschatologie nach Römer 8,18-39* (BEvT, 59; Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1971); Nebe, *Hoffnung* , pp. 53-54, 82-94 (and notes).

decisive perspectives. Many words of hope and similar orientation to the future show this. An explicit Christology does not appear in this passage, but it is formulated in the context.

Paul writes in Rom. 8.18-22 about the creation:

> I consider that the sufferings of this present time are not worth comparing with the glory about to be revealed to us. For the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the children of God. For the creation was subjected to futility, not of its own will but by the will of the one who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and will obtain the freedom of the glory of the children of God. We know that the whole creation has been groaning in labour pains until now.

When Paul in v. 18 describes a fundamental contrast between the suffering in the present and the splendour in the future, he follows the well-known dualism of the two Apocalyptic aeons in a temporal sense. The description of the creation as presently far away from salvation and the liberty and splendour of the children of God that are not available to it before a still distant future, fits into the classical structure of these two aeons. For the present time terms like victim of frustration, shackles of mortality (τῇ ματαιότητι ὑποταγῆναι, ἡ δουλεία τῆς φθορᾶς) are valid. For the future: revelation (the sons of God to be revealed), to be freed from...and to enter the liberty and splendour of God (ἡ ἀποκάλυψις τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ`, ἐλευθερωθήσεσθαι ἀπό...and εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ). Enslaving and liberation are dominant ideas. The creation stands in the place of hope, since it was subjected to the slavery caused by a special fall.

What does creation mean here? Critical research liked to relate the term to the human world. But this seems to be too modern a hermeneutic. Many proposals for an interpretation exist. In my opinion creation (κτίσις) here means the created universe, which has not separated itself from God, but had to suffer under the fall and its consequences. In the first place the environment of humankind and the Christians is in view, but under the aspect of the 'whole' (πᾶσα) principally the creation in the sense of the whole created universe is involved.[61]

But what is meant by the subjection of the creation in this context? Who is the subject in the act of subjection? In my opinion, in these dark formulations Paul alludes to the fall of Man (Adam), and perhaps also

61. Cf. Nebe, *Hoffnung* , pp. 86-87.

to the fall of angels and the following punishment by God. The latter theme occurs in the Bible and later in Judaism, in the New Testament and also in Paul. In the Hebrew Bible I refer to Gen. 3.1-14, 17-18.; 6.1-7, in Judaism to *1 En.* 6.1-8.4; *4 Ezra* 7.11-12.[62] The Pauline passages we have discussed above.[63] The dark statement in Rom. 8.20 about the one who subjected the creation seems to mean God himself.

In his words about the liberation of the creation Paul has an eschatological and universal act of God in view and describes it in analogy to the universal consequences of the fall in the primordial period. At the same time mediating beings are added. But what does he want to say, when he speaks in v. 19 about God's sons to be revealed, in v. 21 about the universe to obtain the liberty and glory of the children of God? These words have a rather mythological flavour. Analogue passages can be found in the letters of Paul, as in 1 Cor. 15.52; 1 Thess. 3.13; 4.16-17, where heavenly angelic beings or Christians could be meant. But in my opinion Paul speaks in this context about heavenly angels beings, not about Christians. That Paul actually means special heavenly beings belongs to the mythological context of his utterances about the cosmological events from the beginning with the subjection of the creation to the consequences of the fall to its liberation in the future.[64] At any case the passage impresses us as very dark and mythological.

We can conclude with the result that this passage Rom. 8.18-22 is based on biblical and Jewish, especially Apocalyptic traditions, whatever a wider horizon in religious history might have had to contribute to it.[65] But in fact it is difficult to detect clear analogies or earlier examples for all these statements of Paul about the creation. Of course, in the context of religious history we can remember the concept of a present

62. But because of Gen. 6.1-4 it is questionable if the fall of the angels was before the creation of Adam or the world. In *1 En.* 6.1-11 (cf. Gen. 6.1-4.) the situation is after the fall of Man. In the Hebrew Bible the snake tricked Eve before the fall itself.

63. Cf. Section 5 above.

64. Cf. in Jewish religious history the companions of the messiah in *4 Ezra* 7.28; 13.52. *2 Bar.* 1.7 is also remarkable here.

65. For the wide horizons in religious history cf. Balz, *Heilsvertrauen*, esp. pp. 37-54; Nebe, *Hoffnung*, pp. 85-86, 263-64. Balz concludes, p. 47: 'The world understanding of Late Antiquity could only therefore become the basis of communication, because it connects it with the fundamental intentions of the Apocalyptic theology of creation.'

time or world dominated by evil, and this in the context of better times gone in the past and expected for the future.

The biblical and Jewish tradition takes us especially to the Apocalyptic ideas of the Fall and the two aeons. Just to quote *4 Ezra* 7.11-12: '...but when Adam transgressed my decrees the creation came under judgement. Then the entrances to this world were made narrow, painful, and arduous, few and evil, full of perils and grinding hardship.' One may presume also a background of Gnostic traditions here, because in Gnosticism a rich angel mythology became important up to a fall before the creation of the earthly Adam, in the context of a very pessimistic view of the created world. But with Paul we do not find—as is well known—the idea that cosmos and man are created by a bad demiurge as in Gnosticism. Finally we can adduce the idea of descending periods of the world or human generations with Hesiod and up to biblical-Jewish Apocalyptic, to the Augustean culture or the early time of the Roman emperors (cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 106-201; Dan 2; 7; *1 Enoch* 93 and 91.12-17; Ovid, *Metam* 1.89-150).[66]

Of course one can use as horizon of interpretation the well-known messiah travails in Judaism, too. But Paul himself stands fundamentally on the ground of the Bible and Apocalyptic. He feels free also to draw upon mythology and speculations. We can adduce also the famous ideas and speculations in Classical and Hellenistic philosophy and culture about the beginning and the end of the world. One work that is attributed to Philo Alexandrinus, entitled *De aeternitate mundi*,[67] may be looked upon as an example:

The term cosmos (κόσμος) is used here to signify 'world which consists of heaven and earth and living beings in them and on them' (§4). For the theme of the eternity of the world (ἀφθαρσία κόσμου, *aeternitas mundi*) three viewpoints are noted (§§7–19):

(1). The cosmos without origin and imperishable (ἀγένητόν τε καὶ ἀνώλετρον). Aristotle and some Pythagoreans.

(2). The cosmos with origin and perishable (γενητόν τε καὶ φθαρτόν). Democritus, Epicureans and most of the Stoics.

(3). The cosmos with origin and imperishable. Plato, Hesiod, Moses. This means the creation story in Genesis 1–3 belongs to the third view.

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66. Cf. similar ideas in old Indian and Persian sources.

67. Certainly we are not sure if Philo is the real author or what actually is the contribution and meaning of Philo in this work. But we do have not to decide this here. At any rate the fundamental distinctions in this work can help us.

And what can we say of the statements about the creation/universe in Rom. 8, 19-22 in relation to this? We find in Romans 8 the idea of the beginning by the term κτίσις, 'creation', too. But now this creation is enslaved and not any more in the primordial condition. This situation continues up to the end, the final aim of the hope of the creation. When the creation reaches this aim, the universe will be free. We have discussed this above. As regards the future we can get the impression that the creation/universe as such and in a kind of formal condition will continue to exist through this point of final liberation at the end. Here it seems to be possible to detect a special reception of the third of the above-mentioned views (including Moses), supposing a cosmos with origin and imperishable. But do we find real analogies here? Does the liberation of the creation announced for the future nevertheless describe an 'eschatological break' with Paul? At least we do not find similar or identical paradigms. The split between the two Apocalyptic aeons is more evident with Paul than elsewhere.

Finally the question arises, what are the relations of these statements to the utterances of Paul in 1 Cor. 15.24-28, where he writes:

> Then comes the end, when he [i.e. Jesus Christ] hands over the kingdom to God the Father, after he has destroyed every ruler, and every authority and power. For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet... When all things are subjected to him, then the Son himself will also be subjected to the one who put all things in subjection under him, so that God may be all in all.

The view of the future is theocentric here. God will be all in all. Nothing else will be important, neither the creation, the cosmos nor the universe. According to E. Käsemann the view of creation in the Apocalyptic literature focuses upon the fact that at the end God will be restored to his full right as creator again.[68]

7. Special Fields of Ideas and Problems

It remains to touch upon three special fields of ideas and problems.

a. *Jesus Christ and Torah in Relation to Creation and Universe*
We have seen that with Paul, as in Judaism and Christianity, the

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68. Käsemann here refers to the Pauline term and idea of the justice of God (δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ). Cf. E. Käsemann, 'Gottesgerechtigkeit bei Paulus' (1961), in *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen* (2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), II, pp. 181-93, esp. pp. 192-93.

creation in the beginning is very important. And we also know that for him history is important in a similar way. We have observed this because history and eschatology were closely connected in the context of the relation between Old and New. The same consideration leads us to the special point of revelation in history. For Judaism the Torah of Moses is important in this connection, and for Christians, and also with Paul, the coming of Jesus Christ. This does not mean that the Torah in Judaism and Jesus Christ in Christianity and with Paul are unrelated to the creation in the beginning.

In the Bible of the Old Testament and in Judaism we can refer to the role of Wisdom in Prov. 8.22-31, to the identification of this Wisdom with the Torah in Sirach 24, especially in 24.23. Therefore, we can conclude that the Torah is important for the creation, for the origin and structure of the universe. I do not know a passage where such ideas about the Torah have been taken over in the New Testament and early Christianity. Here Jesus Christ plays his role for the creation, but with special differences and (in Paul's letters) as we have seen above (only in slight traces), as in 1 Cor. 8.6).[69]

b. *The Problem of the Order of Creation with Regard to Government, Marriage, etc.*
A special field is the problem of the order of creation. It first has its impacts on the question of government. In Rom. 13.1-7 Paul supposes that the government belongs to the order of creation. We must respect, fear and obey the supreme authorities. Paul says they are God's agents working for our welfare, but also God's agents of punishment, for they hold the power of the sword (*jus gladii*). Such arguments are connected with the fact that Paul writes his letter to the capital Rome. Obviously he is conscious that some years before, in 49 CE, the emperor Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome by his famous edict because there had been troubles between the Jewish and Christian population (cf. Suetonius, *De vita caesarum, Caesar Claudius* 25: 'He drove out the Jews who were rioting at the instigation of Chrestus')[70]. We can consider if such arguments of Paul have a biblical/Jewish background (cf. Dan

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69. See section 3 above.
70. 'Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit'. Cf. Kümmel, *Einleitung*, pp. 217-18.

2.37-38; Prov. 8.15-16, etc.).[71] But certainly we have to reflect also the well-known Stoic theory of natural right (cf. the term 'conscience' in Rom. 13.5).[72]

Another topic belonging to the order of creation is the relationship of man and woman, male and female. Paul speaks about this relationship on the ground of the biblical story of creation. He can also stress the higher position of male over female. He argues according to the Stoic theory of natural right with Nature (φύσις) itself (cf. 1 Cor. 11.14, but in 14.34 he reasons on the basis of the law [Torah]). Marriage is important. But Paul also pleads for staying unmarried, because in a time of stress like the present—when the community is waiting for the approaching end—this is the best way for a man, he says. He himself remained unmarried (cf. 1 Cor. 7 with 7.26). Against homosexuality he argues critically in Rom. 1.24-27 on the base of the order of creation and Nature (φύσις).

c. *Special Aspects and Arguments in Ethics*
Under this headline let us first hear Paul's arguments where he uses the topics of creation and Nature to prove that all men are obliged to do the good. But he adds that in fact all men are sinners, the Jews being under the law and the Gentiles according to the right of Nature and from being bound by their conscience (cf. Rom. 1.18-3.20, and esp. 2.14-15.).

Another topic is the Christian life in faith. The new life of the Christians in Paul's theology leads to the close relation between the so-called indicative and imperative. Because we are saved we have to live as new beings. Here Paul can use the traditions of creation, God the creator and Lord, Nature and conscience to answer special questions of life, up to the life in a pagan environment. In a melting pot like the metropolis Corinth the problem arose of how to use meat sold in the

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71. But see among others Dan 2.21; Wis. 6.1-11 with two aspects (God deposes and sets up kings). Cf. Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, III, pp. 303-305.

72. These Pauline arguments in Rom 13 became very important in the time of the Protestant Reformation in Germany. The Lutheran Church here was influenced by the doctrine of the two governments of God in the church and the political world. This dogma could lead to a strict obedience to the political authorities, as we realize from the history of Germany. In the last century it became disastrous for the Jews in Germany and Europe, because many Christians and leaders of the church in Germany found it difficult to keep a distance from the government and the deeds of Hitler and national socialism.

meat market, if it should happen that 'this has been offered in sacrifice' (cf. 1 Cor. 10.25-30, esp. 10.28).

8. *Conclusion*

We have seen that Paul, even as a Christian and as missionary of the Gentiles, has his mental background still in creation ideas and creation statements of the (Hebrew) Bible and Judaism, especially of Apocalyptic and Hellenistic Judaism. Generally it is important for Paul that powers are ruling, powers that enslave and bring to ruin, but also that the might of God in Jesus Christ delivers and saves. Actually, in relation to the Judaism of his time, Paul moreover sees the law (Torah) in the context of such enslaving and ruinous powers. Therefore he comes to a soteriology that has another foundation. The special Pauline arguments on eschatology, Christology and justification show the important characteristic differences to Judaism (cf. *inter alia* Rom. 3.24; 8.1). Paul bases here his argumentation on the tradition of the early Church and also on his own creative theology. So at fundamental points his own, special Christian view becomes important. In addition we have to observe the wider horizon of pagan culture and ancient religion outside of Judaism and Christianity.

But we should not forget that Paul does not mention many aspects and wider concepts of creation and cosmology that we find elsewhere in the ancient world, which can be interesting and important for modern science and the worldview in our time.

I mention just the ideas about the atomic structure of matter (cf. the Pre-Socratics, the Greek atomists like Democritus), the alternative between reversible and irreversible (cf. Parmenides and Heraclitus), the significance of arithmetic, geometric, mathematics (cf. Pythagoras and Plato). Paul of course does not have the modern insights into the laws of matter and energy conservation. If Paul knows a closed, self-contained cosmos, this is in a special way. Paul means that in the cosmos man is enslaved so strongly that salvation can only come from outside. Of course we must distinguish between the modern theories about the history of the universe in the context of the so-called second principle clause of thermodynamics or the expanding universe and the so-called 'already' and 'not yet' in hope and eschatology in Paul. Similar differences exist between history and eschatology in Paul's thinking and the modern theory of evolution.

With Paul the structures of creation and universe come to their goal in the relation to God. At a meta-level this leads to the problems of revelation, history and mythology. Paul does not point to a neutral, 'objective' world, to be experienced by experiments and explored by scientific research. Here we see the differences to our modern perspectives.[73] Paul always presupposes the existence of God, like the community of his time.[74]

Concluding my paper I will say a little bit more about the relation between the modern sciences and the idea of God. The famous Jewish physicist Albert Einstein understood himself as a religious man and integrated God in his view of the universe (cf. his famous objection to the so-called indetermination in the Quantum Theory: 'God doesn't play at dice.') He nevertheless did not consider the historical aspect, especially revelation in history, so important for the religions, especially in Judaism and Christianity, in addition to or in connection with the creation idea. Many other scientists of our time seem to argue in a similar way. But can this be enough for Judaism and Christianity, if they understand themselves as religious communities and connect monotheism and revelation?

73. This does not at all mean that with Paul experience is missing.

74. Cf. here Philo, *Op. Mund.* 170 with the first point of his summary: 'ἔστι τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὑπάρχει—God/the divine exists and subsists'.

'SEE, I AM MAKING ALL THINGS NEW': NEW CREATION IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION

Elke Toenges

The Jewish and Christian Bible begins with the report of the creation of heaven and earth. The Christian Bible ends with the same theme. One might say that the creation theme frames the Bible of the Old and New Testaments. For this Bible starts with two stories about the creation of heaven and earth and ends with the vision of a new heaven and earth.

In the final vision of the Book of Revelation (Rev. 21), John begins by describing this new creation: 'Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and first earth had vanished'. But further on, the text has an eschatological impact. John describes how 'he saw the holy city, the New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God'. How are these visions connected? What has the new creation to do with the New Jerusalem? Do these visions of new creation have anything to offer the Jewish–Christian dialogue?

The layout of the heavenly city Jerusalem indicates aspects of new creation. Jewish apocalyptic literature, following Isa. 65.17 (cf. Isa. 66.22), thought that the future of salvation will be, in contrast to the now existing world, totally 'new'.

In the picture of the New Jerusalem the Greek word καινός appears as an attribute of the city (21.2) related to creation (21.1). In the speech of God John presents the new creation as a 'Selbstaussage', that is, a statement of God about himself.[1] Some apocalyptic texts show the total destruction of the first heaven and earth,[2] others a hope of its rebuilding[3]

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1. See J. Baumgarten, 'καινός', EWNT, II (2nd edn, 1992), pp. 568-70.
2. Cf. 2 Pet. 3.4-13. The intention of annihilation of the universe cannot be shown through a parusie or a tribunal scene (Anton Vögtle, 'Dann sah ich einen neuen Himmel und eine neue Erde... (Apk 21,1)', in E. Grässer and O. Merk (eds.), *Glaube und Eschatologie* (Festschrift W.G. Kümmel; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985), pp. 303-33 (333 n. 95).
3. Cf. Isa 58.12; 61.4; 44.26; 44.28; 49.17; 65.17-25; Zech. 1.16; Tob. 14.7; 13.11; *2 Bar.* 6.9; 32.4; 44.7; Amidah, 14th Blessing.

or the building of a second city.[4] The first text referring to the 'New Jerusalem' is found in the *Testament of Daniel* 5.12: the heavenly city is parallel to the one on earth, which might be an indication of its pre-existence.[5] The city is prepared and built in heaven,[6] from where it will descend to be a place of salvation.[7] The theme of the new creation is punctual and mentioned only in the first verses of the vision (21.1, 5). But Vögtle shows that the visionary does not contemplate a real annihilation of the existing universe and the creation of a new physical universe (cf. ch. 4).[8]

The visionary does not make a sudden time shift from presence to future between 20.15 and 21.1. Such a break and a new creation would be an apocalyptic interpretation of Isa. 65.17b: 'For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth. Former things shall no more be remembered nor shall they be called in mind'. In contrast Revelation in the New Testament teaches that destruction is necessary only in order to oblige Christians to care for the whole of creation.[9] The new creation is not as in Paul's theology centred around Christ or motivated from a theology of baptism with an anthropological focus (cf. Gal. 6.15; 2 Cor. 5.17). Rather, the concept of new creation in the final vision of the New Jerusalem has a trans-subjective orientation: the goal is the combination of the concept of new creation with the divine city.

Therefore the Greek word καινός should with Thompson be translated as 'renewal'.[10] The eschatological theology of creation, as it is shown in the final vision, is intended to demonstrate the inner connection between creation and salvation, redemption as perfection of the

4.   *1 En.* 90.28, 29; *2 Bar.* 4.2-6 and *4 Ezra* 9.26–10.59 refer also to two cities.

5.   Jerusalem is already 'the built' city in *4 Ezra* 10.27, 42, 44; cf. Zion as 'prepared and built' in *4 Ezra* 13.36; cf. *2 Bar.* 4.3.

6.   W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (KEK, 16: Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht , 6th edn, 1906), p. 448; R. Knopf, 'Die Himmelstadt', in *Neutestamentliche Studien* (Festschrift C.F.G. Heinrici; UNT, 6, J.C. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1914), pp. 213-15.

7.   A city that descends, cf. *4 Ezra* 7.26; 10.54; 13.36; H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, III (Munich: Beck, 8th edn, 1985), p. 796.

8.   Vögtle, 'Himmel', pp. 323, 324.

9.   Vögtle, 'Himmel', p. 333.

10.   L.L. Thompson, *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 85.

creation (21.6) and the reign of the cosmocrator (21.5), who is related to everything that is created.

First of all we have to examine the reasons of combining the motive of new creation with the motive of the city, New Jerusalem.

1. *The City Metaphor*

City metaphors are widely used in apocalyptic literature. In ancient times, the building and planning of cities played an important role in the analogy of city and cosmos. Buildings were seen as symbolizing divine cosmic perfection and thus as perforating the boundaries between the universe and the real world.[11] The holy city Jerusalem comes from God (Rev. 21.20); the earthly Jerusalem is a representation of the heavenly city.[12]

During the first century CE city walls were an important symbol of the identity of the inhabitants.[13] Self-definition and walls are bound up with one another.[14] In antiquity, the city Jerusalem represents the city per se (cf. Ezra 7.23). The real city of Jerusalem is mentioned only once in the book of Revelation (11.8). In Rev. 3.12 the city is described as 'city of my God'. The name of the town Jerusalem must be understood against the background of Old Testament tradition, where eschatological hope crystallizes itself on Jerusalem.

Many of the motifs described in John's vision of the New Jerusalem have parallels in Jewish texts, especially in Ezekiel 40–48. Elements described in Ezekiel are picked up and referred to the new city. Indeed, references to the city Jerusalem could even be said to be a common theme in Jewish apocalyptic literature. The majority of such texts expect a restoration of the earthly Jerusalem by a city coming down from heaven.[15]

The image of the city, with its quadratic street system, its open gates and its city wall, symbolizes a particular aesthetic–moral character.

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11. C. Oemisch, *König und Kosmos: Studien zur Frage kosmologischer Herrschaftslegitimation in der Antike* (PhD dissertation, University of Berlin, 1977), p. 15.

12. Oemisch, *König und Kosmos*, p. 16.

13. Cf. P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (Munich: Beck, 2nd edn, 1990), p. 323.

14. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* I. 264. See Zanker, *Augustus*, p. 324.

15. Cf. *1 En.* 53.6; 90.29; *4 Ezra* 7.26; 8.22; 10.27-29, 50-59; 13.26.

Referring to Hellenistic city plans, Georgi has shown that the inhabitants of a city identify themselves with their city, and that buildings erected on behalf of the king further express the identity of the city. Therefore the New Jerusalem expresses the ideas of a plurally oriented Hellenistic πόλις, in which citizens of all nations are reconciled and integrated and all classes equal.[16] The background of this interpretation is an affinity to social utopian ideas in which the Hellenistic πόλις can be understood as a progressively constructed society, the object of conscious planning and oriented towards the future.[17]

Georgi shows further that the Hellenistic city was secular. The city was characterized by its inhabitants and not by the holy buildings and temples it contained.[18] The Greek πόλις was identical with the free nation and was built upon a democratic basis, whether a complete or partial democracy.[19] The picture of the New Jerusalem in Rev. 21.1-22.5 emphasizes the secularism of the mythical city, just as the Hellenistic cities did, especially when it is considered that the temple is missing. In 22.2 'the middle of the street of the city' may be understood as an association to the Greek agora, although for John 'the middle of the street' expresses the meeting, assembly and communication of the male inhabitants, which is a characteristic of a πόλις.

The New Jerusalem is distinct in just one point from a Hellenistic πόλις: the city is not centred around a temple; the temple is missing in the concept of the New Jerusalem. In this way the New Jerusalem is a divine counter-representation of the earthly Jerusalem.

2. *Literature of Resistance*

If we search for concepts of eschatological life and ethical expressions in an apocalyptic vision, we have to consider that apocalyptic literature was a response to a crisis at a time when the direct interpretation of

16. See D. Georgi, 'Die Visionen vom himmlischen Jerusalem in Apk 21 und 22', in D. Lührmann and G. Strecker (eds.), *Kirche* (Festschrift G. Bornkamm; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1980), pp. 351-72 (362).

17. See J. Roloff, 'Neuschöpfung in der Offenbarung des Johannes', *JBT* 5 (1990), pp. 119-38 (129).

18. See Georgi, 'Die Visionen', p. 368.

19. See S. Safrai, *Das jüdische Volk im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels* (Information Judentum, 1; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), pp. 33-35.

scripture was dangerous.[20] That is the reason why the use of symbols and metaphors is prevalent in visionary literature. The book of Numbers, for example, expresses theological thoughts and themes in such a way that their symbolic use demonstrates 'order in time and cosmos'.[21]

In spite of its composition at a time when Christian communities were under pressure and distress, Revelation does not announce the destruction of the church, but the siege against the misuse of the power of the *Imperium Romanum*. The triumph is reflected in the New Jerusalem, where God, the Lamb and his slaves reign unchallenged. Imperial power does not shape the whole of reality. The accents of the vision are lying in the reign of God, the empowerment of the Lamb and his believers and their confrontation with the imperial powers.

The outstanding ecclesiological expression in the book of Revelation focuses on the rule of God over world and history.[22] This can be seen at the end of the vision, where God and the Lamb dwell—expressed with bright colours—in the middle of the city. This 'reign of all inhabitants' is interpreted by Schüssler-Fiorenza as a 'kingdom of all believers'.[23]

Several elements of the city may be interpreted in terms of rivalry with the government. First of all, we notice the city metaphor Babylon/Rome in ch. 16. The picture of the New Jerusalem offers a contradictory example to Rome: the heavenly city competes directly with the metropolis on earth, Babylon or Rome.[24]

In particular, the last five verses of the vision (Rev. 22.1-5) are full of allusions to the imperial cult and power.

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20. A.Y. Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984), p. 105; cf. U.H.J. Körtner, *Weltangst und Weltende: Eine theologische Interpretation der Apokalyptik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), p. 57: 'Die Gegenwart wird als Krisensituation erlebt' (The present is experienced as a situation of crisis).

21. A.Y. Collins, 'Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature', in H. Temporini and W. Hasse (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, II (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 1221-87 (1270).

22. J. Roloff, *Die Kirche im Neuen Testament* (NTD, 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), p. 174.

23. E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *Priester für Gott: Studien zum Herrschafts und Priestermotiv in der Apokalypse* (NTAbh, 7; Münster: Aschendorff, 1972), pp. 384-89.

24. Oemisch, *König und Kosmos*, p. 17.

The frequent occurrence of the word 'throne'[25] may be assumed to imply a conflict with other governmental structures; the scenes of the throne are recast in terms of ancient audience and tribunal scenes.[26] The throne of a ruler demonstrates with the extraordinary material of the throne the power of the sovereign and his characterization of himself as *amplior humano fastigio*, that is, having greater than human power.[27] As in Ezek. 43.7 the throne is a symbol of God's power and presence. In the New Jerusalem the throne of God and the Lamb have descended to earth[28] and promise all believers community with God and the Lamb (22.5).

The throne stands in the middle (ἐν μέσῳ) of the city and could be seen as parallel to imperial temples.[29] The cult of the king restructured whole cities: 'Political and social changes are likely to consist in part in the reordering of space'.[30] The most important in a city are its centre, the place opposite a gate and its highest point.[31] As in Ephesus, where the throne in the middle of a city expressed the permanent presence of the ruler,[32] the place of the throne ἐν μέσῳ of the city emphasizes the direct exchange between God, Christ and the people. Verse 24 reports that 'the kings of the earth will bring into the city all their splendour'. The term 'kings of the earth' is quite common in Revelation.[33] From Rev. 6.15 we can assume that these were human beings, possibly the

25. In the New Testament, the word 'throne' appears 62 times, 47 times in Revelation.

26. See H. Gabelmann, *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), p. 226. The use of imperial motifs and forms of compositions for the description of Christ on a throne is an important theme in Christian antiquity.

27. Domitian (cf. A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980], p. 244). Diocletian's throne full of jewellery was probably the first example of a throne from a sovereign.

28. E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (HNT, 16; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 3rd edn, 1970), p. 173.

29. 'Towards the end of the first century AD, a further imperial temple, to Domitian, was built in the centre of Ephesus' (S.R.P. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987], p. 140).

30. Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 136.

31. Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 137.

32. Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 144.

33. Rev. 1.5; 6.15; 17.2, 18; 18.3, 9; 19.19; 21.24; cf. 16.14.

client kings of Rome.[34] They were bound to Rome, and the power of Rome supported—or even lent them—their royal dignity.[35] At the beginning of Revelation the kings of the earth represent the authority of political power, which struggled with Christ and mobilized all its powers to defeat him.[36] But at the end of the book, in the description of the eschatological pilgrimage, they no longer struggle with Christ but stand next to him and support him. By his choice of words and well-known traditions, the redactor of the book of Revelation wishes to emphasize the possibility that the enemies may be converted.

The kings of the earth bring their δόξα, their splendour כבוד,[37] into the city. The 'splendour' coming from kings is to be understood as expensive donations, which were brought as signs of honour. In the *Imperium Romanum* the sovereign received the gifts;[38] in the New Jerusalem God and the Lamb receive everything. This verse emphasizes an open affront against the political sovereignty of the *Imperium Romanum*.

In 22.3 'his slaves' refers to the community of God and the Lamb. In the *Imperium Romanum* slaves could be freed through personal closeness to the king.[39] The jewellery and bright colours of the city portray a wealthy, rich atmosphere. The city and its centre are described as built of pure gold (21.18, 23). At the time of Caligula and Nero the use of golden structures in palace buildings came to a climax.[40] The emperor

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34. The client kings of Rome are offending sexually with the whore Babylon and are led and ruled by her (Rev. 17.2, 18; 18.3, 9).

35. Zenon was crowned by Germanicus (cf. E. Paltiel, *Vassals and Rebels in the Roman Empire: Julio-Claudian Policies in Judaea and the Kingdoms of the East* [Collection Latomus, 212; Brussel: Latomus,1991], p. 129), Agrippa I. got the crown from Gaius (cf. p. 169), Tiridates from Nero (p. 247).

36. In Rev. 1.5 the 'kings of the earth' do not accept that Christ is ὁ ἄρχων (the firstborn and ruler) (cf. Rev. 17.14; 19.16). Therefore they stand before the divine tribunal and struggle against Christ at the end of time (cf. Rev. 6.14-17; 16.14; 17.14; 19.17-19).

37. Cf. Mt. 4.8/Lk. 4.6; Mt. 6.29/Lk. 12.27; 1 Macc. 10.58 and Isa. 60.5, 11.

38. D.C. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of Client Kingship* (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1984), pp. 27-30.

39. H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der Römischen Kaiser: Studien zur Nomenklatur* (Forschung zur antiken Sklaverei, 1; Wiesbaden: Stein, 1967), pp. 58, 59, 179-81, 395.

40. H.J. Horn, 'Gold', *RAC*, XI (1981), p. 906. Following Caligula and Nero, Domitian used a lot of gold in his buildings (cf. Horn, 'Gold', p. 909).

defended his exclusive right to and demand for gold.[41] The expensive materials used for the building of the city express purity, that is the purity of the inhabitants and also symbolize royal dignity. In the vision of the city, jewellery and gold represent an ideal kingship and therefore the demand for supremacy. We see that the book of Revelation and especially the final vision, can be read as 'literature of resistance' against the *Imperium Romanum*. And as literature of resistance, creation must be redefined.

3. *The City as Community*

The city metaphor is also important in considering the structure and communication of the new community. Apart from the portrayal of the community as a household, the vision of John offers the only ecclesiological concept of Christian community life in the New Testament. Detailed descriptions of the structure of the community are nevertheless missing.

It is necessary first to search for the descriptions which belong to or may be connected to an eschatological community. For example, the number 'twelve' is a symbol that constitutes the picture of the city.[42] It is a ecclesiological symbol,[43] a holy and perfect number[44] and is used only to describe people in confederation with God.[45] The community of the twelve tribes in the book of Revelation is a symbol and metaphor for the Christian community.[46] In the vision of the New Jerusalem the number twelve is therefore a eschatological prophetic sign. The twelve apostles, the foundation stones of the community, are metaphors for the idealized past and stand in the tradition of the twelve tribes of Israel.

The 144,000 who have been 'sealed' are also made up of twelve

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41. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation*, p. 158.

42. In the vision of the New Jerusalem there are ten references to the word 'twelve'.

43. See Roloff, *Kirche*, p. 189.

44. Cf. Philo, *Fug.* 184: τέλειος ὁ ἀριθμὸς ὁ δώδεκα; cf. Philo, *Praem. Poem.* 65.

45. Cf. Rev. 7.4-8; 12.1; 14.1, 3; 21.12, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21; 22.2.

46. See A. Vögtle, 'Mythos und Botschaft in Apokalypse 12', in G. Jeremias *et al.*, *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt* (Festschrift K.G. Kuhn; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), pp. 395-15; cf. Jas. 1.1; Gal. 6.16; Herm, *Sim.* 9.17.1.

times 12,000 people.[47] Those who have been sealed seem to be a special group which is exclusively elected by God. This exclusiveness motivated the Christian who lived during the time of Revelation to keep God's ways and thus to become part of the eschatological community. It is therefore possible to identify the 144,000 sealed with the eschatological community.[48]

The believers who read the book of Revelation were a community that lived without temple, cult or holy city. For that reason the accent in the description of the heavenly city Jerusalem is on the absence of a cult. The presence of God and Christ who form the centre of the community takes the place of the temple. God and the Lamb dwell in the city.[49] The city of the New Jerusalem is described in terms neither of a cult, nor of a liturgy. Only the hymn in Rev. 19.6-8 with its 'Hallelujah' refrain alludes to the New Jerusalem. In 14.3 the 144,000 sing a new song. This text seems to emphasize a heavenly liturgy and to imply that nobody except the eschatological community is able to learn or to sing the song. This new song seems to be an identity mark of the new community.

The New Jerusalem will be renamed by God (Rev. 3.12; cf. Isa 62.2) and in the context of eschatological praise new songs will be sung by the Lamb and from the throne (Rev. 5.9; 14.3).

The New Jerusalem becomes the centre of the new cosmos.[50] Collins believes that the number twelve must have a 'temporal and spatial aspect',[51] because it represents the way in which God has revealed himself in the cosmos in the past and in the present, and the way in which he will reveal himself in the future.

The image of the New Jerusalem 'descending from heaven' is the first reference to community life. The structure of the community of salvation is drawn from the structure of the community of God or of

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47. Cf. Rev. 7.4-8; 14.1, 3.

48. Cf. H.R. van de Kamp, *Israël in Openbaring: een oderzoek naar de plaats van het joodse volk in het toekomstbeeld van de Openbaring aan Johannes* (Kampen: Kok, 1990), p. 333.

49. In rabbinic literature, this concept is connected with the 'Schekhinah', God's divine presence. As we can read in rabbinic texts, after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE the Schekhina went with the people into the exile (A. Goldberg, *Untersuchungen über die Vorstellung von der Schekhinah in der frühen rabbinischen Literatur* [SJ, 5; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1969], pp. 493-96).

50. Cf. Collins, 'Numerical Symbolism', p. 1284.

51. Collins, 'Numerical Symbolism', p. 1284.

Christ. In this way, the community of salvation can be understood as a political entity.[52]

Does the vision reveal anything about the structures within the community? The number twelve structures the community. The twelve apostles are the foundation of the city (Rev. 21.14).[53] They are significant,[54] in some way the fathers of the eschatological community.[55]

In the communities on earth[56] the *munus propheticum*, or order of prophets, is the only function that was certainly known to the people of Revelation, for the *munus propheticum* is a reality represented by the author, himself a prophet. However, although the community has its own prophets, they are not assigned a place or task in the concept of the New Jerusalem. Similarly, there are no references to elders in the vision of the New Jerusalem, and priests are not mentioned either.

To the kings on earth is assigned the task of bringing their δόξα into the city. In this sense, Revelation may be understood as expressing an 'early Christian rejection of a special functionary as a priest'.[57] The vision of the New Jerusalem does not refer to the holy people (οἱ ἅγιοι). The believers are described as 'slaves of God or the Lamb' in Rev. 22.3. As in Old Testament traditions, a slave signifies עֶבֶד יהוה, that is, it symbolizes not an inferior status but that of belonging to and safety with God.[58] The slaves in Rev. 22.3 belong to God and the Lamb.[59] The significant singular αὐτοῦ, 'his', shows the redactor's wish to emphasize the unity of God and the Lamb.[60] In conclusion: despite the existence of the episcopal structure, in the form of deacons and bishops, in

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52. See W. Thüsing, 'Die Vision des "neuen Jerusalem" (Apk 21,1-22,5) als Verheissung und Gottesverkündigung', *TTZ* 77 (1968), pp. 17-34.

53. A. Satake, *Die Gemeindeordnung in der Johannesapokalypse* (WMANT, 21: Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1966), p.137 believes, however, that the apostles did not have an important role in the community, because only the 'original apostles' (*Urapostel*) are mentioned in 21.14.

54. Cf. Satake, *Gemeindeordnung*, p. 136.

55. Roloff, *Kirche*, p. 189.

56. Roloff, *Kirche*. p. 187.

57. M. Karrer, *Die Johannesoffenbarung als Brief: Studien zu ihrem literarischen, historischen und theologischen Ort* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), p. 115.

58. C. Westermann, 'עֶבֶד æbæd *Knecht*', *THAT*, II p. 191.

59. Cf. Rev. 6.17.

60. Satake, *Gemeindeordnung*, p. 97. Satake thinks that Rev. 22.3 is a redactional formulation.

the community, no group is mentioned in the final vision of Revelations. The eschatological community must be understood as a homogeneous group in contrast to actual Christian communities that existed in Asia Minor at the end of the first century CE.

The community is homogeneous in more ways than one. For instance, the inhabitants of the city are understood to be a perfect number of 144,000 men, who 'did not defile themselves with women' (Rev. 14.4) and who have kept themselves chaste. Is this to be taken to imply that only men may become inhabitants of the New Jerusalem and members of the new community? John lays particular stress upon the contradiction between the 'whore' Babylon (ch. 16) and the vision of the 'bride'[61] New Jerusalem (ch. 21). The two cities become sexual descriptive metaphors and as such are part of the *dramatis personae*.[62] Real women are not mentioned in Revelation. Instead, women are reduced to certain sexual roles, such as mother, bride or whore. In short, the community is shown as a perfect congregation through blatantly discriminatory and exclusively sexual metaphors.

Another identifying characteristic of these communities is their treatment of sinners and excluded persons. After the promise to the victors (Rev. 21.8) we are presented with the threatening formulation of a catalogue of wickedness. Sinners are presented in pairs of types: the 'fainthearted and the faithless' are contrasted with 'those who overcome' (21, 7a), the 'murderers and whoremongers' represent the most serious ethical sins, and 'magicians and idol worshippers' are responsible for the worst religious sins. In contrast to the νικῶν in v. 7, the list in v. 8 collects all the polemic accusations of Revelation. These people have no chance of entering the New Jerusalem but will die a second death. As such the list has a paranetic character. It reveals all possible sins, calling them into the mind of the community in order to save its members.

In 21.27a we are told who is not allowed to enter the city.[63]The

61. The background to the bride metaphor may be found in texts from the Old Testament that show the relationship between God and his people in terms of a symbolism of marriage (cf. Isa. 54.11, 12; 61.10; cf. Rev. 19.7-9).

62. See J. Fekkes III, '"His Bride Has Prepared Herself": Revelation 19–21 and Isaian Nuptial Imagery', *JBL* 109 (1990), pp. 269-87 (269).

63. εἰσέρχομαι εἰς is New Testament terminology that occurs primarily in texts referring to the eschatological βασιλεία (Mt. 5.20; 7.21; 18.3; 19.23, 24; 23.13;

people who enter the city, and thereby the relationship to God, share one primary characteristic: '...nothing unclean should enter, nor anyone whose ways are false and foolish...'.

The theological idea shown in the concept of the eschatological community amounts to the universal, unlimited sovereignty of God in the whole of creation.

4. *Paradise*

At the end of the vision, the description of paradise appears as an integral part of the city.[64] The combination of symbolic elements is traditional.[65] The water of life, the tree of life, the garland of life, and the book of life are all elements of the eschatological picture. In apocalyptic texts water is a symbol for immortal life. The river refers to the river in paradise (Gen. 2.10-14), which will reappear in the eschatological Jerusalem. In the Old Testament, the river is seen as flowing from the temple;[66] in the New Jerusalem the temple has vanished and the river springs from the throne. As a metaphor of life[67] the river expresses that the life of the people of the city originates in the throne of God and the Lamb.

In the Apocalypse, the tree of life is part of the heavenly world. Only the believers, and in particular those who prevail and who die as believers (Rev. 2.7)[68] may eat from it. As in Ezra 47.7, 12 and its translation in the Septuagint, in Rev. 22.2 the term ץע, ξύλον has a plural meaning. It expresses the extent of the life that exists in the city, but it is also a reminder of the tree of life in paradise.[69] The tree

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Mk 9.47; Jn 3.5; Acts 14.22), to ζωή (Mt. 18.8, 9; 19.17; Rom. 11.25) or to κατάπαυσις (Heb. 3.11, 18; 4.1, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11).

64. For a different view see J. Ellul, *Apocalypse: Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Enthüllung der Wirklichkeit* (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), pp. 211-15.

65. Cf. Isa. 51.3; Ezra 36.35; 47.1-12; *4 Ezra* 8.52; *2 Bar.* 4.3, 6.

66. Cf. Ezra 47.1, 12; Joel 4.18; Zech. 14.8.

67. Cf. Ellul, *Apocalypse*, p. 226.

68. Cf. Satake, *Gemeindeordnung*, p. 79.

69. Cf. Gen. 2.9; 3.22; Rev. 2.7; Hebrew *Apoc. Elij.* 10.2; cf. W.W. Reader, *Die Stadt Gottes in der Johannesapokalypse* (PhD dissertation, University of Göttingen, 1971), p. 148.

produces a huge amount of fruit twelve times a year.[70] Consuming the
fruits saves the lives of the inhabitants of the city.[71]

In the Gospels, the leaves of trees are generally seen as unimportant,[72]
whereas the leaves of the tree in Rev. 22.2 support healing and
salvation. Here the leaves symbolize religious, ethical and eschatolog-
ical healing,[73] although only the ἔδνη,[74] that is, one particular group of
people in the community of salvation, need this medicine. In these
terms, healing could be interpreted as a renewed salvation from mor-
tality, because human beings are given life by God and thus come to
participate in God's eternity. But human beings remain creatures of
God, even when they have attained direct and permanent contact to God
and the Lamb.

5. *Relations to Israel and the World*

The vision of the New Jerusalem as the important ecclesiological image
for the eschatological Christian community may also define the *status
quaestionis* of the Jewish–Christian relationship. The word 'Israel'
appears in three texts (Rev. 2.14; 4.21; 21.12).[75] In Rev. 7.4 and 21.12

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70. Cf. Gen. 1.11, 12; 2 Kgs 19.30; Jer. 12.2; 17.8; Ezra 17.23, 34.27; Zech.
8.12; Ps. 1.3.
71. Cf. Ezra 47.12; *1 En.* 25.5; *4 Ezra* 7.123; *ShemR* 15.21.
72. Cf. Mt. 21.29/Mk 11.13.
73. Cf. Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.191; *Amidah*, 8th Blessing; *2 Clem.* 9.7.
74. The distinction between ἔδνη and λαός does not appear in the book of
Revelation, and the reduction of this distinction to the people within the city and
those without (heathen, pagans) would be wrong (cf. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung des
Johannes*, p. 453).
75. In Rev. 2.14 the context is the message to Pergamon. The community is
accused of having offered temptation to the Israelites as Balaam did to Balak: 'He
encouraged them to eat food sacrificed to idols and to commit fornication.'
Neither aspect is characteristic of the Israelites. The use of these terms in Revela-
tion serves to emphasize the purity of their own community. The task of the Chris-
tian community is to keep the laws of God (Rev. 12.17; 14.12). The background to
this is the prohibition of eating food sacrificed to idols (K. Wengst, *Pax Romana:
Anspruch und Wirklichkeit* [Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1986], p. 150). The refer-
ence to fornification in 2.14, 10 implies believing in and following idols rather than
actual sexual unfaithfulness (Collins, *Crisis*, pp. 87, 88; 'Persecution and Vengeance
in the Book of Revelation', in David Hellholm (ed.), *Apocalyptism in the Mediter-
ranean World and the Near East* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983], pp. 740, 741).

the 'tribes of the sons of Israel' are mentioned. But in Rev. 7.3 the 144,000 chosen are called the 'slaves of God'. Therefore, the 'tribes of the sons of Israel' cannot refer simply to the Israelites. Rather, in the book of Revelation the term δοῦλος θεοῦ (slave of God)[76] does not denote a nation, but all believers. All believers are also called υἱοί Ἰσραήλ (sons of Israel),[77] because they intercede with the God of Israel for other nations.[78] In Rev. 14.1 all chosen people have the names of God and the Lamb written on their foreheads. This identifies them finally as the new people of God.

In the draft and concept of the New Jerusalem, the names of the twelve tribes are inscribed on the twelve gates of the city. People entering the city are thus reminded of the history of ancient Israel. Van de Kamp points out that 'believers from the nations are constantly reminded of the fact that they have come to live in an existing edifice and to supplement the existing twelve tribes of the Israel of God'.[79]

The word for 'tribe' (φυλή v. 12) is significant for the language of Revelation. Two-thirds of all its occurrences are be found in the book of Revelation. At the beginning of the book (Rev. 1.7), it is said that for Christ's sake[80] all people of the world 'shall lament in remorse'. In Hebrew translation, כל משפחות האדמה, this is a reminder of the benediction of Abraham.[81]

Many of the images and motifs of Jewish apocalyptic are adopted and reinterpreted in the vision of the city Jerusalem as the new community of salvation in the eschatological period. Reader argues that the description of the accomplished city in terms of the number twelve serves to connect the end of the divine work in Jerusalem with its beginning.[82] Jerusalem is shown as the fulfilment of all the traditions and promises which have concentrated upon 'new' community fulfils the role of the twelve tribes of Israel. The chosen people is subsumed

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76. Cf. the terminus δοῦλος θεοῦ in Eur., *Ion* 309; Cassius Dio 63.5, 2; *Apoc. Sedr.* 16.7; Philo, *Div. Rer. Her.* 7 and in other places in Philo.

77. 'God's sealed servants out of all nations are called children of Israel' Kamp *Israël in Openbaring*, p. 333.

78. Cf. Kamp, *Israël in Openbaring* p. 332.

79. Kamp, *Israël in Openbaring* p. 333.

80. Cf. Mt. 24.30: 'All the people of the world will mourn, and they will see the son of man coming on the clouds of heaven.'

