1. BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

1.1. Locate on a map the main regions of the Ancient Near East (ANE): Egypt, Cyprus, Hatti, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylon, Elam, Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, Sinai. Locate on a map the following cities: Tyre, Sidon, Ugarit (Ras Shamra), Damascus, Haran, Nineveh, Asshur, Babylon.

cf. Appendix I, Map 1.1.

1.2. Locate and give a brief description of the following peoples: Sumerians, Assyrians, Hittites, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, the Sea People, The Philistines. Give some information from the Bible on these people.

cf. Appendix I, Map 1.2.

a) Sumerians
Speakers of the Sumerian language. The Sumerian language is first attested in the earliest written records at the beginning of the 3d millennium B.C., and became extinct by the early 2d millennium, at the latest. As a geographical term, KI-EN-GI "Sumer" is used in a narrow sense for Babylonia South of Nippur, and in this sense can contrast with KI-URI "Akkad," Babylonia North of Nippur.

b) Assyrians
Assyria corresponds to the northern part of Mesopotamia, straddling the Tigres River. The largest cities were Ninevah and Assyr. During the First Middle Assyrian Empire (ca. 1273–1207 a.c.) it was one of the most significant powers in the region. They conquered the Hittites, the Arameans, Mitanni & Babylon. The narrative of the defeat of the Hittites by Tukulti-Ninurta I is of special interest to biblical students, since it contains the first recorded example of the deportation of peoples by the Assyrians. Such a procedure would be used much later against the Israelites, as narrated in the Bible. In the case of Tukulti-Ninurta I, a large group of the conquered Hittites were transported from Syria to labor camps in Assyria. in this way, the Assyrians not only eliminated a troublesome element on their borders but also gained a significant increase in their labor force.
During the Second Middle Assyrian Empire (1132-1076), Assyria entered into decline. This decline, with only brief moments of glory, continued for several hundred years.
When Tiglat-Piliser III ascended to the throne in 744 BC, Assyria was almost extinct. But this king was able not only to drive their enemies out of territories previously claimed by Assyria but also to invade them and conquer them. His victories led to voluntary submission and tribute from the more southern cities of Damascus, Hamath, Byblos, Tyre, and Samaria. In 734 Tiglath-pileser led his army through Syria and Phoenicia to southern Palestine, where he captured Gaza. He created an Assyrian trading center there and made Gaza a vassal of Assyria. This trading center was to facilitate economic communications between Assyria and Egypt. In the following years, various states in Syria and Palestine rebelled against Assyria, but they paid the penalty by being savagely attacked by the Assyrian army and incorporated as vassal states into the Assyrian empire. As regards Babylon, originally it had made an alliance with Tiglath-pileser. But, rebellions within Babylonia cost Tiglath-pileser much time and effort. Eventually he ascended the Babylonian throne himself. Thus we have for the first time in Neo-Assyrian history a unified state of Assyria and Babylonia under one king. Another feature of his reign was the massive deportation of peoples from rebellious areas, a policy which would be pursued regularly in subsequent times.
With the reign of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.), Jerusalem, the capital of the kingdom of Judah under Hezekiah, became the focal point of Sennacherib's policy toward the West, for not only did Jerusalem refuse submission to the Assyrians but it also allied itself with the Egyptians and Ethiopians against Sennacherib. Some facts are clear. First, an Assyrian army defeated an allied Egypto-Ethiopian army at a place called Eltekeh in Palestine; this army had come to the aid of Hezekiah. Sennacherib then laid siege to Jerusalem. The city was not taken by force; instead, Hezekiah presented Sennacherib with rich tribute. However, other cities in Judah were not so fortunate. Many of them were captured, looted, and destroyed, chief among these being Lachish. An Ethiopian army moved into Palestine to deal with the Assyrian threat. The two armies—the Ethiopian and the Assyrian—camped opposite one another, and during the night before the battle was to take place, a mysterious event occurred. According to the Bible, the angel of the Lord descended upon the Assyrian camp and slaughtered all of the troops (2 Kgs 18:13–19:36). Varying versions of this strange tale are found in Josephus (*Ant* 10.1.4–5) and Herodotus (2.141), and probably the truth will never be known. The fact is, however, that the Assyrian army on this occasion withdrew in confusion and disgrace. In 612BC Assyria, after years of civil wars, fell to the reign of the Babylonians.

c) Hittites

In the biblical references to the Hittites two different groups may be discerned. One is a local people of Palestine, settled in the area around Hebron before Abraham's arrival, the descendants of Canaan through the eponymous ancestor Heth. They lived in the heart of the land promised to the Israelites, so that God had to expressly command the Israelites to destroy them. That they were not eradicated but continued to inhabit southern Palestine, including the area around Jerusalem, may be seen in the references to Hittites in the Hebrew army, as forced labor conscripts, or as possible wives for the Hebrews, all the way through