81. Cf. Gen. 12.3; 28.14; Amos 3.2.

82. Reader, *Stadt Gottes*, p. 83.

under the new community which consists of people from all nations, languages and tribes.[83]

6. *Summary*

(1) The new creation as portrayed in the vision of the New Jerusalem adapts many eschatological traditions that are known from Old Testament prophetic texts, in particular from Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah.

(2) As literature of resistance, the vision describes the antagonism between the eschatological community and the *Imperium Romanum*. As the whore Babylon in ch. 16, Rome symbolizes the cult of absolute devastation (Rev. 13.4, 5) in terms of morality (Rev. 17.3-6) and the effects of an imperially ruled economy (Rev. 18.9-20).

(3) The new creation has no particular christological focus. Instead, the new creation is understood as renewal of old traditions and schemes; the (fruitful) immortal life of the eschatological community is shown in terms of its equal relationships and through the paradise motif. The heavenly city and the community will attain salvation when believers begin to live and reign together with God and the Lamb.

(4) The climax of the new creation is the description of the πόλις. This ecclesiological metaphor symbolizes the non-hierarchical relationships of the community and the reign of the new people of God. Israel is subsumed under the new community, the church.

I wish to close with point 8 of a statement made by the Synod of the Protestant Church in Rhineland in 1980: 'Together [with the Jews] we confess our common hope of a new heaven and a new earth and the power of this messianic hope for our witness to and action for justice and peace in the world'.[84]

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83. See the different models of the Jewish–Christian relationship (B. Klappert, *Israel und die Kirche: Erwägungen zur Israellehre Karl Barths* [Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1980], p. 12). The model of integration is based on the terminus 'church of the nations—*Völkerkirche*'. Klappert shows that both in this model and in its eschatological variant Israel is mentioned only in the context of 'Eingehen von ganz Israel in die Kirche oder vom Aufgehen der Synagoge in der Kirche' (The whole Israel becomes the Church or the synagogue turns into the church).

84. Resolution of the Synod of the Evangelical Church in the Rhineland of 11 January 1980.

CREATION AS A TOPIC IN BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

Henning Graf Reventlow

Biblical theology is mostly regarded as a typically Christian enterprise. Its roots reach far back in the history of the Christian church, back to the time when the first Christians—originally as part of the Jewish community—came into contact with the Hellenistic intellectual environment. There the heritage of the Greek philosophical thinkers in the form of the middle-Platonic school of philosophy (combining Stoic, Platonic and Aristotelian elements) was the mark of higher education. They had a part in the endeavours of Jewish thinkers—the best known is Philo of Alexandria—to show that the contents of the Bible were superior to the teaching of the Gentile philosophers and to win new adherers for their belief among the Hellenist intellectuals. Later Jews and Christians parted their ways and their theological developments went into different directions. The Christians, especially in the western half of the Roman empire, remained a part of the culture in which the impact of the classic heritage was kept alive (also in the form of Latin as the language of the church and the educated classes), gaining even the majority in the realm and being acknowledged as the state religion after Constantine, whereas the Jews were more and more held separate and separated themselves in the special world built up in the halachic traditions developed by the rabbis. For the rabbis, philosophy in the classical sense was mostly suspect, and the project of erecting a philosophical system upon the Bible made the impression of heterodoxy. Some exceptions are well known: Philo (whose works were just preserved by Christian theologians), Maimonides (who in his time and under the special conditions of Muslim-ruled Egypt could build upon a rich Arabic and also Jewish philosophical literature, but was regarded as suspicious by later Jewish generations for adapting the Torah to Aristotelian thinking) and also the Kabbala (following a Neo-Platonic Mysticism). Less common is the notice that there were Jewish philosophers in the Middle Ages, especially in Muslim civilization, who were Aristotelians or Platonists and

wrote about cosmology. Names—like Abraham Ibn Daud (RaBad I, c. 1110–80)[1] and Levi ben Gershon (Gersonides, 1288–1345) should be remembered.[2] An interesting case in modern times is Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929)[3] His main work *Der Stern der Erlösung*[4] is bipartite: In his philophical treatment of creation he follows the metaphysical thinking of Schelling and Nietzsche. His theology consists of a commentary on Genesis 1 and is biblical exegesis in the wake of the classical rabbinic exegesis of the Middle Ages. But Rosenzweig was criticized for his concept of creation as not being Jewish.[5] Mainstream Judaism studying the Bible in the form of halacha was not engaged in philosophic systematics, whereas Christian theology in the form of scholasticism used Aristotelian logic and metaphysic for building up systems that officially still went under the label of biblical exegesis (*sacra pagina*), but more and more became self-sustained, independent constructions, seeking proof-texts for their trajectories *post festum* in the Bible.

For my purpose it is sufficient to point to these different starting conditions to show why Jewish exegetes normally are not interested in a biblical theology in the technical sense of the term[6], even regard it as

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1.   He wrote *The Exalted Faith* (האמונה הרמה) (ed. N.M. Samuelson and G. Weiss; trans. N.M. Samuelson; Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 1986).

2.   His most important work was מלחמות חהוה (Riva di Trento: s.n., 1560 = Leipzig: K.B. Lark, 1866). Critical edition *The Astronomy of Levi Ben Gershon*, with ET and commentary by B.R. Goldstein (New York: Springer, 1985). For classical Jewish philosophy on creation cf. N.M. Samuelson, *Judaism and the Doctrine of Creation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 81-106.

3.   Cf. Samuelson, *Judaism*, pp. 32-67.

4.   Frankfurt: J. Kaufmann, 1921. There is an ET: *The Star of Redemption* (trans. W.W. Hallo; Boston: Beacon Press, 1971) and even a translation into modern Hebrew: הגאוה כוכב (trans. Y. Amir; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1970).

5.   The main intention of Samuelson's book is to defend the legitimacy of a Jewish philosophy of creation.

6.   An exception was M. Goshen-Gottstein's demand for a Jewish biblical theology: 'Christianity, Judaism and Modern Bible Study', in *Congress Volume Edinburgh 1974* (VTSup, 28; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), pp. 69-88; cf. *idem*, 'Jewish Biblical Theology and the Study of Biblical Religion' (in Hebrew, English summary), *Tarbiz* 50 (1980/81), pp. 37-84; *idem*, 'Tanakh Theology: The Religion of the Old Testament and the Place of Jewish Biblical Theology', in P.D. Miller Jr, P.D. Hanson and S.M. McBride (eds.), *Ancient Israelite Religion* (Philadelphia:

illegitimate and for Jews impossible.[7] The history of biblical theology in the modern sense of the word begins no sooner than with Gabler. It is well known that he was the first, in 1787, to define the difference between dogmatic and biblical theology, declaring biblical theology to be an historic enterprise showing the doctrinal views of the biblical writers, whereas dogmatics as a didactic undertaking has to develop a systematic construct of theological themes valid for the present situation.[8] But the custom of thinking in topics also remained alive in the

Fortress Press, 1987), pp. 617-44. But he did not achieve such a project. Cf. also M. Tsevat, 'Theology of the Old Testament—a Jewish View, *HBT* 8 (1986), pp. 281-307. It should be noted that both authors were influenced by the German intellectual tradition.

7.   Cf. J. Levenson, 'Why Jews Are Not Interested in Biblical Theology', in J. Neusner *et al.* (eds.), *Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), pp. 281-307; cf. *idem*, 'Theological Consensus or Historical Evasion? Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies', in R. Brooks and J.J. Collins (eds.), *Hebrew Bible or Old Testament? Studying the Bible in Judaism and Christianity* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), pp. 109-45. A different standpoint in W.E. Lemke, 'Is Old Testament Theology an Essentially Christian Theological Discipline?', *HBT* 11 (1989), pp. 59-117; cf. *idem*, 'Theology (OT)', *ABD* VI (1992), pp. 449-73 (469-71).

Regarding the differences of the canonical basis as background for a Christian or Jewish biblical theology cf. M.A. Sweeney, 'Tanakh versus Old Testament: Concerning the Foundation for a Jewish Theology of the Bible', in H.T.C. Sun, Keith L. Eades *et al.* (eds.), *Problems in Biblical Theology: Essays in Honor of Rolf Knierim* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), pp. 353-72.

8.   J.Ph. Gabler, *Oratio de justo discrimine theologiae biblicae et dogmaticae regundisque recte utriusque finibus* (Altdorfii: Program, 1787; reprinted in *idem*, *Kleinere Theologische Schriften/Opuscula academica*, II [Ulm: Stettinische Buchhandlung, 1831], pp. 179-94). There is an extract in W.G. Kümmel, *The New Testament: A History of the Interpretation of its Problems* (ET; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972), pp. 98-100, and a full ET in J. Sandys-Wunsch and L. Eldredge, 'J.P. Gabler and the Distinction between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology: Translation, Commentary, and Discussion of his Originality', *SJT* 33 (1980), pp. 133-44 reprinted in B.C. Ollenburger, E.A. Martens and G.F. Hasel, *The Flowering of Old Testament Theology: A Reader in Twentieth-century Old Testament Theology* (Sources for Biblical and Theological Study, 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), pp. 489-502.

On Gabler, cf. R. Smend, 'Johann Philipp Gablers Begründung der biblischen Theologie', *EvT* 22 (1962), pp. 345-57; O. Merk, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments in ihrer Anfangszeit* (Marburg: Elwert, 1972); Sandys-Wunsch and Eldredge, 'J.P. Gabler', O. Merk, 'Gabler, Johann Philipp (1753–1826)', *TRE* 12

realm of biblical theology. It was the presupposition for the long-enduring debate about the arrangement of an Old Testament (or biblical) theology, when it was revived after World War I, having nearly vanished into a history of Israelite religion in the nineteenth century: should it be structured systematically? If yes, the most natural procedure seemed to follow the traditional schemes in dogmatic handbooks. Thus, the first post-war theologies of the Old Testament were divided into the main parts: God and world, man, judgement and salvation (eschatology).[9] In combination with the conviction that the theology of the Old Testament is a historical discipline and has a descriptive task this procedure had the consequence of assigning Old Testament theology a position subservient to dogmatic theological thinking. Ludwig Köhler's famous definition of the task of Old Testament theology ('if it manages to bring together and to relate those ideas, thoughts and concepts of the Old Testament which are or can be theologically significant')[10] shows this clearly.[11] Even the shift to a system taken from the Old Testament itself (as intended by O. Procksch,[12] overtaken by his student

(1984); M. Sæbø, 'Johann Philipp Gablers Bedeutung für die Biblische Theologie', *ZAW* 99 (1987), pp. 1-16; G.H. Wittenberg, 'Johann Philipp Gabler and the Consequences: In Search of a New Paradigm for Old Testament Theology', *OTE* NS 7 (1994), pp. 103-28; R.P. Knierim, 'On Gabler', in *The Task of Old Testament Theology: Substance, Method and Cases* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), pp. 495-556 (who tries to show that Gabler made this distinction in the interest of a conservative Lutheran biblical theology). Actually, Gabler did not invent the idea of asking for the intentions of the biblical authors, but he brought the difference to the older holistic view of the Bible into a formula easy to grasp.

9.   E. König, *Theologie des Alten Testaments kritisch und vergleichend dargestellt* (Stuttgart: Belser, 1922); E. Sellin, *Alttestamentliche Theologie auf religionsgeschichtlicher Grundlage, Theologie des Alten Testaments. II.* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1936); similarly L. Köhler, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Neue Theologische Grundrisse; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1936): about God, about man, about judgement and salvation.

10. *Theology of the Old Testament* (London: Lutterworth Press; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957), p. 7.

11. R.C. Dentan, Preface to Old Testament Theology (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2nd edn, 1963 [1950]), p. 94, still defines Old Testament theology as 'that Christian theological discipline which treats of the religious ideas of the Old Testament systematically'.

12. Who did not live to see the publication of his own exposition, finished in 1942, but published posthumously in 1950 (*Theologie des Alten Testaments* [Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1950]).

W. Eichrodt for his *Theologie des Alten Testaments*,[13] followed by other authors) could not heal this defect. One could even ask, is it really possible for people trained in western systematic thinking to leave the tools aside, that allow them to gain the thematic insights that open pathways through the apparent jungle of the manifold, often contradictory sentences in the Bible?

The search for a key that might open the door to the Bible brought theologically motivated Christian exegetes to the question of whether there might exist a centre of the Old Testament, a notion or conception possibly representing the decisive idea of the whole. Several terms were proposed,[14] but the diversity of these proposals shows that this way of systematization leads to a dead end, one possible escape excepted: seeing in God himself the real centre of the Bible, as a growing number of scholars maintain.[15] But this solution also means that a single term is not sufficient for describing the different contents of the Bible.

There is a well-known protest against the systematic approach. It came from G. von Rad, who, after first having tried his method in his work on the Hexateuch,[16] which he regarded as an extension of the 'small historical creed' of Deut. 26.5b-9, and after some preliminary considerations[17] developed his own traditio-historical model for an Old Testament theology. As early as 1952 he argued that 'an Old Testament theology must have a historical and not a systematic basis'.[18] On this

13. 3 vols.; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1933–36. 2 vols.; Stuttgart: E. Klotz/Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 5th edn, 1957. (ET; London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961-67).

14. For the respective literature, cf. J.H. Hayes and F. Prussner, *Old Testament Theology: Its History and Development* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1985), p. 257; H. Graf Reventlow, *Problems of Old Testament Theology in the Twentieth Century* (London: SCM Press, 1985), pp. 125-33; G. Hasel, *Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate* (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 4th edn, 1991), pp. 139-71.

15. Cf. Reventlow, *Problems of Old Testament Theology*, pp. 132-33.

16. G. von Rad, *Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuch* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938); *idem, Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*, I: ([Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 4th edn, 1971 (1958)]), pp. 9-86; *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (ET Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd; New York: McGraw–Hill, 1966; pp. 1-78]).

17. G. von Rad, 'Kritische Vorarbeiten zu einer Theologie des Alten Testaments', in L. Hennig (ed.), *Theologie und Liturgie* (Kassel: Stauda, 1952), pp. 11-34.

18. Von Rad, 'Kritische Vorarbeiten', p. 31.

foundation he erected the building of his two-volume theology.[19] During this work he got into the well-known problematic that Israel's historical traditions did not seem trustworthy as historical testimonies. It forced him to preface the first volume of his work with a 'History of Jahwism and of the Sacral Institutions in Israel in Outline'.[20] But he can also say about Israel's own traditions that they 'confine themselves to representing Yahweh's relationship to Israel and the world in one aspect only, namely as a continuing divine activity in history... Israel's faith is grounded in a theology of history.'[21] Now as the Old Testament witness to its history is recorded in a manifold variety of sources and complexes of tradition, 're-telling remains the most legitimate form of theological discourse on the Old Testament'.[22] A well-known book in the English-speaking world representing a similar approach is G.E. Wright's *God who Acts: Biblical Theology as Recital*.[23]

What is the place of creation in such a system? In his *Theology of the Old Testament* von Rad modified his earlier proposal, in which he had nominated the Yahwist as the writer who used the creation narratives as 'pre-structure' to the salvation story beginning with Gen. 12.1-3.[24] In 1938 he described the intention of the Yahwist as a way of expanding the expectation of salvation across the borders of the elected people to all humankind. Already in 1936, in his thematic article 'Das theologische Problem des alttestamentlichen Schöpfungsglaubens' (ET 'The

19. G. von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments. I. Die Theologie der geschichtlichen Überlieferungen Israels* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 4th edn, 1962; 6th edn. 1969 [1957]) (ET *Old Testament Theology, I. The Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions* [Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd; New York: Harper & Row, 1962]; II. *Die Theologie der prophetischen Überlieferungen Israels* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 4th edn, 1965]).

20. Von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, I (1962), pp. 17-115 (*Old Testament Theology*, I, pp. 3-102).

21. Von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, I (1962), p. 118 (*Old Testament Theology*, I, p. 106).

22. Von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, I (1962), p. 134 (*Old Testament Theology*, I, p. 121). Von Rad actually did not follow his own advice. He interpreted the historical traditions from a modern viewpoint; cf. Hayes and Prussner, *Old Testament Theology*, p. 238.

23. SBT 8. London: SCM Press, 8th edn, 1966 [1952].

24. *Das formgeschichtliche Problem* , pp. 58-62 (*Problem of the Hexateuch*, pp. 71-75).

Theological Problem of the Old Testament Doctrine of Creation')[25] he had also adduced Pss. 33, 136, and 148, but above all Second Isaiah, who uses the creation traditions as an argument in awaking a salvation belief among his addressees who are despairing of the power of their God to rescue them. This argument has been pursued further in an essay by his student R. Rendtorff, 'Die theologische Stellung des Schöpfungs-glaubens bei Deuterojesaja'.[26] In his *Theology* von Rad mentions the topic in the section 'Israel before Yahweh (Israel's Answer)' first in connection with the hymns ('The Praises of Israel'),[27] but even here in the sequence history-creation, because in von Rad's opinion in the hymns Israel first and foremost praised God's action in history. Besides, most of these creation hymns are comparatively late compositions. This also applies to Job 38-42, quoted by von Rad. It has been frequently noted that in von Rad's *Theology* wisdom has only an extremely periph-eral place. Besides, the book of Job together with the psalms of lamenta-tion is included under the heading 'Israel's Trials', a group of texts belonging, according to von Rad, in a 'marginal theological situation'.[28] In this stage of the development of his reflections von Rad has a similar opinion about theological wisdom proper, which, as in Job 28 and Proverbs 8, raises the rational question of the meaning of nature as a whole: 'Here the faith of Israel saw itself really confronted with a new phenomenon and new insights and experiences, with which it had to reckon.'[29] The task of this late wisdom was to find a connection between creation, with which it was confronted, and salvation history or the reve-lation of the will of Yahweh.[30] Von Rad has been followed in this posi-tion by a large number of systematic theologians and exegetes. It is no accident that the standpoint is the same as in Karl Barth's *Church Dogmatics*;[31] dialectical theology was a very influential theological

25. *Gesammelte Studien*, pp.136-47 (*Problem of the Hexateuch*, pp. 131-43).

26. *ZTK* 51 (1954), pp. 3-13; *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (reprinted in *idem*, [Munich: chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1975]), pp. 209-19.

27. *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, I (1962), pp. 371-79 (*Old Testament Theol-ogy*, I, pp. 357-65).

28. *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, I (1962), pp. 430 (*Old Testament Theology*, I, p. 417).

29. *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, I (1962), pp. 460 (*Old Testament Theology*, I, p. 446).

30. *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, I (1962), pp. 464 (*Old Testament Theology*, I, p. 450).

31. *Kirchliche Dogmatik*. III.1. *Die Lehre von der Schöpfung* (Zollikon–Zürich:

movement in the period between and after the world wars. In his later essay 'Aspekte alttestamentlichen Weltverständnisses' (ET 'Some Aspects of the Old Testament World-View')[32] von Rad emphasized that we would insufficiently interpret Israel's understanding of the world if we restricted our attention to its theology of history. The world was radically understood as creation, and this meant, in the view of von Rad, that it was totally demythologized, but totally subjected to Yahweh. Therefore, understanding a self-contained cosmos is impossible. However, this radicalization of his standpoint, though impressive, closed the doors to an independent understanding of the creation-texts in the Bible.

In his last work, *Weisheit in Israel*,[33] von Rad started a move to a new evaluation of wisdom and of creation in connection with it . He did not live to try further steps on this new path. But there was already a presentiment in this book of a coming change in theological thinking as regards this important theme.

There are still scholars defending a sort of subordination of creation under history. I mention S. Talmon,[34] who speaks of a 'historization of creation' as a general characteristic for the biblical view.[35]

A next step was taken by C. Westermann, who, in his programmatic essay *Der Segen in der Bibel und im Handeln der Kirche*,[36] directed attention to a theme that for a long time had been overlooked in its importance for biblical theology. Blessing as a continual act of God, who continuously deals out well-being to his creation, to men and beasts living in his world, is a separate topic in the Bible besides his acting in the history of salvation. The bipartition in this way detected was also introduced by Westermann in the systematics of his *Old Testament*

Evangelischer Verlag, 1945) ET *Church Dogmatics*, III.1. *The Doctrine of Creation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark,1958).

32. In *Gesammelte Studien*, pp. 311-31, (*Problem of the Hexateuch*, pp. 144-65).

33. *Weisheit in Israel* (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970) ET *Wisdom in Israel* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972).

34. 'The Biblical Understanding of Creation and the Human Commitment', *Ex auditu* 3 (1987), pp. 98-119 (reprinted as 'Das biblische Verständnis der Schöpfung', in *Israels Gedankenwelt in der Hebräischen Bibel: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, III [Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1995]), pp. 119-48.

35. *Israel's Gedankenwelt*, p. 147.

36. *Der Segenin der Bibel und im Handeln der Kirche* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1968 [reprinted GTB Siebenstern; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1981; ET *Blessing in the Bible and the Life of the Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978)]).

Theology.[37] In this handbook two main headings are 'The Saving God and the History' (Part II) and 'The Blessing God and Creation' (Part III).[38] Strangely enough, Westermann still distinguished between creation and blessing, though the idea of *creatio continua* (expressed, for instance, in Ps. 104) would offer itself as a possibility of gaining insight in the continuity of God's creative activity, which cannot be restricted to a once-for-all beginning of the world. At any case, Westermann regards this sphere as no less important than God's saving acts in history.

In the wake of Westermann, two of his pupils (R. Albertz and P. Doll)[39] have pursued the distinction between two different kinds of creation that their teacher had already indicated: the creation of man (which is the older idea from a history-of-religions perspective) and the creation of the world.

From Westermann's position, it is not far to the radical volte face of Hans Heinrich Schmid. Taking up the results of H. Gese's investigations in the worldview of ancient wisdom[40] and finding in the Egyptian *maɜat*—the overarching order of the world to which even the gods are regarded as subject[41]—the equivalent to Hebrew צדקה/צדק, Schmid describes 'righteousness' (together with parallel expressions as שלום) as a term for the world-order.[42] Some of the most important areas of life in the ancient Near East—so he argues—belong in the frame of the creation-order: not only the present world and nature surrounding human life, but also the order of the state and the order of right. These three orders are also connected with one another. Therefore, what happens in one has consequences in the other, as for instance a transgression of

37. Westermann, *Theologie des Alten Testaments in Grundzügen* (ET *Elements of Old Testament Theology* [Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982]).

38. There are still other parts in which we detect remains of the old dogmatic structure: 'God's Judgement and God's Mercy' (Part IV), 'The Answer' (Part V, obviously taken over from von Rad), at last 'The Old Testament and Christ' (Part VI), pointing to the auspices of a biblical theology.

39. R. Albertz, *Weltschöpfung und Menschenschöpfung* (CTM, 3; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1974); P. Doll, *Menschenschöpfung und Weltschöpfung in der alttestamentlichen Weisheit* (SBS, 117; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1985).

40. H. Gese, *Lehre und Wirklichkeit in der alten Weisheit* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1958).

41. Cf. J. Assmann, *Ma'at: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten:* (Munich: Beck, 1990).

42. H.H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1968).

justice by a people or a ruler is followed by drought and hunger in nature and oppression by enemies in the realm of politics. Israel is no exception, but partakes in the same ways of thinking. Schmid tries to show this in different parts of the Old Testament: in the prophetic books, in the historical narratives, in wisdom and law. Everywhere, in his opinion, the interconnectedness of deed and result functions as the basic rule. Even the exodus event, the centre of Israel's creed, has the installation of the intact world-order for the people in view and is connected, according to the Deuteronomistic literature, with keeping God's commandments and receiving his blessing. Taking this together, Schmid concludes, the idea of the world-order is the overall horizon of biblical theology.[43] Though this position is impressive, Schmid did not explain how the relation of this order to history should be seen.[44]

Another approach is that of R. Knierim, who developed his ideas for a theology of creation in two programmatic essays, recently reprinted in his collection *The Task of Old Testament Theology*.[45] Starting with the statement, 'The Old Testament contains a plurality of theologies,'[46] Knierim remarks that neither Israel's theological tradition history nor the canon as the final stage of bringing them together can solve the problem of their diversity. Even the fact that all of them acknowledge the one God cannot do that, as it remains uncertain whether in reality

43. Cf. especially his essay 'Schöpfung, Gerechtigkeit und Heil. Schöpfungstheologie als Gesamthorizont biblischer Theologie', *ZTK* 70 (1973), pp. 1-19 *Altorientalische Welt in der alttestamentlichen Theologie* [Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1974], pp. 9-30). Abbreviated ET 'Creation, Righteousness and Salvation: "Creation Theology" as the Broad Horizon of Biblical Theology', in B.W. Anderson (ed.), *Creation in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), pp. 102-17.

44. An exegetical approach touching upon the relation between the aspects of history and creation, which, however, mainly dwells upon the concrete texts is the dissertation of K. Eberlein, *Gott der Schöpfer—Israels Gott* (BEAT 5; Frankfurt a.M./Bern: Lang, 1986).

45. *The Task of Old Testament Theology: Substance, Method and Cases* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995). This collection received its title from the better known of the two: 'The Task of Old Testament Theology'. In its first section (pp. 1-56) this essay, together with the responses of W. Harrelson, W.S. Towner and R.E. Murphy and Knierim's response to these three scholars, all of them first published in *HBT* 6 (1984), are reprinted in a revised form. Unfortunately, the original place of publication is not indicated. The second essay 'Cosmos and History in Israel's Theology', first published in *HBT* 3 (1981), pp. 59-123, is reprinted on pp. 171-224.

46. *The Task*, p.1.

these are different gods. After having repudiated most of the traditional arguments as bases for Old Testament theology he comes to declare the interpretation of 'the relationship between Yahweh/God and reality' as 'the basic substantive task of Old Testament theology'.[47] Among the different forms of relationship,[48] a hierarchical order is visible. They can be grouped in cosmos and nature, history and society (*inter alia* Israel) and existentiality (individual human existence). If we consider, which realm of reality is dependent upon the other, the solution is that the most comprehensive conditions follow upon the lesser comprehensive ones. Seen in this way, the cosmos or creation is the most extended realm of Yahweh's dominium. Into this quantitative order the qualitative order has to be fitted. The latter regards the modes (justice, righteousness and so on) in which the respective relationships are realized. The task of Old Testament theology would then be twofold: (1) 'Old Testament theology must first of all examine the semantic structure of the relationship between Yahweh and his world'; (2) 'Old Testament theology...must assess the individually exegeted messages, kerygmata, and/or theologies in the Old Testament in the light of the semantic structure of the relationship between Yahweh and reality.'[49]

Methologically, this manner of argumentation has a striking similarity to the ways of scholastic dialectics. It starts with semantics and the classification of the stories of reality. The results resemble H.H. Schmid's, but whereas Schmid argued with phenomena from the history of ancient Near Eastern cultures, Knierim's argumentation has a strongly abstract vein. This though he declines the usefulness of traditional categories as a basis for Old Testament theology. Those, as Word of God, revelation, inspiration, etc. 'have their place in the interpretation of Israel's theological anthropology, of Israel's knowledge of Yahweh, or of its theological spirituality...'.[50] Knierim characterizes his own approach declaring in the conclusion: 'The function of the Old Testament theologian is neither descriptive nor confessional. It is systematic'.[51] The task, according to Knierim, is to systematize the different theologies analysed

47. *The Task*, p. 10.
48. The list comprises 'creation, sustenance, election, liberation, covenant, law, justice, righteousness, peace, atonement, forgiveness, judgement, mercy, and so on'; *The Task*, p. 11.
49. *The Task*, p. 16.
50. *The Task*, p. 18.
51. *The Task*, p. 18.

by exegesis. This task is one of a 'relay station between exegesis and systematic theology or hermeneutics'.[52]

In this system, history is subordinated. It is dependent on the cosmos, and the cosmos could exist without human history. This is the argument of Knierim's second (earlier) essay 'Cosmos and History in Israel's Theology'. Cosmic order is basic, in so far as history is conditioned by its ongoing existence, which is nowadays earnestly threatened by extermination. Knierim in the following points to the aspects of cosmic space (expressed in the bipolar formulation of 'heaven and earth', which shows a special separation between Yahweh's uncontested space and the contested space on earth) and cyclic time. 'Israel perceived the structure of the world as the ultimate theodicy of Yahweh. If this structure fails, Yahweh fails, and nothing matters any more'.[53] The cyclic order of nature existed before human history and remains the frame in which humans, especially in rural circumstances, live their daily life. In stressing that Yahweh is described as directly related to the world-order and this order as an order of his righteousness (צדק/צדקה), Knierim follows H.H. Schmid (without mentioning him at this place). God's presence in this order is an important topic in Second Isaiah, a problem in Job. Knierim also tries to show that Yahweh's activity in history is not an independent area, but creation and history are interrelated. This is valid regarding the history of humanity, in which in the view of the Yahwist paradise is described as the true 'reality of creation in view of which human history is evaluated' and which, after the fall, also indicates the purpose of history, especially of the history of Israel's election.[54] With the priestly writer, God's guarantee for the cosmic order (Gen. 9.1-7, including the protection of human life) is the presupposition for human history, from which it is actually separated but which is the model on which it is to be measured. Also, Israel's history, seen under the aspect of Yahweh's salvific actions, can be regarded, first, as the realization of מנוחה, the rest in the land in the form of an agrarian existence, embedded in the cyclic order of creation, and as the implementation of justice and righteousness in society. But Israel did not fully actualize the cosmic order; its history is described more often as a concatenation of failure. Therefore, there remains the eschatological expectation of the new creation, which, as God's own action, will complete the right

52. *The Task*, p. 18
53. *The Task*, p. 187.
54. *The Task*, p. 206.

cosmic order. For this aspect, Knierim refers to H.J. Kraus's essay 'Schöpfung und Weltvollendung'.[55]

In recent discussion, the topic of creation in the Bible plays a special role in the debate on ecology. Since the ecological movement started its campaigns, it made the Christian doctrine of creation in the wake of Gen. 1.26-28 responsible for the exploitation of nature and the ecological world crisis, which, according to this accusation, arose as a result of the biblical commission to subject nature and to rule over it. Thus, the Old Testament idea of creation was regarded as the ultimate root of the present disastrous situation in the ecological household of the earth. The American L. White Jr popularized this charge in 1966,[56] similarly in Germany (C. Amery, in a sharp polemic).[57] In response, Christian exegetes have shown that the respective imperative in Gen. 1.28 is to be understood in the sense of the commission of man to care for the earth.[58] On several occasions Gen. 2.15 has been recognized as an adequate help towards its interpretation. Besides, one has to consider that the popular interpretation is not more than an additional argument in a modern intellectual climate in which the impact of humanism,

55. *EvT* 24 (1964), pp. 462-85 (reprinted in *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze* [Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972], pp. 151-78).

56. 'The Historical Roots of our Ecological Crisis', *Science* 155 (1967), p. 1203.

57. *Das Ende der Vorsehung: Die gnadenlosen Folgen des Christentums* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1972); cf. *idem, Natur als Politik: Die ökologische Chance des Menschen* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1976).

58. For the respective literature, cf. Reventlow, *Problems of Old Testament Theology*, pp. 145-46; also P. Stuhlmacher, 'Die ökologische Krise als Herausforderung an die biblische Theologie', *EvT* 48 (1988), pp. 311-29; O. Kaiser, 'Der Mensch, Gottes Ebenbild und Statthalter auf Erden', NZST 33 (1991), pp. 99-111; W. Nethöfel, 'Biblische Schöpfungstheologie? Ein hermeneutischer Werkstattbericht', *JBT* 5 (1990), pp. 245-64.

For alternative interpretations cf. C. Uehlinger, 'Vom dominium terrae zu einem Ethos der Selbstbeschränkung?', *Bibel und Liturgie* 64 (1991), pp. 59-74; Udo Rütersworden, *Dominium terrae: Studien zur Genese einer alttestamentlichen Vorstellung* (BZAW, 215; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1993), esp. pp. 81-130. For additional literature, cf. Rütersworden, *Dominium terrae:* p. 88 n. 26; M. Weippert, Tier und Mensch in einer menschenarmen Welt. Zum sogenannten *dominium terrae* in Gen. 1: H.-P. Matthys (ed.), *Ebenbild Gottes-Herrscher über die Welt: Studien zu Würde und Auftrag des Menschen* (BThSt, 33; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1998), pp. 35-55.

idealism and secular ethics is far more influential than a reminiscence from the Bible might ever be.

When we leave the decennia that followed immediately upon World War II and approach the recent development of Old Testament theology, we observe a rising interest in the field of creation issues. The cosmological problems, on which we touched in the foregoing discussion, have gained a wider audience in connection with the rising consciousness of more and more urgent ecological dangers. On the other side, history is no more, as it was in the nineteenth century, in the centre of scholarly interest. One recent publication on Old Testament theology could even be entitled *The Collapse of History*.[59] This is surely an overstressing of a general tendency that might however be noted in a less exclusive sense.

One field in which creation as a topic is important is myth. Demythologizing is no more, as in Bultmann's time,[60] a token of modernity. Instead, induced by the results of modern ethnology and history of religion[61] and by the philosophical reflections about symbolism and myth as a form of understanding reality and way of expression,[62] biblical exegetes are recently[63] more often prepared to allow myth an important place in the Old Testament. In contrast to the traditional understanding of myth as polytheistic, as beyond history, as closely connected with the cult, characterized by a cyclic understanding of time, being related to the annually returning seasons, to the growing and dying of vegetation throughout the year, a more actual definition was already formulated by C. Colpe in 1966.[64] According to Colpe, (a) myth

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59. L.G. Perdue, *The Collapse of History: Reconstructing Old Testament Theology* (OBT, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994).

60. See his basic essay 'Neues Testament und Mythologie. Das Problem der Entmythologisierung der neutestamentlichen Verkündigung', in *Offenbarung und Heilsgeschehen* (BEvT, 7; Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1941, pp. 27-69 (reprinted in H.W. Bartsch [ed.], *Kerygma und Mythos*, I [Hamburg: Reich, 1948], pp. 15-48 ET 'New Testament and Mythology', in H.W. Bartsch, *Kerygma and Myth: A Theological Debate*, I. [London: SPCK, 1953], pp. 1-44).

61. Cf. the literature listed in Reventlow, *Problems of Old Testament Theology*, p. 156.

62. Cf. *Problems of Old Testament Theology*, pp. 157-58.

63. For the earlier development cf. J.W. Rogerson, *Myth in Old Testament Interpretation* (BZAW, 134; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1974).

64. C. Colpe, 'Das Phänomen der nachchristlichen Religion in Mythos und Messianismus', *NZST* 9 (1967), pp. 42-87.

is always communicated as story or, if as epic, lyric tragedy in a narrative structure, (b) the original myth intends to disclose something essential for the reality of man, of the backgrounds of his life in world and history, (c) it describes an occurrence happening on a background level, influencing the foreground events and directing them, (d) as normative mythical reality is separated from normal reality, it is primaeval event. Therefore it is narrated as happening in a beginning, but it means a respective present time that it directs. (e) Myth is not always polytheistic. In the primaeval history of Genesis, where just one God is acting, we meet with a 'monotheistic myth', as our lamented friend B. Uffenheimer formulated several years ago.[65] Thus, there is no reason for excluding myth as a biblical form of world-understanding.[66] It allows transcendence to be expressed in the form of stories in which God appears on the stage acting like a man. (The initiated reader knows that this is just a form to show in pictures what is in itself inexpressible.) But there is still another aspect of myth, which above all M. Eliade has explained:[67] it is also a means of maintaining the existing structure of reality which always is in danger of being overpowered by evil forces. The battle against the chaos dragon is a motive playing an important role in the mythology of the ancient Near East and also occurs in the Old Testament.

It was F.M. Cross, a student of W.F. Albright, who, in his book *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*,[68] argued that the Hebrews mythologized historical events, above all the victory at the Red Sea (Exod. 15). In his opinion, creation theology was not late, as von Rad and other German theologians thought, but rather early, as he also tried to show from the language of the Song of the Sea.

In more recent discussion some interesting work has been done on

65. B. Uffenheimer, 'Biblical Theology and Monotheistic Myth', *Immanuel* 14 (1982), pp. 7-24.

66. Cf. also H.G. Reventlow, 'Mythos im Alten Testament—Eine neue Wertung?', in G. Binder and B. Effe, (eds.), *Mythos: Erzählende Weltdeutung im Spannungsfeld von Ritual, Geschichte und Rationalität* (Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium, 2; Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1990), pp. 33-55.

67. M. Eliade, *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (New York: Harper, 1959); *Myth and Reality* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963); *idem, The Sacred and the Profane* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1959).

68. *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 112-44.

the topic of myth and creation. In this connection could be mentioned J. Levenson's book *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*,[69] in which the Jewish author, struggling with the theological questions caused by the Holocaust, tries to find a solution by three theses. The first problem is the basic one: how is it possible that the cosmic order is subjected to such horrorful crises if it would be true that God created the world *ex nihilo* once for all as a stable order? The answer is a double one: (a) the characterization *ex nihilo* is wrong; (2) the order of the cosmos is fragile and vulnerable. In Israel's history as described by the biblical stories God's power over his creation was ever and ever again endangered by the irruption of chaos. God had to fight against the monster and seemed at times even to be defeated, until he finally, in the eschaton, according to Isa. 24–27, will vanquish death and the powers of evil. This happens in history, which in this way is closely connected with creation, because it is the battlefield on which the struggle for the restoration of the cosmic order is fought out.

Another important field is wisdom[70]. It is not yet forgotten that early wisdom in a certain period was regarded nearly as a secular piece of literature in the Bible. Its characterization as purely utilitarian[71] would it

69. J. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988).

70. Cf. R.E. Clements, *Wisdom in Theology* (Didsbury Lectures; Carlisle: Paternoster; Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans, 1992); *idem*, 'Wisdom and Old Testament Theology', J. Day, R.P. Gordon and H.G.M. Williamson (eds.), *Wisdom in Ancient Israel: Essays in Honour of J.A. Emerton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 269-86.

71. Famous for this opinion is the early essay of W. Zimmerli, 'Zur Struktur der alttestamentlichen Weisheit', *ZAW* 51 (1933), pp. 177-204 (reprinted as 'Concerning the Structure of Old Testament Wisdom', J.L. Crenshaw [ed.], *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* [New York: Ktav, 1976], pp. 175-207). Later Zimmerli revised his opinion completely. For a succinct formulation of his final opinion cf. his 'Biblische Theologie I. Altes Testament', *TRE* 6 (1980), pp. 426-55 (450-51). Other prominent defenders of this standpoint are W. McKane, *Prophets and Wise Men* (SBT, 44; London: SCM Press 1965), pp. 45-54; W. Brueggemann during the period of the secular gospel movement in the USA: cf. *In Man We Trust: The Neglected Side of Biblical Faith* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1972); H.D. Preuss, 'Erwägungen zum theologischen Ort alttestamentlicher Weisheitsliteratur', *EvT* 30 (1970), pp. 393-417; *idem*, 'Alttestamentliche Weisheit in christlicher Theologie?', *Questions disputées d'Ancien Testament: Méthode et Théologie* (BETL, 33; Gembloux: Duculot; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1974), pp. 165-81. Also Preuss

actually place outside Old Testament theology. This opinion has recently been mostly abandoned. For a theological evaluation the connection between wisdom literature and world horizon as the background of its reflections has gained on weight in recent discussion. This in connection with a growing consciousness that already early wisdom in the Old Testament is embedded in Yahweh-belief, as the Yahweh-proverbs show, which frame the main collections.[72]

Some years ago, L.G. Perdue wrote a book in which the theme of creation is treated through the whole range of Old Testament wisdom literature.[73] First, looking back upon some well-known works of Old Testament theology, he comes to the conclusion that creation has been more and more acknowledged in recent years as the background of wisdom theology. This is confirmed during Perdue's review of the respective texts, beginning with Proverbs, followed by Job, Qohelet, Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon. In Proverbs, 'the sages portray the cosmos as the creation of God',[74] as permeated by justice and a world of order and beauty. Personified Lady Wisdom is the voice of God and the teacher of understanding and morality, dispensing wisdom and life, the first child of God's creation. In the cosmos, which is metaphorically described as an artifact, humans are invited to live in harmony and joy. God rules his world by words of wisdom, but he also judges. From the wise (normally members of the upper classes, who can rightly regard their welfare as God's gifts) he demands justice to the poor. Rich and poor can claim to be God's creatures.

The book of Job can be understood as an attempt of the poet, who perhaps lived in a period of great catastrophes, at showing God's sovereignty in taking up the old cosmogonic mythology: in the voice from the whirlwind, God presents himself as the creator who is the parent of Leviathan and Behemoth, the chaos monsters, but also fights with chaos to remove evil from the earth. Humankind and Job as an individual are not the centre of the world; he has to put his hand upon

revised his opinion later, cf. *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, II (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1992), esp. p. 220.

72. Cf. recently A. Scherer, *Das weise Wort und seine Wirkung* (WMANT, 83; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999).

73. *Wisdom and Creation*. Cf. also his 'Cosmology and the Social Order in the Wisdom Tradition', in J.G. Gammie and L.G. Perdue (eds.), *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), pp. 457-78.

74. *Wisdom and Creation*, p. 121.

his mouth, bowing before the mystery of God and his world. In the sceptical reflections of Qoheleth, the shortness of human life and the secrecy in which the hidden God rules his creation leads to the counsel given to the pupil of wisdom to seek the good where it can be found: in temporal pleasures, to the *carpe diem*—similar to the famous motto of Horatius.

To close our overview, I refer to the place of creation in one of the most recent books in biblical theology, *Text and Truth*, written by the British scholar Francis Watson.[75] This is an expressly Christian theology, seeing in 'the self-disclosure in Jesus of the triune God' the centre of the canon.[76] A structure of theology is gained by the thesis that the biblical God is creator, reconciler and redeemer. The place of creation in this system is developed from Gen. 1.1: 'In the Beginning'[77], which, characteristically combined with a sentence from Aristotle's *Poetics* on beginning, middle and end of narratives, is interpreted as the starting point of a plot. Together with J. Moltmann's eschatological interpretation of creation, according to which God's creative activity is dynamic in going on in the world through the present to the end,[78] this allows us to understand creation as 'laying the foundation'[79] for the center, namely covenant.[80] Gen. 12.1 and 15.5, the promises of numerous descendants

75. *Text and Truth: Redefining Biblical Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997).

76. *Text and Truth*, p. 248.

77. *Text and Truth*, p. 225.

78. J. Moltmann, *Gott in der Schöpfung: Ökologische Schöpfungslehre* (Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser Verlag; Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 4th edn, 1993) (ET *God in Creation: An Ecological Doctrine of Creation* [London: SCM Press, 1985]).

79. Thus the superscription, *Text and Truth*, p. 230.

80. As to other approaches connecting creation and covenant, cf. P.D. Miller, 'Creation and Covenant', in S.J. Kraftchick, C.D. Myers Jr, B.C. Ollenburger (eds.), *Biblical Theology: Problems and Perspectives. In Honor of J. Christiaan Beker* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), pp. 155-68. He refers to W. Brueggemann, 'A Shape for Old Testament Theology, I: Structure Legitimation', *CBQ* 47 (1985), pp. 28-46 reprinted in P.D. Miller [ed.], *Old Testament Theology: Essays on Structure, Theme, and Text* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1992]), pp. 1-21. Brueggemann subordinates (Mosaic) covenant and creation under the label of 'contractual theology' (p. 40 [p. 15]), which, however, as he argues under the influence of N.K. Gottwald, needs and receives radical critique because it is open to exploitation. Another author mentioned because of his attempt to show the relationship between creation and covenant is R. Rendtorff, ' "Wo warst du, als ich die Erde gründete?" Schöpfung und Heilsgeschichte', in *Kanon und Theologie:*

made to Abraham presuppose Gen 1.28, because the creator is also the redeemer. Thus, 'creation constitutes the foundation for the history of the covenant'.[81] The identity of creature and covenant-partner (for a Christian theologian also concrete in Jesus, who represents creature and creator) overcomes the dichotomy of creation and covenant, but as a dynamic ongoing reality. Both are still on the way and have an eschatological aim. Watson denies an identity between biblical creation belief and a 'natural theology',[82] including also such New Testament texts as Acts 17, Romans 1, but also Psalm 104 into his argumentation. Thus he arrives at a monistic understanding, connecting creation and salvation history. However, it is characteristic that wisdom is not integrated into his approach.

Looking back upon the different approaches, the statement seems possible that creation as a topic has regained importance as an aspect that belongs in Biblical theology and cannot be dispensed with lightly. An important, if not a basic reality would be omitted. In his conclusion to a book in which he had passed the creation texts of the ancient Near East and the Bible in review, R.J. Clifford states: 'In common with all ancient Near Eastern literature, the Bible shows a profound interest in creation. Creation was a moment of enormous significance, revealing much about the world and God'.[83] Therefore, creation theology cannot be late in Hebrew thinking, and also the dichotomy to history is no longer tenable. How to place it in the system of a biblical theology, however, remains disputed.

Vorarbeiten zu einer Theologie des Alten Testaments (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), pp. 94-112 (ET ' "Where Were You When I Laid the Foundation of the Earth?" Creation and Salvation History', in *Canon and Theology: Overtures to an Old Testament Theology* [OBT; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1993], pp. 92-113). Cf. *ibid*, ' "Bund" als Strukturkonzept in Genesis und Exodus', *Kanon und Theologie*, pp. 123-31) (ET ' "Covenant" as a Structuring Concept in Genesis and Exodus', *JBL* 108 [1989], pp. 385-93.

81. *Text and Truth*, p. 234.

82. Against J. Barr, *Biblical Faith and Natural Theology* (Gifford Lectures for 1991; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Watson, *Text and Truth*, pp. 242-75.

83. R.J. Clifford, *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible* (CBQMS, 26; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1994), p. 202.

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Part II

RELIGIOUS HISTORY AND EARLY JUDAISM

PATTERNS OF CREATION IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Hans-Peter Hasenfratz

This survey of Ancient Egyptian creation patterns includes: the initial creation (evolution); the continuous creation (*creatio continua*), the final destiny of creation (involution), some remarks upon the creator's apologetic justification of his creation (theodicy).

I. *Initial Creation*[1]

(1) The primaeval state before creation is defined in Ancient Egypt. by 'state in which did not yet exist "two things" '. Creation means, then, the transition from a state of pre-cosmic indifference to a state of cosmic limitation and differentiation. A pattern of creation, typical of Lower Egyptian natural and cultural environment, is the evolution of the world from *primordial water*. Creation begins with the emerging of a *primordial hill* out of the pre-cosmic water. So, primordial indifference ('not two things') turned into initial difference ('two things'), chaos into cosmos. The primordial hill is the god *jtm* (from a verb *tm:* accomplish). This process, of course, alludes to the emerging of the fertilized soil at the end of the yearly period of inundation caused by the Nile. And in the same way as a scarab creeps out of a dunghill, the sun creeps out of this first hill. The hieroglyphic sign of a scarab (🪲), being used for the words 'scarab', 'come into existence' and 'sun' (based on their phonetic similarity: *ḫpr, ḫprr*), links these homographs together to a sort of magic pun with performing power. Through the sunlight, now shining into darkness, things are able to appear. By masturbating or coughing or spitting *jtm* produces two gods: *Air* (male) and *Humidity* (female). We may remember that all secretions of the human body are held to be vitalizing matter. By normal (that means

1. S. Morenz, *Aegyptische Religion* (RM, 8; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2nd edn, 1977), pp. 167-91 (containing the mythological texts referred to).

sexual) generation Air and Humidity procreate *Earth* (male) and *Heaven* (female). Their father Air separates these two, lying tight upon one another. Thus space between heaven and earth comes into existence, giving room for the multiplicity of created things and beings. One of the famous children of Earth and Heaven is *Osiris*, the first to teach men culture: farming, legislation, and worship of gods. After his dramatic death (Egyptian gods are mortal) Osiris was enthroned king of the netherworld and judge of the dead.

(2) According to another creation pattern the world developed from a *cosmogonic egg* laid down in the rushy swamp of primordial water by *ngg* (or *g3g3*) *wr*, the Great Cackler, who was identified with several divine beings, for example, with Earth or with the god *jmn* (see below). The pre-cosmic silence was broken by the *cry* of this divine *primal bird*, manifestation of the Creator, initiating the evolution of the cosmos. A particle of the shell of this cosmic egg was shown as a relic at Hermopolis in Upper Egypt. The egg seems to have been *incubated* by divine 'personifications' of the (pre-cosmic) chaos, partly shaped as serpents: *Primordial Water, Infinity, Darkness, Hiddenness*. The latter, the hidden (*jmn*) and at the same time the invisible, but moving and creating air, the wind, is also said to have curled the primordial water, which extended infinitely in total darkness and immobility, and to have whirled up its muddy ground and made it agglomerate into the primordial hill (see (1) above).[2] *jmn*, moving to and fro upon the waters, recalls to mind the biblical רוח אלהים מרחפת על־פני המים (Gen. 1.2).

(3) A third (not necessarily latest) pattern of creation also reminds us of the (younger) biblical report in Genesis 1–2, 4. Priestly speculation in Memphis styled *Ptḥ*, god of technique, the Creator 'from whom all things issued' and 'whose power is greater than that of the other gods'. He is described as the origin of all that exists, including the gods and the natural, religious and social laws (*mdw nṯr nb*).[3] Ptah's 'instruments' of creation were his heart (*jb*) and his tongue (*ns*), which means in modern terms his mind and his word. And after having 'evoked' everything by 'thinking it out' and calling its name (*rn*), the Ancient Egyptian text sums up, Ptah was content and rested (*ḥtp*). Perhaps it is

2.   Cf. RÄRG 32/33.
3.   K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen* (UGAÄ, 10; Hildesheim: Olms, 1964), pp. 60, 68.

not just accidental that Alexandria in Egypt became the centre of Jewish Hellenistic λόγος-speculation: God as having realized the creative impulse of his mind by means of his λόγος, the λόγος as representing God's image in a visible world (a speculation taken up, later, in St John's Gospel and in the Epistle to the Hebrews).

2. *Continuous Creation*[4]

(1). The created world is continuously consuming vital energy for its subsistence. Therefore, it has to be periodically regenerated. This is done by its merging into the pre-cosmic state of total indifference and re-emerging, newborn, out of it. Such periodical events include men's *sleep* and *death*, the *darkness* of the night and the annual *Nile flood*.

(2). The 'daily' regeneration takes place every night. During the day the Sun God (*r^c*) is imagined as sailing in his barque across the sky-ocean of heaven. In the barque his crew are the gods, his passengers the *bз.w* of the *dead*, whose bodies lie asleep in the netherworld (there being night through the absence of the Sun). The *bз.w* are individual vital forces in the shape of birds. When a *bз* leaves the body of 'his' man, the man falls into sleep or dies. When it rejoins 'his' body, the man awakes (from sleep or death). In the evening the barque leaves the sky-ocean and sails into the subterranean stream of the netherworld (in the west). The passengers are now changing. The *bз.w* of the people *living* on earth join the barque when human beings fall asleep (it now being night by the absence of the sun). The *bз.w* of the dead disembark and unite with their dead bodies, which awake unto life as long as the Sun God is sailing (over) the waters of the lower world (it now being day through the presence of the sun). The Sun God himself is the *bз* of the God of the Netherworld, Osiris. By uniting with his dead body, the Sun God makes Osiris awake and alive as long as the underworld day lasts. Before it ends, which means before the *bз.w* of the living on earth again disembark and just after the *bз.w* of the dead have re-embarked, the barque with its divine crew and all the *bз.w* (of the people still sleeping on earth and of the inhabitants of the netherworld now fallen asleep) drives through the immense body of a serpent (*mḥn* or *sd-m-rз*, the

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4.   Cf. E. Hornung, 'Verfall und Regeneration der Schöpfung', ErJb 46 (1977), pp. 411-49; H.P. Hasenfratz, 'Zur "Seelenvorstellung" der alten Aegypter', *Saec* 42 (1990), pp. 193-216 (esp. pp. 200-203).

Greek Oὐροβόρος), incorporation of the *creative* aspect of primordial chaos, entering through its tail, moving out through its head and so inverting the direction of time and being *rejuvenated*. Before this renewal, the crew of the barque had to defeat another serpent (*ʿjpp*, the Greek "Απωπις, incorporation of the *destructive* aspect of chaos, who was about to sip up the underworld stream and cause the barque to run ashore. Finally, the barque would quit the infernal world, which would fall back into night and darkness, and sail into the sky-ocean (in the east). The *bʒ.w* of the *living* on earth, after having disembarked, would now unite with their sleeping bodies and wake them up. The barque with the Sun God, his crew, and the *bʒ.w* of the *dead* would continue its daily way on heaven. A new day on earth would have begun. The 'daily' course of the Sun God may be illustrated as follows:
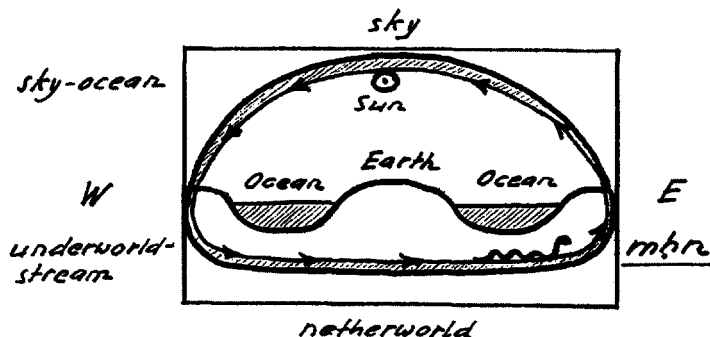
Fig 1. The Egyptian Cosmos

(3) The idea that in Ancient Egypt the divine nature is able to reveal several (two, three or more) personal aspects or manifestations (in our pattern r^c and Osiris) might have inspired Christian theology in its solution of the problem of Trinity, for which task Aristotelian logic was scarcely equipped. And here again, Alexandria in Egypt played a remarkable part (where Athanasius lived!).

3. *End of Creation*[5]

The creation does not last forever. The two most different aspects of the divine essence and of the creation itself, light and darkness, sky and

5.   A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, VII (7 vols. [1935–1961]; Chicago:

netherworld, life and death, r͑ (-*itm*) and Osiris, will not be separated forever. Finally, they will collapse into one indifferent primordial substance. After millions and millions of years 'ruins will become inhabited, inhabited places ruins [*jw jꜣ.wt r njw.wt, njw.wt r jꜣ.wt*], houses will destroy each other'; the earth will vanish and reappear as primaeval ocean. The remaining divine substance will re-assume the form of serpents: 'impersonation' of the creative and destructive original chaos, 'which nobody knows and no god perceives'.

4. *Theodicy*[6]

(1) Creative differentiation, namely the visible and tangible world with life and death, joy and distress, union and separation, includes *suffering*. Thus, we must not wonder that the divine Creator is occasionally blamed for and has to defend his creation. Against 'rebellious' accusations he pleads 'four perfect deeds', which he had planned even before creation (in the shape of an immense chaotic *serpent mḥn*): he created the winds as breath for all beings; the great flood of the Nile to nourish the poor; he created every man equal to his fellow; and he made men's heart conscious of bad and good (thus being responsible for his fate in the other world).[7] And another text, a little younger, states that the Creator made human beings *images of himself (snn.w.f)*, because they are his children ('issued from himself'), and that he made 'shrines around them', as if they were idols (images) of himself.[8]

(2) Theodicy in Ancient Egypt is on the way to develop, even to accomplish, an anthropological concept that is not strange to the Jewish and Christian Bible: man as image of God, equal to his fellows, is 'responsible'[9] for his actions and thinking, and directed towards a life after life.

University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 461 (text 1130); and E. Hornung, *Das Todtenbuch der Aegypter* (Munich: Artemis, 1979), pp. 365-71.
    6.   Cf. J. Assmann, *Aegypten—Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1984), pp. 198-208.
    7.   *Coffin Texts*, text 1130.
    8.   Pap. Petersb. 1116A, 130-38.
    9.   Cf. E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen, Ägyptische Gottesvorstellungen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 3rd edn, 1971), p. 128: 'Die Menschen sind Ebenbilder Gottes in ihrem Brauch, einen Mann mit seiner Antwort zu hören.'

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD AND THE SHAPING OF ETHOS AND RELIGION IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

Ithamar Gruenwald

I

There is nothing new in saying that essential differences exist between the respective accounts of the creation of the world, in Genesis 1 and 2. They lend the impression that two views were maintained in ancient Israel as to how the world had been created. Various suggestions have been made to explain these differences and assess their respective meanings. In this paper, however, attention will be given to one particular difference that, to the best of my knowledge, has received only little attention. It concerns the use of the terms ארץ and אדמה in these two chapters.[1] An attempt will be made to assess this difference as reflecting more than just a hermeneutic problem. In a cultural and religious context, these differences point to prevailing types of ethos[2] and religion.

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1. The word אדמה is mentioned only once in ch. 1. This is in v. 25, and it is tempting to attribute it to an editorial oversight.

2. The Greek word 'ethos' means 'custom', 'habit'. In modern usage, however, it is often taken to designate 'principles of lifestyle'. However, in using it, as will done in the present essay, attention must be given to the fact that it is not always easy to distinguish between ethos and literary motifs. Literary motifs often come as repetitive components in a story, or set of stories. In a sense, they create the imagery of the work. Ethos, however, is closer to what may be designated by symbolic structure. Ethos is here used to indicate matters that have cultural significance. Metaphors and symbols, it should be noted, are often part of the literary layout of a certain work or poem. When, allegedly, they have a function in regard to basic forms of lifestyle and cultural values, their meaning becomes much more encompassing and substantial. In many cases, they spring out of the well of the collective cultural subconscious. Their application creates patterns of ritual and cultural relatedness. Images, however, are mostly confined to the specific artistic style that is employed in the story. Still, it is not easy to defend one's case, when told that

In other words, the difference addressed here will be explained on grounds that are viewed as having constitutive functions in the formation of the culture and religion of ancient Israel.

What I have in mind is the prevalence of the words ארץ and הארץ in the first chapter, and of the words אדמה and האדמה in the second. As we shall see, ארץ (earth) is the more neutral term of the two, while אדמה (land) is made to carry a whole load of curses. האדמה is cursed because of Adam's sin in the Eden-Garden (3.17). God refuses to accept the 'fruit of האדמה' as a sacrificial gesture from the hands of Cain (4.5). האדמה is cursed, once again, when God declares it to be an accomplice in the killing of Abel (4.11). Cain learns that האדמה is doomed to generative impotence (4.12). The curse of האדמה is mentioned in the case of the birth of Noah (5.29). האדמה is the place on which the Sons of God sin with the daughters of man (6.1). Consequently, God decides to 'blot out the human race from the face of האדמה' (6.7). When Noah had become a 'man of האדמה,' he planted a vine (9.20), as a consequence of which a situation was created in which one of his sons is cursed (9.25). This list can be extended, but it already makes its point clear at this early stage. Later on, additional cases will be examined in the same vein.

This paper wishes to explore, on a number of levels, the implications that this cursing motif has on the shaping of the cultural and religious ethos of ancient Israel. We should note that האדמה, land, is connected with agriculture. Agriculture is linked to urbanization. Urbanization culminates in establishing the monarchy. In terms of cultural and religious values, these factors constitute the negative pole of the scriptural narrative as presented in the book of Genesis right from the creation of the world. The positive pole is sheep herding. It involves a nomadic life-style. It is later on described as re-enforcing the tribal life-style, the complete opposite of centralized monarchy.

On a larger scale, I wish to highlight aspects of the study of the religion of the ancient Israelites as told in the Pentateuch. Whether the scriptural account is to be trusted and studied as the real history of the people or as mere 'myth'—in the sense frequently given to the term,

even in the case of an image something more engaging from a cultural point of view is intended and not merely a literary motif. In the case of ethos, though, something is depicted that crosses the limits of the specific literary environment or narrative. It speaks for something that shapes the life/lives of people as a group. In short, ethos indicates principles of self-identity in a specific cultural context.

that is, as unverifiable fiction[3]—is a question that need not be discussed here. In other words, the question of historicity is not the issue in this paper. At stake are the patterns of religious culture, paradigmatically involved in the dichotomy established by polarized life-styles. The one is initially connected with האדמה (and then also with ארץ: the distinctions are not always kept!), agriculture, the city and finally the monarchy. The second is connected with sheep herding, nomadism and the predominance of tribalism.

The scholarly position that is taken in this paper is that cultural and religious studies, that is, the phenomenological study of religions, can highlight important aspects in the cultural history of ancient Israel. Questions that are meaningful to the study of the religion of the ancient Israelites are only seldom brought up in biblical scholarship. Particularly missing, in this respect, are considerations that are important to anthropological studies. Anthropology would ask such questions as, What do people do by way of constituting (creating) their world, and what is the nature of this world and respectively, of the mind that stands behind these constitutive acts? For reasons that need not be discussed here, biblical scholarship shows only limited interest in these matters. This is particularly the case when such questions as the essence of rituals should become the focus of the scholarly attention.

We shall start our discussion by focusing on the religion of ancient Israel as it is described in the book of Genesis. In our view of the matter, the continental divide of the religion of ancient Israel could be located in the Sinai event. Allegedly, everything that followed that event went in the direction of institutionalizing religion. However, the desert is still a place in which nomadism continued—whether it is viewed as a punishment or as a fact of life that was retrospectively, in monarchic times, shaped as a punishment. The move towards the monarchy is then the major turning point in the history of ancient Israel. This is also the view taken by many historians and archaeologists today.

However, an additional typological distinction has to be introduced at this point. It, too, concerns the events mentioned above. I would refer to it in terms of a dividing line between the ethos phase of the religion of

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3. I have recently taken up the ontological discussion of myth in a number of studies that are in the process of being published. However, for the sake of the general orientation of the reader, I will argue that myth is an omnipresent factor in human culture. It comes into effect when it is, in one way or another, linked to rituals or ritual modes of behaviour.

ancient Israel and the phase of the institutionalized religion. We shall give full attention to this difference in the context of the larger notion of the dividing lines mentioned above. Thus, the historiography of ancient Israel is loaded with shifts and changes, even ambivalent stances, in the attitudes expressed toward such life-styles as mentioned above. Speaking of ethos, as distinct from religion, the questions that will be asked will focus on essentials of religious behaviour that are structured as a life-style, in which spontaneity rather than institutionalized forms of behaviour prevail. The comments that will be made here reflect the writer's interest in religious studies and in anthropology. Textual, hermeneutic, historical and philosophical issues that are often placed in the centre of religious studies will be left aside. In short, since the major questions that will be raised and addressed here are usually left unattended, there is full justification to elaborate upon them in the manner suggested.

It is here assumed that, in the first place, people practise their religion rather than think of it. Practice does not mean that the mind does not work. On the contrary, it works, but in a manner that produces structured acts rather than thoughts. Thus, in our present reading of the Hebrew Scripture, the question, what kind of religion is found in the documents examined, is primarily directed at the ways the religion at hand is practised. In biblical Hebrew אמונה does not mean what it does in mediaeval philosophy. The biblical sense of the term means steadfastness rather than belief, which is the equivalent of the Greek πίστις. The point of departure of the present study, thus, is the question, What do we have to assume in order to inform ourselves about the nature of religion in early biblical times? We go back to the creation stories that are here viewed as constitutive in every respect possible. Thus, this paper will attempt to highlight the various aspects and modes in which the Israelite religion was conceived in (the literary phase known as) pre-Sinaitic times? We shall suggest that this question be of paramount importance for the study of the religion and culture of ancient Israel, in general. It is expected, too, that the respective answers will change the manner in which that religion, in general, and its rituals, in particular, are studied and discussed.

II

Reading the scriptural narratives collected in the book of Genesis, one cannot but notice that the drama unfolds in narrative settings that are

essentially different from the ones prevailing after the revelation on Mount Sinai. I suggest viewing these two types of setting as two distinct phases or stages in the development of the religion of ancient Israel. We shall refer to the first stage as ethos[4] and to the second as religion. This paper suggests that in studying the relevant scriptural materials, it is necessary to distinguish between these two phases of development. They mark two different kinds of religious practice.

The first is referred to in terms of the ethos-stage, because at that stage the religious attitudes of the people concerned were described as an extension of the daily forms of life. Religion does not yet have a specific place (sanctuary or temple), no specific times (sanctified days) and no specific theology to formalize itself institutionally. Experiencing divine revelations is presented as a matter-of-fact event. Even Hagar could recognize an angelic being, though wondering that this could happen when away from her master's home (Gen. 16.13). God's revelations mostly establish a dialogic setting in which man and God talk to each other, as one would say, as a matter of everyday experience. However, what is important to notice is that in most cases no monumental messages are conveyed. Some of the dialogues (e.g., the one between God and Adam and Eve after 'the Fall') are still supposed to have, culturally speaking, far–reaching consequences. They are mostly spontaneous revelations, and rarely handle doctrinal and, what is even more important in this connection, long-standing legal issues.

The second stage is that of religion. This stage is marked by people's concern with matters relevant to establishing systemic structures, whether rituals or binding doctrines. Here, divine revelations convey targeted messages that become the principles of the established religion. Rituals are built into a fully fledged cult or a systemic code of divine worship. Scattered ideas and notions seek the status of a theology. In

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4. A great deal of attention will henceforth be given to the definition and characterization of ethos. Fixing, though, a point of departure, ethos is here used in a similar sense to form, as defined by H. Frankfurt, *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956). Frankfurt writes: '...the form of a civilisation...is implicit in the pre-occupations and evaluations of the people. It imparts to their achievements—to their arts and institutions, their literature, their theology—something distinct and final, something that has its own peculiar perfection. Therefore a discussion of the emergence of form entails a knowledge of a civilisation in its maturity, a familiarity with its classical expression in every field' (p. 25).

short, the legal concerns are far-reaching in every respect possible. Revelation becomes the Law.

As mentioned above, this paper will examine these two stages of development in the context of their bearing on two basic, and in this respect paradigmatic, life-styles. As mentioned, they are shepherding and agriculture. In a wider context, these two ways of life are connected to nomadism and urbanization, respectively. In a yet wider context, urbanization was connected to establishing the monarchic rule of ancient Israel, and nomadism declared its absolute negation. At the bottom of the structure of the narrative as it is told in Scripture lie processes of decision-making that sound as making an economic difference. On the face of it, the scriptural story tells how these differences were pragmatically resolved. However, as we are going to see, matters are not as simple as they look. Since God is described as involved in these processes, all the decisions made have a 'religious' point. This holds true of the ethos stage, too. More precisely expressed, God is setting economic principles and preferences that are to become the religious norms of the people. Principally, then, the options between which people have to choose are sheep herding and nomadism, on the one hand, and tilling the land, cattle breeding and urbanization, on the other. Evidently, these options make an economic difference. But what is worth noticing is how economics becomes, in the scriptural story, a cultural, even religion-oriented, factor. In rejecting the fruit sacrifices offered by Cain and in destroying the city (of Babel) with its 'tower' (evidently, a ziggurat), God made his preferences resonate clearly and in a progressive sequence. First, agriculture is rejected and, then, the city. God made it clear that he preferred the wandering shepherd to the citizens of the city. Furthermore, when materially blessing the Patriarchs, God promised to multiply their seeds and herds, not their settlements. As indicated, the life-styles that are presented as rival economic systems also make a declaration of cultural and religious preferences. As long as they are not conceived in the framework of a fully fledged religious system, we prefer to see in them an ethos.

The fact that the book of Genesis brings up economic issues on a level that makes their implications culturally noticeable speaks for a stage in the development of ancient culture in which the separation between the secular and the religious orders is not consciously delineated. Thus, a new form of discussing the questions at hand seems to be an immediate gain. When applied, it is likely to establish new scholarly

viewing points in the study of the religion of ancient Israel. It is likely, too, to create new possibilities for imagining more clearly, and, of course, assessing the interaction between economics, on the one hand, and culture and religion, on the other. Hopefully, our understanding of the essence of the interaction between all these factors will reap interesting results for the study of culture and religions, in general.

Taking a close look at the scriptural narratives, one is struck by the manner in which two rival life-styles create the drama, let alone the basic dialectic. Adam (note the affinity to אדמה, 'land', from which he was created) was placed in the 'Garden of Eden,' as the narrative puts it, 'to till it and to keep it,' though controlled by divine regulations! It is reasonable to think that the Garden of Eden figures here as the epitome of agricultural work, sanctioned by the God who later decides to have matters take a different course. In this respect, Adam's sin can be viewed in the general context of farming going wrong. As long as farming is contained in the framework of tilling and working, it is, so to say, all right. Once it is used to enhance knowledge, everything goes wrong. Adam's expulsion from that Garden is thus a departure from what one may view an idealized type of farming. Consequently, Adam was cursed and told that the land would never again yield its fruits unless hard labour was invested in tilling it. Briefly, then, Eden and farming are the two ends of the same axis. A straight line links them. However, in the final resort the story does involve a curse. Almost by deterministic programming, then, Cain (the 'bad boy') could not but become a farmer.

The consequences are well known: Cain killed his brother, Abel, the person who enacted the opposite life-style. Abel's choice involved not only a different type of economics, sheep herding, but also a different ethos and in this respect also a different kind of sacrificial rite. Using terms that suit a gangster type of economics, we may say that Cain tried to eliminate the competition by assassinating the chief of the rival gang. However, the omniscient god on the scene enforced law and justice by imposing different cultural standards: passage into the ritual world was granted to shepherds only. Cain's punishment to roam the earth, that is, he was doomed not to settle down and start farming and agriculture again. Clearly, he had been given a chance to change; but, as we are going to see, he only went from bad to the worst, building a city.

Cain was deprived of the possibility of starting his agricultural activity all over again. But he was not the kind of person to succumb

easily. Instead, he built a city. Evidently, this entailed a graver sin. As one can find even in modern economic theory, farming is the economic structure that sustains urbanization. Thus, in building a city, Cain simply stepped up his rebellious activity. Since he aggravated his sinful ethos, he brought upon himself final destruction. Lamech inadvertently killed him.

What does this story show? It shows a negative curve. Briefly, this curve may be referred to as the אדמה curve. It has been outlined at the beginning of this paper, and there is no need to repeat matters now. In many cases, we saw, האדמה is the negative counterpart of ארץ or הארץ. ארץ is the more neutral term, signifying in many cases the 'world' as opposed to heaven, and, more significantly in the present context, to 'agricultural land.' However, as the biblical story develops, ארץ and אדמה are synonymously used in an agricultural context. What does all this mean in terms of the religion, or better still the culture in which these stories and ideas grew?

III

Evidently, this paper is not written to negotiate between opposing economic systems. We wish to investigate the manner in which economics interacted with religion, and particularly in the religion of the ancient Israelites. What we aim at is highlighting the cultural, rather than the material and financial, aspects of economics. In this respect, religion and economics will not be viewed as rival systems. In fact, religion will be shown as moving in and out of economics. This is where ethos prevails in its most natural form. *Mutatis mutandis*, economics will be shown as moving in and out of religion. In both cases, a basic attitude is taken into consideration, namely ethos. Briefly, ethos marks the pre-structured and pre-theological stage of religion. People live their religious life as part of their everyday transactions. Admittedly, the sources that will be discussed show how religion handles in an almost easy-going manner the rules by which economics becomes part of it. However, what we would like to show can be exhausted only in the framework of the discussion of the cross-relationship between the economic system and the cultural issues that are involved in a certain lifestyle.

In the texts that will be discussed here, economics is not viewed as simply professing material preferences in the way it is regularly done.

To be more precise, one economic system is not preferred over against another one just because it is socially more just or financially more profit-rendering. Rather, an economic preference is made in view of the life-style that is considered more conducive than another one to the realization of the cultural and religious ideals of the people. In fact, economics and ritual are viewed as closely interlinked. In short, in the sources that will be discussed here, money itself has no smell. In fact, wealth is accepted as a token of the blessings of the gods.

On a practical level, attention must be given to the question, How do people live and how do they survive economically? This question—and also essential utterances made in Scripture on issues like the possession of property, the prevailing monetary system, mercantile transactions and wealth—receive interesting attention in the biblical narratives. However, they are quickly transformed by their additional concern with religious issues. By way of a quick example, one may mention the meticulously detailed descriptions in the book of Genesis of how each of the Patriarchs made their wealth and came to own the land. These descriptions obviously reflect the day-to-day agenda of the people whose story is told. Day-to-day life is not obsessed with theological issues and questions. However, God is a live and communicable presence, and this explains the wish on the part of the people to make God make economic statements and take decisions accordingly. The literary context, however, makes it clear that these stories are not a lesson in economics, but give expression to issues that have to be explained in their primarily religious context. Briefly, it is clear that in the book of Genesis economics speaks a religious language without using a highly developed theology. However, the 'theological' implications are clear.

Economics, then, becomes one of the ways in which religion formulates its scale of values—whether this is done in social, political or material matters. If biblical economy is assessed systematically, it is very likely to show its own 'philosophy.' It has already been observed that the manner in which economics is handled in a religious context is not lacking an intrinsic structure and systemic mechanism that has relevance to its context[5]. In other words, it fulfils certain religious

5.   Jacob Neusner, *The Economics of Mishnah* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1990) has extensively studied these aspects of economics. This essay, though, takes a different path. We are not looking for the system of Mishnaic economics, or any other kind of religious economics. We shall investigate the manner in which two modes of life—sheep herding and agriculture—first become a

functions. In more specific terms, forms of economic style and beha-
viour are an integral part of the religious system.

When we then say that we view the religious system in basically two
phases, ethos and religion, economics is the mirror in which they are
reflected. However, before going into the details of the subject matter, a
few additional observations on methodological issues need to be made.
This paper departs from three trends that prevail in the study of reli-
gions. The first inclines to assess religious phenomena from external
perspectives[6]. This means that religions are studied not in their own
terms of reference but from without, on external premises[7]. The second
trend inclines to study religion mainly in its openly declared aspects.
This means that matters of theology and ideology that are explicitly
stated receive prominence over against those that emerge from, or are
assumed in, the practised rituals. The third trend concerns the *res gestae*
of a given religion. Scholars highlight historical issues without explicitly
assessing the religious components of these texts. Events rather than
matters of religious essence like the practice of the religion studied

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cultural ethos, and are then taken up into a religious system that develops out of that
ethos.

6.   Speaking of the trend to assess religious phenomena from the outside, the
names that should be mentioned in connection with the subject of religion and eco-
nomics are K. Marx, M. Weber and R.H. Tawney (*Religion and the Rise of Capital-
ism: A Historical Study* [Holland Memorial Lectures, 1922; London: Murray,
1927], reprinted Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1938). What sometimes happens
is that people following a certain scholarly pattern in assessing religion see in it
cultural factors that reflect phenomena that are not purely religious or are not at all
motivated by religious ideas and concerns. In cases like these, the overall effect is a
negative value judgment. It presents religion in a manipulative framework in which
power games are acted out. This kind of judgment persisted in some scholarly
circles for a rather long time. Evidently, it interfered with the need to study religion
in its own, on intrinsic, terms of reference.

7.   Those wishing a further note of explanation, should be reminded of a
research method that was the crown of scholarly perfection for a rather long time
during the twentieth century: *Formgeschichte*, or Form Criticism. Here, those
components that claimed to religious forms of expression were viewed as literary
expressions of agenda that were not necessarily religious in essence. Another exam-
ple to the same effect is the study of rituals. For reasons that need not be discussed
here, the study of rituals was not the strong side of the study of religions in the
twentieth century. When rituals were studied, it was mainly for their theology, litur-
gical history and underlying symbolism, but not for what they pertain to achieve in
their own, self-defined, context.

receive prominence in the scholarly attention[8]. In departing from these trends, attention will be given to one major issue, namely the various forms in which a given religion is practised. This is to say that the life-style that has a ritual layout will be the centre of the present discussion.

V

What does my use of the terms, ethos and religion, exclude? Ethos means that no special theology or ideology comes into play or directs the lives of the people. The transition from the routine and regular to the special ('holy'), from the sacred to the ordinary, is made without much reflection and sophistication. Sanctuary/temple-oriented notions like purity and impurity do not yet come into play. In the ethos-phase, the religious behaviour of individuals and groups is directed by their spontaneous reaction to momentary needs and to ongoing processes. There is no cyclic pattern that shapes the nature of the religious beha-viour beyond the immediate needs and concerns of the people[9]. A process of a formalization of the religious order normally begins when certain repetitive patterns are forced on the ethos. In Scripture this happens in connection with the temple and the history of the people. A formalization of the religious order means that ongoing processes of life are viewed as falling back on some 'archetypal' patterns that have been consecrated as foundational events. Repetition, in this respect, means a process of establishing a fixed order and systematic cycles. In the reli-gion of ancient Israel, all this happened when historical events of the past (mostly connected with the 'Exodus') were somehow superim-posed on the cycle of agricultural feasts that were linked to seasonal events. The temple (or sanctuary) are presupposed, too. Among other things, a formalization also entails the investiture of a related social, and specifically priestly, order. The extent to which a king is assumed

8.   This constitutes an additional complication to the ones discussed in the previous footnote. It is often assumed that even when religion is studied in its own terms of reference, historical and text-critical perspectives can do an adequate job. Thus, religions become the playgrounds upon which historians, literary critics and philologists exercise their scholarly skills and apply their research tools. With all due respect to these areas of study and research, they cannot do full justice to the understanding of religion as a live cultural phenomenon.

9.   The idea behind Gen. 1.14-18; 8.22 can be interpreted in a cultic context only with a theological paradigm in mind.

as part of the paradigm is a debated issue even among the ancient Israelites. Finally, holy sites are fixed and their operation is linked to the rituals enacted after the patterns set by a cultic calendar. On a more general level, though, an ethos becomes a religious system when its rituals are formalized by repetitive patterns that enact events of the past on top of, or alongside, the ritual routine that deals with the present. When a theology is added to the process, among other things concepts of the 'other-ness' come into play. These are meant to set cultic border-lines between the 'ins' and the 'outs,' whoever they may be. Notions of religious other-ness activate psychological needs or problems by adding to them theological dimensions.

Needless to say by now, the emergence from the ethos-stage is tanta-mount to the introduction of the religion-phase. In many cases, this is marked by a culturally constitutive event, like the revelation on Mount Sinai. Whether the event can be validated on historical grounds or not, it still established that publicly experienced revelation as a constitu-tional factor.

It will forthwith be argued that in the history of ancient Israel the transition from ethos to religion is also marked by the passage from nomadism to urbanization. Whether the exact history can be fully reconstructed from the existing documents or not is a question that must be left unanswered at this point. Basically, we have to rely on the texts in our possession, and I suggest reading them paradigmatically[10]. That is to say, these texts give expression to the self-perception of the people who wrote them in regard to their own history in its formative stages. History is what people view as being such. The verisimilitude of the event is a problem that concerns scholars, but not the people who use the event as a foundational factor in their culture. In this respect, our comments here focus on certain hermeneutic stances that are formalized in Scripture as foundational narratives. To the believer, these founda-tional narratives are their formative history, their *historia sacra*. To make my point clear, I would argue that a narrative is one of the many ways of relating in a hermeneutic manner to a certain reality or situ-ation. As a rule, narratives are treated as fiction and not as history. But people in antiquity used narratives as their preferred manner of reporting

10. For a clear and stimulating discussion of 'Paradigmatic Time' cf. Jacob Neusner, *The Presence of the Past, and the Past of the Presence: History, Time, and Paradigm in Rabbinic Judaism* (Bethesda, ML: CDL Press, 1966), particularly p. 59, where a definition of the term is given.

about themselves and their history. Thus, historiography principally had a narrative nature. In this respect it allowed hermeneutic stances to develop almost unhampered. The subjective perspectives of the storyteller are part of the creative process in telling the story. These perspectives may be viewed as an attempt to make a cultural statement. They suggest a cultural assessment of certain situations or events.

Again, what can be assessed from our perspective is not what 'really' happened, but what 'people' (that is, certain writers) constituted as the collective memory that was believed or assumed to matter. It should therefore be noted that the scholarly custom of distinguishing between history (and historiography) and memory cannot pass as truth without its own difficulties. I would argue that what goes into the writing of history is a certain memory. Memory is selective and, in many respects, creative. Selection in this case also means purposeful and intentional forgetting and oblivion. In many respects, memory is created in ritual patterns. In fact, ritualizing an event (e.g. Passover) is intensely functional in creating collective memory. I suggest seeing in history a process of bestowing a certain status on an alleged or real event. That is to say, something is made to count as a historical fact. Epistemologically speaking, then, historical verifiability is not the real issue here. In other words, when memory is translated into a statement that has the status of a historical event, it very likely incorporates an interesting blend of facts and imaginary events.[11]

When it is attached to a ritual, I suggest referring to it as myth. Unlike the general understanding of the term, in which the element of fiction about the gods is usually highlighted, myth is here viewed as a story that links to a ritual. Thus, when a certain community agrees on what it considers to be its binding rituals, a complementary process of transforming events into myth sets in. *Mutatis mutandis*, when myths are established, rituals begin to flourish. In this process, the 'history' of the community is established, setting for this community the existential *raison d'être* of their life-style and rituals[12]. In short, in as much as the

11. If this sounds like postmodernism, it is not intended to be so, at least not in the common usage of the term. What is meant is an epistemological assessment of the subjective components of what is commonly held as objectivity.

12. It may nowadays be true to argue that the amount of universal truth extensively studied that is shared by 'everybody' is gradually shrinking. Scholarship strives at differentiating the components of knowledge. To many people this may look like deconstructive segmentation. In my eyes, however, it is essential to realize

community of the ancient Israelites agreed to see in its historical narratives formative events that were linked to rituals, these narratives became myth. There are good reasons, too, to conceive of the Genesis narratives as the myths of the pre-Sinaitic religion. This mythic phase of pre-Sinaitic religion is here defined in terms of the ethos-phase of religion.[13] In the ethos phase, rituals are a natural extension of normal life-styles.

VI

It must by now be clear that in understanding the manner in which a certain religion operates, special attention has to be given to the various modes in which its religious attitudes become ritually enacted. Economics is here viewed as an interesting test case of the manner in which common forms of life-style become culturally relevant and meaningful in the context of ritualized forms of behaviour. The enactment of attitudes through ritual constitutes the major factor in religions, in general, and in the cultural ethos that will henceforth be discussed in some detail in particular. Rituals are all too often assessed as material substitutes for something that is more spiritual. Allegedly, a certain idea is referentially reflected in the ritual performance. In other words, rituals are viewed as an enacted form of symbolic entities. That is to say, what counts in rituals is the idea(s) behind them. Most commonly, these ideas are formulated as a theology. Allegedly, rituals are the symbolic expression of theological notions. In our view, however, rituals are

that the kind of certainty that people used to attach to their knowledge and notion of universal truths is gradually giving way to a different, less dogmatic type, of epistemological assessment. Knowledge and notion of truth are valid to a certain situation or to specific conditions as perceived by different people with different perspectives in mind. Cf. also next footnote.

13. Christianity underwent a similar ethos stage. It is mostly reflected in the Gospel phase of Christianity, that is to say, in the narratives about the life of Jesus from his baptism by John until the crucifixion. Whether or not this 'history' is historically true is a different issue. What matters is the fact that, once these stories had been collected and received the gospel form, they were established as the constitutive events of early Christianity. If, historically speaking, the Pauline epistles are the earliest Christian documents we know of, we may argue that the Gospel materials came as a response to these epistles. They were either intended to tell the story behind the (Pauline) theology, or to shift the centre of interest from the theology to the facts that had been established as the 'historical' truth.

performative expressions of attitudes, not ideas. Rituals should be understood by what they aim at,[14] not by what they stand for. That is to say, what matters is the doing, not the idea behind the doing. Generally speaking, I would describe rituals as attempts at reaching certain transformative experiences. It is in the nature of rituals that these transformative events are accomplished by doing something. There may be a certain idea that accompanies the ritual, but in most cases, I propose, rituals are the idea shaped and expressed in action.

If this is accepted, then the main issue in the study of rituals is, How do the rituals bring about the respective transformative effects? Transformation entails a certain change in prevalent conditions or status. We view these conditions or status as part of a certain 'cosmos'. The notion of 'cosmos' indicates that what is happening is part of a whole. This whole is a coherent system and not something that randomly swings back and forth in the life of the people. This 'cosmos' is composed of different parts, all of which meet in the ritual process. They include the performing individual, the specific temporal and spatial conditions and the special social settings in which rituals are performed. Rituals primarily preserve these forms of 'cosmos'. Transformation here includes the dismantling of adverse conditions to the existing situation or condition. A certain danger or a threat, even a calamity, are imminent, or even real events, and rituals are made available to take care of the situation. More commonly, though, rituals cause transformative change(s) in, or for, the performing person or group.

This brings us back to our main point, the ethos-stage in the development of the religion of the ancient Israelites, and to the assessment of rituals in that stage.[15] In many cases, ethos is simply expressive of basic needs of survival. It marks no falling back on written, institutionalized and constitutional modes of social and moral values. In this stage, the religious life of people is not separated, in every respect possible, from all other forms and aspects of life. People move in and out of their religion without any specific cultic timetable or normative obligation to

14. I am in the process of writing a new assessment of rituals in their practised aspects; *Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, forthcoming). A completely rewritten and throroughly revised version of this paper is Chapter Two of that book.

15. For a general discussion of ethos the reader is referred to C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 126-41. As will be noted, our discussion here slightly varies from his.

do so. People worship their gods almost as a natural instinct, as a bio-logical necessity.[16] Admittedly, this sounds mechanistic and determin-istic; nonetheless it seems to me to reflect the phenomenological realities of this notion of life-style. There is no special theology to sustain the religious aspects of this ethos. People live their modes of religiousness as a spontaneous extension of their daily life-style.[17] Ethos, then, entails a form of life in which basic institutions, values, laws, and other norms are not yet configured in specifically formalized ways. In particular there is no monarchy or state to sustain what evolves in the framework of ethos. Tribal, even pre-tribal, Israel is characteristic of this stage.

However, the stories told in or of this stage are, historically speaking, constitutive narratives leading to the religion-phase of the post-Sinaitic setting. As commented on above, one may see in these stories a mythic structure, particularly when they are used in the ritual setting of later Israel. It was suggested above that myth should be viewed as a story that establishes, even institutionalizes, a ritual behaviour.[18] Indeed, the

16. In saying this, I do not wish to take a position in the debate over the question of the origins of religion. Cf. the recently published study of Walter Burkert, *Creation of the Sacred: Tracks of Biology in Early Religions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996). As the subtitle of the book clearly states, Burkert argues that the explanation of the origins of religion chiefly lies in the biological behaviour of animals and the human species. One should be reminded, in this respect, that already in 1907 Sigmund Freud stressed in his famous essay 'Zwangshandlungen und Religionsübungen' (*Gesammelte Werke*, VII [London: Imago, 1955 (1941)], pp. 127-39 [ET in 'Obsessive Actions and Religious Practices' in *Complete Psychological Works*, IX (London: Hogarth, 1962), pp. 115-27]) the role that instincts play in religious behaviour.

17. This is not to say that, in the case of religious people who profess their religion institutionally, religion is always a theological issue. Professedly, they live their whole life as an enactment of the ideals of their religion. In this respect, it is true to say that their whole life is religious. In ethos, however, religion—if we may use the term in this context—drifts in and out of the life of people according to need and desire.

18. This definition of myth will be discussed in detail in a separate study (see above, n. 14). It should be noted, though, that this definition takes up the subject of myth in a functional setting. The difference between an ordinary story and a myth is not in the subject matter (myths are usually taken to be stories about divine beings) but in the connection that is maintained between the story and the ritual practice. Thus, even stories that do not necessarily involve divine beings can have a mythic configuration. The assumed link to a ritual makes the difference.

scriptural narrative makes God's revelation on Mount Sinai the kind of constitutive event that shaped the entire layout of the religion of the ancient Israelites. In retrospect, the Decalogue was conceptualized as a foundational document,[19] It created a constitutional groundwork for everything that became known as Judaic religiousness. Evidently, it radically shaped—at least in the minds of the people—everything that was since then described as having historical and cultural functions.

Essentially, an ethos combines complex forms of interaction between the life of the people, their chosen cosmos—individual, social as well as universal—and the manner in which they communicate with its fullness ('plenitude'). Evidently, this 'fullness' includes the divine. In fact, realizing the omnipresence of the divine does not necessarily extract the relevant life-style from the domain ethos. I have already ventured to suggest that, in the framework of an ethos, the attitude people have to their gods lacks the specific element of the sacred or numinous that is commonly found in the religion-stage. Furthermore, that attitude is not inspired by the awareness of being present in a sacred space or living in, or through, sanctified time. The places of worship that people choose in the ethos-stage lack the kind of exclusiveness that temples inspire. People bring their voluntary offerings to these places. Sometimes, legends are created to preserve the notion of holiness that is attached to these places. In other cases, though, the choice of the location is facilitated by a certain tradition. The same holds true of the notion of sacred times. All these characteristics become factually evident when the stories about the Patriarchs in the book of Genesis are read in their own context, that is, primarily in the ethos-phases of the religion of ancient Israel.

It should be noted, though, that when the issue of religion and the economic order becomes the subject of the scholarly discussion, the angle of the ethos-phase introduces a unique perspective. The major questions that will be asked here are, How does ethos correlate to a specific economic order? and what kinds of linkage are created between the prevalent economic conditions and the religious behaviour of the people? In other words, the question is, What kind of religious ethos is created or assumed as existing, when material conditions and certain

19. I am aware of the fact that quite a number of scholars do not see in the Decalogue a historical document, but, this is not a point that needs to be discussed here.

religious ideas are conceived as interacting—sometimes even inter-
secting—with one another?

VII

Starting our discussion from the angle of the ethos-stage of religion
enabled us to identify special forms of behaviour and ways of life that
are religious in essence but do not reflect a religion in the full sense of
the term. As we saw, religion implies many things that are considered
as establishing institutional forms of historical presence. Among them
one can name the social, political and economic orders. There is,
though, an interesting interplay between religion and its constitutive
institutions. On the one hand, these institutions create the mechanism
on which a certain religion operates; on the other hand, these institution
draw a lot of power status from the religion of which they are part. All
this does not apply in the case of ethos. Ethos reflects a pristine type of
religion in which, if we may say so, religion is still awaiting its insti-
tutionalization. As indicated above, tribal formation is clearly one of the
main characteristics of this stage. Ethos is not necessarily restricted to a
short period. In the scriptural narrative, for instance, it constitutes the
long prehistory of the religion of the ancient Israelites, before they had
adopted the more priestly type of religion that is reflected in the post-
Sinaitic times. Once Levites and priests had been chosen instead of the
'firstborns',[20] the whole situation changed.

Furthermore, in referring to the early stages of a religion in terms of
ethos, one enfranchises the discussion of the early stages of religion
from the habit of relating to it as 'primitive',[21] The term allows focusing
on the early stages of religion in the context of cultural factors, with no
evaluative overtones. Ethos also enables us to refer to a community of
people that is not religious, but occasionally moves into religious realms

20. In the scriptural story, this happened as an aftermath of the Golden Calf
episode. Although there are a number of interesting aspects to the story that are
already mentioned in the book of Exodus, the first chapters of Numbers make the
story a central issue in the building of the social structure of the tribal life. The
hegemony of a Levite and priestly caste persists till this very day, though sub-
stantially modified after the destruction of the Temple. The investiture of the priestly
order is mainly told in Leviticus.

21. It is indeed amazing how often the term 'primitive' is used in such a highly
acclaimed study of religions as Bronislaw Malinowski's *Magic, Science and
Religion and Other Essays* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1992).

(participating in religious ceremonies, etc.), as having a religious layout or programme, without proclaiming their principles of faith, as is characteristic in the cases of a fully fledged religions. Of course, the official theology of Judaism views the Genesis stories as part of the religion that started with the creation of the world. But theological presupposition need not concern us here.

A study of the various factors that play a role in this kind of ethos obviously requires a more comprehensive discussion than the present context allows. However, as suggested above, the economy of the people whose ethos is here discussed may serve as one part that informs us about the whole. There are quite a few approaches that try to present and assess the mostly negative part that economy allegedly used to play in religion. However, as indicated, the present approach is marked by an attempt to depart from old prejudices and biases. Viewing economy as part of an overall religious order, or ideology, neither necessarily sanctifies economy, nor materially pollutes the religious climate. Rather, it is setting values by which money and property become a major building layer in the religious structure. This happens when economics is viewed naturally connected to the structure of the religious system.[22] Economy can easily become an extension of the religious layout, with no damaging side effects to the religious system.[23] After all, economy is in the interest of the gods, too. When people consider themselves to be blessed by the gods, the gods are likely to be generously repaid. People provide housing for gods (temples), nutrition (sacrifices) and decoration (icons, sacred vestments, decorations and ornaments). On another plane, the direct servants of the gods, the priest and their affiliates, make their living on the tithes and the parts of the sacrifices that are given to them.

22. The socio-religious functions of economy have often been discussed, mostly though in an anthropological context. An early and still stimulating discussion can be found in Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (Prospects Heights, IL, Waveland Press, 1984), pp. 146-94. Other aspects of the same problem are discussed in Marcel Mauss, *In memoriam: L'oeuvre inédite de Durkheim et de ses collaborateurs. Essai sur le don archaique de l'exchange* (ET *The Gift: Form and Function of Exchange in Primitive Societies* [trans. W.D. Halls; New York: W. W. Norton, 1990 (1970)]). Interesting to the present discussion are also the two papers 'Historians and Economists' in Eric Hobsbawm, *On History* (New York: New Press, 1997), pp. 94-123.

23. One may, of course, argue the opposite, namely, that religion can easily become the extension of the economic order, but this aspect will not concern us here.

As in any other system, money is a key factor in sustaining the existing order. All this is commonplace and need not be elaborated upon here.

What is of greater interest, though, is the kind of values, social and cultural, that is set by a certain economic system. As mentioned above, in Genesis there are two kinds of rival economic systems: sheep herding and agriculture. Agriculture involves the raising of cows and oxen. The latter ones are used for various works in the field. As the story of Cain and Abel shows, the two systems created a severe conflict that ended in murder. Additional aspects of this conflictual situation will be discussed below. Here, I shall argue that this dichotomy created a polarized situation. That situation sustained the dialectic of cultural ethos. Cultural systems tend to build on such polarized situations. They set the 'yeses' and the 'noes' of that culture. In our case, the economic system is one of the ways of saying in a functional manner what is good and what is bad, what God likes and what he dislikes, what he prefers and what he rejects. These matters quintessentially build the values of the religious culture. The said polarity also sets the identity of the people: the positive 'I' versus the negative 'you' (the 'other'). Ritual-wise, this is how the models of divine worship are set. In short, being congruent with the religious order, economy for a long time was effective in maintaining its function as a major factor that adduced overall coherence in those areas of life that were vital for the creation of culture.

For instance, the ancient Egyptians reportedly considered sheep herding as an abomination. The Israelites had therefore to be given separate grazing land, Goshen (Gen. 46.34). Whether or not this information is corroborated by archaeological information is a question that need not be discussed here. We know, though, that the Egyptians, as also other peoples in the ancient world, saw in shepherds the symbol of political leaders. What matters, then, is what the biblical narrator views as the cultural differentiating line between the Egyptians and the Israelites. These cultural differentiating lines come into effect by means of an economic factor, sheep herding and nomadism over against agriculture and urbanization. Thus, the Egyptians reportedly considered sheep breeding and herding as תועבה, that is, ritual abomination (Gen. 46.34). Once again, an economic factor receives ritual designation. Depending on who describes the event, such statements also convey cultural self-identity and/or otherness.

The notion of self-identity helps in filtering to points of coherence the diversified components of a certain ethos. The economic system is here

viewed as one such component. It takes an essential part in this process of shaping the telling ingredients of cultural self-identity. It is often difficult to determine whether the economy is expressive of a certain religious ideal, or whether the religious ideal sanctions an economic life-style. However, when the two—religion and economics—are merged into a coherent and complementary system, the result is that the specific culture is shaped in a unique manner. This happens on a number of levels. Naturally, it also has an effect on the social order, in general, and on specific hierarchical structures (the community, the temple, the scale of moral priorities and the basic material concerns of people), in particular. In short, economy easily becomes a major cultural factor.

According to a prevailing belief in the ancient world, leading a life-style that is sanctioned by the gods is tantamount to abiding by the laws that sustain a specific religion. Thus, when Cain assumed that God would welcome sacrificial gesture that showed vegetarian preferences, he equally stated that blood sacrifices should be avoided. In this respect, Cain made a completely different statement than the one made by the classical prophets of ancient Israel. For they criticized the people for coming to the temple with sacrifices carried by morally unclean hands. Furthermore, their idea of substituting for ritual is moral purity or the words of the mouth (Hos. 14.3).

God's refusal to accept the sacrifices of the farmer indicated that the rules by which Cain's cosmos operated were not culturally acceptable. Thus, God's decision to prefer Abel's sheep offering showed by an example what the preferred cultural-ethos, the right 'cosmos', was. On the surface of the event, of course, all this involved an economic prefer-ence. Needless to say now, cultural-ethos defines the nature of the domi-nating kind of rituals. And to close the circle, rituals create, maintain and preserve the cosmos in which they are done. Cosmos means order, stability and—consequently—predictability. Speaking, then, of religion in the ancient world, religious and economic concerns are the two sides of the same coin.

The life-styles that are highlighted in the present study are rather complex ones. On the one hand, we find a nomadic life-style, in which sheep breeding and herds are the dominant features. On the other, we find an agricultural life-style, in which cultivating the land and raising the domestic animals needed for the work on the farm are the dominant features. A further line of development of agriculture and cattle breed-ing is connected with the process of urbanization. Urbanization entails a

real estate type of economy.[24] As indicated above, urbanization ulti-
mately leads to a monarchic regime.[25] Changing the rules of the respec-
tive economic systems is also marked by the transition from the
decentralized concerns of tribalism to the centralism of the monarchy.[26]
Briefly stated, the dialectics of these dual life-styles shaped the narra-
tive patterns of the history of the ancient Israelites first before and then
after they entered the land of Canaan. Once again, the historicity of the
events and their narratives is of no concern to us here. What matters is
the kind of memory that people were told to preserve and cherish. Ulti-
mately, this memory shaped their rituals. *Mutatis mutandis*, their rituals
consecrated their memory.

VIII

In elaborating upon the first life-style that is discussed here I shall refer
to two constitutive appellations. The first one is the 'Faithful Herd' (in
Aramaic, *Ra'eya Mehemna*) attributed to Moses in a few Midrashic
sources and in mediaeval Jewish mysticism. The second one is the
christological notion of the Lamb of God. Numerous studies have been
devoted to the significance of the second term. It is often said that in his
capacity of 'Lamb of God', Jesus gives expression to human compas-
sion, meekness and sacrificial submissiveness. However, it must be
clear by now that, on a more profound level, the notions of 'Faithful

24. Two recent discussions of the processes involved in urbanization in the
ancient world are found in W.E. Aufrecht *et al.* (eds.), *Urbanism in Antiquity: From
Mesopotamia to Crete* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); and in Marc
Van de Mieroop, *The Ancient Mesopotamian City* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
Cf. also A.I. Baumgarten, 'Urbanization and Sectarianism in Hasmonaean Jeru-
salem', in M. Poorthuis and Ch. Safrai (eds.), *The Centrality of Jerusalem: Histor-
ical Perspectives* (Kampen: Kok, 1996), pp. 50-64. The factor of irrigation should
be mentioned in this connection. A system of irrigation had to be built. Ultimately it
was linked to the water system that supplied the needs of the city.

25. The book of Joshua clearly shows that every city in Canaan had its own
'king.' The kind of kingship that Saul, David and their followers represented was
equal to the pharaoh in Egypt and the emperor of Assur or Babylon.

26. It is difficult to decide whether Samuel's objection to the election of a king
reflects the pervasive spirit of tribalism, or whether other matters were involved. In
any event, Samuel warns the people that the king will demand services that are
typical of a society that lives mainly on agriculture. Sheep are mentioned only at the
end in two words. The king 'will tithe the sheep' (1 Sam. 8.17).

Herd' and 'Lamb of God' convey something that is more theme-engaging and complex than is usually assumed. In any event, these appellations were not accidentally given. They refer back to the basic ethos in the culture of ancient Israel.

As mentioned above, the attention we give to this kind of life-style was alerted by the stories told in the book of Genesis.[27] The story of Cain and Abel exemplifies, in this respect, the kind of thematic polarity that features in setting the opposite poles implied by two kinds of economic ethos. As we suggest seeing matters, Cain's portrait is proto-typal. He is the farmer figure who cultivates the land and grows vegetables. In a similar manner, Abel is the prototypal shepherd. Both cases shape the thematic structure of the rest of the book of Genesis. If the ensuing scriptural narratives are followed with this understanding in mind, one cannot but reach the conclusion that, in the view of the scriptural writers, two types of economic systems, nay cultures competed for hegemony in the ancient world. They were צאן herding and agriculture, linked, in this case, to בקר herding.

In other words, one may see in the two kinds of domestic animals, צאן and בקר, typological cultural entities. Since oxen were used for the work on the land,[28] בקר herding primarily marked the settling down in established farms.[29] However, צאן herding was, as it still is today, the

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27. The present study is not written from the vantage point of biblical scholarship. Nor are the special techniques of biblical criticism applied here. This is basically a study of religion and culture, and it addresses issues that can be more fruitfully conceived when the accepted strictures of Bible scholarship are temporarily suspended. I basically follow the literary sequence of the scriptural narrative. However, speaking from the vantage point of the multi-layered sources that so clearly strike the reader's eye, the story of Genesis is more complex than can be shown here. Furthermore, historical layering of the material is much dependent on the manner in which the sources are read and assessed.

28. The term, מקנה, 'cattle' (lit. 'owned property'), is often used in this connection. However, it is not always clear as to when it refers to צאן only or to בקר, too.

29. This raises an interesting issue. The cow, the bull and the goat were all cultic animals in the ancient world. In some cases we can find them as idols that were worshipped in temples. The subject is too wide-ranging to be discussed here, but it cannot be bypassed without being mentioned. There is a vast literature on the subject, the most recent one of which known to me is, Michael Rice, *The Power of the Bull* (London: Routledge, 1998). Interestingly, Rice has a separate chapter on 'Settlement, Domestication and Urbanization'. Still relevant to the subject matter, though not mentioned in Rice's book, is L. Bodson, *Hiera Zoia: Contribution à*

economic system of nomadic people. In short, צאן herding principally
signified a nomadic way of life. Speaking in terms of cultural history, it
became an ethos. On the other end of the cultural palette, בקר herding
signified the opposite, namely farming, agriculture and ultimately urban-
ization.[30] The city is the economic centre of the farmers who come there
to sell the produce of the land. The city is also expected to provide
military protection to its satellite farms. In short, the city cannot survive
without the food supplies that the farms provide, and the farms cannot
survive without their marketing centres.

The Patriarchs, Abraham and Jacob, were shepherds. צאן herding
receives full attention in the patriarchal narratives.[31] Isaac's story, how-
ever, is a more complicated one: Apart from herding the sheep, he also
sowed the land. Isaac, in this respect, marks a cultural exception, or
break with the family tradition. In fact, he marks a drastic change in the
family ethos. Being situated in the middle of the patriarchal stories, he
is a reminder of everything that can go wrong, when the cultural 'cos-
mos' established and maintained by the clan is arbitrarily discontinued.

A closer look at what Scripture tells of Isaac shows that the story
constitutes a dialectic preparation of the ensuing complications that the
Jacob stories mark. Although Isaac 'had possession of flocks and herds'
(Gen. 26.14), he was principally a man of the field. Of the three Patri-
archs he was the only one that 'sowed in that land' (Gen. 26.12). Fur-
thermore, it may not be totally accidental that the scriptural narrator
tells that Isaac met Rebecca in the field (Gen. 24.63). His blindness may
be indicative of the cultural confusion that he created for himself. Later
on, when we hear of the blind Isaac who asked his son, Esau, 'to go out
to the field and hunt game for me' (Gen. 27.3), his blindness symboli-
cally projected 'agnosticism' on the ethos-level. It was Rebecca, his
wife, who insisted that Jacob should prepare another kind of meal: 'Go

l'étude de la place de l'animal dans la religion grecque ancienne (Brussels:
Academie Royale de Belgique, 1975).

30. For the ritual context of agriculture cf. Gerhard Baudy, 'Ackerbau und
Initiation: Der Kult der Artemis Triklaria und des Dionysos Aisymnetes in Patrai',
in Fritz Graf (ed.), *Ansichten Griechischer Rituale: Geburtstags-Symposium fuer
Walter Burkert* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1998), pp. 143-67.

31. It should be pointed out, though, that Abraham also owned בקר: Gen. 21.27;
24.35. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that Jacob, and then his sons, was depicted
as principally living on sheep herding, Jacob's animal household was more materi-
ally variegated. Cf., Gen. 32.5, 14-15. But the nomadic way of life characterizes
both Abraham and Jacob.

to the flock, and fetch me two kids' (27.9). The blessing that Jacob received from his father was, once again, a remarkable expression of Isaac's 'ethos-blindness': 'May God give you...the fatness of the earth, and plenty of grain and wine' (27.28).

It should also be noted that, when Rebecca dressed Jacob with 'the best garments of Esau, her older son...and the skins of the kids she put upon his hands, and the smooth part of his neck' (Gen. 27.15-16), she actually dressed him up as live totem. That totem represented the ethos-conflict that the life-style of family entailed. When the blind Isaac touched and smelled Jacob, he just repeated the significant decision he time and again had made in his life. He ignored the kid's skin—the token of his ancestors' ethos—and preferred the smell of the field of Esau's garments. Briefly, then, the thematic core of the stories of Jacob and Esau once again hinges on the rivalry between flock herding and agriculture (or even the wild life of the rural areas).

If these comments make sense, then one may read the story of the binding of Isaac in the context of a dramatic negation on the part of the father (Abraham) of his son's future life-style. If Isaac did not want to become the kind of shepherd the family tradition required, then the *'Aqedah* (his binding) is intended to mark his becoming a victim of his own refusal. He was to become the sacrificial lamb himself (Gen. 32.7-8). The fact that God reportedly has changed his mind can variously be interpreted. It probably signals an attempt to keep the story, with all its conflicts, in a 'humanistic' framework. In any event, it did not entail a substantial shift in emphasising the cultural concerns of the specific צאן-ethos. There was still the ram that was offered instead of the lamb/Isaac.

In short, then, the scriptural writer(s) most probably wanted the prospective readers to conclude that any breach with the prevailing ethos was conjuring up problems. The ensuing narratives make clear what these problems were, and that they were not easily overcome. In fact, they resulted in a series of events that led to the Egyptian exile. Interestingly, Moses, the person who redeemed the people from Egypt, was a צאן-herd himself. He had no property of his own, but herded the צאן of Jethero, his father-in-law.[32] He never owned land, and the name

32. One may see in the fact that Jacob and Moses were the shepherds of their respective fathers-in-law a literary motif that eventually built into an interesting sub-ethos. The respective stories of how they met their future wives near wells are another literary motif flowing in the same direction. The transition from literary

of his son, Gershom, was intended to indicate his being a non-resident citizen (Exod. 2.22). God revealed himself to Moses in the desert (Exod. 3.1), while the Israelites were building 'store-cities' (Exod. 1.11). The building of cities was the epitome of slavery in the kind of ethos that characterised the ancient Israelites. Needless to say, the desert is the opposite of the city. Interestingly, too, the culmination of the history of the Israelites in Egypt—their redemption from slavery— began, when they were told to slaughter a lamb. The blood of the lamb marked their rescue. Viewed in a redemptive context, such an act pre- figured—as it indeed did in Christian eyes—everything that Jesus, the, 'Lamb of God', was standing for.'

It is significant to mention, in this connection, that the ultimately rejected king, Saul, is described as a בקר-herd (1 Sam. 11.5). David, the צאן herd, was chosen to replace him. David was the king who estab- lished what *post factum* became the messianic lineage known as the House of David. In other words, character and historical significance are established either by fitting into or by departing from a prevailing type of ethos.

What does this short survey amount to? As already indicated above, בקר herding links herding to agriculture, and ultimately to the process of urbanization and the monarchical system. On the other hand, צאן-herding is nomadic. The social units that prevailed were the patri- archal family, the clan, and the tribe. צאן-herding constituted a life-style that was commensurate with these entities. It was diametrically opposed

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motif to cultural ethos can be located in the fact that these details are worked into a symbolic structure in which a rite of marriage is enacted. The future son-in-law is tested by his ability to assist—even rescue (in the case of Moses the term 'redeem' is used: Exod. 2.17)—the shepherdess that was to become his wife. This is the ordeal in which Jacob and Moses respectively show their integrity, strength and determination. The moral strength that is herein shown is underlined by the sus- taining ethos. That ethos is enacted in a certain narrative pattern. In the context of an ethos, giving water to the flocks of a stranger-shepherdess means more than a simple expression of practical resourcefulness and chivalrous help. The ethical and cultural implications of this act must be clear by now.

An interesting example of a scholarly ethos that revolves on what I would here refer to as the hermeneutics of prejudice was exposed in regard to the figure of Moses. Cf. Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). Among other things, Assmann traces the various ways in which the Egyptian origin of Moses was handled in pagan and Christian writings.

to farming and agriculture.[33] In a more specific manner, herding—and especially ‏צאן‎-herding—was treated as entailing something more involving than simply a way of securing physical survival, or even an economic system. It constituted a cultural, and even cult-connected, decision. In this respect, it also had a well-defined semantic 'cosmos', even a language of is own. In sum, herding, and specifically ‏צאן‎-herding, constituted a cultural ethos.

IX

It is often quite difficult to reconstruct the original setting to which the scriptural materials relate. There can be nothing so misleading as the assumption that every piece of information contained in Scripture is, by definition, serving religious purposes, to say nothing of the historical ones. In this respect, form criticism has taught us important lessons. Scholars working with theories of form criticism were able to show that the materials contained in Scripture often had their origins in different settings from the ones to which Scripture made them relate. Still, since Scripture is basically conceived as constituting a religious layout, the materials contained therein are viewed as requiring study from the angle of religious studies. What does the area of religious studies entail for the scholarly community? In many cases, people believe that they address matters pertaining to religious studies even when questions of historical sequence, contextual affiliation, comparative setting, and theological meaning come into play. However, religious studies should not be confused with hermeneutics. Recently, hermeneutic stances were introduced as having paramount significance for the study of religions. In fact, hermeneutics is now believed to relate to almost everything,

33. As H. Frankfurt (*Birth of Civilization*, p. 32) rightly points out, primitive agriculture was also somewhat nomadic. After a while, the land became exhausted and people had to search for more fruitful soil. However, after the conquest and the settling on the land in clearly defined tribal sub-boundaries had been accomplished, the ancient Israelites were told to obey the ‏שמטה‎ rest-year. The land had to be left unattended during every seventh year. After a cycle of seven such ‏שמטה‎ years, the jubilee year came, cf. Lev. 25. The ‏שמטה‎ in all likelihood kept people to their legally owned land, without having to wander about and search for new land, thus upsetting the whole agrarian system. This is also the idea behind the regulation that, with the approach of the Jubilee year, land and houses that had been sold were to be returned to their original owners. This is the nature of real estate economy in the framework of the ancient ethos-regulations.

from exegesis to philology, from history to literary qualities. Theological issues, too, belong into the realm of hermeneutics. Although hermeneutics belongs in philosophy, it is now regularly applied to the most adequate area of studies applicable to the study of religions.

One result of this state of affairs is that the existential and experiential aspects of religion are not given the kind of prominence they deserve. At best, they are viewed as belonging to the spheres of the anthropology and psychology of religions. However, if religious studies aims at concentrating on the phenomenological aspects of religion, experiential aspects as well as the performance of rituals should receive greater prominence. What should be noted, though, is that philosophical and theological questions are often discussed—wrongly so, in my eyes—in a phenomenological, that is experiential, connection.[34]

What all this amounts to is the need to bring about a change in the scholarly strategy of the study of religions. Briefly, religious studies should show more interest and sensitivity than they did in the past to factors that shape the life of the individual and the community. Here the existential and experiential layout does indeed matter more than many other factors. In this respect, rituals practised already in the ethos-stage

34. In this respect, Rudolph Otto's famous book, *Das Heilige* (Breslau: Trewendt & Granier, 1917) (ET *The Idea of the Holy* [trans.] J.W. Harvey; London: Milford, 1925), illustrates the point made here. The title of the English translation renders the ideological framework of the book even more emphatically than does the German original. Otto's book is often viewed as the master example of religious phenomenology. However, it focuses on theological attitudes and lacks substantial discussions of such aspects of the holy as rituals, purity and sacred places. In short, what the book does is present as a theological issue religious psychology. The category into which Otto's book falls is the phenomenology of religion. However, Otto's phenomenology is philosophical, and not existentially experiential! As I see it, religious phenomenology should deal with existential and experiential aspects of religion. Cf. also Lynn Poland, 'The Idea of the Holy and the History of the Sublime', *JR* 72.2 (1992), pp. 175-97. Another example, though not accessible to the English reader, is Joseph Dan's *'Al Ha-Qedushah* (On Sanctity). The interest this book shows in the subject matter is, in the main, historically and oriented by philological considerations. The experiential and existential aspects of the subject matter are only scantily referred to. Finally, it is interesting to note that the writings of Mircea Eliade that discuss the subjects of 'the holy' and 'rites' are mostly concerned with issues of meaning. Having reread Eliade for the purposes of this study, I cannot refrain from commenting that it is always easier to speculate on meaning and symbolism than to inform oneself on—and then assess—the manner in which rituals work in the framework of the sacred.

can serve as a telling example. Rituals are the kind of religious experience that binds people together by behavioural attitudes. Rituals cannot be properly evaluated when examined only as an expression of theoretical, ideological, or symbolic issues. Rituals are the practised parts of religion. Their practice makes a statement of its own. It is not necessarily motivated by theological considerations. Rituals bind communities together in doing things in which the whole community has a stake. When rituals are practised in the ethos-stage, this frequently is a manifestation of a spontaneous drive. Their prescriptive aspects mark a later stage of development, here designated as religion. In their ethos-phase, though, rituals do not add up to a coherent cultic system. This happens in the religion-stage. In any event, rituals are the dynamic drives behind the ethos- and the religion-stage, respectively. Thus, in understanding the nature of religious behaviour even in the ethos-stage, the various aspects of the rituals involved have to be closely examined.

It may be argued that those rituals done in the context of ethos are less rigidly professed than the ones prescribed in the context of religion. To make this point clear, I would suggest seeing in ethos a broadly cultural, rather than a narrowly outlined religious, entity. A cultural layout implies, on a general scale, a less rigid attitude than that maintained in religion. Furthermore, an ethos implies a mental attitude that is less compelling than in its religion counterpart. In religion, the relevant constitutive factors have a theological status. In the ethos-stage, though, they serve a variety of functions that are not necessarily oriented toward theological considerations. Religion basically is theocentric. Culture, on the other hand, and ethos too, may allow for the prevalence of more anthropocentric attitudes.

Although an ethos may sometimes appear rather diffuse in the display of its organizing principles, it is not a randomly organized conglomerate of actions and motivations. There is some clear *telos*, that is, a sense of overall purpose, destination, and meaning that confers a unique character to every ethos. Thus, in the framework of ethos, the social, political and economic orders should not be viewed as technical factors that have self-centred functions only. Rather, they should be viewed as live factors that place themselves in the centre of the cultural life of people. In this respect, they function as organizing patterns that endow the life of people with a coherent structure and essential values.

Thus, people use their specific ethos to maintain a moral justification for their way of life. In other words, an ethos creates notions of

legitimization. *Mutatis mutandis*, legitimization is formalized by ethos.[35] One of the many differences between ethos and religion lies in the fact that in the case of the first there is no revelation in which people are told to accept certain norms and forms of behaviour. Cain was not told to till the land, nor was Abel ordered to raise sheep. A decision was nevertheless made in a willy-nilly manner: the God that mattered in the eyes of the scriptural narrator(s) is described as preferring the sheep. If we may say so, he was the god of sheep. Although there were divine revelations in the case of the Patriarchs, what the latter ones were told in the course of these revelations only retrospectively built into a fully-fledged religion.

More precisely expressed, an ethos transforms the segmented particles of 'natural law' or the 'law of nature' into a culture. In the case discussed here, it entailed the making of the various aspects of nomadism into a coherent and meaningful life-style that was the cultural emblem of the Patriarchs. This means that anti-urbanization became a cultural factor in its own right at a very early stage, long before it became a historical reality. What sets the limits of ethos and stops it, so to say, from becoming a religion, in the full sense of the term, is the lack of a dividing line of events and a status that is conferred, for instance, through publicly experienced revelation. In this respect, an overall political, social and economic ideology that sustains the life of the people can be realized in the context of an ethos without necessarily being a fully fledged religion.

Nomadism and urbanization are two contrasting economic systems. However, in the scriptural narrative they constitute two rival types, first of ethos and then in religion. They were not the essential factors of the religion that had come into effect, but they still organized the lives of people in a manner that preserved the original and constitutive functions of the ethos. The normative decision as to which of the two should be preferred, is deferred to the religion-stage. But the initial enactment in life belongs to the ethos-stage. As the scriptural story evolves, it becomes clear that urbanization gains the upper hand. The process culminates in what is described as a populist decision, namely the choice

35. The modern way of life seeks secular expressions of ethos. However, from a cultural point of view, secularism does not mean neutrality in matters of value and basic attitudes. In fact, many forms of life seek specific modes of formalization in ethos. Thus, one may speak of a war-ethos, an academic ethos, and the ethos of the mass media. Modern forms of terrorism, too, have their ethos, perverted as it is.

of a king in the days of Samuel. Samuel's opposition to the act empha-
sizes, among other things, the negative aspects that land-ownership
connected with kingship entails.[36]

By way of a general summary of this section we may bring forward
the argument that, in its most rudimentary forms of manifestation, an
ethos is created in regard to natural forms of life. In this sense, an ethos
grows by attaching itself to biologically dictates. In this respect, one
may argue that the economic ethos of the Genesis story basically
reflects natural drives rather than a theory of economics.[37] In short, the
ethos-mode facilitates the gliding over of economics to forms of
behaviour that are conceived in cultural, and then in religious, terms of
reference. To repeat, it does so in a manner that does not require a
specific theology. The theology is implied when choices have to be
made on a permanent basis. The economic order—as also the political
and the social ones—have a long way to go before they become a
religious system. On their way, they go through the ethos-stage.

Reference has been made here to the negative perspectives from
which farming, agriculture and urbanization are viewed in the Genesis
story. However, speaking in terms of a persistent cultural ethos that is
conceptualized in this negative attitude, we may—just by way of a brief
example—go to another phase in the history of Judaism. In telling the
story of John the Baptist, special attention is given to the fact that he
lived in the desert and that he baptized people in the River Jordan.[38]
Whether Jesus himself was baptized by John or not is a matter of
dispute among the gospel writers. At least one Gospel—that of Luke—
argues that John the Baptist was arrested by Herod before he had a
chance to baptize Jesus. However, all the Gospels agree that John led a
rustic life-style and that the desert was his home. In many respects, this

36. It should be remarked, though, that the צאן ethos was not completely
discontinued. It was—at least partly—incorporated in the sacrificial system that
continued to prevail long after the other kind of ethos had received practical and
cultural priority.

37. I miss a discussion of this point in Burkert, *Creation of the Sacred*, referred
to above (note 16).

38. As will be pointed out later on, the 'desert' became a topos of Christian
theology. The most recent study I am aware of is D. Burton-Christie, *The Word in
the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism*
(New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

life-style served as a model for Christian hermitic life and for the rusticity preached by the monastic orders.

What does the 'desert' imply in this context? In many respects, it is more than simply a geographical designation of desolate and uninhab-ited land, which is the lexical meaning of the word מדבר in Hebrew. As a cultural notion, the desert is a *'topos'*. It may even be said that it entails a moment of ethos. Historically and culturally speaking, it signi-fied a unique ethos in the life of ancient Israel. The redemption from Egypt, as also the conquest of the land of Canaan, was marked by a transitional stage of life in the desert. Closer to early Christianity, we find the 'desert'—ethos, or motif, signifying the unique life-style cher-ished in the writings of the Qumran community. In many respects, מדבר in these writings is the opposite of Jerusalem and the temple. In all likelihood, this is also what the story of John the Baptist was meant to convey. Included in this kind of critical message was the social corrup-tion of the monarchy and the priesthood. The fact that Jesus drove the merchants out of the Jerusalem temple is more than emblematic in this respect.

It should be noted, though, that if the sources at our disposal can be trusted on a historical level, John the Baptist did not only opt for the desert as a place of living. He also accompanied his choice with a cer-tain performance, if we may refer in these terms to the manner in which he was leading his life-style. He dressed like a hermit, lived on a special diet, and above all baptized people as an act of a radical change of their life-style. This change, implying a 'return' (this is the original sense in which the Hebrew word for 'repentance', תשובה, is used) allegedly pre-pared their way to the redemption through Jesus, the 'Lamb of God'. In doing these things, John the Baptist advocated a life-style that had certain ritual aspects. He considered that ritual as a saving act. Thus, everything done by John the Baptist paradigmatically had a transforma-tive function. Transformation, we should be reminded, is the most essential aspect of ritual.

Speaking of rituals, one cannot avoid mentioning the notion of myth. Myth, as we have seen, is the context-endowing narrative of ritual. Generally speaking, rituals presuppose the existence of a sustaining narrative. This narrative gives rise to specific rituals. Alternately, it shapes the nature of the desired transformation. Briefly, then, referring to a certain narrative as myth means that a ritual behaviour grows out of it. Myth can be any story, event or fact that is linked to a ritual. It can

serve the ritual purpose right from the beginning. It can also receive its mythic function and structure at a later stage, when a certain ritual is attached to it. In short, myth and ritual are mutually contextualizing each other.

In endowing narratives with a mythic status or function, certain hermeneutic stances come into play. This happens when the event becomes—through the hermeneutic that is attached to it—the mythic basis of a ritual. John the Baptist, for instance, is identified—in the words of the book of Isaiah—as the 'voice calling in the desert'. In other words, a verse in Isaiah is creating with the help of a specific hermeneutics a setting for the gospel narrative that receives mythic (in the sense of constitutive) function in the newly born religion. Living in the desert, as John the Baptist was doing, is not simply a choice of a location. It creates a *'topos'* for Christian believers. It happens in a cultic context that spreads beyond the very event itself. We have already referred to the 'desert' motif, or ethos, and its implied criticism of urban life. Thus, John the Baptist is envisioned in a hermeneutic manner as enacting a verse in Isaiah 40. In other words, John the Baptist can be treated as a living midrash.[39] The midrash crystallizes in setting a ritual performance rather than in the more regular setting of learning or explicatory processes.

In other words, I suggest seeing in the desert-oriented negation of the Jerusalem-type of life-style a cultural statement enacted on a ritual plane. It implies a specific social and religious ethos. In this respect, ethos functions as the mental disposition that, culturally speaking, lends structure and context to ideas, acts and forms of behaviour in the pre-religion state. In my usage of the term ethos I point to the systemic, long-term principles that shape and organize the life of a certain group of people in relation to their own history, memory, and identity without maintaining a fully fledged religious ideology or theology. The opposite

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39. Elsewhere, I have referred to this phenomenon in the context of the 'Midrashic Condition.' Cf., Ithamar Gruenwald, 'Midrash and the "Midrashic Condition": Preliminary Considerations', in Michael Fishbane (ed.), *The Midrashic Imagination: Jewish Exegesis, Thought, and History* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993), pp. 6-22 (printed without proof reading!). The notion of midrashic exposition in the framework of a live, or practised, experience is discussed in Ithamar Gruenwald, 'The Midrashic Condition: From the Midrash of the Talmudic Sages to that of the Qabbalists' (in Hebrew), *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 8 (1989), pp. 255-98.

pole is cultural redundancy. It is characterized by forgetting, oblivion and loss of identity. If people are inclined to forget, or are expected to do so, their forgetfulness itself becomes part of their ethos.

Thus, cultural criticism and all that it entails in its negation and rejection of the opposite side is part of what is here called ethos. Dialectically speaking, though, one may argue that the 'sheep–desert' ethos was initially invented in order to criticize urbanization and all the corruption that it involved. In other words, what has been described here as a historical sequence—from ethos to religion—may be viewed as a dialectic process. If this is the case, then the alleged historical sequence has to be inverted. First we find religion and then its criticism in form of a different ethos. However, it seems quite unlikely that this was the case in ancient Israel. Yet, biblical scholars have often argued that the wandering desert sanctuary was a narrative functioning polemically in the framework of the criticism of the Jerusalem temple. In any event, still in the framework of dialectic considerations, several intermediary stages have been noticed as existing between the conflicting life-styles that prevailed in ancient Israel. The Isaac cycle of narratives made this fact clear to us.

XI

I consider the Eden story, as told in the book of Genesis with a view on its historical and cultural consequences, as setting the model of the kind of paradigmatic history that is discussed in this paper. The story entails more than is realized when approached in a regular hermeneutic context. Ruining for themselves the prospects and benefits of an idealized type of rural life, such as the Garden of Eden symbolizes, Adam and Eve prepared the way for the ensuing drama in which their offspring were predestined to play a conflictual role. In that drama, the norms of good and evil, righteousness and sin, are delineated in a unique manner. They are not stated as an ethical code or manual, but in the form of an 'economic narrative'. In that narrative, good and bad, the parameters for obedience and disobedience, are defined in terms of the various functions in respective life-styles. The ethical assumptions on the basis of which the respective distinctions are made are never theoretically defined. The relevant conclusions that one is expected to draw from all this are assumed but not normatively stated. The moral basis of what happens is in the story. Every event ('the drama') may potentially become normative. This is the ethos of the story.

As already indicated above, farming and agriculture are viewed, even in present-day economic theory, as leading to urbanization. In terms of sociological and economic theory, then, the scriptural ethos is not detached from a basically correct perception of life-processes. People who are tied to the land create the basis of urbanization. People build an economic system that seeks centralization. The city serves as the centre that protects all the satellite farms and fixes the rules of the economic exchange. Furthermore, urbanization requires the building of water systems, similar to those that are used for extensive farming. However, צאן herding does not require watering systems. As the stories in Genesis amply illustrate, צאן herding is closely connected to water wells. Furthermore, צאן herding builds tribal clusters or nomadic colonies. People principally live in tents. Economy is on the road, so to speak. Its rules change from place to place.

Once economy is conceived of in terms of an ethos, it becomes a key factor in the shaping of culture. It sets behavioural and ideological norms. Thus, living outside of the city, as the people behind the Qumran documents advocated and John the Baptist was practising, made a real cultural—and religious—difference. It was a statement that had deeper implications and wider repercussions than is normally the case in such situations. In terms drawn from the stories in Genesis, the rural–nomadic life-style also sets modes of ritual behaviour that are not necessarily linked to specific sacred places or to a cyclic time that is conceived as sacred. The creation story of Genesis 2, is linear. No days or weeks are mentioned. Abel and Cain bring their sacrificial offerings, but they are not linked to special festivals. The creation story of Genesis 1, obliquely refers to a repetitive time cycle, but nothing specific is said of any ritual performance.

The things that God guarantees as a post-diluvial covenant with Noah begin a new phase in the story under discussion. However, it all starts with a regression. Noah plants a vine and begins to till the land. This leads to a catastrophe in the family. The betrayed father curses one of his sons, Canaan. The turn that events now take outspokenly reflects urbanization. They culminate in the building of the 'Tower of Babel'.[40] If the scriptural text is followed closely, it becomes evident that the

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40. Gen. 11.1-9. It should be noted that in later times, the city of Babylon became the arch symbol of evil and moral corruption. This is clearly shown, for instance, in the book of Daniel, where the city is condemned in terms that supersede its role as the capital of the empire.

Tower was a temple built in the midst of the city that the people had founded. As the scriptural narrative presents matters, God was displeased with what these people were doing. Their punishment involved a process of decentralization, or de-urbanization. They were forced to scatter all over 'the earth', not being able to communicate, as they used to do, in one common language. In other words, they were forced into migration or nomadism. In a certain way, they were collectively doomed to the kind of Cain-punishment as discussed above.

Before I conclude the present discussion I would like to make a few more comments on the story of Cain. It requires some additional fine tuning. Cain's story informs us about the wrong kind of ritual worship. He tried to establish the wrong kind of sacrificial norm. His punishment signifies an attempt to impose on him the kind of social, or cultural, ethos—nomadism—that he had preferred to avoid. However, the kind of life-style that was enforced upon him worked counter to his basic drives. Cain could not but rebel. In fact, he moved to the opposite extreme. He built a city. Significantly, he called the city after his son's name, Enoch.

Here we enter a new phase in the narrative as well as a new stage in the deployment of the cultural ethos of ancient Israel. As is well known, Enoch is a key name in ancient apocalypticism. However, it should be noted that there are two Enoch figures in the Genesis story. One is the son of Cain and the other—the son of Jared. The 'apocalyptic' Enoch is depicted as the son of Jared. A significant cultural drama unfolds between these two Enoch figures. Only the second one is viewed as a positive figure, being highly praised and valued in both apocalyptic circles and in the New Testament. The question that comes up is, Does the predilection shown to the second Enoch just reflect his 'apocalyptic potentials' as one who has experienced heavenly ascensions, or is it a result of his being viewed as representing something that, culturally speaking, was more profound?

The information we get about the first Enoch is: 'Then Cain went away from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, east of Eden. Cain knew his wife, and she conceived and bore Enoch, and he built a city and called the name of the city after the name of his son, Enoch' (Gen. 4.16-17). These verses contain something to which, to the best of my knowledge, scholarship has not yet given full attention. On its face value, the writer of this passage indicates that, in spite of the fact that Cain was sentenced to wander about without settling down in

any specific place (ארץ נוד in all likelihood reflects the נע ונד segment of his punishment), he built a city. Furthermore, he called it by the name of the son, Enoch.

If I understand the ethos implied by the story correctly, the name of Cain's son entails more than is usually attributed to it. The name derives from the Hebrew verb חנך, used in Scripture in various grammatical forms. They mostly indicate the inauguration, or consecration, of a house, the temple or the city walls. Only once in Scripture (Prov. 22.6), is the verb used in what looks as its more modern sense, namely, as indicating training, or educating, young people. Since the first occurrence of the name Enoch in Scripture is in connection with the founding and the consecration of a city (calling the name of the city is tantamount to its consecration), the linguistic linkage cannot be accidental. In terms of a cultural ethos, then, what is implied here is a process of urbanization. Cain founded a city and consecrated it as a cultural factor, or ethos. Thus, the immediate sense in which this act can be viewed is that of another attempt on Cain's part to resist nomadism and its entailed a life-style peculiar to shepherding. First, he kills his shepherd-brother, Abel, and then he founds a city. In both cases he is viewed as committing a grave sin. For the second one he suffers death. This is how the narrator gave expression to his preferences in terms of ethos and the moral code that is involved.

As indicated, something more profound may be implied here by way of a coded insinuation. In line with what has been said above, we may argue that building a city is not only a breach with a nomadic life-style but also a provocative display of a monarchic drive, or ethos. In other words, what is activated in building the city is the groundwork for the monarchic rule, even when in inner biblical terms one had to wait a long time for its full historical realization. Its somewhat disguised form should not mislead us. It is still dominantly present. Monarchy inferentially implies the giving up of the tribal–nomadic life-style for the sake of 'Hebron' or 'Jerusalem', the symbol cities of the later Davidic monarchy![41]

Such a transition, or transformation, is also implied in a typical and dramatic manner in the official biography of David. I hope it will not

41. We need not enter here the dispute between archaeologist and biblical historians as to whether or not the historiography of Davidic rule as told in Scripture fits prevalent views of archaeological chronology. Cf. the various views expressed on the subject in *BARev* 24.4. (July/August 1998).

sound too far fetched when saying that the difficulties that David faced were somehow caused by the fact that he had to change roles, from צאן herding to kingship? We cannot but notice how powerful and dramatic the narrative is, and how fatal its consequences! We all know the story: kingship is described in Scripture as breeding—even in the case of David—moral corruption. Later on, in the days of King Solomon, idolatry was introduced on a monarchic scale. Eventually, the nation was then split into two, with two golden calves placed in Dan and Bet El. Apparently, they were the symbols of the Canaanite Bull (Ox) veneration. >From hereon, the historical process began snowballing to reach the abyss of the destruction of the two monarchies, Israel and Judah.

Coming back to the story of Enoch, the son of Jared, the question may be asked, How should one understand God's decision 'to take' (translating literally the Hebrew verb לקח) the second Enoch, the Son of Jared? In line with what has been said above, I would suggest— basically on intra-linguistic grounds—that the second Enoch 'was taken', because he *was* a righteous person.[42] However, Scripture does not specifically state what his righteousness consisted of. In fact, Scripture quite enigmatically says ויתהלך חנוך את־האלהים, Enoch walked with God (Gen. 5.22). The question is what this walking exactly implies? What does the verb הלך imply? I think that the clue is in what God tells Abraham קום התהלך בארץ (Gen. 13.17; 'go and walk in the land'). One may argue that, when God told Abraham to walk the land, something was intended that referred to an ethos or life-style rather than an *ad hoc* commandment to set an itinerary. In every respect possible, this walking had ritual significance and status. Abraham never settled permanently in one place. Principally, he lived in tents. Even when he settled down for a longer period of time, in באר שבע, all that Scripture says is that he planted one tree. In other words, Abraham symbolizes the kind of nomadic shepherd that was the ideal ethos of ancient Israel. Lot, who was a shepherd too, is described as making a wrong decision. He settled down in the territorial vicinity of the evil city, Sodom. This city was, in biblical eyes, the notorious symbol of abomination and corruption. Were it not for the 'angels', Lot would have perished there and then. His wife, who looked back, that is, still favoured, and longed

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42. The midrashic literature on Enoch the son of Jared does not unanimously concur on this issue. The view given expression to in *Midrash Rabbah* on the passage in Gen. 5.22-24 explicitly denies Enoch's righteousness. However, as has often been suggested, this may reflect a polemic against apocalypticism (or Christianity).

for, the life of the city, perished. She became part of the surrounding natural environment.

Mentioning the second Enoch, one may argue that his righteousness is expressed by a unique verb engaging the semantic field of walking. In all likelihood it implied that he abstained from taking part in the process of urbanization that was well under way in those days, and went under the name of the other Enoch. In this respect, the verb that is here used to designate Enoch's righteousness resonates more loudly than is usually assumed. In fact, I compare it to a code. Walking is the real issue here, in contrast to starting agriculture and ultimately settling down in a city. If this interpretation is accepted, it too speaks for the negation of city life. In other words, one phase of the ethos of ancient Israel, one that is expressly depicted in the book of Genesis, and was then transferred with some modifications to early Christianity, is basically anti-urban and by implication politically anti-monarchic.

Let me fine tune this line of argumentation. The verb התהלך really deserves a full-scale semantic study. Interestingly, it is used in connection with Enoch, Noah (Gen. 6.9) and Abraham. It is intended to indicate their righteousness. Thus, it may not be altogether accidental that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ch. 11) mentions these three sages arguing (vv. 9 and 10): 'By faith he [Abraham] sojourned in the land in tents... For he looked forward to the city that has foundations, whose builder and maker is God'. We need not quote here the rest of the chapter. This statement makes its point powerfully clear, even without comparing it with the obvious, namely Paul's utterances about the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem.

One may actually say that three different anti-urban channels present themselves before us. They are somehow interconnected, but should not be confused. One strand maintains an anti-urban ethos, *per se*. Another one assumes a link between anti-urbanization and anti-monarchism. The third one displays a more radical type of anti-urbanization. It is more eschatological or messianic in nature, and, in a sense, is the most spiritual one of them all. At its very beginning, this type of anti-monarchism ideally fitted Christianity.

XII

Let me sum up. The tribal–nomadic life-style was clearly idealized in the cycle of narratives about the Patriarchs. Speaking of patriarchal times, the tribal life-style in all likelihood prevailed throughout the time

of the Judges. Gradually, though, it changed its character and became agricultural farming. However, the transition to full-scale urbanization and monarchy did not happen without its conflictual difficulties. Typically, Samuel collected every bit of persuading sagacity to convince the people that kingship would bring them only economic and social hardship. Generally speaking, opposition to the city and the monarchy was part of the prophetic ethos, too. In the prophetic literature that ethos became a theology. In later times, it was a major issue in the ideology of the Qumran people. The predilection for what the Qumran people called the 'Desert of Damascus' is clearly the epitome of their cultural and political ethos, both affirmatively and critically expressed. No surprise, then, that both John the Baptist and Jesus lived, and proclaimed, a nomadic life-style. Significantly, too, both were executed in the city that was the seat of the ruler-king and the symbol of cultic abomination. Finally, it may not be completely accidental that pastoral leadership is the basic Christian institution. 'Pastor', or herd, is in this respect a reflection of an ancient ethos. Viewing the members of the congregation as 'the sheep' fits well into this kind of ethos, or world picture.

Naturally, more has to be said on these matters. They surely have a wider range of implications and richer forms of documentation than could be presented here. However, I hope that the rough lines in which the present picture is drawn give an idea of what the real landscape is like.

GOD'S GOLEM: THE CREATION OF THE HUMAN IN GENESIS 2

Edward L. Greenstein

1. *Introduction: 'Myths Never Forget'*

It is a commonplace of human experience that we can all use a little help in doing our work. Even the Bible's cynical philosopher, Qohelet, appreciated the benefits of two working together and warming each other in bed (Qoh. 4.9-12). The purpose of every tool or machine, from the wheel to the computer, is to facilitate human labor, and the robot is simply the most obvious instance of the human manufacturing a creature in one's own image to do one's work for one.[1] However, as innumerable works of science fiction along the lines of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* attest, just as ersatz humans can make our lives easier, they can also threaten us if they begin to exceed the limits that have been ostensibly set for them by their human creators. What I hope to show in this rereading of Genesis 2 is that the mythical pattern of creating a helper who then poses a threat to the creator can still prove to be a pertinent hermeneutical model in reading the Garden story. The strength of the model derives not only from a reading of the biblical text alone, where such an interpretation may be less than apparent, but from the fact that the model is applied in a far more obvious way by several ancient Near Eastern parallels to the Genesis 2 account of the creation of the human, at one end, and by the transformation of the biblical story in the mediaeval Jewish golem stories, at the other.

In other words, if one reads the Genesis 2 creation narrative in view of the stories that lie in its prehistory as well as in view of some of the stories that developed in its wake, one can discern certain shared features belonging to a common mythic structure that may have been written over and partly obscured on the surface of the biblical text but

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1. Cf. N. Weiner, *God and Golem, Inc.: A Comment on Certain Points Where Cybernetics Impinges on Religion* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1964).

which has hardly been erased. Its residual features are thrown into relief by comparison with its precursors and its derivatives.

Students of myth tend to describe a myth's evolution as a succession of phases, beginning with its 'original' power to 'explain' a phenomenon, passing through its dissemination and adoption by a wider community of people, and finally achieving a certain fixed form, demanding that it be reinterpreted and 'rationalized' in the light of newly emerging data.[2] However, at the same time that a myth may undergo changes in meaning as it is transformed in the process of transmission, the earlier meanings are retained, if only subliminally, through their resonance in people's (sub)consciousness. 'Myths never forget', they continue to nourish their 'primitive' interpretations, as they perpetuate the language, motifs and structures upon which such interpretations are or can be based.[3]

In what follows, then, I shall suggest that the purpose and function of the human that is created in the narrative of Genesis 2 is to perform the work of YHWH God, in accord with both the ancient Near Eastern accounts of human creation that are most similar to Genesis 2 and the mediaeval golem stories that are clearly based on that biblical text. Such a reading, I shall suggest, may not only reflect a historically contextual understanding of Genesis 2, but it may also give a more convincing interpretation of the language and rhetoric of (at least part of) the text.

2. *The Formation of the Human in Genesis 2 and in Ancient Semitic Literature*

According to Gen. 2.4b-8, YHWH God creates the first human (אדם) at a time when there was not yet any vegetation growing out of the ground (אדמה) because (a) YHWH God had not yet brought rain down on the ground and (b) there was not yet any human to work the ground (ואדם אין לעבד את־האדמה). There was, however, a flow of water (אד),[4] which

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2.   W.G. Doty, *Mythography: The Study of Myths and Rituals* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1986), pp. 50-51.

3.   N. Wander, 'Structure, Contradiction, and "Resolution" in Mythology: Father's Brother's Daughter Marriage and the Treatment of Women in Genesis 11–50', *JANESCU* 13 (1981), pp. 75-99; cf. E.L. Greenstein, *Essays on Biblical Method and Translation* (BJS, 92; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), p. 44.

4.   E.A. Speiser, '*ED* in the Story of Creation', in J.J. Finkelstein and M. Greenberg (eds.), *Oriental and Biblical Studies: Collected Writings of E.A. Speiser* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967), pp. 19-22.

moistened the ground, turning it into a pliant material.[5] The exposition already implies that the human who is about to be created will have the function of tilling the soil, so that, with the help of God's rain, plants can grow. The human's connection to the ground is adumbrated in the name *'ādām*, which is, of course, cognate to *'ªdāmā(h)*, 'ground', and that connection is fortified further still when the human, whose pinkish complexion and blood share their hue with the reddish clay of the earth, is moulded by YHWH God out of the moistened soil. The human to be created—אדם—and the flow of water—אד—whose similarity in sound need hardly be remarked, have the joint purpose of cultivating the ground—אדמה.

It is true that the verb that describes the particular act of creating the human, יצר, is employed elsewhere to denote the craft of the potter (e.g. Isa. 29.16; 41.25; Jer. 18.4, 6), but the verb יצר may be used of any shaping or designing, whether by hand or figuratively.[6] One need not, therefore, imagine a divine craftsman, like the Egyptian god Khnum, shaping a human figure on a potter's wheel.[7] Although many biblicists see an Egyptian background behind the activity described in Gen. 2.7,[8] several biblical passages likewise refer to the creation of humans out of clay, without any mention of pottery-making or its paraphernalia (e.g. Isa. 64.7; Job 10.9; 33.6). We seem to be dealing, then, not with a sculpting on the wheel but by a moulding of the human form by hand.[9]

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5. Cf., e.g., H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (HKAT; Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 2nd edn, 1902), p. 5; T. Stordalen, 'Man, Soil, Garden: Basic Plot in Genesis 2–3', *JSOT* 53 (1992), pp. 3-26 (14-15).

6. Cf., e.g., *BDB*, pp. 427-28. With an eye toward the comparison we will be making below between the creation of the human and the creation of idols, it is pertinent to note that the verb ברא is also used of the manufacture of divine images; cf., e.g., Isa. 44.9, 10.

7. For the image, see, e.g., *ANEP*, Fig. 569.

8. E.g., J.K. Hoffmeier, 'Some Thoughts on Genesis 1 and 2 and Egyptian Cosmology', *JANESCU* 15 (1983), pp. 39-49 (47); cf., e.g., R.A. Simkins, *Creator and Creation: Nature in the Worldview of Ancient Israel* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994), pp. 179-80; David Rutledge, *Reading Marginally: Feminism, Deconstruction and the Bible* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), p. 199.

9. Cf., e.g., C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11: A Continental Commentary* (trans. J. Scullion; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1994), p. 203. One need not go as far as Harold Bloom, who understands that YHWH slapped the human figure together like a mud pie; D. Rosenberg and H. Bloom, *The Book of J* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990), pp. 28, 175-76. To the contrary, comparative literary evidence suggests a well-considered manufacture; see below.

It is this image of forming a human figure from wet clay that one encounters in ancient Semitic literature, both from Mesopotamia and from Ugarit. In the Old Babylonian myth of Atraḫasis, the mother goddess Nintu prepares clay, mixed with the flesh and blood of a god whose name (*We-ila*) resembles that of 'man' (*awīlu*); the clever god Ea treads the clay in the presence of Nintu and the assisting birth-goddesses; Nintu recites incantations over the material; and then she nips off pieces, to become the first human creatures, and sets them beside the birthing brick.[10] In the Epic of Gilgamesh, the goddess Aruru fashions the hero's rival and, later, companion, Enkidu, by pinching off clay, casting it onto the steppe, and then giving it shape.[11] The same creative act, forming humankind by a pinch of the clay, is attested in the wisdom text, the Babylonian Theodicy, as well, although there it is attributed to Ea.[12] Babylonian incantations and magical rituals also make use of clay figurines in human form. An Assyrian incantation intended to help a man win a woman's heart, for example, instructs him to take clay from two river banks, shape it into a figure of the woman in question, write her name on it, recite the incantation and bury it where she will walk over it.[13] An Old Babylonian incantation text seeks to heal an illness

10. Atra-ḫasis 1. 208-60; W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 58-61; cf., too, B.R. Foster, *From Distant Days: Myths, Tales, and Poetry of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1995), pp. 58-59. The Sumerian myth of Enki and Ninmah, in which Enki stages the divine and immaculate birthing of humankind from the riverbed clay out of which he was born, is similar; for a translation, see T. Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once...: Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 155-57; for concise discussion, see G. Leick, *Sex and Eroticism in Mesopotamian Literature* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 26-27. For the 'birthing brick' cf. אבנים in Exod. 1.16.

11. Gilgamesh 1.2 34-35; R.C. Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamish* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), p. 12; for a translation, e.g., M.G. Kovacs, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), p. 6.

12. W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 88-89 (lines 276-78). Cf. the incantation collection *Šurpu* 4.91, where Ea is called 'the lord of humankind, whose hands have created people' (*bel tenēsēti ša qātāšu ibnā awēluttu*); E. Reiner, *Šurpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations* (AfO *Beiheft* 11; Osnabrück: Biblio, 1970 [1958]), p. 28.

13. Cf. Leick, *Sex and Eroticism*, p. 202. For a mediaeval Jewish reflex of the same voodoo-like procedure, see below.

that was caused by a witch who is said to have made and debased a clay figurine of the victim.[14]

There is no creation narrative yet attested among the textual finds at Ugarit, whose literature is, as is well known, closely related to that of the Bible.[15] There is, however, an episode that surely sheds light on what at least one of the Ugaritic myths of human creation must have looked like. We have seen from the Akkadian examples that the formation of humanoid figures or creatures follows the pattern of the creation of humans. In the Ugaritic Epic of Kirta, we have an episode in which the father god El, who is almost certainly the creator of the world and of humanity,[16] fashions in his hands and out of damp soil a female figure who will magically remove the illness of the afflicted King Kirta.[17] The verb used of pinching off the clay, *qrṣ bph[r]* (*phr* is

14. See G. Cunningham, *'Deliver Me from Evil'*, *Mesopotamian Incantations, 2500–1500 BC* (Studia Pohl, Series Maior, 17; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1997), p. 127.

15. For a summary of scholarly discussion of creation at Ugarit, see R.J. Clifford, *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible* (CBQMS, 26; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1994), pp. 117-26.

16. In Ugaritic epic, El (more properly, 'Ilu) is called *bāniyu banūwāti*, 'creator of creatures' (e.g. KTU 1.4.2.11; 1.4.3.32; 1.6.3.5, 11; 17.1.25) and *'abu 'adami*, 'father of humanity' (KTU 1.14.37, 43, 136, 151, 297). In the Hittite version of a Canaanite myth, he is known as *Elkunirša*, reflecting Canaanite *'il qōnī 'arṣi*, 'El creator of earth'; for a translation, see H.A. Hoffner Jr, *Hittite Myths* (SBLWAW; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), pp. 69-70. This epithet corresponds to Phoenician *'il qōnī 'arṣi*, 'El creator of earth', in the inscription of Azatiwada (KAI 26 A iii 18), which is generally understood to be related to the epithet ascribed to YHWH in Gen. 14.18: אל עליון קנה שמים וארץ, 'El the exalted, creator of heaven and earth.' Cf., e.g., J.C. de Moor, 'El, the Creator', in G.A. Rendsburg *et al.* (eds.), *The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon* (New York: Ktav, 1980), pp. 171-87; E.T. Mullen Jr, *The Assembly of the Gods* (HSM, 24; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), pp. 12-22.

17. KTU 1.16.5.25-30; for the text and its translation, see E.L. Greenstein, 'Kirta', in S.B. Parker (ed.), *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (SBLWAW; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), pp. 9-48 (38). Cf. B. Margalit,'The Creation of Š'tqt (CTA/KTU 16:V:23-30)', *UF* 13 (1981), pp. 142-44.

J.C. de Moor proposes to find another reference to the creation of humanity out of clay, by Athirat (Asherah) in an Ugaritic incantation text (KTU 1.169.16-17): 'The Duality of God and Man: Gen. 1.26-27 as P's Interpretation of the Yahwistic Creation Account', in *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel* (*OTS*, 40; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), pp. 112-25 (125); cf. N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), p. 449 with n. 47. However, if de Moor's

cognate to Akkadian *paharu*,[18] Aramaic פחרא, and Arabic *fahhār*, 'clay'), is the same as that used in the Akkadian passages cited above from Atra-ḥasis, Gilgamesh and the Babylonian Theodicy, namely (*ṭidda*)[19] *karāṣu*;[20] and it is the same verb used of the formation of the human in Job 33.6b: מחמר קרצתי גם־אני, 'I too have been pinched from clay' (i.e. created human).

Moreover, the ancient Semitic parallels to the Genesis 2 creation of the human similarly entail a magical or divine act by which the lifeless clay figure is animated. In Gen. 2.7 the human takes on life (ויהי האדם לנפש חיה) after YHWH God 'blows the breath of life into his nostrils' (ויפח באפיו נשמת חיים). The infusion of life through breath (more often employing the synonym רוח) is a common biblical notion.[21] Accordingly, Ps. 104.29-30, for example, speak of YHWH's causing death by removing breath and bringing the created to life by endowing them with breath.[22]

In Atra-ḥasis the admixture of a slain god's 'flesh and blood' provides the animating spirit (*eṭemmu*) that produces the newly created humans' heartbeat (lit. 'drum').[23] It is the *eṭemmu* of the slain god that gives the

restoration of an epithet 'your potter' for Athirat (*[yṣ]rk*) were correct, one would expect to find the feminine form *[yṣ]rtk*; compare *rbt*, 'the Lady', in the adjoining line, and (so far as I can recall) every other epithet of Athirat (e.g. *qnyt ilm*, 'progenitress of the gods'; e.g., KTU 1.4.1.23; 1.4.3.26, 30, 35; 1.4.4.32).

18. For the syntax in Ugaritic, *qrṣ dm bphr*, literally 'to pinch off the clay', compare the phrase attested in an Akkadian lexical text, *kirṣu ša pahari(m)*, 'a pinch of clay'; *CAD*, K, p. 411a.

19. Both the *CAD* and *AHw* transcribe the Akkadian word this way. The North-west Semitic cognate is of course טיט.

20. Cf. *CAD*, K, pp. 209-10. The *k* in Akkadian derives from *q*, of course, by way of Geers's Law: F.W. Geers, 'Treatment of Emphatics in Akkadian', *JNES* 4 (1945), pp. 65-67. For a possible reflex of this phonological process in Ugaritic, see E.L. Greenstein, 'New Readings in the Kirta Epic', *IOS* 18 (1998), pp. 105-23 (113).

21. It is also attested in Egyptian literature and iconography; cf., e.g., Hoff-meier, 'Genesis 1 and 2', pp. 47-48; Simkins, *Creator and Creation*, pp. 179-80.

22. Cf., e.g., H.W. Robinson, *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), p. 25. Cf., e.g., Ps. 146.3 and the description of Aqhat's death in Ugaritic epic: *tṣi km rḥ npšh / km iṯl brlth / km qṭr baph*, 'Let his life go out like breath, his spirit like vapor, like smoke out of his nose' (KTU 1.18.4.24-26; cf. 1.18.4.36-37; 1.19.2.38-39, 42-44).

23. Cf., e.g., W.L. Moran, 'The Creation of Man in Atrahasis I 192-248', *BASOR* 200 (1970), pp. 48-56; Foster, *From Distant Days*, p. 59.

human its godlike spirit (*ṭēmu*).[24] It is worth observing, in anticipation of our conclusions, that the heartbeat functions as a reminder to humanity that its task is to perform the high gods' labour, not like the rebellious gods who refused to do menial work and one of whose number was executed as a consequence.[25] The episodes of human creation in the Gilgamesh Epic and the Babylonian Theodicy do not specify the act of animation, summarily referring to 'creation, formation' (*banū*) by the goddess Aruru and the god Ea, respectively.

Mesopotamian ritual and incantation texts, however, provide an invaluable perspective on the animation of lifeless images. These texts describe a 'mouth washing' (*mis pī*)[26] ritual that is part of the ceremonial process by which idols are prepared for receiving their divine inhabitants. Statues made of wood or stone, and then plated or overlaid, must undergo an elaborate ritual process that involves one or more 'washings' and/or 'openings' of the plastic images' mouths.[27] Although the purpose of the mouth washing or opening is not made explicit in the sources, it would seem that the purpose is not precisely to 'invigorate'

24. Cf. A.D. Kilmer, 'The Mesopotamian Concept of Overpopulation and Its Solution as Reflected in Mythology', *Orientalia* 41 (1972), pp. 160-77 (165).

25. Cf. Simkins, *Creator and Creation* p. 61

26. To my Assyriological colleagues let me explain that I do not indicate a long vowel on the word in construct *mis* because I am of the opinion that the construct is treated as a compound word and that the phonemically long vowel is shortened in a closed syllable that does not carry the word stress. See E.L. Greenstein, 'The Phonology of Akkadian Syllable Structure', *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 9 (1984), pp. 1-71 (42-43).

27. See T. Jacobsen, 'The Graven Image', in P.D. Miller Jr, P.D. Hanson and S.D. McBride (eds.), *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), pp. 15-32; C. Walker and M.B. Dick, 'The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Mesopotamian *mis pî* Ritual', in M.B. Dick (ed.), *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999), pp. 55-121; cf. M.B. Dick, 'The Relationship between the Cult Image and the Deity in Mesopotamia', in J. Prosecky (ed.), *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East: Papers Presented at the 43rd Recontre assyriologique internationale, Prague, July 1-5, 1996* (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Oriental Institute, 1998), pp. 111-16. For a comparison between the Mesopotamian ritual and biblical texts concerning idolatry, see M.B. Dick, 'Prophetic Parodies of Making the Cult Image', *Born in Heaven*, pp. 1-53; cf. A.V. Hurowitz, 'Make Thee an Idol' (in Hebrew), *Beth Mikra* 40 (1996), pp. 337-47.

the statues[28] or to 'infuse [...] [them] with breath',[29] but rather to treat the divine image like a newborn baby, whose mouth the midwife clears out for breathing at birth.[30] The inauguration of the divine statue is by and large a ritual in which the ostensibly human manufacture of the image is transformed into a production of the gods in which the image is 'naturally' born and the human artisans' role in the process virtually nullified.[31] It is not the opening of the breathing channel per se that animates the idol but rather the complete process, which also includes reciting incantations, opening the eyes by having the statue face the sun as it rises, and installing the divine image in its permanent chamber in a shrine or temple.[32]

One could perhaps summarize and maintain that, not unlike the human in Atra-ḫasis, the divine statue is animated when it is inhabited by the spirit of the god. That it is the god's spirit that animates the idol is implied, albeit negatively, by biblical texts such as Hab. 2.19, which denies the divinity of the idol because 'there is no spirit within it' (וכל רוח אין בקרבו).[33]

In the creation of the divine healer of Kirta in the Ugaritic epic, El would seem to animate her by magically pronouncing her name *m-at*

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28. Jacobsen, 'The Graven Image', p. 24.

29. E. Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 85.4; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995), p. 140.

30. Dick, 'Relationship', p. 114; Walker and Dick, 'Induction', p. 68, accrediting an unpublished paper by P. Boden. In a comparable, yet different and simpler Egyptian ceremony, the divine statue's mouth is opened to receive offerings; see D. Lorton, 'The Theology of Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt', in M.B. Dick (ed.), *Born in Heaven, Made in Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Middle East* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999), pp. 123-210, esp. p. 143. In this ceremony the image is animated by touching its mouth with an object (an adze, *netjerty*) whose name paronomastically evokes the divine (*netjer*, 'god'); p. 149.

31. See esp. Walker and Dick, 'Induction'.

32. Cf., e.g., the text STT 200, presented in Walker and Dick, 'Induction', pp. 96-100. In a ninth-century BCE Babylonian text, King Nabu-apla-iddina restores a statue of the god *Šamaš*, purifies it, has its mouth washed, and only 'then did (Šamaš) take up residence' in the statue; cf. Dick, 'Relationship', p. 113; Walker and Dick, 'Induction', pp. 58-63 (esp. p. 63, lines 22-28).

33. Cf. Dick, 'Prophetic Parodies', pp. 40-41. The sense of רוח in Ps. 135.17 is different; there it refers not to the life spirit but to the 'breath' of the mouth, analogous to the speech of the mouth, sight of the eyes and hearing of the ears that are mentioned in the same context.

š['tqt], 'You are Sha[taqat...]!'[34] The same procedure of animation is followed when the Ugaritic crafts god Kuthar wa-Ḥasis endows the clubs he has furnished to Baal with a locomotive power of their own.[35] There, too, we find the incantational use of a naming formula: *šmk at ygrš*, 'Your name is Driver!', *šmk at aymr*, 'Your name is Expeller!' which, as Lichtenstein has shown, is fairly characteristic of ritual activation formulas.[36]

In the Genesis 2 account, to recapitulate, YHWH God animates the human he made from the soil without words, by breathing the divine spirit into it. It should be noted that this story of creating the human does not specify, as do Gen. 1.26-27, that the human form is moulded in the divine image (צלם אלהים). That a physical likeness is intended is clear from a comparison of Ezek. 1.26, where the term דמות, used in conjunction with צלם in Genesis 1, can have only a physical sense.[37] A number of commentators view Genesis 2 as a relatively coherent continuation of Genesis 1, as it provides a far more detailed account of the creation of humanity.[38] However, the Genesis 2 creation narrative is

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34. KTU 1.16.5.41; text and translation in Greenstein, 'Kirta', p. 39.

35. KTU 1.2.4.11-13, 18-20. For text and translation, see M.S. Smith, 'The Baal Cycle', in S.B. Parker (ed.), *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (SBLWAW; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), pp. 103-104.

36. M.H. Lichtenstein, 'Rite and Writ in an Ugaritic Legend: Ritual and Literary Elements in the Curing of King Keret' (unpublished ms., 1987), pp. 136-37. Cf., e.g., *attā ṣalmu sākip lemnī u ayyābī*, 'You, O figurine, over-thrower of evil and foes' (p. 137). For the incantational nature of Kutar wa-Ḥasis's naming formula, cf. J. Obermann, 'How Baal Destroyed a Rival: A Magical Incantation Scene', *JAOS* 67 (1947), pp. 195-208.

37. Cf. P. Bird, '"Male and Female He Created Them": Genesis 1:27b in the Context of the Priestly Account of Creation', in R.S. Hess and D.T. Tsumura (eds.), *I Studied Inscriptions from before the Flood: Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1–11* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1994), pp. 329-61 (338-45). For the history of interpretation, see D.J.A. Clines, 'The Image of God in Man', *Tyndale Bulletin* 19 (1968), pp. 53-103. De Moor ('The Duality in God and Man' [see note 17 above], p. 116) makes the point that 'mankind receives the unbelievable honour of bearing a *physical* resemblance to God, just as oriental rulers were honoured by extolling their likeness to deities'; cf. S.E. Loewenstamm, 'Beloved Is Man in That He Was Created in the Image', in *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Oriental Literature* (AOAT, 204; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1980), pp. 48-50.

38. E.g. N.M. Šarna, *Understanding Genesis* (New York: Melton Research

hardly consistent with Genesis 1 and must rather be read as a competing or 'complementary' account.[39] Not only is the sequence of creation entirely different: vegetation–animals–humans in Genesis 1, human–vegetation–animals in Genesis 2.[40] The former account, as Gunkel has explained, begins with a watery condition, which is taken as chaotic and threatening, while the latter begins with a parched condition, and water is regarded as nourishing.[41] We are dealing with two contrasting worldviews.

Nevertheless, comparative Mesopotamian evidence allows us to assume that in the Genesis 2 creation account as well, YHWH God shaped the human form in his own image.[42] First, there are the abundant iconographic images of the deities, who are by and large represented in human form. And even though plastic figures of YHWH from monarchic Israel are barely if at all attested,[43] biblical literature is replete with anthropomorphic images of the deity.[44] Moreover, the goddess Aruru

Center; McGraw–Hill, 1966), pp. 14-15. Cf., e.g., M. Fishbane, *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York: Schocken, 1979), p. 17.

39. Cf., e.g., K.R.R. Gros Louis, 'Genesis I–II', in *Literary Interpretations of Biblical Narratives* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1974), pp. 41-51. The so-called 'double' creation of humanity cited in the Sumerian myth Enki and Ninmaḫ by Kikawada and Quinn has a different point altogether. First, Enki designs humans to perform the gods' work; then he and Ninmaḫ get drunk, creating humans that are defective. It is an etiology of malformed and disabled people; cf. Leick, *Sex and Eroticism*, pp. 26-27. This alleged parallel can hardly suffice to smooth over the striking contrasts in language, style and conception between Gen. 1 and 2; contra I.M. Kikawada and A. Quinn, Before *Abraham Was: The Unity of Genesis 1–11* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1985), pp. 39-40.

40. For a convenient enumeration of the contrasts, cf. R. Graves and R. Patai, *Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis* (New York: Greenwich House, 1983), p. 24.

41. Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 4.

42. Creation of the human in the divine image, as expressed in Gen. 1, was interwoven into the reading of Gen. 2 already in ancient times; cf. E.G. Chazon, 'The Creation and Fall of Adam in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in J. Frishman and L. van Rompay (eds.), *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation* (Louvain: Peeters, 1997), pp. 13-24, citing the Greek Ben Sira 17.1-10 and the Words of the Luminaries (4Q Dibre Hamme'orot).

43. Cf., e.g., Dick, 'Prophetic Parodies', pp. 5-6.

44. Cf., e.g., Y. Muffs, 'Of Image and Imagination in the Bible', in N.L. Kleeblatt (ed.), *J. James Tissot: Biblical Paintings* (New York: Jewish Museum, 1982), pp. 8-10.

creates Enkidu in the 'image' (*zikru*) of the god Anu,[45] and ancient artisans were obliged to design the idols they crafted according to an established image of the god.[46]

We may conclude this part of the discussion by reiterating that the formation of the first humans from clay in Genesis 2 bears a striking similarity to the manner in which humans and human figures are made according to ancient Semitic literature. Subsequently we will bring this similarity to bear as a hypothesis, in trying to answer the question of why humans were created. But before addressing that question, let us look at how the biblical story of human creation was understood by some of its mediaeval interpreters. The later interpretation of the narrative may shed light on its earlier understanding as well.

3. *The Golem*

From the fifteenth–seventeenth centuries CE, a legendary tale about an extraordinary rabbi who had made an artificial human being spread through Central Europe.[47] The most famous legend is told of Rabbi Loew (the Maharal) of Prague (eighteenth century),[48] although the story seems to have been secondarily transferred to him from one told about Rabbi Elijah of Chelm (sixteenth century).[49] Although the mediaeval legends are derived most directly from the early Kabbalistic work, *Sefer Ha-Yetsirah* (Book of Creation), the story originates in the Talmudic legend about the third-century sage, Rava, who created a man (ברא גברא) and sent him to his colleague Rabbi Zera, who recognized him as the product of one of the sages. He spoke to him, but he did not answer. Rabbi Zera dismissed him with the command that he return to the dust

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45. For *zikru* as 'image, counterpart, replica', see *CAD*, Z, p. 116b. Although *CAD* distinguishes this meaning of *zikru* from its more ordinary usage as 'name', it should be clear that the sense of 'image' or representation stems from the widespread notion that a thing and its name cannot be ontologically separated; see my paper, 'Some Developments in the Study of Language and Some Implications for Interpreting Ancient Texts and Cultures', *IOS* 20 (forthcoming).

46. Cf., e.g., Walker and Dick, 'Induction', p. 61.

47. Cf. G. Scholem, 'Golem', *EncJud*, VII, cols. 753-55; M. Idel, *Golem: Jewish Magical and Mystical Traditions on the Artificial Anthropoid* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990).

48. Cf., e.g., M. Rosen, *The Golem of Old Prague* (London: André Deutsch, 1990).

49. Scholem, 'Golem', col. 755.

from which he came.[50] It is implied that Rava made the artificial 'man' out of the soil, as YHWH God had made the first human. The Talmud does not specify the method by which Rava had animated his 'man.' But the mediaeval legends have the wonder-working rabbi recite prayers, incantations or the description of God's breathing life into the human in Genesis 2,[51] and, commonly, inscribe the word אמה 'truth' on the golem's forehead. For in a Talmudic passage very close to the story about Rava, it is said that 'truth' is the emblem of the Holy One.[52]

A golem (גלם) is an unanimated human *in utero*, essentially a still lifeless lump of matter (Ps. 139.16; cf. Job 10.10). Classical rabbinic midrashim identify the first human with the golem form.[53] In one the first human (האדם הראשון) is said to have been made by God from dust taken from all over the earth as a golem stretching from one end of the earth to the other.[54] In another the creation of the human is divided into hourly stages. After the stage of planning and gathering the requisite soil, God created the human as a golem, in a still later stage animating it with the divine breath.[55] Infusing the golem with the breath of life is a widespread feature of mediaeval tracts on the subject.[56] It is clear that the notion of the golem, as well as the method of its manufacture and animation, are based on the Genesis 2 creation account. Moreover, certain rabbinical and Kabbalistic texts concerning the creation of an artificial man lead one to conclude that the rabbis were also familiar with the Mesopotamian ritual of statue animation.[57] Indeed, mediaeval Jews practised a sort of voodoo magic, utilizing clay figurines quite reminiscent of those used in Mesopotamian witchcraft.[58]

Now although the manufacture of a golem had the original purpose of displaying a sage's mastery of esoteric knowledge and religious virtuosity,[59] later tales highlight the practical uses of the creature as a

50. BT *Sanh.* 65b.

51. Cf., e.g., Rosen, *Golem*, pp. 54-55.

52. BT *Sanh.* 64b.

53. Cf. Idel, *Golem*, pp. 34-35.

54. BT *Sanh.* 38a; *Gen. R.* 24.2.

55. BT *Sanh.* 38b; *Lev. R.* 29 (ed. M. Margaliot, pp. 668-69).

56. See Idel, *Golem*, p. 32.

57. Idel, *Golem*, pp. 31-32.

58. Cf. R.C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic: Its Origins and Development* (London: Luzac, 1908), p. 144.

59. Scholem, 'Golem', col. 754.

helper, from serving as the personal assistant of the rabbi to functioning as the Jews' protector from anti-Semites. An example of the former is the mediaeval story about Rabbi Samuel the Pietist (ר' שמואל החסיד).[60] For years the 'man he created' would accompany him, and 'tend to him as a servant tends to his master'. An example of the latter is the famous legend of the golem of Prague, who saved the Jews from the depredations of a blood libel. It makes perfect sense that an artificial human would be created in order to perform a service, to help out. One may suggest that such a purpose may also lie behind the story of human creation upon which the golem tales are based, the account of YHWH's forming the human in Genesis 2.

4. *The Function and Purpose of Humanity in Ancient Semitic Creation Stories*

The thesis that the human was created by YHWH God so that it would work for God gains in probability when one considers the purpose of creating humanity in the ancient Semitic literature, whose descriptions of human creation are similar to the description of Genesis 2. Humans and humanoid figures are made to fulfil specific functions, each of them for the benefit of the creature's creator.

In the Babylonian myth of Atra-ḫasis people are made to relieve the lesser gods of their menial labour.[61] Indeed, the myth opens with the bold irony, 'When the gods were man' (*inūma ilū awīlum*),[62] 'doing work, performing corvée service' (lit. 'carrying the basket')[63]—distinctly human and servile labour. The lower gods got sick of doing their superiors' work and fomented an armed rebellion. With the rebels

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60. For the Hebrew text, see M. Idel, *Golem* (trans. A. Meir-Levi; Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1996), pp. 276-77.

61. Cf. the Sumerian myth Enki and Ninmaḫ; translation in Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once...*, pp. 151-66, esp. pp. 153-54.

62. Atra-ḫasis I 1 (Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*, p. 42). Although Lambert and Millard failed to absorb the text's boldness in their edition, rendering 'When the gods like men' (p. 43); see Foster, *From Distant Days*, p. 52 with note 1.

63. Atra-ḫasis I 2 (Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*, pp. 42-43. For 'carrying the basket' (*šupšikka zabālu*) as an expression of corvée service, see M. Held, 'The Root *zbl/sbl* in Akkadian, Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew', *JAOS* 88 (1968), pp. 90-96 (95).

literally at heaven's gate, the upper gods undertook a plan to create a human 'to carry the yoke' (*abšānam lībi[l]*)[64] in place of the gods.[65]

Enkidu is created by Aruru at the behest of the gods in order to neutralize the excesses of Gilgamesh,[66] Ša'taqat is created by El in order to heal King Kirta,[67] and any number of clay figurines were made to serve some magical purpose. Perhaps YHWH God fashions a human out of the earth in order to give himself a hand.

5. *The Function and Purpose of Humanity in Genesis 2*

It is surprising how few commentaries and analyses of Genesis 2 answer the question of why the human was created. Wheeler Robinson suggests a purely spiritual motive: so 'that man should learn to say "I delight to do Thy will, O my God" '(Ps. 40.8).[68] This purpose would seem to be based on the rather widespread exegesis of Genesis 2 that the Garden in particular and the world in general were created for the benefit of the human being.[69] Others understand the human to have been created in order to work the Garden.[70] As Gaster has put it, in contrasting the more 'exalted' version of human creation in Genesis 1, the Genesis 2 'account

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64. Atra-ḫasis G ii 10; cf. lines 11-12 (Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*, pp. 54-57).

65. Although the creation of the human by Marduk in the Babylonian myth Enūma Eliš does not involve the moulding of clay, the function of the human creature is 'to bear the gods' burden' (6.8; cf. 36); translation in Foster, *From Distant Days*, pp. 38-39.

66. Translation in Kovacs, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, pp. 5-6.

67. Reference above, note 17.

68. Robinson, *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons), p. 73.

69. E.g., Robinson, *Inspiration and Revelation*, p. 17; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I (trans. D.M.G. Stalker; New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 150; Šarna, *Understanding Genesis*, p. 25; Fishbane, *Text and Texture*, p. 17.

70. E.g., J. Blenkinsopp, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible* (Anchor Bible Reference Library; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1992), p. 64; J.A. Soggin,'The Equality of Humankind from the Perspective of the Creation Stories in Genesis 1:26-30 and 2:9, 15, 18-24', *JNSL* 23 (1997), pp. 21-33 (24). Coote and Ord define the human function as light gardening: R.B. Coote and D.R. Ord, *The Bible's First History: From Eden to the Court of David with the Yahwist* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), p. 53.

retains the primitive view that the function of man was to tend and till the garden of God.'[71]

Interpretations differ depending on how one understands the relationship among (a) the statement in Gen. 2.5 that 'there was not yet any human to work the ground'; (b) the sequence of events in 2.7-8, in which YHWH God first creates the human and then plants a garden in which he places the human; (c) the (re)iteration in 2.15 that 'YHWH God took the human and set it down in the Garden of Eden, to work it and to keep watch over it'; and (d) the fact that agricultural labour is portrayed as a punishment imposed on the man, towards the end of the Garden story (3.17-19). Passages (a) and (b) suggest that the original function of the human is cultivating the soil of the earth; passage (c) suggests, in line perhaps with passage (b) but in apparent tension with passage (a), that the human's function is to till the Garden; and passage (d) suggests, in accord with passages (b) and (c) but in tension with passage (a) that the original purpose of the human is to work the Garden but that, as a consequence of disobeying God, that work is shifted to the hard earth outside the precincts of the Garden, which must now be guarded to keep humanity from coming back. Skinner represents many historical critics in finding in Genesis 2–3 a 'fusion of variant traditions'.[72]

The text of the Garden story shows these and other signs of its composite character, the problem of the one tree/two trees being only the most obvious.[73] However, this text is one 'omelette' that cannot be 'unscrambled', as Leach would say.[74] This text cannot, like the Flood story (Gen. 6–9), be prised apart relatively neatly and read as two separate strands.[75] Moreover, as a (quasi-)mythological text, Genesis should be expected to manifest the contradictions that it does.[76] Contradictions are

71. T.H. Gaster, 'Creation', *IDB*, I, p. 705a; cf. p. 704b

72. J. Skinner, *Genesis* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2nd edn, 1930), p. 55.

73. Cf., e.g., G. von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*; (OTL; trans. J.H. Marks; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), p. 76.

74. E. Leach, 'Approaches to the Study of the Bible during the Twentieth Century', in E. Leach and A.A. Aycock, *Structuralist Interpretations of Biblical Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 24.

75. Cf. Greenstein, *Essays on Biblical Method*, pp. 21-39.

76. Cf., e.g., T.M.S. Evens, 'Eve: Ethics and the Feminine Principle in the Second and Third Chapters of Genesis', in S. Howell (ed.), *The Ethnography of Moralities* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 203-28 (205-206).

among the problems that myths attempt to resolve.[77] Nevertheless, there is a certain coherence one can produce as a reader in meeting the challenge of interpreting such a text.[78]

The Garden story is a myth of various origins, for example: of gender distinctions and marriage (see esp. the etiological formula in Gen. 2.24), of the discreteness of humanity among the animals, of mortality and not living forever, of reality and not paradise,[79] and, as Gunkel has indicated,[80] of agriculture as the first human vocation. Passage (a) conveys the notion that humanity was made to farm. In line with the paradisiac nature of the first, ideal human condition, however, passages (b) and (c) restrict human agricultural activity to the relatively easy task of working the Garden.[81] Nevertheless, the point needs to be under-scored that the human does not work the Garden for its own benefit. God does not 'plant...a garden to provide for his human creatures.'[82] As a comparison with Ezek. 28.13 and Isa. 51.3 should make clear, Eden is the private garden of God.[83] God behaves in a proprietary fashion, as befits the lord of the manor. He plants his garden with lovely trees, establishes the ground rules, strolls around his garden when it is comfortable, in the cool hours of the day (3.8). But YHWH God does not toil in his garden. He has coopted the human to take care of his personal preserve.[84]

Now even though the creation of the human precedes the planting of

77. Cf., e.g., C. Lévi-Strauss, 'The Structural Study of Myth', in *Structural Anthropology* (trans. C. Jacobson and B.G. Schoepf; Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1967), pp. 202-228; Leach, 'Study of the Bible', pp. 24-25; Wander, 'Mythology'; S.D. Kunin, *The Logic of Incest: A Structuralist Analysis of Hebrew Mythology* (JSOTSup, 185; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), p. 38.

78. For coherence as a quality achieved by the reader, see, e.g., P.J. Rabinowitz, *Before Reading: Narrative Conventions and the Politics of Interpretation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 141-69.

79. Cf. S. Niditch, *From Chaos to Cosmos: Studies in Biblical Patterns of Creation* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), pp. 25-37.

80. Gunkel, *Genesis*, pp. 5-7.

81. Cf. Simkins, *Creator and Creation*, pp. 180-81.

82. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (1994), p. 208; cf., e.g., Robinson, *Inspiration and Revelation*, p. 17; Soggin, 'The Equality of Humankind', p. 24.

83. Cf., e.g., Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 5; Šarna, *Understanding Genesis*, pp. 24-25. See also Gen. 13.10.

84. Cf. D. Jobling, *The Sense of Biblical Narrative: Structural Analyses in the Hebrew Bible*, II (JSOTSup, 39; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), p. 24.

the Garden,[85] one can hardly maintain that God could not from the outset have had in mind to place the human in the Garden. The narrative sequence certainly allows us to understand that YHWH God created the human in the first place for the purpose of working in the Garden. The parallels from the ancient Near East and from the Garden story's interpretative history, cited above, lend this reading eminent plausibility. It is only after the humans break God's rules, seeking to be like God (see 3.5) and thereby threatening God (see 3.22), that he removes them permanently from the Garden and consigns them to the toil of working the earth outside, as we learn from passage (d).[86]

6. Hermeneutic Implications for Reading Genesis 2

Once we adopt the interpretation, according to which the human was created in Genesis 2 for the purpose of working the garden of YHWH God, there are other interpretative choices we can make within the same hermeneutic framework. We shall take up two such instances here: the question of the meaning of God's rationale for creating the human male and female (Gen. 2.18), and the related question of the meaning of the phrase עזר כנגדו (Gen. 2.18).

YWHH God announces his intention to create a second human being for the reason that 'it is not good, the human's being by oneself' (לא־טוב היות האדם לבדו).[87] Most interpreters understand the phrase 'it is not

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85. Cf., e.g., Y. Kiel, *Genesis, Da'at Miqra'* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1997), p. 49.

86. One may wonder who works God's garden after the humans are expelled. By way of an answer, we may observe, first, that God had no choice but to remove his human labourers. On the one hand, they had violated an explicit rule of the garden; on the other hand, the myth would have no value had it not transferred the humans to their real-world abode. Secondly, after the expulsion, God receives offerings regularly; the Cain and Abel episode, as well as subsequent texts presuppose that it is natural to present offerings of food to God.

87. This is as good a place as any within this study to indicate that I do not have the space here to deal with the question of whether the first human was, according to Gen. 2, made male or androgynous. On behalf of the former interpretation one can point to the fact that the term that refers to the first human—האדם—comes later, after sexual differentiation, to refer to the male (Gen. 3.9 and passim). On behalf of the latter interpretation, one can point to the fact that the female is constructed out of a 'side' (צלע) of the first human (2.21). For some perspectives, see, e.g., P. Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press,

good' to relate to the human creature, that is, it is not good for the human to be alone. This has been taken to mean, either that the human will suffer from solitude,[88] or that the human will remain alone without a proper mate with whom to reproduce.[89] However, there is a another possible understanding, such as we find, for example, in the commentary of Rashi (late eleventh-century France; at Gen 2.18): it is not good for God that the human remain alone. For Rashi, God's problem is that with one dominant human on earth, corresponding to one dominant God in heaven, observers may get the idea that the human is as unique in the lower domain as God is in the upper one and that there are, accordingly, two domains in the world. Thus, God felt compelled to eliminate the danger of dualism and create a pair of humans.

We would interpret the motive somewhat differently: the second human was created to help the first human do God's work.[90] One can adduce philological support for this reading from the use of the locution

1978), pp. 79-105; M. Bal, *Lethal Love: Feminist Literary Readings of Biblical Love Stories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 112-19; P.A. Bird, *Missing Persons and Mistaken Identities: Women and Gender in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1997), pp. 179-83; Soggin, 'The Equality of Humankind'; de Moor, 'Duality'; J. Barr, 'Adam: Single Man, or All Humanity?' in J. Magness and S. Gitin (eds.), *Hesed ve-Emet: Studies in Honor of Ernest S. Frerichs* (BJS, 320; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), pp. 3-12.

I would make only two comments. First, however we understand the term אדם in Gen. 2, it makes no sense to speak of a male or a female until both exist; each exists by dint of its differentiation from the other. The first human is distinguished, first, from the creator God and from the earth from which it was made, and then from the (non-human) animals. Second, rabbinic exegesis embraces the creation of both male and female from the earth not only through the midrash, according to which the first human was created 'androgynous' or 'two-sided' (*Gen. R.* 8.1) but also through the midrash, according to which Eve was formed from the feminine earth (אדמה), while Adam was formed from the masculine dust (עפר; *Gen. R.* 14.7).

88. Cf., e.g., R. David Qimḥi at Gen. 2.18; Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 8; Robinson, *Inspiration and Revelation*, p. 17.

89. Cf., e.g., D.J.A. Clines, *What Does Eve Do to Help? And Other Readerly Questions to the Old Testament* (JSOTSup, 94; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), pp. 27-37; E. van Wolde, *Words Becomes Worlds: Semantic Studies of Genesis 1–11* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), p. 19. R. Joseph Bekhor Shor (twelfth-century France; at Gen. 2.18) argues against this interpretation: prior to eating from the Tree of Knowing, the humans would live forever and would not need to reproduce.

90. Cf., e.g., Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 8; Coote and Ord, *The Bible's First History*, p. 56.

לבדו, 'by oneself', which is employed similarly in a number of other contexts in which a labour or task must be shared—and sometimes, as in Gen. 2.18, in combination with the phrase לא־טוב, 'it is not good.'[91] In Exod. 18.17-18 Jethro counsels Moses that 'it is not good' that the latter act as magistrate 'by yourself.' In Num. 11.14 and Deut. 1.9, 12 Moses complains that he cannot bear the burden of the people Israel's needs 'by myself'. Hence, God, having created a single human labourer in the Garden, realizing that it would not be good for the human to work alone (cf. Qoh. 4.9-12, cited above), decided to create a second human to help out.

The term describing this second human, עזר כנגדו, has, as is well known, been interpreted variously. The ambiguity of the phrase's connotations—helping (עזר) versus opposition (נגד)—is captured in the equivocal interpretation of Rashi: 'If he (viz., the first human, the man) is deserving (it will be) a help; if he is undeserving (it will be) opposed to him, fighting.' The seemingly oxymoronic combination 'help' and '(over) against' indicates, it has been suggested, complementarity. The second human complements the first.[92] The stem עזר has been derived either from the common verb meaning 'to help' or from a Semitic root *ǧzr*, meaning 'to be strong.'[93] The phrase כנגד has defied definitive translation. Some look to Late Hebrew, where כנגד can mean 'corresponding to', 'equal to',[94] 'facing/against', or 'in relation to'.[95] Others propose the sense of a 'match' or 'counterpart'.[96] The most common meaning of נגד in the Hebrew Bible is 'in front of'.[97] In line with our overall interpretation, we might understand עזר כנגדו more aptly as 'a helper alongside (lit. in front of) it'. Just as YHWH God made the first human to help him, he made the pair of humans to help each other.

91. I am indebted for this insight to my doctoral student, Dmitri Slivniak.

92. Evens, 'Eve' p. 208.

93. Cf. P.D. Miller Jr, 'Ugaritic *ǧzr* and Hebrew *'zr* II', UF 2 (1970), pp. 159-75; R.D. Freedman, 'Woman, a Power Equal to Man', *BARev* 9.1 (Jan–Feb. 1983), pp. 56-58.

94. Cf., e.g., BDB, p. 617.

95. Cf., e.g., M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim* (New York: Pardes Publishing House, 1950), p. 872.

96. E.g., van Wolde, *Words Become Worlds*, p. 18 with n. 8.

97. Cf. BDB, p. 617.

7. *A Shared Mythic Pattern*

By reading Genesis 2 such that YHWH creates the human to perform the work in his garden and then forms a second human to work together with the first, we may draw another, more profound hermeneutic implication. The Garden story shares in the fairly widespread mythic pattern according to which the creatures, who were made to do the gods'/God's work, rebel, leading the gods/God to suppress them. We are familiar with this pattern from Atra-ḥasis, where it is doubled: first the high gods must deal with the problem of the low gods' insurgence, resolving it by creating humans to do the low gods' labour; then the humans become noisy (overpopulated)[98] and must be decimated by a series of plagues and nearly annihilated by a flood. There are analogous patterns in the Greek myths of Zeus, Pandora and Prometheus.[99]

In Genesis 2–11 we find a similar pattern.[100] The humans created to work God's garden disobey, through collusion with, or at the instigation of, the cleverest of the animals, the snake. YHWH God expels the humans from the Garden but also imposes enmity between the humans and the snake (Gen. 3.15). The humans continue to disappoint their creator, committing murder (Gen. 4) and 'corrupting their path on the earth' (Gen. 6.12). Thus God wipes out nearly all humanity with a flood. Finally, the humans seek to settle down, banded together, in the land of Shinar (Gen. 11.1-2). YHWH then, Enki-like,[101] confounds the people's language and disperses them, breaking their threatening behaviour (see 11.6: 'If they all have one nationality and one language, and this is what they have begun to do, then there will be no stopping them from whatever they plan to do!') by means of divide and conquer. Like the Golem of Prague, that began running amok, and Frankenstein's monster, which

98. Cf., e.g., W.L. Moran, 'Atraḥasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood', *Bib* 52 (1971), pp. 51-61 (56); Kilmer, 'Mesopotamian Concept of Overpopulation' (see note 24 above); T. Frymer-Kensky, 'The Atraḥasis Epic and Its Significance for Our Understanding of Genesis 1–9', *Biblical Archaeologist* 40.4 (Dec. 1977), pp. 147-55 (149-50).

99. See C. Penglase, *Greek Myths and Mesopotamia: Parallels and Influence in the Homeric Hymns and Hesiod* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 216-29.

100. Some aspects of this pattern were, I recall, pointed out to me by my teacher, the late Professor H.L. Ginsberg.

101. See S.N. Kramer, 'The "Babel of Tongues": A Sumerian Version', *JAOS* 88 (1968), pp. 108-11.

did the same, the human creatures of YHWH in Genesis also needed to be suppressed and restrained.

8. *A Happier Ending*

Reading the creation of the humans in Genesis 2 as we have done may seem to have led to rather depressing results. We have apparently diminished YHWH God to the level of Enki or Dr Frankenstein and the human being to the level of a golem. That may be so, but this is only one part of the picture.

The Garden story moves the human, who may have been first conceived as a labourer in God's precincts, into the world at large, as the human increasingly acquires intellectual, technical, and moral sophistication (having reasoned that it would be good to eat the forbidden fruit, learned to make clothing, and learned the rudiments of right and wrong).[102] The ultimate meaning of this metaphor can be summarized: sophisticated human beings do not limit their performance of the divine work to the clerical, cultic spheres alone but do God's work out in the world, among other people. The work in the so-called real world may be harder, but we can still collaborate and cooperate, giving the other person a hand, which is, according to the way we have read Genesis 2, what human beings were created for.

102. Cf. in addition to Niditch (cited above, note 79): J. Rosenberg, *King and Kin: Political Allegory in the Hebrew Bible* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 47-68; L.M. Bechtel, 'Rethinking the Interpretation of Genesis 2.4b–3.24', in A. Brenner (ed.), *A Feminist Companion to Genesis* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), pp. 77-117.

THE IDEA OF CREATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS IN QUMRAN LITERATURE[*]

Bilha Nitzan

I

Mircea Eliade, in defining the religious significance of creation, wrote: 'For a religious man, nature is never only "natural"; it is always fraught with a religious value...it is not a chaos but a cosmos, hence it presents itself as creation, as work of the gods'.[1] By attributing divine significance to the natural existence of the sky, the earth and the cosmological order, these became symbols of specific qualities. Thus, for example, 'the cosmic rhythms manifest order, harmony, permanence, fecundity'.[2] Moreover, as knowledge concerning the creation could not have been based upon facts, or eye-witness of the event, it was fraught with mythological or monotheistic speculations, manifesting various theological ideas concerning the essence of the deity, the relation between the deity and the existential world, and other subjects concerning the basic matters of life.[3] Mythological traditions about creation, such as

1.   M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (San Diego: HBJ Book, 1957), pp. 116-17.

2.   Eliade, *The Sacred*, p. 117; *idem, Patterns in Comparative Religion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 345-47, 400-404.

3.   H. Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964 [1901]), pp. 5-6, 17-18; Eliade, *Patterns,* pp. 374-77, 379-80.

the Mesopotamian, the Ugaritic and the Egyptian, were unacceptable to Israeli monotheism, and so these were adapted in biblical literature into monotheistic legends about creation.[4] The basic theological ideas of monotheism, such as God's transcendence and uniqueness, the faith that the world was created *ex nihilo*, and that the created world is ruled by God's providence, are elaborated in the biblical compositions and statements dealing with creation. Variegated aspects of these were clarified in different literary genres, such as descriptive legends (Gen. 1–2); prophetic messages and polemics with pagan ideas (i.e. Isa. 40.12-14; 45.12; 51.9-10; Jer. 10.11-13 (= 51.15-16); poetical hymns (i.e. Ps. 8; 19; 104); and sapiential works (i.e. Prov. 8.22-29; Job 28.20-28; 37-39).

In post-biblical literature, including Qumran writings, the central biblical themes regarding creation were used to promote specific purposes. These revolved issues regarding the Law and Divine Providence, particularly concerning problems that arose in the religious life and politic actuality of Second Temple Judaism. Many post-biblical works concerning the issue of creation are not content with exploring general implications of the monotheistic concept of creation in itself, but elaborate this theological concept to the laws that apply to human beings, whether in general (i.e. *Ben Sira* 17.7, 11-14) or in details. As such implications are not explicated in the biblical writings, they are related in some apocalyptic writings as retrospective revelations about creation. Thus, *Jubilees* 2 paraphrases the Genesis story of creation (Gen. 1–2.4) in such a manner that the whole creation story serves the establishment of the Sabbath commandments. Thus, the laws concerning the labors forbidden on Sabbath and liturgical worship of the Sabbath are derived from the divine model of the works of creation and of sanctifying the Sabbath.[5] The liturgical model for the sanctification of the Sabbath that apply to Israel are mediated there through the angelic hosts, which were created for this purpose on the first day of creation (*Jub.* 2.2a, 17-22; 50.9-10).[6] In *Jub.* 2.8-10 an implication concerning the calendrical issue

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4. Gunkel, *Legends*, pp. 15-16; U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1969), pp. 1-9 (in Hebrew).

5. L. Doering, 'The Concept of the Sabbath in the Book of Jubilees', in M. Albani *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (TSAJ, 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), pp. 179-205; J.C. Vanderkam, 'Genesis 1 in Jubilees 2', *DSD* 1 (1994), pp. 300-21 (pp. 305-306, 315-19).

6. See D. Dimant, 'בני שמים—תורת המלאכים בספר היובלים לאור כתבי עדת קומראן' in M. Idel *et al.*, *Tribute to Sara: Studies in Jewish Philosophy and*

is derived from the vague statement of the luminaries' function in the Genesis story of creation. Gen. 1.14 is interpreted there as denying any calendrical function based upon the moon, but as establishing a solar calendar as against the lunar calendar that was prevalent during Second Temple days.[7] Such a calendrical elaboration in the *Book of Jubilees* may have referred to its halakhic standpoint concerning the controversy over calendrical matters within Second Temple Judaism (cf. *Jub.* 6.32-38, etc., and *1 En.* 72-82).[8]

Issues regarding the social and politic situation of the Second Temple period, which needed to be confronted by the traditional Jewish concept of divine providence, were also dealt with in apocalyptic writings in light of the monotheistic concept of creation. For example, the great embarrassment and frustration of the author of *4 Ezra* regarding the destruction of the Second Temple (5.41-56) is answered by paraphrasing the creation story (*4 Ezra* 6.1-5, 35-58) in such a way as to draw an analogy from the realization of God's predestined laws for the cosmological creation, to the necessity for the eschatological continuation of the created world,[9] and especially for his predestined decree for

Kabbala (Festschrift Sara O. Heller Wilensky; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1994), pp. 97-118; *idem*, 'Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community',in A. Berlin (ed.), *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (Maryland: Maryland University Press, 1996), pp. 93-103 (98-103).

7.   Vanderkam ('Genesis 1 in Jubilees 2', p. 312) demonstrates how the author of *Jubilees* mentions the same three items—sun, moon, and stars—as in Gen. 1.14-19, but uses them to articulate a different point. Having enumerated the heavenly lights, he singles out the sun as a 'great sign...for days, sabbaths, months, festivals, years, sabbaths of years, jubilees and all times', and thus ascribes to it alone the calendrical functions listed in Gen. 1.14.

8.   See the emphasis of the sin of violating new moon, sabbath, festival, jubilee and Law in *Jub.* 1.14; 6.34, 38; 23.19, etc. Whereas Vanderkam ('Genesis 1 in Jubilees 2', pp. 319-21) suggests an anti-Hellenistic tendency in the book of *Jubilees*, M. Kister ('Concerning the History of the Essenes' [in Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 56 [1986], pp. 1-18 [5-9]) notes its reformative halakhic purpose concerning the halakhic controversy between the main sects of the Judaism in the Second Temple period.

9.   See D.S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (London: SCM Press, 1971), p. 282; M.E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1990), pp. 141-61. See especially pp. 146-48, 155, 159-60, concerning the rhythm and pace of historical events, which are dealt with from a deterministic outlook about the fixed sequence of events (5.44, 47-48). These include the process of judgment and the dividing of the times between the corruptible age and the incorruptible

Israel.[10] Similarly, there are writings that use the cosmological created order as a model for the order and justice that ought to be established among human beings, such as the admonitions of *1 En.* 2-5.4, and *Ben Sira* 16.24–17.23, which also allude to eschatological destiny.[11] This approach, drawing an analogy from the permanent laws decreed for the cosmological order to the laws decreed for human beings, was accepted in the Qumran writings as well. These were elaborated comprehensively for their implications in such variegated areas as morals, history and liturgy.

II

The biblical monotheistic approach to the issue of creation and of God's eternal providence over his created world is quite apparent in the Qumran writings. However, it should be noted that there are no explicit traces in Qumran literature of the debate about creation *ex nihilo* or from a formless matter, such as is found in some works of Jewish authors from the Hellenistic Diaspora and later, whether among those influenced by Platonic philosophy or those against it.[12] The theological

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age to come (6.7-10) that God had determined before the creation of the world (6.1-6).

10. See Stone, *Fourth Ezra* pp. 176-89. In *4 Ezra* 6.35-59, the theme of creation seems to serve the problem of God's theodicy vis-à-vis the faith of Israel. On the basis of the literary structure of the questions posed by the seer (6.55-59, see p. 181) following the creation of the hexaemeron (6.38-54), Stone states that 'something of a mystery surrounds the precise conceptual connection between creation of the world and election of Israel' (p. 182). Regarding the meaning of the author's theme, which emphasized creation carried out through divine speech (p. 183), Stone reached the conclusion that 'what should be observed here is that the formulation of this section calls the reliability of the divine word into question' (p. 184). He considers this theme a revolutionary question.

11. See J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd edn, 1998), pp. 48-49.

12. This debate arose in the Judaism of the intertestamental period in connection with the issue of resurrection, in body or just in soul, as is apparent from 2 Macc. 7.22, 28; Wis. 11.17, but see chs 3–5; 9.15; 16.13-14; Josephus, *War* 2.8.11, 154-56; and *War* 2.8.14, 163, 165. Later on in rabbinic literature, it was again connected with this issue, but against Gnostic and Christian theories concerning this issue. See J.A. Goldstein, 'The Origins of the Doctrine of Creation Ex Nihilo', *JJS* 35 (1984), pp. 128-35; D. Winston, 'The Book of Wisdom's Theory of Cosmogony', *HR* 11 (1971–72), pp. 185-202; *idem*, 'Creation Ex Nihilo Revisited: A Reply to Jonathan

concept of creation, as apparent in the writings from Qumran, intensifies the monotheistic theme of creation and God's providence by relating all phenomena—cosmological, historical, as well as those in the life of the individual, both good and evil—to God's decree. This monotheistic concept of predestination does not allow for the acceptance of any theological concept of absolute dualism or multiplicity of divine authorities. However, this extreme overall concept of predestination raised the problematic issue of God's theodicy, requiring the Qumran authors to deal with it.

The Providence of God, as the only Creator of good and evil, was dealt with in several Qumran writings in relation to the issue of *theodicy*. From the historical aspect, this became an actual issue during the Second Temple period in light of the failure of the long-promised redemption from the oppression of Israel by kingdoms to be realized,[13] as well as in light of domestic conflicts within Jewish society.[14] The

Goldstein', *JJS* 37 (1986), pp. 88-91; J.A. Goldstein, 'Creation Ex Nihilo: Recantations and Restatement', *JJS* 38 (1987), pp. 187-94.

13. This issue is dealt with from a deterministic outlook in the apocalyptic literature, such as the apocalypses of four kingdoms in Dan. 2.31-45; 7; and Daniel's message regarding the expected time of 70 weeks for the messianic period (Dan. 9.24-27). The Animal Apocalypse of *1 En.* 85–90 is related to both the 4 and the 70 periods of the kingdoms' subjugation of Israel (89.59–90.38). In 1Q *Habakkuk Pesher* 7 5-14, the issue of the tarrying of the redemption in Hab. 2.3 is based upon deterministic theology. See J. Licht, 'Time and Eschatology in Apocalyptic Literature and in Qumran', *JJS* 16 (1965), pp. 177-82; K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk—Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953), pp. 191-96; B. Nitzan, *Pesher Habakkuk: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea (1QpHab)* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986), pp. 22-27, 172-74; W.H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (SBLMS, 24; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), pp. 118-21; M.P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS, 8; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), pp. 38-39; A. Lange, 'Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls', *DSD* 2 (1995), pp. 340-54 (esp. pp. 353-54). Another outlook on Israel's hope for redemption from the oppression of enemies is reflected in Sir. 36 and the 'Apostrophe to Zion' in 11QPs[a] 22, esp. lines 2-3, 10-11, 13-14. See J.A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11* (DJD, IV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 43, 85-89.

14. According to Qumran writing, such as the *Damascus Document*, 4QMMT, the *Temple Scroll*, and others, there were halakhic conflicts between the Qumran community and the Pharisees concerning the Temple purity and worship. There is no direct connection between the halakhic conflict and the issue of creation, but a

historical facets of theodicy were explicitly dealt with in the *Pesharim* scrolls and in the *Damascus Covenant*.[15] On the other hand, those compositions based on the idea of creation, such as the hymns to the creator in the *Thanksgiving Scroll* (1QH[a] 1 and 13) and the essay of the *maskil* (sage) in the *Rule Scroll* (1QS 3.13–4.26) did not specify any historical situation, but dealt with the issue of God's theodicy on the philosophical plane.

The motto of the *Hymn to the Creator* in 1QH[a] 1 is God's justice—'[You are] just in all Your works' (1.6)—an idea that is realized, according to the hymn, by God's predestined decree for all creation, both heavenly and earthly (cf. 1QH[a] 13.7-10), cosmological and human.[16] This idea was demonstrated, on the one hand, by observation of the cosmological works as conducted according to the law of nature and, on the other hand, by observation of the works of humanity as expressed in the laws of history. According to the law of nature, each of the cosmic bodies maintains its specific cycle and its particular function as decreed by the eternal, exclusive will of God (1QH[a] 1.10-13; cf. *1 En.* 41; 69.15-25; *Ben Sira* 16.26-28), and as conducted by the authority of the particular angel charged with that function (cf. *Jub.* 2.2). The author of this hymn explains that the history of mankind was also decreed for everlasting generations, according to the exclusive will of God (1QH[a] 1.14-16). However, due to human mortality, the authority over earthly functions given to them, 'for all days everlasting and unceasing generations' was to be shared among all their generations (1QH[a] 1.15-19; cf. Ben Sira 17.1-2). Each generation was thus to fulfill its task on earth according to God's predestined plan for history. Hence, the order of

theological connection between the halakhic conflict and the retaliation issue is apparent in part C of 4QMMT. See E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V Miqṣat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* (DJD, X; Oxford: Clarendon Press 1994), pp. 58-63.

15. See, for example, 1QpHab 7.14b–12 10a; 4QpNah 3-42.1b–3. 8a; 4QpPs[a] 2.12-19; 4. 7-12; CD 1. 11b–2.1 (Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk* pp. 195-225; Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk*, pp. 122-208; Nitzan, *Pesher Habakkuk*, pp. 175-96 [in Hebrew]; J.M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4.I* [DJD, V; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968]), pp. 37-49; Horgan, *Pesharim*, pp. 10-12, 17-20, 39-54, 158-66, 182-88, 192-200, 209-11, 221-23).

16. J. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), pp. 27-33, 55-56); S.H. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATD, 2: Aarhus: Universitatsforlaget, 1960), pp. 17-31.

history, like the order of nature, is also based on divine law.[17] The
message of this hymn is that, although God's justice cannot be observed
when rule over the earth is held by evil generations, it would emerge at
the time decreed for the annihilation of evil (1QH[a] 1.35-37; 13.19-20).
Thus, the historical-eschatological order, like the cosmological order,
was planned for keeping the existence of the world forever, and the
laws for mankind, like those of nature, were predestined to prevent any
disturbance of the will of the Creator (cf. *1 En.* 69), which would be
observed judicially at the eschatological trial against evil (1QH[a] 1.24-
27, 36-37; frg. 3, 9-10; 2.24; 3.18, 33-36, etc.). This conclusion regard-
ing the connection between creation and eschatology strengthens the
righteous and the poor in keeping their perfect way, and for trusting in
the justice of God.

The same approach is apparent in the philosophical essay of a sage
(maskil) found in the *Rule Scroll* (1QS 3.13–4.26), which focuses on
the creation of human beings and angels.[18] The motto of this essay con-
cerns the identification of creation and providence with the idea of the
predestined decree of God, as follows.

> From the God of knowledge stems all there is and all there shall be.
> Before they existed He made all their plans, and when they came into
> being they will execute all their works in compliance with His
> instructions, according to His glorious design without altering anything.
> (3.15-16).[19]

The issue of theodicy is thus raised in the confrontation between this
philosophic statement of predestination, relating all phenomena, good
and the evil, to the Creator, and the reality of a world that is not entirely
good, as claimed in Gen. 1.31, but whose inhabitants suffer evil, trouble

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17. This notion appears, for example, in CD 2.7-13; 4Q180–81. See Allegro,
Qumran Cave 4.I, pp. 77-80 (mentioned above, note 15); J.T. Milik, 'Milkî-ṣedeq
et Milkî-rešaʿ dans les anciens écrits Juifs et Chrétiens', *JJS* 23 (1972), pp. 109-26;
D. Dimant, 'The "Pesher on the Periods" (4Q180) and 4Q181', *IOS* 9 (1979), pp.
77-102. See also 4Q402 frg. 4, 12-15 in C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice:
A Critical Edition* (HSS, 27; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985), pp. 154, 160-62.
See Lange, 'Wisdom and Predestination', pp. 340-54 (mentioned above, note 13).

18. See the phrase ברא והיא ('He created') in 1QS 3.17, 25.

19. The translation from the Hebrew original of 1QS follows F. García
Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (trans. W.G.E. Watson; Leiden: E.J.
Brill, 1994), p. 6.

and pain (1QS 3.22-23).[20] This is done in this essay by means of a deterministic-dualistic theory, according to which all mankind and all the angels who conduct the human being's works are divided into two groups: the entity of light ('the sons of light'), symbolizing goodness, and the entity of darkness ('the sons of darkness'), symbolizing evil (1QS 3.17b-21a).[21] According to God's decree, these two created entities must struggle between each other without conciliation for ruling the created world (1QS 4.15-18a), and this struggle is the predestined decree for history. Thus, according to this dualistic decree, historical time is also divided into good periods, when the forces of light rule, and evil periods, when the forces of evil succeed to rule. The justice of God could not be observed so long as this dualistic situation continued, as the sons of light, when trapped by the angel of darkness (i.e. Belial, the devil) stumbled and acted evil (1QS 3.20b-24a; cf. CD 4.12b-19a; 1QM 13.11-12), despite their predestined lot to be the righteous. Therefore they are punished and suffered (1QS 3.22-23; cf. 4Q510 frg. 1, 5-8a = 4Q511 frg. 10, 1-5a).[22]

The members of the Qumran community, who considered themselves to be the 'sons of light', needed to deal with this issue of theodicy. According to their philosophical doctrine, God loved the spirit of light 'for all eternal ages and delights in its works forever', but he loathes and forever hates the ways of the counsel of the spirit of darkness (1QS 3.26–4.1). They thus believed that, according to the law of retaliation (1QS 4.1-12; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 18.1.5), the epoch of evil and suffering should have been temporary, and 'the God of Israel and His angel of truth will succor all the sons of light' in the eschatological war between the forces of light and the forces of darkness (1QS 3.24b-25a; cf. 1QM 13.10, 12-15; 17.6). Then wickedness will vanish and truth and justice

20. For example, the persecution of the Teacher of Righteousness and his men, as mentioned in 4QpPs[a] (see above, note 15). Cf. 1QH[a] 2.21-22, 32-34; 4.10c-12.

21. Cf. Sir 33.14-15; 42.24. D.J. Harrington ('Wisdom at Qumran', in E. Ulrich and J. Vanderkam [eds.], *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* [Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994], pp. 137-52 [149]) points out that this duality, as it appears in both *Ben Sira* and Qumran, attributed absolute sovereignty to God the creator. Despite certain differences in details, this modified dualism was used in *Ben Sira* and Qumran within their treatment of theodicy in the context of creation.

22. 4Q510-511, שירים למשכיל ('Cantiques du Sage'), was published by M. Baillet, *Qumran Grotte 4.III* (DJD, VII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 215-62.

will rise up forever (1QS 4.18-19, 23). This deterministic doctrine, in which history and eschatology are considered as a successive process led by God's decree for the victory of justice over wickedness, was to be taught to all the members of the Qumran community (1QS 3.13-15; CD 13.7-8), to strengthen their faith in God's justice and their adherence to the particularistic communal way of avoiding wickedness.[23]

The implication of the concept of creation for the predestined law of history and eschatology seems to reach its practical significance in the *Hymn to the Creator*, which is attached to the plan of the eschatological war against the forces of wickedness in the *War Scroll* (1QM 10.8-16). This hymn is a part of 'the prayer for the time of war' to be recited by the sons of light when they are organized and grouped for battle against the forces of the *Kittim* (probably the Romans), the last kingdom that oppressed Judaea in the Second Temple period.[24]

In praising God's great deeds and mighty works, items of the creation in heaven and earth were summarized freely, following traditional descriptions of the creation in biblical, apocryphal and Qumran writings.[25] However, two additional topics were attached to this list of the traditional created items: (1) the division of human beings into separate nations, and the division of the earth into their inherited dwellings (10.14b-15a; cf. Gen. 10;[26] 11.7, 9; Deut. 32.8);[27] (2) the predestination of years and appointed times (10.15b-16a), that the predestination of the epochs of history. By adding to the cosmological created order the division of the earth, not only into fertile areas and desolate areas (1QM 10.12b-13a),[28] but also into the lands inherited by each nation (i.e. the political order), the right of each nation to its inheritance against imperialistic domination, such as that of the *Kittim*–Romans is justified. The

23. See, for example, CD 2.2-11; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.5.9.

24. See Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 21-26, 244-46.

25. See Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, pp. 304-309.

26. This topic is related to Gen. 10, concerning the nations that were separated from Noah's descendants after the flood (see esp. vv. 5, 20, 31-32).

27. Gen. 11.7, 9 states the tradition regarding the separation of the population of Babylon into many tongues. Deut. 32.8 states the idea regarding the inheritance of land fixed by God for each people, among them the people of Israel.

28. Cf. Job 38.26-27, and esp. 4Q286 5.1-6. See B. Nitzan, '4Q286-290. 4QBerakhot[a-e]', in E. Eshel *et al.* (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.VI Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part I* (DJD, XI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 22-24.

war for reinstating the original created political order is thereby justi-
fied. By adding the predestined historical periods to the list of traditional
cosmological and religious times, the time of the eschatological war is
justified as predestined. Thus, in the first column of the *War Scroll* we
read יום יעוד לו מאז למלחמת כלה לבני חושך ('the day determined by
Him since ancient times for the war of extermination against the sons of
darkness', 1QM 1.10).[29] This message regarding the predestined con-
nection between creation and eschatology is intended to strengthen the
sons of light in the eschatological war against the sons of darkness, as is
done by both the hymns of the *Thanksgiving Scroll* and the essay of the
maskil in the *Rule Scroll,* along the historical periods of seceding from
the multitude of Israel and of suffering of evil and persecutions.

It is noteworthy that the connection between creation and history, or
creation and eschatology, is already known in the prophetic books (Isa.
40.12-16, 25-31; 42.5-9; 45.11-13, 17-24; 48.3-16; 51.9-11, 15-16;
65.17-25; 66.22-24; Jer. 31.34-36). In these prophecies the connection
between ראשונות ואחרונות, 'the first things and the last things'—that is,
between those events of the past (creation and history) that were real-
ized according to the will of God, and the expected redemption—was
generally intended to prove the reliability of the promised redemption
in the contexts of polemics against the idols, the gods of the great
kingdoms that ruled Judea. However, as long as eschatological events
were promised directly by God, to his prophets, there was no need to
reveal an entire predestined plan for history and eschatology for pre-
dicting the future. Such predestined blueprints for history and eschatol-
ogy were conjectured by apocalyptic seers only after the cessation of
direct prophecy.[30] Messages about the future based upon rational coher-
ence between creation, history, reality and eschatology were considered
by these seers as revelations of divine mysteries.[31] The Qumran authors
of the aforementioned compositions considered the predestined events

29. The translation of the Hebrew follows García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls,*
p. 95.

30. See E.E. Urbach, 'מתי פסקה הנבואה בישראל', *Tarbiz* 17 (1946), pp. 1-11;
Y. Kaufmann, תולדות האמונה הישראלית, IV (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute; Tel Aviv:
Dvir, 5th edn, 1967), pp. 378-408.

31. See Licht, 'Time and Eschatology', pp. 177-82 (mentioned above, note 13);
'The Attitude to Past Events in the Bible and in Apocalyptic Literature' (in
Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 60 (1990), pp. 1-18; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination,* pp. 62-
65, 91-99.

of creation, history and eschatology, as mentioned in their works, as wondrous mysteries (1QH^a 1.21 [cf. also 1.11, 13, 29]; 13.2-3; 1QS 3.23; 4.18). They claimed, like the apocalyptic authors, that the innovations dealt with in their works had been revealed to them, or to the sons of light, by God through knowledge of his wondrous mysteries (1QH^a 1.21; 13.2-3, 10-11; 1QM 10.11, 16). Such apocalyptic revelations are considered in the Qumran writings as a gift of wisdom given to the righteous.[32] This concept is specified in the sapiential writings from Qumran, some of which deal with the idea of creation and its implications.

III

Insofar as we may derive reasonable conclusions from fragmented texts, as are most of the Qumran sapiential works, the theme of the creation is mentioned in these compositions in order to teach their readers or audience some theological or ethical lesson. To this end, their authors used either a specific motif of the tradition of creation, mostly concerning the separation between light and darkness, or a wide range of the theme of creation.

One of the predominant implications of the idea of creation in the sapiential works is concerned with '*knowledge*'. These works accentuate the differentiation between the divine knowledge and the human knowledge. Divine knowledge is considered as רז נהיה (*raz nihyah* or *raz nihyeh*), 'the mystery of what is to come into being'. According to the *Book of Mysteries* (preserved in 1Q27 and 4Q299-300 + 4Q301),[33] the mystery of 'what is to come into being' is known only to the Creator, 'who preordains every plan…causing everything [which comes into being]' (4Q299 3aii.10-12). These are the mysteries (קדמוניות) of the former things referring to God's plan for the ancient past, and the mysteries about what is to take place (מה אשר יבוא עליהם) (1Q27 1 1.3-4; [4Q300 3 3-4]), referring to the predestined divine plan for

32. In CD 2.7-13; 4Q180–81; 4Q402 4.12-15 the predestination of history is considered as a revelation of divine wisdom, albeit without referring in detail to creation. See Lange, 'Wisdom and Predestination', pp. 350-53.

33. R. de Vaux, 'La Grotte des manuscripts Hébreux', *RB* 56 (1949), pp. 605-609; J.T. Milik, 'Livre des Mysteries', in D. Barthelemy and J.T. Milik (eds.), *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD, I; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 102-107; L.H. Schiffman, '4Q299-301. 4QMysteries^a-b, c?', in T. Elgrin *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 4.XV Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (DJD, XX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 31-123.

eschatology.[34] A wide range of themes of creation—the heavenly bodies (4Q299 frg. 5), according to the cycles by which the cosmological order of the seasons is fixed (4Q299 frg. 6.1)[35]—are invoked as evidence of God's hidden wisdom, which is beyond the ken of humanity.[36] As for human knowledge, this appears in two different kinds of knowledge, representing the dualistic concept of the Qumran community. One kind refers to the Genesis tradition of creation—namely the knowledge that was given to human beings 'in order that they would know the difference between g[ood and evil, and between falsehood and truth]' (4Q300 frg. 3.2;[37] cf. Gen. 2.16; 3.5),[38] to save their lives from 'mysteries of transgression'.[39] Opposed to it is human wisdom of the kind of חוכמת עורמת רוע, 'wisdom of evil cunning' (4Q299 3a 2.b 5), wisdom of 'magicians who teach transgression' (4Q300 frg. 1.2.1). This kind of human wisdom, which is prevalent among all the nations, is unable to get through the 'eternal secrets' and the 'roots of [God's] secrets' (4Q300 1 2-3), by which the mysteries of history and eschatology were predestined. These are concealed from them (4Q300 frg. 1.2.2), and thus their wisdom is in vain, and the wickedness and falsehood they support will vanish. Here a motif of the Creation is used metaphorically: '...as darkness is removed from before light...so shall wickedness cease forever...' (1Q27 1 1.5-7 = 4Q300 3.5-6). Darkness symbolizes wickedness and folly, whereas light symbolizes justice and knowledge. By referring to the prophetic eschatological vision that knowledge will fill

34. See Harrington, 'Wisdom at Qumran', pp. 145, 150 (mentioned above, note 21); Lange, 'Wisdom and Predestination', pp. 343-344. According to *Wis.* 8.8, this knowledge may be revealed to man by means of wisdom.

35. In the preserved text of fragments 5 and 6, such themes as the following are mentioned: '[light]s of the stars...[migh]ty mysteries of light and the ways of dark[ness]...seasons of warmth, as well as periods of [...], and the going out of night [...], and the times of birth of the creatures...[lightning bolt]s He made for eternal rain...' (Schiffman, '4Q229-301', pp. 45-46).

36. Schiffman, '4Q299-301', p. 45.

37. מ[א] ([t]ruth) has been partly preserved in 1Q27 1 1.2.

38. Cf. Deut. 1.39; Isa. 7.15-16; 4Q416 1 15; 4Q417 2 1.8; 4Q418 2 7 and 43 [5-6] (Schiffman, 4Q299-301 p. 105). For the text of the Sapiential Work (4Q416–18) see B.Z. Wacholder and M.G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls*, Fascicle II (Washington DC: BAS, 1992), pp. 54, 66, 78, 90.

39. Cf. *Ben Sira* 17.7, 11-14, but here this theme does not reflect a dualistic concept. See Harrington, 'Wisdom at Qumran', pp. 149-51.

the world[40] as the light of the sun suffuses the entire world, the author of the *Book of Mysteries* reveals the good tidings that eschatology will appear as a new creation.[41]

The lesson that may be taught from the theological confrontation between the wisdom of magicians and that of God seems to be a practical one: to warn the readers or audience[42] of this work of the dangers of relying on false wisdom, which is worthless for saving lives, and to encourage them to correct their ways, as written in 4Q300 frg. 2 2.3-4: יעזוב קנאת מדנים [...] מעלו אשר מעל (he shall abandon the jealous strife [...] his transgression which he committed), while expecting the eschatological salvation.

A similar recommendation may be inferred from the sapiential work 4Q418 frgs. 123 2 and 126 II 11ff.[43] Here an appeal is made to a man of understanding (מבין is used as a participle) to be aware of God's trial at the period of weighing the deeds of man and judging offenses. A man should take into consideration all that was revealed to those who understand the רז נהיה for saving himself. These are revelations concerning all that happen along years and periods, 'why it is and what it is' (יהיה למה היה ומה), mainly from the historical-eschatological aspect (frg. 123 2),[44] and to deduce a lesson concerning his individual faith.[45]

The motif of the creation of light and darkness was used in the sapiential admonitions of 4Q303 and 4Q392, warning people to abandon treachery and to adhere to the commandments of God. However, as far as the fragmented manuscripts show, this theme was not dealt with in these works according to the deterministic-dualistic approach, which characterized sectarian writings, but only by deducing sapiential conclusions from the theme of creation.

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40. Cf. 1QpHab 10.14–11.2.

41. This idea of Isa. 65.17; 66.22 is elaborated upon the new creation in *Jub.* 1.29; *1 En.* 45.4-6; 91.16-17; 1QH[a] 13.12; 2 Pet. 3.13 where the light of the luminaries symbolizes peace, justice and salvation.

42. See the imperative form שמעו (listen o you), preserved in 4Q299 3a 2.9. This is a regular form of address in biblical and Qumranic hortatory and wisdom texts. Schiffman, '4Q299–301' p. 43. See below, note 47.

43. See Wacholder and Abegg, *Preliminary Edition*, II, pp. 115-16.

44. A cosmological law of nature is mentioned in 4Q418 frg. 126 2.1, but its context is fragmented.

45. See Harrington, 'Wisdom at Qumran', p. 150.

4Q303[46]

<div dir="rtl">

1. ‏[מבינים שמעו ו]

2. ‏[מים וישביתו מעל נ]

3. ‏[א {ספר את} נפלאות אל אש]ר

4. ‏[לאור עולם ושמי טוה]ר

5. ‏או]ר במקום תהו ובו]הו

6. ‏[כול מעשיהם עד ק]ן

7. ‏[ר בם מלך לכולם]

8. ‏[ר ושכל טוב ורע ל]ן

...9-14

</div>

1.	]those of understanding pay heed and [
2.	] ... and cause them to cease treachery[47]...[
3.	] I {will tell}[48] the wonderful acts of God whi[ch
4.	]for eternal light and cle[ar] heaven[
5.	ligh]t in place of emptiness and vo[id
6.	]all their deeds until ...[
7.	]... among them, a king for all of them[
8.	]... and insight of good and evil, to [
9-14. ...	

46. See the edition of T. Lim, *Qumran Cave 4.XV Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (DJD, XX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 151-53; and the critical edition of H. Jacobson, 'Notes on 4Q303', *DSD* 6.1 (1999), pp. 78-80.

47. The preserved fragment of 4Q303 opened with the phrases מבינים ושמעו (line 1) and וישביתו מעל (line 2). A suggestion, made by Lim, who translated the verbs of these phrases as perfect forms, 'having understood, they listened and[ ]... they caused treachery to cease', cannot be supported either in its context, nor according to biblical and apocryphal traditions. Based on regular openings of sapiential texts, the opening phrase מבינים שמעו may be understood, as suggested by Qimron (DJD XX, p. 153), as an appeal to 'those of understanding', namely, sages. See also Jacobson ('Notes on 4Q303', p. 78), who translated this phrase as 'you who understand pay heed', based on Isa. 42.18; 51.1; Prov. 8.32; Job 34.2; *Sir.* 16.24; 1QHᵃ 1.34-35; and cf. 4Q298 1-2 1.1-2; 3-42.4; 4Q299 3a2.9; 4Q302 22.2 (DJD, XX, pp. 20, 25, 41-43, 135-36, text and comments). The verbs שמעו and וישביתו need not necessarily refer to the same subject. In reading שמעו in the imperative form, and וישביתו in the imperfect form, the combination of the phrases מבינים שמעו and וישביתו מעל may refer to those of understanding that they will cause other people to cease treachery. A suggestion made by Jacobson ('Notes on 4Q303') to read the phrase of line 2 וישבותו מעל as referring to the heavenly water ('water [?] and will stop above [?]') cannot be supported according to this context, because the details of the 'wonderful acts of God', namely the wonders of creation that the author intends to tell (אספרה, or אספר את, or אספר כל), as suggested correctly by Jacobson for line 3, do not precede this declaration (summoning) but follow it (see lines 4-11).

48. This reading was suggested by Jacobson, see above, note 47.

The author of *4Q Meditation on Creation* (4Q303) seems to use two motifs of the Genesis tradition of creation in his recommendation for ceasing treachery. These are the motif of the 'insight of good and evil' (line 8), given to human beings according to Gen. 2.17,[49] and the motif of 'light in place of emptiness and void' (line 5) referring to Gen. 1.2, 5. Thus, assuming that the text is properly understood despite its fragmentation, we may conclude that a lesson is being drawn here from selected items of the creation theme to illustrate an admonition rooted in ethical implications.[50]

4Q392 frg. 1[51]

<div dir="rtl">

1. [ותממלכות] [ ]
2. [.................] וד איש ...] א[ל]הים ולא לסור ממן [ ]
3. ובבריתו תדבק נפשם דוין [ ] יש דברי פי [ ]ו אלוה[י]שמים
4. ממעל ולחקר דרכי בני אדם [ל]אין סתר לכם הוא ברא חשך[ואו]ר לו
5. ובמעונתו אור אורתם וכל אפלה לפנו נחה ואין עמו להבדיל בין האור
6. לחשך כי לבנ[י] אד[ם] הבדילם לא[ו]ר [ ] יומם ובשמש לילה ירח וכוכבים
7. עמו אור לאין חקר ואין לדעתנ[ו] קץ כ]יא כופלים כל מעשי אל אנחנו
8. בשר הלוא נשכיל במה עמנו ל[ ]...

</div>

1. […] and the kingdoms […
2. […] God to man (?) and not to turn away from […]
3. and their soul adheres to His covenant and [they keep(?)] the words of His mo[uth …] God […] the heavens
4. above and to examine the paths of the sons of man, for whom there is no hiding-place. He created for Himself darkness and light;

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49. For this theme cf. 4Q300 3 2, mentioned above, cf. Ben Sira 17.7, 11-14; and *2 En.* 30.15, where the knowledge of good and evil is symbolized by light and darkness. The ability given to man to distinguish between good and evil made man himself responsible for choosing the path of good rather than evil. See C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven* (London: SPCK, 1982), p. 150.

50. This conclusion follows that of Lim, changed slightly. Lim was impressed by the created order referred to in this text. Although the items of the creation theme mentioned here—light, heavens, insight of understanding good and evil, and the creation of woman (lines 9-11)—follow the order of Gen. 1 and 2; these are only selected items of the creation theme. The fragmentary text does not allow us to observe here a more detailed order.

51. See Wacholder and Abegg, *Preliminary Edition*, II, pp. 38-39. In *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue* (compiled by S. Reed *et al.*; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), p. 107, this text is titled 'A Liturgical Work'. But there are no liturgical characteristics in the preserved fragments of this composition. The English translation follows predominantly that of García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scroll*, p. 438, except for line 8. See note 52.

5. and in His dwelling the light shines, and all the shades rest before Him; and He does not need to separate light

6. from darkness, for (only) for men are light and the sun separated during the day, the moon and the stars at night.

7. With Him there is a light which cannot be inspected nor can it be known [...] for it doubles all the deeds of God. We

8. are flesh for learning that which is subject to our understanding...[52]

The metaphorical implication of light upon knowledge is used in the sapiential admonition 4Q392 frg. 1, to instruct its listeners לא לסור מם [ ] תדבק נפשם ובבריתו , 'not to turn away from [...] and their soul adheres to His covenant' (lines 2-3).[53] This purpose is attained by drawing a distinction between the primordial darkness and light created on the first day (Gen. 1.1-5), 'that He created for Himself...' (lines 4b-6a) and the light of the luminaries created on the fourth day (Gen. 1.14-19).[54] Whereas the light of the luminaries is limited to delineating the

52. For the reading of line 8 and its translation cf. Job 15.9b. The separation made by García Martínez between the Hebrew phrases הלוא נשכיל and במה עמנו seems unacceptable (see below).

53. The terms לא לסור ('not to turn away from' God's commandments) and דבק ('adhere' to the Law) are used in Deuteronomic phraseology in instructions and admonitions (i.e. Deut. 17.11, 20; Jos. 23.6, 8; 2 Kgs 18.6). See M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 333, 339.

54. A theological implication of the distinction between the primordial light and the light of the luminaries is apparent, for example, in *4 Ezra* 6.40, 45-46, and in Philo, *Op. Mund.* ('*On the Creation*') §§29-35, 55-61. The notion of the primordial light as stated in *4 Ezra* 6.40 is: 'Then thou didst command that a ray of light be brought forth from thy treasuries so that thy works might then appear'. One may view this verse as did Rowland in *The Open Heaven*, p. 148: '...not so much an act of creation as the bestowal on the cosmos...of that which already exist with God' (see also M.E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Fourth Book of Ezra* [ed. F.M. Cross; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990], p. 178 [text], and p. 185 n. 26 [commentary]). Similarly, Philo (*Op. Mund.* §29), who explained the notion of the primordial light as 'an incorporeal pattern, discernible only by the mind, of the sun and of all luminaries which were to come into existence throughout heaven'. That is, 'in the category of the incorporated and intelligible...simply models and measuring-rules and patterns and seals...serving for the creation of other bodies' (*Op. Mund* §34). See F.A. Colson and G.H. Whitaker, *Philo*, I (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929). As for the luminaries, these were created, according to *4 Ezra* 6.45-46 'to serve man, who was about to be formed'; and Philo, *Op Mund* §§55-61, detailed the kind of useful service rendered by each

boundary of day and night for the sake of human beings (line 6b), there is no limit to the primordial light (lines 5-6a), which symbolizes God's endless knowledge, ‏עמו אור לאין חקר ואין לדעת[ו קץ]‎ (line 7; cf. Isa. 40.28; Ps. 145.3).[55]

The Hebrew term ‏חקר‎ is used in this text ambiguously: in the sense of 'unsearchable', to indicate the greatness, serenity and wisdom of God, which are without limits (line 7; cf. Job 11.7: 'Can you find out the deep things of God? Can you find out the limit of the Almighty?');[56] and in the sense of 'inquiring', to show that there are no hiding or secrets from God, who created light and darkness, and before whom all is opened when he intends to inquire into the ways of human beings (lines 4-6; cf. Ps. 139.1-3, 12; Job 10.4; 28.24; *Ben Sira* 16.19-23; 39.19-20; 42.18-19).

These arguments should lead the audience to the conclusion that ‏אנחנו בשר הלוא נשכיל במה עמנו‎ (line 7c-8)—that we are not transcendent like God, and hence are only able to learn that which is subject to our understanding (cf. Job 15.9b).[57] The fragmentary text does not allow one to specify with certainty the knowledge intended for human beings. However, based on the purpose of this admonition, ‏ובבריתו תדבק נפשם‎ (line 3), one may suggest here that the intended knowledge is that of the commandments of the Law.

IV

The liturgical implications of the theme of creation are manifested according to many prayers in the calendar. The liturgical calendar of

of the corporeal heavenly bodies for the sake of human beings and for the 'permanence of the whole'.

55. It is impossible to know all the implications drawn in this text from the idea of the primordial light, due to its fragmentation. However, the symbolizing of the primordial light upon God's endless knowledge (line 7) may imply a common tradition that was deliberately elaborated in diverse directions. It may be elaborated in the sense of the incorporeal pattern or 'Logos' of creation, as in *4 Ezra* and Philo's *Op. Mund.*, as stated above in n. 54; or in the sense of 'inquiring', to show that there can be no hiding or secrets from God, who created light and darkness, as may be inferred from the extant text of 4Q392 1, line 4.

56. Cf. also Job 11.6 ‏כי כפלים לתושיה‎ (for wisdom is many-sided), which is mentioned in the phrase ‏[כ]יא כופלים כל מעשי אל‎] (line 7b).

57. The Hebrew phrase ‏במה עמנו‎ (line 8) in the context of 'our understanding', may refer to the knowledge of differentiation between good and evil, as stated in Gen. 2.16-17; see 4Q300 3.2; 4Q303 8, and see above note 49.

Qumran mentions a daily liturgy referring to the regular appearance of the luminaries delimiting the day and the night, as well as liturgy referring to the monthly, seasonal and yearly cycles of the heavenly bodies (see 1QS 10.1-8). Thus, the calendrical signs of the luminaries stated in Gen. 1.14 became in Qumran 'a law engraved forever' (1QS 10.6, 8) for a fixed liturgical schedule.[58]

In Jewish tradition the morning liturgy is modeled upon the angelic liturgy, which follows the creation of the light as depicted in Job 38.7.[59] This liturgical theme is mentioned and elaborated in apocryphal and Qumran writings of the Second Temple period and in later Jewish liturgy. The creation of the light is followed by the liturgy of the angels in *Jub.* 2.3; in the hymn to the Creator in *Ben Sira* 42.16-17; in the apocryphal hymn to the Creator of *11Q Psalms Scroll* (11QPs[a] 26.9-15);[60] and in the *Yoṣer 'Or* blessing of the Jewish morning liturgy, and other Jewish prayers.[61]

In Qumran the cosmological aspect of creation as apparent in the daily liturgy is mentioned in several texts: 4Q408; 4Q503; 1QS 10.1-3a; 1QH 12.4c-7; 1QM 14.13-14. According to these texts, the fixed daily liturgy as held in Qumran follows, not only the renewal of the day, but also the renewal of the evening. The act of blessing God morning

58. See B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ, 12; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 52-59.

59. See the commentary of *Mesudat David* on Job 38.7. According to *Jub.* 2.2, these may be the angels that were created on the first day for leading all the cosmological actions everywhere, including those of the stars, the creatures which are in heaven. Cf. 1QH[a] 1.10-13.

60. See J.A. Sanders, *Psalms Scroll*, pp. 47, 89-91 (mentioned above, note 13).

61. See M. Weinfeld, 'The Angelic Song over the Luminaries in the Qumran Texts', in D. Dimant and L.H. Schiffman (eds.), *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness* (STDJ, 16; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), pp. 131-57; *idem*, 'Traces of Kedushat Yozer and Pesukei De-Zimra in the Qumran Litrature and in Ben-Sira' (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 45 (1976), pp. 15-26. The common tradition of this liturgy is apparent by including the angels within the creation of the first day, and by using the same Hebrew stem of ראה (see) in *Jub.* 2.3 (= 4Q216 10-11) and 11QPs[a] 26.12 for depicting the situation of the angelic liturgy, whose blessing is upon seeing the works of creation. G.J. Brooke ('Exegetical Strategies in Jubilees 1-2', in M. Albani *et al* (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997], pp. 39-57 [54]) suggests, according to the further details of creation in 11QPs[a] 26.13-15, which follow Jer. 10.12-13 and Ps. 135.7, that this hymn was composed earlier than *Jubilees*, and that *Jubilees* is thus dependent on the hymn regarding this point.

and evening may have been related to the repeated phrase ויהי ערב , ויהי בקר 'and there was evening and there was morning', in Genesis 1, which limits the time of each day according to the renewal of the luminaries of the day and the night (cf. Gen. 1.14-19). This principle, by which the times of the daily blessings are fixed, is explicitly written, as follows.

1QS 10.2-3 באופיע מאורות מזבול קודש עם האספם למעון כבוד

> When the lights of the holy vault shine out,
> when they retire to the abode of glory[62]

(cf. 1QH 12.4c-7; 4Q408 1+1b 5)

1QM 14.13-14: עם מ[בו]א יומם ולילה ומוצאי ערב ובוקר

> at the onset of day and at night, at the fall of evening and at
> dawn[63]

This principle is explicated in 4Q408 1+1b 5-11 as being based upon the creation of light and darkness, day and night, as follows.[64]

ו/י[ענו כל]   5. [ב]הפיע פארי כבדו מזבול קד[ש
                        +6 [ ] אתה אדני...
6. בר[וך יהוה]ה[צ]דיק בכל דרכיך.ה[ג]בר כח ה[ ] במש[פטיך הנאמן]
                        +7.[ ]...
7. ...[ ]המבין בכ[ל ש]כל הנ[ ]ל[ ]ל גבורה הנחה להוצי את[ ]...
8. אשר ברתה את הבקר אות להופיע ממשלת אור לגבול יומם בר[
9. לעבדתם לברך את שם קדשך בראתם כי טוב האור...
10. [ ]...אשר בר[ת]ה את הערב אות להופיע ממשלת[ן חושך (לגבול לילה)
11. [ ]מעמל לברך [את שם קדשך בו]ראתם [כ]י...

5.   [...to] cause appear His magnificent glory from the (?)/ His(?)
        holy abode [...] answer all (?) [...]
6.   [... B]lessed {(is) YHWH} be You, oh Lord, [who] You are
        righteous in all Your ways, who (You are) strong with force
        (?), who [...] Your [jud]gements, who (You are) trustworthy
        [...]
7.   ... [...] who (You are) wise with all insight, who (You are)
        ...all (?) strength. Who (You) guide (?) to cause rise the [...]
8.   that is (?) You have created the morning as a sign to cause
        appear the dominion of the light for the area of the day ...
9.   to (?)/ for (?) their work (?)/ service (?) in order to bless Your
        holy name, You have created them because good is the light...

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62.   The translation follows García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 15.
63.   For the translation see García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 110.
64.   See A. Steudel, '4Q408: A Liturgy on Morning and Evening Prayer—
Preliminary Edition', *RevQ* 16.63 (1994), pp. 313-34 (318-19).

10.   [...] ... You have created the evening as a sign to cause to
        appear the dominion [of the darkness...]
11.   [...] after the work in order to bless [Your holy name,] You
        [have c]reated them [becau]se...

According to this text, God is blessed at the times of the appearance of
the morning and evening luminaries, as these were created for assigning
the limits of the day and the night. Their fixed appearance bears witness
to the faithfulness of God's providence (see line 6), as he causes the
luminaries to rise (line 7). Thus, the fixed cosmological order guides the
order of the lives of human beings, for working (cf. Ps. 104.23) and for
blessing the Lord (lines 9, 11).

The liturgical application of the cosmological theme of the daily
cycle of the luminaries is apparent in the series of the *Daily Prayers*
(4Q503).[65] This series includes blessings to be recited in the evening
and morning of each day of the first month. The cosmological-calen-
drical theme is reflected here by the mention of the date of each day of
the month in the evening, and by mentioning the time of the blessing of
each morning 'at the rising of the sun for illuminating the earth'
(passim), possibly according to the repeated formula of Genesis 1, ויהי
ערב ויהי בקר 'and there was evening and there was morning'. It is also
reflected in the reckoning of the sun and moon light of each day and
each night of the month (cf. *1 En.* 72–74). However, it is not fully clear
which calendrical system is adhered to in this set of prayers, whether
that of a lunar or a solar calendar.[66]

As stated above, the cosmological principle of the renewal of the
luminaries is considered 'a law engraved forever' (1QS 10.6, 8; cf.
1QH[a] 12.10c-11), not just for the daily liturgy, but also for the monthly,
seasonal and annual liturgical cycles (1QS 10.3b-8; 1QH[a] 12.8-9).[67]
The application of this principle to precise seasonal and annual cycles is
probably done according to the concept of a 364-day calendar, as
depicted in *1 En.* 72 and 82 and *Jub.* 6.23-32, according to which the

65. M. Baillet, 'Prières Quotidiennes', *Qumran Grotte 4.III* (DJD; Oxford:
Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 105-36.
66. J.M. Baumgarten ('4Q503 [Daily Prayers] and the Lunar Calendar', *RevQ*
12 [1987], pp. 399-407) disagrees with Baillet concerning the calendrical system
used in this set of blessings. Whereas Baillet assumes here the solar calendar of 364
days ('Prières Quotidiènnes', p. 106), Baumgarten presumes here a lunar calendar.
For Baillet's assumption, supported by E. Glickler Chazon, see below, note 80
67. See above, note 58.

year is divided into 52 full weeks and into 4 seasons, each one consist-ing of 13 complete weeks (= 91 days).[68] Hence the fixed cycles of the luminaries, which regulate cosmological time in a wondrous, unchang-ing harmony, is evidence for the only true law, the law of the Creator.[69] The adaptation of the liturgical schedule to the times, as renewed by the cosmological cycles, therefore symbolizes the integration of human worship within the cosmological order, and expropriates any other litur-gical schedule as false.[70] This concept is evident in the liturgical schedule of David's songs in 11QPs[a] 27, as follows:

> Songs to sing before the altar over the whole-burnt *tamid* offering every day,
> for all the days of the year, 364; and for the *qorban* of the Sabbaths, 52 songs'.(lines 5-7)[71]

The enumeration in this list of the songs for the Sabbaths brings us to the issue of the Sabbath liturgy in Qumran. Although the Sabbath is not considered as a cosmological phenomenon, but rather as a religious sign of the completion of the creation (Gen. 2.1-3; *Jub.* 2.17-21),[72] its enumeration, as apparent in the list of David's songs, is used for connecting the Sabbath law with the liturgy of a 364-day calendar.

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68. See J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), pp. 204-206. For the structure of the 364-day calendar, see A. Jaubert, 'Le Calendrier des Jubilés et de la Secte de Qum-rân', *VT* 3 (1953), pp. 250-64. For the implications of the calendric issue and Qumran Liturgy, see S. Talmon, 'The Calendar of the Covenanters of the Judean Desert', in *The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: E.J, Brill, 1989), pp. 147-85. For the research of the calendric issue of Qumran see U. Glessmer, 'Calendars in the Qumran Scroll', in P.W. Flint and J.C. Vanderkam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scroll after Fifty Years*, II (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), pp. 213-78.

69. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll*, p. 171.

70. Such a false schedule is condemned in *Jub.* 6.33-38, which depicts the controversy between two calendric systems, that of a solar calendar of 364 days, and that of a lunar calendar of 354 days (cf. *1 En.* 72–82).

71. See Sanders, *Psalms Scroll*, pp. 91-93.

72. This is possibly the reason that the Sabbath is not explicitly mentioned in the liturgical schedule of 1QS 10.1-8 and 1QH[a] 12.2-11. R. Elior (*The Hebrew Calendar* [in Hebrew; Jerusalem: Presidential Residence, 1995], pp. 26-27), explains that the Sabbath signifies the division of holy time, and thus is not considered together with natural time. On this issue see also M. Fisch, *To Know Wisdom* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute, 1994), pp. 52-53.

According to this system, none of the festivals falls on the Sabbath, and thus the holiness of the Sabbath is not profaned by the festival sacrificial worship (cf. CD 11.17b-18).[73] This concept is also apparent in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400-407; MasShirShabb; 11QShirShabb),[74] designated for the 13 Sabbaths of one complete season, which may have been appropriate for each of the 4 seasons of the 364-day calendar, namely, for 52 sabbaths.[75] These are angelic songs, in which the Sabbath liturgy of God, the sovereign of the whole world,[76] serves as a model for the human worship performed on the Sabbath.[77] The angelic Sabbath's blessing of the Creator is given as a

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73. For research on this issue, see Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, p. 48 n. 3.

74. Newsom, *Songs* (mentioned above, n. 17).

75. See J. Maier, 'Shire 'Olat hash-Shabbat, Some Observations on Their Calendric Implications in Qumran', in J. Trebolle Barrera & L. Vegas Montaner (eds.), *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, II (STDJ, 11; Leiden: E.J, Brill, 1992), pp. 543-60.

76. The creation is not mentioned in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, nor is there any explicit attribution of God as the creator, apart from the implications for God's deterministic decree concerning history and eschatology in 4Q402 4.12b-14a (see above, notes 17, 32). However, the supremacy of God is attributed in these songs by summoning the worshippers and the angels to praise the royalty of God and his sovereignty over the whole universe (i.e. 4Q400 12.1, 3, 7, 8; 2.1, 3, 5, etc.). God's sovereignty is likewise explicitly mentioned in the only direct blessing pre-served in this composition: ברוך [ה]א[ד]ו[ן] מלך ה[כול מעלה על כול ברכה ות [שבחות], 'Blessed be the Lord, the k[ing of] all, above all blessing and pr[aise]' (4Q403 1 1.28). See A.M. Schwemer, 'Gott als König und seine Königsherrschft in den Sabbatliedern aus Qumran', in M. Hengel and A.M. Shcwemer (eds.), *Königs-herrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult in Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), pp. 45-118.

77. Newsom. *Songs*, p. 19, has described the purpose of these Sabbath songs, 'as a praxis of something like a communal mysticism'. Newsom has suggested the social function of 'such a quasi–mystical text...as a vehicle for...spiritual exercise'. She wrote: 'The hypnotic quality of the language and the vividness of the descrip-tion of the celestial temple caused...to create a sense of the presence of the heav-enly temple' (p. 72). D. Falk, however, has emphasized the use of the angelic songs 'as a means of accompanying the heavenly altar service', because 'the picture of worship in the heavenly temple represented the ideal for the earthly cult' (*Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* [STDJ, 27; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998], pp. 137-38). The communion of the earthly worshippers with the angelic hosts in praising God on Sabbath may be considered the means for both purposes, the spiritual and the cultic, because there is no discrepancy between these

model for the Sabbath blessing of Israel in *Jub.* 2.21 (cf. *Jub.* 50.9).
However, the text of the angelic Sabbath's blessings and songs appears
neither in the book of *Jubilees* nor in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

The text of the Sabbath liturgy is recorded in the liturgical series
designated for the worship of Israel, as stated in the *Daily Prayers*
(4Q503),[78] and in the *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504-506), designated
for a weekly cycle.[79] These texts refer explicitly to the theme of the
Sabbath in the biblical tradition of creation. The theme of Gen. 2.1-3,
and Exod. 20.11 is apparent in 4Q503, albeit according to its elabora-
tion as given in Isa. 58.13 and *Jub.* 2.17-22; 50.9-10. This is apparent in
4Q503, in which the Sabbath is defined as מנוח ותענוג [מו]עד, 'ti[me] of
rest and delight' (frg. 24-25 5; cf. *Jub.* 2.21; 50.9), קודש ומנוח לנו,
'holiness and rest for us' (frg. 37-38 15), מנוח קודש, 'rest of holiness'
(frg. 41 5; cf. *Jub.* 2.19; 50;10);[80] and in which it is stated that for keep-
ing its laws the God of Israel has chosen Israel from among the nations
(frg. 24-25 4; cf. *Jub.* 2.19-20); and that the holy name of God is praised
on this day by all the holy ones, presumably the angels (frg. 41 6-7; cf.
Jub. 2.21).[81] These motifs, which reflect an ancient tradition, also appear

purposes. However, as Falk correctly stated, the main scholarly controversy con-
cerns the issue as to whether these songs replaced the earthly sacrificial cult, in
which the Qumran community did not participate (Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, pp. 285-
93), or whether it accompanied it (Falk, *Daily Sabbath*).

78. M. Baillet, 'Prières Quotidiennes', pp. 105-36 (see above, note 65).

79. M. Baillet, 'Paroles des Luminaires', in *Qumran Grotte 4.III* (DJD, VII; Ox-
ford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 137-75; E. Glickler-Chazon, 'A Liturgical Docu-
ment from Qumran and its Implications: "Words of the Luminaries" (4QDibHam)'
(PhD dissertation [in Hebrew]; Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1991).

80. See J.M. Baumgarten, '4Q503 (Daily Prayers)', pp. 399-407 (mentioned
above, n. 66); E. Glickler-Chazon, 'On the Special Character of the Sabbath Prayer:
New Data from Qumran', *Journal of Jewish Music and Liturgy* 15 (1992–93), pp.
1-21 (6-9). These motifs appear in the prayer of the twenty-fifth day of the month
(frg. 37-38) and the prayer for the third one, השלישית (frg 41, line 4), which might
have been the third Sabbath of the same month. Glickler-Chazon pointed out that
'the presence of Sabbath prayers in this liturgy and their assignment to specific days
of given month would presuppose the 364 day calendar' ('Sabbath Prayer', p. 18
n. 23). Thus the twenty fifth of the first, fourth, seventh and tenth months fall on
Sabbath according to this calendar ('Sabbath Prayer' n. 24), and the third Sabbath
fall on the eighteenth of these months. See Baillet, 'Prières Quotidiennes', pp. 118,
120 (commentary notes).

81. Doering, 'Concept of the Sabbath' (see above, note 5), pp. 179-205.

in the rabbinic Jewish Sabbath prayer (see the *'Amidah* of Sabbath).[82]

The prayers entitled הודות ביום השבת, 'Hymns for the Sabbath day', in the weekly series of the *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504 1-2 7), are the only hymns in this series, of which the prayers for the weekdays are supplications.[83] These open with a hymn to the Creator, summoning the creatures of heaven, earth and sea[84] to bless the Creator.[85] The inclusion of this hymn specifies the eternity of the praise by all creatures (1-2 7.[recto]4-5, 9). The eternity of praise is a known liturgical custom, especially at the opening of hymns, as rightly noted by Chazon.[86] Nevertheless, presumably the specification of this motif in the context of a hymn to the Creator may apply to the eternity of the existence of the created cosmos (cf. Ps. 148.6, and possibly Ps. 33.9, 11) and to the eternity of the law of praising God on Sabbath (*Jub.* 2.20-21; 50.9).

In conclusion, our investigation of the implications of the idea of creation in variegated areas of the Qumran literature clarifies how the monotheistic concept of creation and of God's providence are intensified in this literature. This is done by relating all phenomena—cosmological, historical and liturgical—to God's primordial decree, in which the same principle of eternal law and order is applied according to the will of God to enable the eternal existence of the created world. This principle, which may be observed through the cosmological phenomena and is symbolized through the liturgical schedule, is considered as mysterious regarding its implications for the lives of human beings, as individuals and as nations. The apocalyptic concept of the necessity of

82. See M. Weinfeld, 'Prayer and Liturgical Practice in the Qumran Sect' in M. Broshi *et al. The Scrolls of the Judaean Desert: Forty Years of Research* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1992), p. 163 Baumgarten '4Q503 (Daily Prayers)', pp. 401-402; Glickler-Chazon, 'Sabbath Prayer', p. 18 n. 26.

83. For a similar custom in the Jewish prayer see Glicker-Chazon, 'Liturgical Document', p. 304.

84. Cf. Ps. 135.6; Neh. 9.6; 4Q286 5; 4Q287 3; 4Q381 1; 4Q511 1. For 4Q286 and 287 see Nitzan, '4Q286-290 (see above, n. 28), pp. 22-24, 54-55; for 4Q381 1 see E.M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS, 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), pp. 71-85; for 4Q511 1 see Baillet, *Qumran Grotte 4.III*, p. 220 .

85. For the stylistic features of this hymn see Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, pp. 195-96. For a suggested restoration of the text and its detailed interpretation see Glicker-Chazon, 'Liturgical Document', p. 307; 'Sabbath Prayer', p. 4.

86. 'Liturgical Document', pp. 305, 309. She mentions, for example, Pss. 34.2; Sir. 51.11; Tob. 8.5; etc.

the revelation of these mysteries for the sake of human beings is realized in the Qumran writings by the use of biblical motifs of the creation legend and their application to the phenomena of human lives through history, reality and eschatology.

Part III

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

PROVIDENCE: AN UNSOLVED PROBLEM OF THE
DOCTRINE OF CREATION

Christian Link

'To speak of the creator is to speak of the whole.' Seldom does an
exegete have the courage to gather together the sum of his interpretative
work—at the end of a commentary of over 800 pages (600 in the
English edition)—in a philosophical statement. But Claus Westermann
had that courage: 'In the creation declaration, people for the first time
conceptualised the origin of humankind and the world as a whole.'[1]
Integral to the logic of this conclusion is the assumption that 'every-
thing that is included in the world and humankind must therefore share
in this origin from the creator.'[2] The unmistakable intention of the
priestly writings is 'to bring the work of the creator into relationship
with everything in heaven and on earth.'[3] Westermann connects this
observation with the suggestion, which is in no way self-evident, that
the creation stories do not have the meaning that might be attributed to
them by a modern reader. That is, they should not be understood as say-
ing something primarily about an event in the past; instead the primary
motif is 'not a question about the origin but about the world and human-
ity under threat in the present.'[4] The biblical declaration about the cre-
ation must be understood from the present, against the background of
historical catastrophes; it puts the unsettling question of whether the
future will bring about all that was promised in the very beginning.
Thus, 'the link between the origin and the present must be obvious', not
only to the exegete who analyses ancient texts, but to people living
today, who are seeking a secure foundation for their being.

1. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11: A Commentary*, p. 602.
2. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11: A Commentary*, p. 602.
3. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11: A Commentary*, p. 603.
4. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11: A Commentary*, p. 603.

I

In an attempt to fill this unsettling gap (as it was seen), the western theological tradition has set alongside the doctrine of creation the concept of providence, borrowed from Stoic philosophy. Some of the Reformers, in particular Calvin, even saw the real point of belief in creation as lying here, in the untiring action of providence:

> To make God into a creator for a moment, a creator who then put his work behind him once and for all, would be cold and unproductive. We should distinguish ourselves from the children of this world precisely in that the light of the presence of his power in the continuing existence of the world falls on us just as does the light of its first origin.[5]

In the doctrine of providence, the glory of God (כבוד יהוה), the fundamental motif of creation attains its real shine; indeed one has the impression that it is only on the basis of the 'power that is active in the present' in the form of providence that it is possible for us to *experience* the world as creation, rather than to understand the world only as the object of a doctrinal statement. In this interpretation, providence is the continuation of creation (*creatio continua* or *continuata*). It assumes that God does not leave the world after the work of creation, as a master builder leaves the ship, handing it over to the sailors. On the contrary, we can 'have no feelings, no thought, except that God brings it about.'[6] Every creature is always—at all times—dependent on the active presence of its creator. A creature exists only because God literally presents it anew with its existence at every moment. In this western conception, creation is equally divided between the three modes of time and can be seen as three acts. The relationship between these acts presents the real problem: the past reflects God's work 'in the beginning'; the present is God's sustaining work (*conservatio*) and the future God's work as providence (*gubernatio*), already related by Augustine to the final aim of history, the kingdom of God. Even this brief sketch demonstrates that the theme of providence is closely connected with the difficult problem of time.

Western theology has offered a broad approach to creation, which is intended to give an answer to all kinds of different threats to creation, including political and existential crises. Above all, this approach has

5. J. Calvin, *Inst* 1.16.1.
6. M. Luther, *Genesis sermons*, WA, XXIV, 21.30.

been extremely 'successful'. For centuries it formed the unchallenged framework of Christian spirituality; it even survived the collapse of faith in progress. It has demonstrated its capability of being connected to pessimistic world views, and offered a refuge in situations where the Christian faith was threatened with failure. But where are its roots? Is this approach an application *of* biblical texts, or does it offer an answer to questions asked of biblical texts, or are its origins to be found outside biblical literature so that it was only later that this approach came to be seen in terms of the Bible (the causal understanding of God's omnipotence would be an example of this)?[7] The interpreters of the biblical story of origins whose work I know, manage without any concept of providence. Indeed O.H. Steck argues that it is entirely illegitimate to argue for its presence: the priestly authors 'know no *creatio continua* and no permanent sustaining of the created world by God'.[8] Rather, through its original ordering by God, the work of creation was already set up for the long term in such a way as to ensure its future existence 'out of itself, without any further involvement of God'. 'As long as the earth endures, seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night shall not cease (Gen. 8.22). As long as this order is valid, the master builder can leave the ship.

The transmitted contents of the doctrine of creation are not, however, entirely clear on this point. Alongside the stories in Genesis 1 stand the creation psalms and the speeches towards the end of the book of Job. Here other voices can be heard. If one considers the questions with which Job's limits are demonstrated, the resulting image is not a deistic picture of a process which, once set in motion, runs itself according to a foreign law, with no relationship to any outside force. Rather, the reader is offered the image of a creation that is currently, in this time, dependent upon God:

> 'Can you lead forth the Mazzaroth [the stars] in their season?... Can you satisfy the appetite of the young lions when they crouch in their dens?... Do you know when the mountain goats give birth? Do you observe the calving of the deer?' (Job 38.32, 39-40; 39.1).

Psalm 104 shows the extent to which reflection about the creation has been shaped by the understanding that it is no way self-evident that the

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7. For this distinction, see D. Ritschl, 'Sinn und Grenzen der theologischen Kategorie der Vorsehung', *ZDT* 10 (1994), pp. 117-33 (119).

8. O.H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift* (FRLANT, 115; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), p. 249.

order of creation can be expected to continue or to last: 'When you hide you face, they are dismayed; when you take away their breath, they die and return to their dust.' (Ps. 104.29). This is a formulation of the experience that Calvin and Luther took as the key to their interpretation of creation. It touches the foundations of the world created in Genesis 1, its constitution in time.

For here the past and the future are not united. Rather, these dimensions of time break apart in the face of the experience that the future cannot be understood as a consequence of the past. What is experienced as time can be separated into the things past, upon which human beings look back thankfully, and the new things that can be expected to come from God. It is thus possible that creation may 'return to…dust', that it might have no future. Creation owes the fact that it has a future (precisely because it is creation) to the hidden presence of the face of God (פָּנִים). Because of this presence, creation had the possibility of transcending its own present, that is, of entering the perspective of a future that cannot be deduced from the immanent logic of the past. If one is to understand the miracle of the sustaining of creation, or even of its present existence, one must assume the restriction of *two* forms of time. More of this later.

The Bible does not draw a unified picture of creation. Shown in Genesis as a connected, reasonable order, the creation as shown in the Job dialogues—one might speak of the crisis of Hebrew wisdom theology—stands under threat, like a building that is about to collapse, which raises questions about the meaning of the whole of existence, and which leaves us suffering in the face of the meaninglessness of an apparently insoluble riddle. Here creation has become a place in which meaning is not clear, and that is the strangely modern aspect of the book of Job. In this situation, the question of a clear plan (עֵצָה) arises. This plan is meant to bring light into the twilight of accusation and defence: 'Who is this that darkens counsel [the plan] by words without knowledge?' (Job 38.2). It is seems to me significant here, not that the reproach is *refuted*—and that with the authority of God—but that the reproach is made at all. The reproach that the world in which a fate such as Job's is possible might reveal a reasonable plan is unjust and opposed to life. This, then, is the question that appears here: What is the created shape of the world in which Job is so obviously suffering? Does the world have a recognizable 'plan' or is it chaotic and disorderly? Questions are raised about 'intentions and realization', about 'God's

will and God's action in creation', about the 'meaning' and 'function' of the world that has been brought into being by God, and thus finally about God's 'competence' as creator.[9] Questions are also raised about the meaning of the un-biblical, philosophical term providence, about a 'omnipresent power', which 'sustains and governs heaven and earth with all their creatures', so that we 'are patient in all misfortune, thankful in all happiness, and full of trust as we look into the future'.[10] If the traditional doctrine of providence has a biblical basis at all, it must be sought in the reappearance of the problem of theodicy as it breaks into the horizon in the book of Job. God should be defended from any accusations of arbitrariness. The classical Pauline proof text, that 'all things work together for good for those who love God' (Rom. 8.28), also has an eye for the suffering of the creature.

To categorize the theodicy problem in this way would seem to be a reasonable approach form the point of view of systematic theology. It certainly helps our understanding of what questions the doctrine of providence is really raising. But what are the answers? Can they be found in the creation as we experience and know it? Can they be founded in the region of that empirical knowledge that is known to us? Job certainly had his doubts. For the hypothesis of providence, at least as it has been included in the palette of primary doctrines of dogmatic theology, asserts that there is no part of nature—that is, no earthquake, no famine, no sickness and no early death—and certainly no part of history—no war of extermination, no atom bomb and no judicial murder—that lies in the shadow of the presence of God and that is not subject to God's sovereignty. God is present wherever and however God's creatures exist and suffer. If we are to speak of the providence of God, then, we must have the courage to speak of God's providence in every event; we may not exclude some processes by arguing that God is not burdened by them, that God may in this case be excluded and thus excused. For, as Luther says, a God who is almighty in potential, but not in the actual exercise of his effectiveness, would be a laughable God.[11] Once again we must ask whether creation offers an adequate basis for such propositions, or whether too much is expected of our human experience

9.   See J. Ebach, *Streit mit Gott, Hiob. T. 2* (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996), p. 124.

10.   According to the explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism, Questions 27 and 28.

11.   *De servo arb.*, WA, XVIII, 719.24.

here? The question of theodicy may in this way force us to give clear answers, for it has the advantage that here providence need be formulated only as a problem, or, more precisely, as an *aporia*. For if such a providence really exists, why does the world look the way it does? For this reason I speak of an unsolved problem, of the need for proof.

II

This difficult situation can easily be illuminated with the help of theological statements about the doctrine of providence. In his *Church Dogmatics*, Karl Barth—to take the most prominent example—consciously bracketed the doctrine of providence with that of creation, in order to free the former from the claim that it must offer an explanation of the world from God's perspective.[12] The aim is a lesser one. Assuming that creation exists as a space for the history of the covenant, Barth concentrates upon the question of the relationship (shaped by this assumption) between creator and creature, that is, on the realization of this assumption. This means that certain questions that appear as a result of the theodicy question (such as that of the existence of God, or the possibility of God's intervention or involvement in the world) simply need not be asked. The doctrine of providence is removed from the pressures caused by modern scientific thought and the negativity of the modern experience of reality. Providence is treated on a level that is not touched by the modern call for verification; who would want to make a king responsible for all that happens in his kingdom? The question of the precise relationship of the events of world history to the history of the covenant is raised explicitly, but how this question is to be answered in concrete cases, such as that of the events in Rwanda, is not explained, and we cannot find it out *ex definitione*.[13] In short, providence is only interpreted as a mark of creation in one other passage, in which a lucid line is drawn from creator to creature, astonishingly, still in terms of the traditional school terminology of *conservatio, concursus, gubernatio*. In this scheme, the proposition 'God reigns' has a particular sense: God takes as the means of his own action the actions of his creatures and in this way gives them their aim. The ideal 'should' of the creation is thus

12. K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, III.3 (ET; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960).

13. H.J. Adriaanse, 'Providenz und Theodizee', *ZDT* 10 (1994), pp. 159-70 (166).

described. Like Job in the final speeches by his divine protagonist, we are not given the reason why the actual 'is' often differs from the 'should' so drastically that it is scarcely possible for us to believe that God rules the world. But this is precisely the theme of a providence that is invisible to us. Israel's question (Hans Jonas) is about God's faithfulness to his people 'in the real historical holocaust, not in the concursus of covenant history'.[14] A Christian doctrine of providence cannot shield itself from the questions to which theodicy is unremittingly exposed. But upon which basis, which premises can these questions be answered? Does the creation give us the slightest indication of how the existence of evil can be seen as one with a world that is ruled by God?

At the very least it can be said that the basis upon which theology has tried to answer these questions was that of philosophy, and this may explain the helplessness that overcomes us when we attempt to answer them. Hans Jonas has brought them to the point.[15] In its classical form, the doctrine of providence works with presuppositions that are taken from the Stoic worldview. Its origins are demonstrated not only by the answers it gives, but also by the questions it asks. It assumes a fulfilled teleology for the course of the world and with it an unbroken continuity of divine action. As a basis for these assumptions, it ascribes to God the attributes of omnipresence, omnipotence, cause of all things. Providence becomes a principle of the world. This metaphysical framework disintegrated at the latest in the great crises of our century. The idea that God might rule over the world as an absolutist king rules his kingdom seems totally unreasonable to modern consciousness, which has discarded it. But today we lack a concept that could mediate between world history and salvation history, as does the 'plan' or 'counsel' in the book of Job. It seems that it is impossible theologically to interpret the events of the world as such.[16] Nevertheless, I would not want to go as far as Ratschow or (in philosophy) Adorno, and simply bid farewell to the idea of providence. For the legitimate objections show initially only that it is not possible to accommodate providence in the metaphysical framework that has generally been presupposed. In other words, those who wish to hold onto the certainty of earlier centuries must abandon the worldview within which this certainty is formulated.

14. Ritschl, 'Sinn und Grenzen' p. 125.
15. H. Jonas, *Gottesbegriff nach Auschwitz* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1987).
16. Cf. C.H. Ratschow, 'Das Heilshandeln und das Welthandeln Gottes', NZST 1 (1959), pp. 71-72.

III

This step has methodological consequences. Until now, an order of
being has been assumed, or at least implied (insinuated?), in the sense
that 'God rules the world.' The only aspect that had to be explained was
the question *how*: does God rule through causality, or through teleology,
or through 'secondary causes'? But now it is necessary to begin with an
order of knowledge, that is, not to ask How can providence be
explained? but how can, or how must, one speak about providence? In
which perspective can providence be seen? With which events and
which things are we dealing here? A simple observation makes it obvi-
ous that this question brings us onto a field that must be measured quite
differently: in the Bible, providence is understood not in terms of the
representatives of eternity, the stars in their unchangeable order, but in
the witness of mortality, in the 'grass of the field that is alive today and
tomorrow is thrown into the oven' (Mt. 6.30), or the sparrows that can
be had two for a penny at the market (Mt. 10.29). It is not the 'final'
aim, which we can anticipate. There is no sense here of a coherent rela-
tionship of causal connections. And it is quite clear that the providence
that is alluded to here has nothing to do with an 'almighty' meta-
physical principle, which could be proved wrong, 'falsified' by a single
exception. Instead, a particular relationship between God and the cre-
ated world is portrayed that can only be expressed in personal cate-
gories, as the application to the circle of disciples shows: 'So do not be
afraid; you are of more value than many sparrows!' (Mt. 10.31).[17]

How can this relationship be understood? Those who are afraid try to
control their *future*. Providence says something about the relationship
of our present to our future. But can this relationship be described
causally? Such a description is almost intrinsic to the traditional model
of the 'plan' or of a teleology, but I would oppose it. The law of causal-
ity says that certain events can only follow one another in a particular
succession. We see the chronologically earlier event as the cause; the
event that follows according to a certain rule is then the effect. In its
most general form, the principle of causality says that 'the present is
always shaped by the past. It investigates only the relationship of the
past to the present, without considering the fact that there is also a

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17. Cf. C. Link, *Schöpfung* (HST, 7.2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus,
1991), pp. 557-59.

future'.[18] It is true that in every formula of a natural law we project the principle of causality into the future, but this is only possible under the assumption that time is homogeneous, and that it can be represented in the form of a linear parameter—an extreme simplification. We assume that tomorrow is already contained in today. But that is an impossible assumption in biological terms, let alone in theological terms. Instead, the future must be understood as something new that can be derived from the past, but which approaches us from the front, which is *adventus* and not *futurus*.[19] If we are to understand providence, we must realize that we are dealing with two forms of time, which cannot be reduced to each other, that is, God's time, which is always ahead of us, and the time of our own history, which we do indeed build up from the past. This relationship cannot be represented in the perspective of our calendar time and therefore cannot be interpreted causally.

What status can the experience of providence then have? From the considerations above a thought-provoking conclusion can be drawn: if providence cannot be understood in the context of our (linear) experience of time, that is, as a connection between the experienced past and the future then stands open before us, then its thesis, the proposisition 'God rules the world' cannot be understood as a logical expression of judgment. That means also that this proposition can never be confirmed by 'empirical' factors. For the truth of such a judgment is bound up with the condition that the predicate (the 'ruling of the world') can be clearly connected with the subject ('God') at a particular time ('today', 'in three days', etc.). This condition can clearly not be fulfilled if God cannot be understood in terms of the chronological order of the world. And this, as I have tried to show, is indeed the case. To impose this condition would be to render providence a neutral law. But if this condition is not fulfilled, then the theological declaration of providence cannot be 'true' or 'false' in the usual sense. Its certainty must remain debatable in the terms of our experience of the world.

And so we come to the most important, and the most difficult question of all, What can we mean, or better, what may we legitimately mean, when we speak of God's action in history? Clearly we do not mean a causal effect. To speak of God's action is to use a figure of

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18. G. Picht, *Zukunft und Utopie* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1992), p. 233.

19. J. Moltmann, *Gott in der Schöpfung: Ökologische Theologie* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1985), pp. 143-44.

speech that is a 'borrowed figure'[20] and that as such can only be used metaphorically. But which models offer themselves for the interpretation of the concept of action? We must abandon the philosophical model of an almighty God, the model of the victorious general and perhaps even that of the good shepherd. More appropriate is the model of the king, deeply rooted in the psalms, for a king acts among his people through the use of law, with decrees and proclamations, and not in a directly 'causal' influence. Particularly attractive is the relational model that has been developed in process theology, according to which God is 'persuasively' active in that he 'offers' past events, newly organized, to the present.[21] Here the causal question of effects is largely left out of the discussion. Instead our attention is directed to the *intention*, the motives and interests of the author, which *could* bring about a particular effect, but which cannot force this to be so. Our attention must focus on the aspects that we must know if we are to understand an action or process in this sense. The Bible speaks even more cautiously of God's action, but perhaps catches its essence in those passages in which the action of God is identified with the face of God (פנים). God's action is nothing other than the radiance of God's presence. 'Restore us, O God of hosts [יהוה צבאות]; let your face shine that we might be saved!' Or, in contrast: (Ps. 80.7). 'When you hide your face, they are dismayed...and return to their dust.' (Ps. 104.29). In the face of God, God's time is opened for the time of the creature. As in the New Testament parable, God's time comes closer to the creature's time in the offering of new, not yet tried possibilities, to which the world can 'appeal' in the process of its becoming. And in contrast, if God threatens to hold back his presence, the created reality threatens to break down. It falls back into its past. It dies of the law of its immanent order that knows only cause and effect. The entry into the horizon of a future that cannot be derived from the logic of the past, is closed off.

What, then is the mystery of providence? Every glance at the course of the world shows us that with a good conscience but also for good theological reasons one cannot say that God steers history. Indeed, history takes place largely against God's will and against God's commandments. We would have to attribute terrible atrocities to God if this

20. Ritschl, 'Sinn und Grenzen', p. 128.
21. S. M. Ogden, 'What Sense Does It Make to Say, God Acts in History?', in S.M. Ogden, *The Reality of God, and Other Essays* (New York: Harper & Row, 3rd edn, 1966; London: SCM Press, 1967), pp. 164-97.

were not so. This observation frees us from the attempt to find a hidden meaning in wars and expulsions, in earthquakes and famines. On the other hand, the proposition that God accompanies the world through its history is biblically well-founded and I would not wish to question it. We may be able to darken the light of God's future—Martin Buber spoke of 'eclipsing God'—but we cannot put it out. It remains with us in the form of God's commandments and promises. With Ritschl, we may interpret this presence in the hope-filled statement that God 'reliably "interprets"' and critiques our history[22] (this is precisely the function of law in the model of the king), and thus ourselves, and thus—and in the knowledge of the Torah or of the coming of Jesus—empowers us to interpret the world in a way that can also bring about change. To name a political example, I would not be afraid to speak of the clarification of our relationship to Poland or the peaceful reunification of Germany as events that were guided by providence.

To conclude: providence is our experience of nature and of history seen in the light of God's future. Providence has the structure of the divine promise, whose content can only be understood by opening oneself to it, by moving towards it. In the same way we can only experience the reality of a friendship when we open ourselves to the relationship as involved subjects. Belief in providence does not take us from the experience of the world to God; rather it takes seriously the importance of confessing God for our understanding of the world. For this reason it cannot be expressed as a logical judgment but only in a different form of speech, albeit one which also expresses truth: the form of prayer 'Your kingdom come' (Mt. 6.10).

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22. Ritschl, 'Sinn und Grenzen', p. 132.

CREATION OR NATURE?
ABOUT DIALOGUE BETWEEN THEOLOGY AND
NATURAL SCIENCES

Wilhelm Gräb

'Creation' is a symbolic-religious term. If we speak about the world as
God's creation, we are referring to a religious concept of reality. Such a
religious concept of reality implies that we are *looking for meaning* in
the world, in particular for meaning as far as the place of the human
being in this world is concerned. Where the Bible describes the world
as God's creation, it gives meaning to the world. For one thing, a
picture of the world is given, a *worldview*. The purpose of the universe
consists in the fact that life as such, and eventually rational human life,
comes into being on this earth. Everything that has come into being and
exists goes back to the plan and the wisdom of the almighty God.
Furthermore, when the Bible speaks about the world as God's creation,
this has implications for the *understanding of the human being*. Accord-
ing to the Bible, it is the human being who is God's favorite out of all
living things. Human beings are, according to God's will, able to take
an active part in the achieving of a meaningful existence for themselves
and for this earth. They are called to be partners of God: God, who has
made the earth and everything that is in it, has made it so that it is good.
God has made the human beings in his image and has given them a
special responsibility over all the earth, all that is on the earth, and all
that happens to it. What the Bible says about the creation is aimed at us,
the human beings—suggesting how we should understand the world in
which we live and what might be the purpose of our being here on this
earth.

'Creation' is, however, not only a symbolic-religious term. 'Creation'
has been and still is being understood as a theistic-cosmological term.
According to this theistic-cosmological understanding of 'creation',
there is a divine acting subject, who, through his action, causes the

universe to come into being: a God who, in analogy to a human person, only much greater and more powerful, has brought forth everything there is, in the matter of a few days, or in a moment, through the Big Bang. In the scope of this theistic-cosmological understanding, God is the mighty cause of both the world and the human beings. He has made this human being, the pride and climax of creation, in his own image and likeness. And he has a plan for this world, how it should be established, and what should be the way the human beings should walk in this world, according to his loving and wise providence.

It is important to emphasize this difference between a symbolic-religious understanding of 'creation' and its theistic-cosmological understanding. In this essay, I want to make out a case for the symbolic-religious interpretation of the biblical texts about creation—an interpretation that will show what these texts tell us concerning the *meaning* of the world and us as human beings. An interpretation that emphasizes theistic-cosmological assertions is not likely to find ready acceptance today. The influence of modern, scientific thinking on our understanding of nature, the world and the human beings in it cannot be neglected. The symbolic, rather than the cosmological meaning of the biblical texts needs to be shown. Otherwise, people will say that they cannot believe in the Bible any more.

My argument will be as follows: it is possible to use the term 'creation' today, if and in so far as it is clearly understood in terms of its symbolic-religious meaning. It is possible to speak of creation, if we remember that what is implied is the question of meaning: Why and for what end we, the human beings, are here in this world. But many and great difficulties arise if we speak of creation in terms of a theistic-cosmological event: a God who is thought of as an acting subject in terms of a person, has no place in scientific thinking. Nature is understood to refer to nothing other than the reality into that we as human beings are born. Nature is that reality that precedes us as human beings. But, more important, nature is that reality too, which we constitute by our perception of it.

The term nature does not imply anything in regard to a divine author of reality. The scientific worldview knows nothing about a God who plans and controls, who in his power brings forth the cosmos, the earth in it and finally even human beings on this earth, and who intervenes in what goes on in the world. Yet we do find, in the scientific worldview, terms that imply an openness, a search for meaning, for a religious

understanding of what goes on in the world. Scientists are getting involved in this search, in this asking. When they do this they are aware, in most cases, of the fact that they are no longer doing science in the strict sense of the science of the laws of nature. What they do is to engage in a search for meaning on the level of natural philosophy or religion; and they know that is what they are doing when they, for instance, propose—as does Günter Ewald—that there was an anthropological principle inherent in the Big Bang.[1] This anthropological principle means no more nor less than that interstellar matter was from its very beginning organized in such a way as to provide the preconditions for the eventual emergence of human life on planet Earth.[2] This theory, the anthropological principle, is an attempt at a religious interpretation of the beginnings of the universe, an attempt based on the modern science of physics, using its language and specific hypotheses of natural law. Pious interpretations of this kind do not necessarily imply a faith in a God acting as a creative subject. In fact, for most of our contemporaries in modern times there is no such implication.

Theology and biblical hermeneutics should be wary of the use of the term creation in a theistic-cosmological sense. Instead they should point out its symbolic-religious meaning. I am not an exegete or a biblical scholar. My field is Practical Theology. I am studying Christian religion as it is practiced and communicated in the Christian church today. What interests me in connection with our topic at hand, is the question: What importance has the belief in biblical creation for our modern contemporaries, and furthermore, what adjustments need to be made in its interpretation so that it can assume an important place in the understanding of the world and the self-understanding of modern men and women.[3] This is the question to which my following thoughts shall be addressed. I hope to clarify whether and in what way theology and natural science can enter into a dialogue with each other on the *level of interpretation, the search for meaning* about what we know about nature.

1.   Cf. G. Ewald, *Die Physik und das Jenseits: Spurensuche zwischen Philosophie und Naturwissensschaft* (Augsburg: Pattloch, 1998).

2.   Cf. S. Hawking, *Eine kurze Geschichte der Zeit: Die Suche nach der Urkraft des Universums* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt 1988); G. Boerner, J. Ehlers, H. Meier (eds.), *Vom Urknall zum komplexen Universum: DieKosmologie der Gegenwart* (Munich: Piper, 1993).

3.   Cf. W. Gräb (ed.), *Schöpfung oder Urknall? Zum Dialog zwischen Theologie und Naturwissenschaft* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1996).

I. *The Scientific Worldview and 'Creation' as Symbolic-Religious Interpretation of the World.*

As members of western, highly developed technological societies we are strongly influenced by scientific thinking and thought processes. Even if we do not understand the rational of scientific argumentation, we still have intuitive insights and assumptions about reality in its totality—insights and assumptions that we share with scientific thinking, on which they are based. This nature is seen as an object of knowledge that is to be defined by laws of nature, and it is seen as a means for technological use and exploitation. Only if and when we regard the beauty of nature is the sensitivity with which we earthbound human beings are endowed is of any relevance. But apart from that, what is regarded as real is only that which can be expressed in mathematical calculations and for which there is proof based on experiments: the infinity of the universe, the smallest entities of matter, and finally the origin and evolution of life on this earth.

The view we have of ourselves as human beings, too, is determined by scientific thinking: what we think about the correlation between free will and the causality in nature, between the mind and the brain, between technology, nature and culture. Thanks to the discoveries of the sciences, we are able to shape or to destroy the earth, and this in turn strongly influences our perception of where we human beings come from and where we are headed. What kind of beings are we men and women who are able to master and control nature and to civilize it, but also to destroy it? Our hopes for a better future are based on the accomplishments of science and technology. Likewise, our doubts and fears, with which we look into the future, rise out of already visible or impending consequences of science and technology.

We have learned that in order to preserve and sustain the basic natural conditions for life we have to act responsibly in regard to nature. Its destruction, the apocalyptic inferno, is associated in our minds with the flash of the nuclear explosion, wiping out everything in one final act. This view, too, is shaped by religious implications. But in these implications, there is no faith in a divine acting subject, no faith in a creator, who calls the world into being and sets its final end in judgment and grace. These religious implications are concerned with this world only. They are of an ethical nature, based on this particular view of the world and the human beings in it: the natural life resources must be used in a

responsible way, so that the future generations will have a chance too. We, the human beings, are not the authors of this world. There are fundamental preconditions on which we depend. Whoever understands this will have a sense of humility, and be strengthened in their feeling of responsibility to protect the natural life resources. Here 'creation' might be the right ethical-religious term to express both our fundamental dependence as human beings and our responsibly used freedom. Knowing about our dependence, we can use our freedom in a responsible way: we must take care that our descendants, too, will have a world to live in, natural life resources, a 'creation'.

The sciences strongly influence the view we have of the world and of ourselves as human beings. They also shape our values. They determine our hopes and our fears. This is in fact the reason why theology must seek conversation with the natural sciences. For we are members of highly developed industrial societies. This conversation has to deal with questions of religious meaning and of ethical orientation, questions about what gives meaning to our lives and how we should live. This conversation with the natural sciences will no longer be about questions of cosmological knowledge. Our main interest will no longer be the debate about the origin of the world and human beings, about questions of cosmology and an *explanation* of the world. The biblical creation account no longer explains, in any scientific way, how the world began. Such a claim is made only within some fundamentalist religious circles, which are set against modern age and life in general. And even there, it is a debate about cultural values rather than scientific theories.[4]

To believe in creation as recounted in the Bible is relevant today, but not in regard to our knowledge of the world. Rather it is relevant in regard to questions of the symbolic order, in regard to finding meaning in the world and orientation in life, in regard to the practical task of giving shape to one's life and to the world. Since human beings are endowed with a mind capable of rational thinking, they want to use that mind to make sense of the world and their own place in it, to understand the meaning of their existence. It is not enough to be able to explain in detail how the world came into being. Human beings want an answer to the question about the meaning of their own existence in this world: What are we in relation to nature around us? What is the relationship between mind and matter, mind and brain, dependence and

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4.   Cf. H.-D. Mutschler, *Spekulative und empirische Physik: Aktualität und Grenzen der Naturphilosophie Schellings* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1990).

freedom, chance and necessity? These are questions of *meaning*, questions that arise within the context of the sciences as well, to which the sciences, however, offer no answers. To answer these questions, the sciences have recourse to the use of symbols, of signs that carry meaning, to the hermeneutical knowledge of religious and philosophical traditions. When the old texts of the Bible are interpreted, it must be made clear that their contribution consists in such hermeneutical knowledge. It is important that theology should neither get caught up in a contest with science about cosmological explanations nor settle for the trivial moral demand for 'preservation of creation'.

We need to reconsider our religious traditions in view of the picture we have of the world and of the human beings in it. Our belief in regard to creation has an important influence on how we ask and search for religious meaning and ethical orientation. And that is true even though at the same time the view we hold of the world and the human beings in it is strongly influenced by scientific thinking. For in the end it is not the scientific theorems and mathematical calculations that tell us something about the destination of our existence as human beings in this world. Those questions about the meaning and purpose of world events and about our place as human beings in this world cannot be answered by the sciences. Rather, the answer to questions about meaning are to be found in the religious understanding of the world, in the understanding that the world is God's creation and that human beings are made in the image of God.

This understanding of the world as God's creation means that the world, the cosmos and the earth in it rest on a transcendent foundation that is the cause and precondition of everything that exists. The visible world does not have its existence in and of itself, rather it is caused by a transcendent power being still active in it as its moving spirit. This creative spirit means well, is filled with goodwill towards the world, the earth and the human sphere. This is the meaning of the biblical creation account.[5] God regards the world that he has created with goodwill and love. It is God's will to hold the wealth of life, which the world brings forth continuously, in his hands forever. He does not abandon the work of his hands, in spite of our human falling away.

When we say that human beings, men and women, are made in the image of God, we mean by that that it is the human being who has

5.   Cf. W. Pannenberg, *Systematische Theologie* (2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988, 1991).

knowledge that there is a transcendent-immanent divine destination to what goes on in the world. The human being knows that all and everyone, including those who have died, will return to their divine origin. The human being knows about the divine destiny of the whole of creation, to be good and to become good, even though human beings fall short in their actions of what they know. Therefore, human beings bear a special responsibility for the whole. Therefore, their offence, their fall is much more consequential. The human being becomes a partner in the divine work of creation. The progress and finally the outcome of what goes on in the world are up to him. With human beings on the scene, world events are more than mere events of nature. They become world history and a history of civilization, a history that appears rather ambivalent. It is this experience of ambivalence that is reflected in the creation accounts as we read them in the Bible.

Theology, as it enters into a conversation with the sciences, must in its interpretation of the biblical creation account try to show that what is given here, is a symbolic-religious meaning. The biblical creation account does not give us factual information about the natural world, the scheme of things in this world and what caused them. Therefore, this account does not claim to impart knowledge of the kind the sciences do about the origin of the universe and the evolution of nature. Religious knowledge concerning meaning is something other than theoretical knowledge concerning the facts and objects in this world. Religious knowledge does not concern itself with the factual processes and laws of nature involved in the beginning of the universe and the emergence of life on this earth. Religious knowledge has nothing to say about the functioning of organisms nor about those processes of nature that make the mind work in the human brain, causing mental processes that include religious faith.

II. *Openness of the Scientific Worldview for a Symbolic-Religious Interpretation of the World.*

Following Immanuel Kant and his critical epistemology, modern Protestant theology has understood 'creation' as a concept, which gives a religious interpretation to a process of nature. Modern theology acknowledges that it cannot claim to explain the world. If, as Kant has shown, God and his existence cannot be known, since all knowledge presupposes sense perception, then what we teach and say about God and his

actions does not contribute anything to our knowledge concerning this world in any factual sense. If we were to read the account about God as creator of the world and about his creative actions in Genesis 1 and 2 in any factual, literal sense, we would have to concede that this description is incorrect. The cosmos, the earth, plants and animals and human beings did not come into being in the way the Bible tells it. Taken in a scientific sense, the biblical description of the origin and structure of the cosmos, of the beginning of life on this earth, is not true. For the biblical creation account does not explain the scheme of things and their beginning in any objectively correct way. Nor can it contribute any explanations that add anything to the explanations given—or attempted—by the sciences. Accounts about God and his creative actions do not fill any gaps in what we actually know about the processes of nature. Nor is God a working hypothesis, useful in places where our human knowledge and insight have momentarily reached an impasse. As long as it is the goal of science to explain the scheme of things in nature, how they are interrelated and how they work, the natural sciences have to work without the assumption of the existence of a God. God as an effectively acting subject has no place in a scientific explanation of the world.

Why does it, nevertheless, make sense to look for a religious understanding of the world as God's creation? In what way is such an interpretation compatible with the picture the sciences have of the world and human beings?

The discussion has now reached a point where a strong claim can be made for just such a compatibility. The religious understanding of the world as God's creation can indeed make a lot of sense to a scientifically educated, enlightened person. The materialistic view of the world and the human being that was held during the nineteenth century has lost much of its plausibility.[6] People then were, in view of the sweeping victory of the natural sciences and especially the technical advances in their wake, almost spellbound. By and by, however, more and more scientists came to see that they could not say anything about the whole of reality, let alone any meaning it might have for us as human beings. There are no scientific laws that could help explain why of all the worlds it is on this small earth on the outer reach of this immeasurably vast universe that organic life came into being and eventually human beings appeared. Of course, we can say which laws of nature were and

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6.   Cf. I. Prigogine and I. Stengers, *Dialog mit der Natur: Neue Wege naturwissenschaftlichen Denkens* (Munich: Piper, 1993).

still are necessary for the appearance of organic life. But the laws providing the conditions for such a beginning do not explain why these conditions did and still do exist on planet Earth but not on other planets. If we look for answers to questions about the 'why', scientific explanations offer no help at all. In contrast to those scientists who have claimed to be able to furnish a whole new philosophy, to deduce what happens in the natural world from universal formulas and mathematical principles, most members of the scientific community today are much more modest. A scientist who advocates a deterministic or mechanistic worldview is the exception today.

This does not, however, imply that these scientists expect natural laws to furnish only partial explanations for the processes of nature. Not at all; all explanations for processes in nature that have been found—or discovered—so far explain what goes on in nature by showing the laws that govern these processes, describing them in terms of mathematics. But the great scientists of our century, such as Albert Einstein, Max Planck, Werner Heisenberg and John Eccles, have suggested that natural laws cannot explain the whole of what goes on in nature, from the first beginnings to its final purposes. Furthermore, they have also pointed out that there exist phenomena in nature that are based on the laws of nature and are at the same time influenced by the observation of the thinking human subject itself. These and other scientists have made us aware of such questions as the uncertainty relation in quantum physics, undecidable propositions in mathematics, the theory of open, self-organizing systems in biology and the limitations of a neurological theory of human consciousness.[7]

First, the sciences cannot explain the whole of nature and all its processes by fitting it into a system of laws of nature. And, secondly, there are laws of nature whose validity depends on interpretation and understanding. Here the conversation between theology and the sciences gains new interest. New impulses will come from scientists who are open to questions of meaning when they recognize that their own basic assumptions lead them in the direction of such questions.[8] This conversation will then no longer be carried on with the purpose of filling the gaps in the explanations about the origin of the world and life and their way of functioning, as given by the sciences, and of answering

7. Cf. F. Selleri, *Die Debatte um die Quantentheorie* (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1990).
8. Cf. H.-D. Mutschler, *Physik, Religion, New Age* (Würzburg: Echter, 1990).

those open questions with the help of theology or the testimony of the Bible. No doubt, the way open biological systems operate cannot, as an example, be explained by assuming that this ability of self-organization has something to do with the dynamism of the spirit as 'it moved upon the face of the waters' before creation (Gen. 1.2). When scientists like F. Cramer interpret the ability of self-organization as a characterizing quality of matter, understanding matter as inhabited by ideas, by mind, then they have already taken the step across, giving a religious-philo-sophical interpretation to their own basic concepts.[9] They no longer *explain* the phenomena and processes of nature. They are trying to understand, to *interpret* in search of a first cause and a final purpose. They have recourse to the idea that, given certain hypotheses about natural laws, such scientific concepts as matter, self-organization or contingence may be understood in a religious sense, going back to immaterial, ideal principles.

III. *Theology and Science in Conversation about the Meaning of Self and World.*

Many scientists today do not see it as a contradiction to scientific knowledge, to assume immaterial principles in the processes of nature. Religious understanding of the world has become compatible with the scientific worldview.[10] According to religious understanding, matter is seen as imbued with the idea of self-development in the sense of its own unfolding within the whole of world events.[11]

The scientific worldview is quite compatible with the religious under-standing of the world. For whenever scientists say anything about the whole of reality, they are already moving towards a religious under-standing.[12] When defining basic principles, the differences that come to light are primarily those between different views of reality; only on a secondary level are there these differences between religion and non-

9.   Cf. F. Cramer, *Chaos und Ordnung: Die komplexe Struktur des Lebendigen* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 3rd edn, 1989).

10.   Cf. H.P. Duerr *et al.*, *Gott, der Mensch und die Wissenschaft* (Augsburg: Pattloch, 1997).

11.   Cf. E. Jantsch, *Die Selbstorganisation des Universums: Vom Urknall zum menschlichen Geist* (Munich: Hanser, 1992).

12.   Cf. P. Jordan, *Der Naturwissenschaftler vor der religiösen Frage: Abbruch einer Mauer* (Oldenburg: Stalling, 1996).

religion. What was in the beginning, or rather, what was before the beginning? What was the moving cause that got everything started? Matter or mind, self-organization or contingence, eternity or time, creation or the Big Bang? Scientifically, the difference between these basic concepts cannot be resolved, for in each of these concepts is expressed an understanding of the whole, which in turn determines how we view and try to make sense of reality. These concepts express more about reality than can be said by way of experimentally proven knowledge. In and of themselves, they imply an interpretation of reality as a whole. Therefore, these concepts are related to religious traditions of understanding and meaning. Such concepts as spirit, eternity, creation are strongly rooted in these religious traditions. On the other hand, such concepts as matter or that of the Big Bang have been developed in contrast to traditional religious understanding. And there are other concepts, such as self-organization or contingence, that are open both ways. They can serve in both a religious and non-religious understanding of world and life.

In their popular writings about topics of science, outstanding members of the academic community of scientists, from Einstein and Heisenberg to Prigogine and Hawkins, have repeatedly dealt with the fundamental questions of meaning in regard to reality as a whole.[13] In doing this they were in most cases fully aware of the fact that in their search for meaning they were leaving behind the field of experimental science proper. Most, if not all scientists knew and know that by answering these questions they are getting into philosophy and theology. As soon as questions are being asked and answers sought concerning the basic force underneath all world events and their relationship to human beings, the level of what can be experimentally reconstructed is being left behind—when questions are asked as to whether there is a rational plan behind the structure of nature; whether this leads us to conclude that there is a creative mind at work, a creative intent, a providence, a salvation plan.

These questions of meaning are always closely related to concepts of value, sense and purpose, which in turn are rooted in the ethical-religious self-interpretation of people at a certain point in time and history. They reach the level of theological and philosophical thinking and therefore religious traditions that have served to pass on this knowledge

13. Cf. Mutschler, *Physik, Religion, New Age.*

of meaning through the ages. It is this traditional knowledge of the great religions that serves scientists today in their quest for meaning. Most scientists, however, are not committed to one particular tradition of faith, as for instance the biblical tradition, in any religious sense. They also make use of Eastern Asian religious thought. Which one of these traditions a scientist will use depends, for one, on whether it will seem compatible with the present state of knowledge in the sciences. In addition, it depends on the question of whether a particular tradition is able to show and give meaning to the life of individuals searching for such meaning. Therefore, it should not surprise us that scientists who engage in such a search for meaning receive more public attention than theologians, whose skill is concentrated on the interpretation of these traditions of religious knowledge. But scientists who take it upon themselves to find a worldview that can give meaning to life often tend to use a language that is close to the devotional or poetical.[14]

The contribution that theology can make in the context of this conversation is its knowledge of religious traditions. Theology is in the position of a trustee, a keeper of such knowledge about the meaning of life and orientation for life. But theology is not in a position to give information on the level of the factual knowledge that we have or might have about processes in nature, about the origin of the cosmos and the beginning of life on this earth. At least since Newton and Kant, theology and the Bible are no longer sources of this kind of factual information. In the conversation with the natural sciences, as well as in the context of modern civilization and society, theology and the Bible will be heard and listened to whenever theologians turn to the task of studying the knowledge of their tradition—knowledge about meaning and purpose of the world and human life. If they claim cosmological knowledge, they are falling back into an outdated debate with the enlightened scientific worldview. And if they claim to be in possession of absolute, higher knowledge through revelation, they will be caught in a fruitless debate with historical thinking and our view of history. In summary, therefore, in the interpretation of religious traditions, including the

14. Cf. S. Weinberg, *Der Traum von der Einheit des Universums* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1993); A. Zee, *Magische Symmetrie: Die Ästhetik in der modernen Physik* (Frankfurt: Insel, 1993); P. Davies and I. Brown (eds.), *Der Geist im Atom: Eine Diskussion der Geheimnisse der Quantenphysik* (Frankfurt: Insel, 1993); K. Gerguson, *Gottes Freiheit und die Gesetze der Schöpfung* (Düsseldorf: Econ, 1994).

biblical tradition, theologians can neither claim objectively to describe how the world began, nor can they claim to be in the possession of absolute knowledge about the world being created by God for the purpose of a particular salvation history for the benefit of specific human beings.

What theology can say, in the interpretation of the biblical creation account, is that there is a particular understanding of self and world that has evolved in the context of this tradition and is still viable today. What theology can say is this: if we understand nature as creation, then we come to understand that the fundamental needs of our life are not being filled, are not being taken care of by us, through our own doing, not due to our own achievement or merit, but rather they are given to us anew, by way of a gift, in the past and every day. Our life is a gift, life given and owed. To live is a task given to us, to fulfill in freedom and responsibility. We are the ones who are responsible for the life that we have received as a gift. In this context it is our task to lead our life in such a way as to preserve the natural resources for future generations. We, the human beings, know that it is so. We know that we have our life in its worldly existence given to us as a gift and that we are meant to lead it responsibly. Human life is fundamentally characterized by our ability to engage in ethical-religious reflection.

This is what it means to understand the world as creation. With this, we stand in the tradition of the biblical creation faith. And it is therefore the task of theology, in its interpretation of the biblical tradition, to keep alive the awareness of the scope of this meaning, but above all to keep alive the awareness that with this meaning we grasp the existential foundation of our being. We must not tire of shedding light on the old texts and their symbolic meaning, each new generation for themselves. At the same time we will have to resist the temptation to claim validity and truth for the biblical tradition in any objective-scientific sense. What we should look for is the contribution the biblical tradition makes to our thinking about who we are and what is our place in this world, and furthermore to our questions of meaning and orientation, our questions finally concerning the 'where from' and most of all the 'where to' of human life. Let me conclude by emphasizing once again that the biblical creation account does not help to find an answer to the question of what actually happened and is still happening in nature and with nature, at the beginning and in the course of the evolution of the many events that make up the world. It is up to the sciences to answer these

questions. Science, on the other hand, does not answer the question of whether or not there exists a universal scheme of meaning, and whether there is a certain place and a certain time given to each one of us individually. Only faith can tell us that there is a God who holds everything there is—what he has called forth in the past as well as what he is going to call into being in the future—in his hands forever and will not let go of it.

THE CONCEPT OF CREATION IN THE CONCILIAR PROCESS OF JUSTICE, PEACE AND THE INTEGRITY OF CREATION

Erich Geldbach

1. *Organizational Framework*

In 1983 the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) appealed to its member bodies and other Christians 'to engage member churches in a conciliar process of mutual commitment (covenant) to justice, peace and the integrity of creation' (JPIC). The Assembly met amidst debates and mass demonstrations in western countries to oppose the deployment of new nuclear weapons and Pershing missiles in the West, especially on German soil, as NATO's response to a renewed Soviet built-up of SS-20's which were directed toward Western Europe. The new missiles would be able to reach Moscow, for example, from German soil in less than seven minutes, thus reducing the chance to limit a war, once a missile had been launched. Time would have been too short to react in any sensible way. Thus, people began to show massive support for demands to continue seriously the talks on disarmament rather than permit the deployment of new weapons. The delegates from western countries that met in Vancouver were determined to call to the Assembly's attention the responsibilities of the churches to act as catalysts for a peaceful solutions to the arms race. It was felt that under the prevailing economic and military conditions at the time, the Assembly had to respond to that situation.

To many delegates from the so-called Third World, however, the preoccupation of First World Christians with the peace issue was incomprehensible; they were foremost concerned with the injustices their countries were exposed to, not the least because western countries were investing in new generations of weapons rather than help the 'Third World' to reach a decent standard for their people. To them it looked as though the Bomb had already exploded: misery, hunger, diseases of all kinds, death itself were not apocalyptic nightmares but an everyday

reality. Furthermore, it seemed that the Reagan administration was seriously thinking about an intervention in Nicaragua to help the Contras in their effort to topple the Sandinista government. In the midst of these conflicting discussions the delegates from North and South America came together to pledge mutual support. It was expressed in the old theological idea of a covenant.

The peace and justice issues were not new to the WCC. They had been addressed in previous meetings. What was new, however, was the conflict over priority in today's world. The Assembly opted for justice to be the first priority and to add another vital aspect that had been called to the attention of the world by the Club of Rome in 1972. the environmental issue. Thus the Sixth Assembly of the WCC initiated a rather slow and often painful process and stated that JPIC should be a priority for World Council programs:

> The foundation of this emphasis should be confessing Christ as the life of the world [the motto of the Vancouver Assembly] and Christian resistance to the demonic powers of death in racism, sexism, caste oppression, economic exploitation, militarism, a violation of human rights, and the misuse of science and technology.[1]

Some delegates had called for a 'council of peace', referring to a phrase that German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer had used in 1934. Instead, the assembly opted for a 'conciliar process'. The adjective 'conciliar' was used, thus making reference to the ancient church, when it had been a custom in a crisis situation to summon a council in order to make binding decisions. The noun 'council' was intentionally dropped as some churches, especially the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, have certain requirements as far as a council is concerned that other Christian communities would not meet. In order to facilitate the work the term was not used. The adjective 'conciliar', however, was utilized to indicate a high degree of commitment.

The central committee of the WCC launched the JPIC process at its meeting in August 1985. Consultations and other meetings were organized, and in January 1987 the central committee decided to hold a 'world convocation' in 1990 to fulfill the mandate of the Vancouver Assembly. It was also decided to invite the Roman Catholic Church to

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1.   D. Preman Niles, *Between the Flood and the Rainbow: Interpreting the Conciliar Process of Mutual Commitment (Covenant) to Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1992), p. 2.

co-sponsor the event. This proved to be a major obstacle in preparing the convocation, for the Roman Catholic Church took almost a year before it declined to accept the invitation to be a co-invitor of the convocation. Nevertheless, Cardinal Willebrands, then President of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, expressed the desire of his Church to collaborate with the World Council of Churches in this important project.

In several countries the Councils of Churches or other ecumenical bodies took the initiative and organized meetings to discuss and review the issues that are related to JPIC. The JPIC process was also carried out by regional ecumenical bodies. It is noteworthy that not only churches through their official delegates participated in meetings on JPIC, but also groups and movements that had already been working on those issues.

In Europe the Conference of European Churches and the Council of European Bishops' Conferences jointly sponsored the Ecumenical Assembly 'Peace with Justice for the Whole Creation' that took place in Basel, Switzerland, during the week after Pentecost in May 1989. About 700 delegates from Protestant, Anglican, Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches throughout Europe attended the meetings. On the European level, therefore, it was possible for the Roman Catholic Church to cooperate fully with Protestant and Orthodox Churches in this endeavor. In this regard it was a historic meeting. The final document was accepted almost unanimously (95.4 per cent). In other regions of the world—in Asia through the Christian Conference of Asia or in Latin America through the Latin American Council of Churches (CLAI)—similar conferences were held that all culminated in the WCC's convocation on Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation in Seoul, Korea, from 5–12 March 1990. Almost 1,000 people, including visitors from the Roman Catholic Church and non-Christian religious communities as observers, were in attendance.[2] The consultation issued ten affirmations and four 'concretizations' of a covenant on JPIC. The final document *Now is the Time* was published during 1990.[3]

In February 1991 the Seventh Assembly of the WCC meeting in the

2.   Cf. Ulrich Schmitthenner, *Der konziliare Prozess: Gemeinsam für Gerechtigkeit, Frieden und Bewahrung der Schöpfung. Ein Kompendium* (Idstein: meinhardt text und design, 1998), pp. 38ff.

3.   It is available through the JPIC office of the WCC: PO Box 2100, CH-1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland.

Australian capital city of Canberra, received reports on the Seoul convocation and its results and decided to continue the process as a vital part of the WCC's programming.[4] In fact, in an effort to restructure the organization and its headquarters in Geneva, the WCC created a special unit devoted to the issues of JPIC and, at the same time, declared that JPIC issues were of on-going importance for all the departments of the council. In other words, JPIC had by this time achieved a high degree of attention and was able to occupy a prominent place in the WCC. This, then, in brief is an outline of what happened organizationally in the process.

2. *What Are Some of the Presuppositions of the JPIC Process?*

(1) The first point that needs to be brought up immediately is that environmental concerns are intimately linked with other problem areas. The environmental issues present only a portion of the disastrous situation with which humanity is confronted. It is only when the interrelatedness of all the problems is clearly perceived that one can begin to understand the full extent of our crisis. The environmental concerns must not be separated from the peace and justice issues. The interconnectedness of these areas are such that, taken together, they make up a mega-crisis of previously unheard or unseen magnitude. When discussing environmental issues, we deal with only one aspect of an overall crisis.

Two illustrations may suffice to underline the point:

- Even 50 years after the event, it is still very difficult for us to imagine that the first explosion of the atomic bomb profoundly changed our world. The destructive power of human achievements reached not just a new dimension, but broke all human dimensions. The possibility of complete annihilation, of the being or non-being of humans and the environment, is now at the disposal of some people. Nuclearism was actually a leap of humankind into a quasi-God function. Until Hiroshima we

4.   For details cf. Roger Williamson, ' "What God Has Joined Together, Let No One Put Asunder." Reflections on JPIC at the Canberra Assembly', in D. Preman Niles, *Between the Flood and the Rainbow: Interpreting the Counciliar Process of Mutual Commitment (Covenant) to Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1992), pp. 82-101.

were all individuals who would eventually face death. But death is no longer just an individual aspect of life; it has become a collective nightmare. There is a real possibility of bringing human history and the history of animals and plants to their very end. The total submission to and absolute trust in the Bomb becomes evident when one considers the accompanying policy of deterrence. This political and military notion absurdly claimed to avoid destruction by the very means of destruction. It goes to show that nuclearism is a worldly religion in which the superiority of humankind over death and evil is achieved through the destructive power of a new technological god(dess).[5]

• The testimony of a former four-star general, commander of the US nuclear forces and head of the 'Strategic Air Command' until 1994, may underline what nuclearism can do to people. General George Lee Butler claims to have been 'the nation's leading spokesman in nuclear matters', but has since his retirement joined a campaign called 'nuclear abolition'. Just as slavery had to be abolished as a national sin during the nineteenth century, so today the 'abolition' of nuclear arms must be accomplished. General Butler explains in an interview that a sense of values was deeply embedded in his psyche as he grew up, but now he testifies. 'What later struck me and what ultimately came to give me great pause—indeed I would have to say alarm—is how readily for so many years of my life I suspended the tenets of that value system in the belief that the threat we perceived during the Cold War was so great it justified a security construct called 'mutual assured destruction' that promised the death of hundreds of millions of people. I have spent a great deal of time the last several years reflecting on nuclear deterrence theory and how it is that we amassed arsenals in the tens of thousands and put them on hair-trigger alert, wondering how it is we reconcile the belief system of deterrence, its operational practices and the obvious willingness to employ the arsenal, with our own value system...[6]

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5.   In the German language the Bomb is feminine (*die Atombombe*). I am using parentheses [god(dess)] to indicate that no sexist language is intended.

6.   *Sojourners Magazine* 28.1 (Jan./Feb. 1999) pp. 16-20 (18).

This statement underlines the fact that nuclearism is a religion and that the nuclear believer trusts that his/her god(dess) will sustain this world, that is, the human race as well as plants, trees, animals and the whole of nature. To repeat: the survival of humanity and the survival of nature are intertwined.

- Countries like Brazil, Mexico and many others are faced with enormous foreign debts that in some cases require 50 per cent of the national budget to pay interest to western banks. The Brundtland Report *Our Common Future*[7] noted that from 1985 to its completion only a few years later 40 billion dollars had been transferred annually from developing to industrialized countries; almost all of this enormous amount being interest payments. In order to come up with the money for the North, many countries in the South must produce and export as much as they can and not as much as their environmental structure permits. The debt crisis, then, leads to environmental destruction because whole economies are kept in bondage and the only way out is the excessive exploitation of nature.

(2) Despite of all the activities it needs to be pointed out that there are quite a number of deep differences that divide the Christian community. Generally, these differences do not follow denominational lines, but more often than not cut through denominations so that in ecumenical assemblies strange bedfellows and coalition partners can be detected. It must also be admitted that many church people have not been reached by the JPIC program.

(3) The global threats to life have not diminished even though the immediate threat of a nuclear catastrophe has considerably lessened after the political changes in 1989/90. However, some of the brutal facts remain a constant threat:

- The most crucial problem is the rapid consumption of non-renewable energy, particularly in the western countries, with the automobile—that is to say, individual traffic—being the

7.   A special investigative commission was set up by the UN and headed by the then Norwegian opposition leader, Mrs Gro Harlem Brundlandt (Prime Minister 1981 and from 1986 to 1989, and again from 1990 to 1997) that produced the Report *Our Common Future*. Mrs Brundtland now serves as the head of the World Health Organization (WHO).

most important source of energy waste. The European Ecu-
menical Assembly said.

According to the Brundtland Report the technical possibility exists of
reducing per capital energy consumption in industrialized countries by
50% and increasing the per capital energy consumption in the Third
World countries by 30% (on the basis of predictable increases in popula-
tion). In so doing the total world energy consumption would only be
increased insignificantly. This is the only world wide energy perspective
which combines the preservation of creation with justice. This approach
should be considered seriously by Christians in the industrialized coun-
tries, particularly as the Brundtland report has increased substantially
public awareness of ecological issues and is well regarded in the
scientific community'.[8]

- The CO_2 content of our air is still increasing, with the auto-
  mobile again as the single most important contributor. CO_2
  plus FCC account for the greenhouse effect and the rapid
  depletion of the ozone layer. Scientists predict that if this trend
  cannot be reversed soon, the ice caps in the Arctic and Antarc-
  tic will begin to melt so that low-lying countries like Bang-
  ladesh and Holland are endangered of being extensively
  flooded and the remaining land will not hold the people.
- Acid rain has damaged and continues to damage large areas of
  forest in North America and Europe.
- Nuclear power stations, the development of nuclear weapons
  and other use of nuclear physics have produced hundreds of
  tons of radioactive waste. No one knows for certain if this is
  not a time bomb. What is certain, however, is the fact that our
  production of nuclear waste will require thousands of years of
  monitoring of the waste sites. We are handing down to genera-
  tions to come a potentially very dangerous 'nuclear wasteland'.
- Large portions of once useful land must now be considered
  'dead'. A number of factors have contributed to this plight, not
  the least being the over-fertilization of land through chemical
  fertilizers. Land was sacrificed for a short-term effect of
  'record crops'. It is reported that at least one-quarter of agri-
  culturally used land in the former Soviet Union is today poi-
  soned to such a degree that products from this land constitute a
  health hazard. Erosion, desertification and salinization are

8. Basel Document No. 87.

other alarming signals. Millions are now referred to as eco-refugees.

- Industrial and chemical pollution of rivers and streams have reached alarmingly dangerous proportions. In many cases pollutants have sunk sufficiently deep into the soil to contaminate the drinking water.
- Our oceans continue to be treated as dumping ground for chemical and other wastes. A number of accidents in various parts of the world have dramatically demonstrated both their vulnerability and the degree of human and mechanical failures that can occur. During the Gulf War a new crime was called 'eco-terrorism'.
- The cutting of rain forests in South America, Malaysia, Indonesia and Australia will in all probability have long-lasting effects on the climate. The timber as well as the cattle-raising industries are largely responsible for environmentally irresponsible actions. The constantly increasing demands from the fast-food chains appear to drive farmers in Latin America into 'clearing' the rain forests in order to raise and supply more cattle.
- Each day species of plants and animals are extinguished at an ever-increasing rate. This is deplorable and sheds new light on gene technology, as it can be assumed that with the spread of gene technology more and more species will be extinguished.[9]
- Modern gene technology has not refrained or has not legally been refrained from direct manipulation of gene structures and has created new plants and cloned animals. Supposedly, modern science can also manipulate the gene structures of humans and thereby 'breed' humans artificially. The aim, so some people say. would be to optimize the human potential or to create a kind of 'superhuman'. If unchecked, genetic technology and new methods of reproductive medicine will therefore inevitably lead to a racist application of the laws of eugenics and evolution and thereby destroy the very 'humanness' of humans and their dignity. The testimonies at the hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)

9.   Cf. Ernst Ulrich von Weizsäcker, *Erdpolitik: kologische Realpolitik an der Schwelle zum Jahrhundert der Umwelt* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesell-schaft, 1989), pp. 136-37.

in South Africa revealed that white scientists were seriously developing viruses that would attack only blacks, and in a December issue of the German weekly *Die Zeit* there were alarming reports that Israeli scientists are trying the same towards the Arabs. That gene technology is capable of providing ways to genetic self-destruction, and will in all probability do so if the prize is right, must be faced as one of the most serious dangers of modern scientific development. 'Hard' scientists are anything but 'neutral'.

(4) If religious communities do not turn their attention to these issues, they will lose any kind of relevancy in the modern world. Religion would thus be merely a distraction, a way of escape from reality. If Christian communities face the environmental issues and realities, however, they must first become fully aware of their own massive entanglement in producing the crisis.

(5) The modern history of the West reveals that we think of nature and of the environment as a commodity created solely for our benefit. The natural environment is of interest only in as much as it has economic value. It is only there to be exploited. Hand in hand with the exploitation of nature and its resources went the expansion of European powers and the subjugation of other people. This was done in a religious fashion. In 1492, before Columbus set sail, the Spanish destroyed the last stronghold of Islam on Spanish soil. This was referred to as the *reconquista* of Spain. The subsequent expansion of Spanish power overseas was referred to as *conquista*. In both cases, it was a crusade: first, to eradicate Islam and then to conquer new territories for the king and the pope. The *conquista* was carried out on the assumption that the newly found lands had no owner. The people who inhabited the islands and the land were not recognized as people, and the land could be claimed by merely proclaiming to them, in a foreign language, that the land was now under the sovereignty of the Spanish king and the pope. Pope and king were thought to be the true owners of the land, but, as they were far away, the destruction of both the peoples and the land could take place.

(6) A 'white' anthropocentrism was developed. Nature is inanimate and there to be exploited. Humankind is not part of it, rather 'Christian humankind' is the center and the crown of nature. Subject and object, person and thing, soul and body were divided and all emphasis was

placed on the former. Theology contributed to this world view, above all, by a false reading of some parts of Scripture. Notably sentences from the creation story, such as 'to have dominion over all the earth' or 'to subdue the earth', were thought to mean that people were free to resort to any kind of exploitation, subjugation and oppression of nature as long as it served to make life easier and better. The creation story was also used to support the idea that humankind is the crown of creation, whereas, in fact, it is the Sabbath. It is imperative for the churches to face squarely the fact that the Christian Church and its teachings in the last few hundred years have contributed considerably to the present deplorable situation. The church gave theological and moral justification to an ideology that set out to destroy the environment in order to ensure the concepts of 'growth' and 'progress'. It comes as no surprise that countries where the Christian Church is significantly strong or even a publicly established factor have either contributed substantially to or are the very source of the present crisis.

(7) If it is true that for a long time the church has been given support to false economic propositions with disastrous consequences for the environment, it then follows that the church must radically change its teaching. We can immediately assume that such a task will not be easy, as it calls into question some long-cherished views. That in itself will almost certainly turn out to be unpopular with many people in the pews who actually stand to lose much, were the church to indulge in new ways of thinking. What makes addressing and honestly facing the issues even more unpopular their inevitable consequences for our entire life-style.

3. *What are Some of the Theological Implications?*

(1) One of the most controversial aspects of the JPIC process was the theological concept of covenant. Even though it is as old as the Bible itself, it was virtually unfamiliar to most of the Christian denominations except the Reformed branches of Protestantism where it had always played an important role. Of course, it means that God had entered into a covenant relationship with his people, with Noah, with Abraham, the children of Israel and, from a Christian point of view, in the person of Jesus of Nazareth with those even from the nations that wanted to be disciples of this man from Galilee. The idea of a covenant, therefore, meant that God reveals himself as a faithful partner, as one who

commits himself to his people. At the same time, however, it becomes apparent that his people are constantly trying to live not in accordance with this covenant, but to follow their own ideas or false gods. Thus, God's people need to be reminded of God's faithfulness and they need to be called upon to repent from their own wicked ways. The covenant relationship demands from the human side repentance and renewal as well as a re-commitment and celebration of the covenant. To repeat: these ideas were at the disposal of some Christian traditions, but not at the majority's. They had to learn, and the learning process became part of the entire JPIC cause. It seems that reluctance on part of some major churches to be more involved in the JPIC development is precisely because they did not adequately relate to the theological meaning of covenanting.

(2) This is a theological statement that bears practical significance, not the least when one considers the Jewish–Christian encounter. The seven days of the Seoul Convocation were arranged in a liturgical sequence that was to remind participants of the covenant renewal ceremony as found in some passages of the Hebrew Bible. For each day biblical references were used. They are listed below with the main text in italics:

> Day 1: was reserved for praise and adoration (Ps. 104; Rev. 7.9-17; Mt. 5.43-48).
> Day 2: for repentance, confession and the announcing of forgiveness (Amos 5.7, 10-24; Ps. 51.3-19. Mk 1.14-15).
> Day 3: dedicated to the proclamation of the word of hope (1 Pet. 3.8-17; Isa. 55.6-13; Jn. 1.1-18).
> Day 4: devoted to the affirmation of the faith (Rom. 8.1-27; Deut. 30.6-15; 4.16-30).
> Day 5: set aside to intercession (Mt. 6.5-13; 1 Tim. 2.1-4; 1 Sam. 2.1-10).
> Day 6: assigned as day of commitment (Gen. 9.8-17; Isa. 58.1-12; Mt. 16.24-26).
> Day 7: celebrated as the day of covenanting and sending forth (Jn 17.9-26; Jer. 31.31-34; 1 Cor. 11.23-26).[10]

(3) It is small wonder that the churches would make use of the Genesis story of creation and would resort more to the term creation

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10. D. Preman Niles (ed.), *Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation. Documents from an Ecumenical Process of Commitment* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1994), p. 4.

than to environment. There is a foundational conviction on part of the Christian faith community, which it obviously inherited from Judaism, that it is God who created the universe and that this creator-God is, at the same time, committed to his creation, that his creation was good and that God wants it to enjoy the fullness. It is also a foundational conviction that, because of the alienation of humankind, commonly referred to as sin, the whole creation is groaning (Rom. 8.22) and stands in need of God's intervention to be redeemed. Those in the human family that have heard and adhered to the voice of God and 'left the camp' are now on their pilgrimage or sojourn to that heavenly Jerusalem. For many Christians, this idea has caused them to retreat from the world or to retrieve into other-worldliness. But the biblical concept of redemption and renewal of the covenant is anything but a way of escape from worldly reality. It is, quite to the contrary, an eye-opening experience to see the world as it is, to face the dangers and to act as far as is possible for us to do so. Covenanting with God is an act of faithfully entering the world to change the course of human history. As Martin Luther King said. 'It's alright to talk about "streets flowing with milk and honey", but God has commanded us to be concerned about the slums down here,' and, it could be added, to be concerned with the degradation of our natural environment. The JPIC process directed the churches' attention to a basic need to redirect their efforts for the sake of the earth. To turn to God means, at the same time, to turn to people and to turn to the earth.

(4) The conciliar process used the term 'integrity of creation'. What exactly does it mean? It may be surprising that the churches used the term 'integrity' when they referred to the created order.[11] Normally, one would expect this term to be applied only to a person whose honesty or high moral principles are described. However, the word can also mean wholeness of complex entities. These entities are interrelated, and in the totality of their interrelatedness they are 'integrated'. Our whole ecosystem is such a complex of inter-related structures. Each has a dynamism of its own, and yet the whole system appears, through carefully in-built balances, to be strangely closed. This closeness seems to make up the essential 'integrity'. 'The integrity of creation implies that

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11. A consultation was organized in February and March 1988 in Granvollen, Norway, to deal with the meaning of 'integrity of creation': 'While the terms justice and peace are familiar, the "integrity of creation" is new' (Granvollen Document No. 1, in Preman Niles, *Justice, Peace* p. 143).

every creature is bound to every other creature in a great community and communion of being' *(Granvollen Document No. 97)*. The 'integrity' of each creature and of the whole must be preserved.[12]

Or, to put it another way, if one wanted to destroy the 'integrity' of the whole, one would need to destroy one member of the whole chain. It seems, however, that creation has a certain capability to rectify the situation; but this cannot endlessly be tested. There are definite limits to nature's ability to stabilize its own 'integrity', and it appears that enough has been destroyed. Through arrogant attitudes on the part of human beings who thought to stand above the created order much damage, possibly irreparable damage to the fundamental aspect of the interrelatedness of the whole eco-system, has been done.

(5) It may be worth noting that both the German and the French translations fail to capture the particular meaning that creation has an integrity of its own. The German *Bewahrung der Schöpfung* and the French *sauvegarde de la creation* put too much emphasis on human beings as those who act upon creation rather than preserving the inherent 'good' of the natural order.[13]

(6) Integrity also refers to a certain 'chain' in nature that appears to be quite cruel: some, if not most, animals depend upon others for their livelihood, and life is constantly endangered by 'enemies' who in turn are vital for the upkeep of the entire whole. But all of this happens within certain dynamic boundaries. Once they are being transgressed, however, the 'enemy' is no longer 'natural', but humans acting with destabilizing results. Thus, for example, the depletion of the ozone layer may have long-term effects beyond skin cancer of which we have no idea at present and which would be too dangerous to 'test' in order to obtain hard evidence.

(7) What needs to be recognized is that the act of creation marked the beginning of the earth and of human history. By implication this means that the earth may also have an end or that history may come to a close.

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12. For an excellent presentation and discussion cf. Larry R. Rasmussen, *Earth Community, Earth Ethics* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1996), especially pp. 98-110.

13. The *Granvollen Document No. 1* states that the central thrust of 'integrity of creation' 'aims at a caring attitude towards nature—an emphasis that is evident in the German *Bewahrung der Schöpfung* and in the French *sauvegarde de la creation*. The English "the integrity of creation" says more. It tries to bring together the issues of justice, peace and the environment by stressing the fact that there is an integrity or unity that is given in God's creation'.

Not surprisingly, the growing awareness of environmental degradation has led to millennial expectations. The 'end-of-the-age-talk' is increasingly appealing to people, even intellectuals, and some theologians, particularly in the fundamentalist camp, resort to the rhetoric of the Apocalypse to fight for their cause. This is not what integrity of creation means. Religious millennialists, ruthless capitalists, but also socialist economic planners have one thing in common: they all do not want to face the fact that the extreme vulnerability of the earth requires humankind not to transcend certain limits and subject the earth to violent behavior it cannot bear. The risks are such that, indeed, apocalyptic realities will ensue. This would not be a 'natural' catastrophe, however, but the effect of irresponsible human behavior.

(8) The 'integrity of creation' opens up new ways to look at the *oikoumene*, the whole inhabited world. Earth is like a vast house where one part depends upon the other and where a house order must be kept so that a common life is made possible.[14] This 'earth house' cannot survive when a small percentage of its inhabitants live in affluence and are responsible for 70 per cent of the environmental degradation. It can also not survive when the vast majority lives in absolute poverty and over-populates the house. This is but another example of the interrelatedness of the problem areas. Environmental destruction and social as well as economic injustice go hand in glove. The Final Document of the Seoul Convocation said. 'The integrity of creation has a social aspect which we recognize as peace with justice, and an ecological aspect which we recognize in the self-renewing, sustainable character of natural ecosystems' (affirmation VII).[15]

(9) Integrity also refers to the fact that the world as God's creation

14. At the European Assembly in Basel the metaphor of the 'European house' was utilized that was then also commonly used by politicians on both sides of the iron curtain. The churches wanted to be in charge of the 'house order', and thus they opted for a house with many rooms (= nations), but with free access to each room, without barbed-wire fences or other obstacles. Who would have thought in Basel that this vision would become a reality only a few months after the event?

15. Affirmation VII also says: 'We will resist the claim that anything in creation is merely a resource for human exploitation... Therefore we commit ourselves to be members of both the living community of creation in which we are but one species, and members of the covenant community of Christ; to be full co-workers with God, with moral responsibility to respect the rights of future generations; and to conserve and work for the integrity of creation both because of its inherent value to God and in order that justice may be achieved and sustained' (D.P. Niles, *Between*, p. 174).

and handiwork has its own inherent value and that all creatures, including humanity, are intrinsically good in God's sight. God as the creator is mirrored in his creation. The whole of creation is breathing God's life and sacredness. The inner cohesion and goodness of creation are expressions of the integrity. The integrity of creation is derived from the creator, not from humans. 'We ourselves are not the ones who "integrate" creation; its integration is prior to our concern, prior to our participation. The integrity of creation is the work of the One who creates, redeems and sanctifies it' (*Granvollen Document No. 64*). The integral value and worth of creation should have led humans to act as careful gardeners, not as ruthless exploiters.

(10) Nothing less is at stake than a radical transformation of our religious outlook, theological interpretation and spirituality because of the existing crisis of mind-boggling dimensions. Clearly, there is a moral decision that needs to be made. The crisis calls for an ecological rethinking, a response of religious communities and, in fact, of all people of goodwill to the question of the sustainability of our earth.

4. *Some Consequences*

The fact that we are given a chance to act differently and responsibly is an indication that, indeed, we humans are more than plants or animals. We are given the freedom of choice, the freedom to decide, to change things, to act otherwise. This is a distinguishing mark that puts us in a very special place in the natural order. To express this in biblical language, we are called to be co-workers with God.

But where do we go and how do we fulfill our role as God's co-workers once we begin to be sensitized to and made aware of the present crisis? It goes without saying that we shall always be part of nature and work and rework our environment. As God's co-workers we have been able for example to decipher or decode the information carried by genes and also split that which antiquity thought was beyond 'splitability'—the atom. These acts of human ingenuity in themselves may not be harmful although it is justifiable to have doubts about this statement. What must be addressed, however, is the question of whether or not all that is imaginable is also permissible. To put it yet another way, we must discern right from wrong so that we may truly become God's and not the devil's co-workers. According to the biblical tradition the gift of discernment is an important gift, and in the Christian tradition, this gift is of the Holy Spirit.

In order to discern we need to take a fresh look at the biblical tradition. It seems that Gen. 1.27 'God created the human in God's own image' does not mean what a long tradition in Christianity wants it to mean, namely that it is a proposition about the human, and that we may deduce all kinds of anthropological conclusions from that proposition. It would seem, rather, that this statement expresses a relational aspect. Men and women who bear God's image stand in relation to both God and his creation. We are called and indeed privileged to let God's image appear; this would suggest to mean that to 'subdue' the earth or to 'rule' over the created order does not mean that we become God over the creation, but that we act as God would act; caring, loving, supporting, even sacrificing. We humans, for our own sake, must serve the earth and care for its well-being. It is, to put it squarely, the need to envision and enact the 'Hebrew earthiness'.

It also suggests that we are ultimately accountable to what we do or fail to do. That accountability is meant when the Bible says that we are but servants, stewards, trustees who have been entrusted with a special gift. In this way we are co-workers of God.

As part of the discussion of the JPIC process a suggestion by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches is of great importance.[16] Following up on an earlier statement by the Alliance that stated 'the equal dignity and interdependence of the present generation and future generations in the stewardship of nature', it is now proposed by the Alliance to work for a declaration of 'Rights of Future Generations' and 'Rights of Nature'.

It seems that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948, and its subsequent extension to include civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights, stands in need of further expansion to include rights of future generations. This would include that future generations have a right to life and to an unmanipulated human genetic inheritance; they have a right to an abundant nature, to healthy air, water, soil and woodlands. They also have a right to non-renewable energy sources. They likewise

16. For the following cf. Lukas Vischer (ed.), *Rights of Future Generations—Rights of Nature: Proposals for Enlarging the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (Studies from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 19; Geneva: World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 1990); also Charles Birch and Lukas Vischer, *Living with the Animals: The Community of God's Creatures* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1997).

have a right not to be confronted with waste of an earlier generation that poses a health risk and require excessive amount of capital and personnel to monitor.

As a second step, but by no means secondary in importance, there would need to be a declaration of the Rights of Nature. The continuous destruction of irreplaceable eco-systems requires urgent action. It is obvious that the two proposals go hand in hand. The declaration of rights of future generations would commit the present generation to a different life-style than is now in force. A declaration of the rights of nature would underline and emphasize that dramatic changes in our way of life need to be made. Ultimately, the rights of nature would be addressed to nobody else but to human beings. The rights of nature would include its right to existence and preservation; the right that eco-systems, species and plants be protected; and the agreement that distur-bances or infringements of these rights require justification. Permissible disturbances must be legally described. Protection of nature, the sus-tainability of nature and the realization that all of nature has intrinsic values and is not just a commodity may serve as guidelines. They would follow from the theological conviction that the human is called to act as caretaker of God's creation and by doing so reflect the image of God (*imago Dei*).

A word of caution needs to be added. Even though the rights of nature are important to implement drastic changes, they are on a different level from the rights of future generations. We must, for our very survival as humans, infringe upon nature. Even a fully devoted vegetarian must destroy life in order to live. But to do so responsibly is quite the opposite of the present exploitation.

Our present mega-crisis can be summed up in a few simple statements: the sustainability of the earth is at stake; non-renewable sources of energy are swiftly disappearing; hundreds of species in the realms of animals and plants are irretrievably extinguished; rain forests are destroyed; populations multiply so that future generations will not be able to live a decent life. 'Human greed, exploitation and gross irre-sponsibility have unleashed forces of disintegration which threaten the very life of the world' (*Granvollen Document No. 66*). Despite of all this, there seems to be very little sensitivity on the part of the present generation to care for and protect creation as well as those that follow us. This awareness is, however, necessary if we want to live as respon-sible stewards. The churches were called upon by the JPIC process to

be the instruments to raise these concerns in the general public both nationally and world-wide.

A theologian from India has nicely summed up a need for a new scale of values over against the dominant value system of modern society:

> Conservation against consumerism
> Need against greed
> Enabling power against dominating power
> Integrity of creation against exploiting nature[17]

17. K.C. Abraham, 'Human Responsibility for the Liberation of Creation', in Daniel D. Chetti (ed.), *Ecology and Development: Theological Perspectives* (Madras: Image Works, 1996), pp. 79-82 (82).

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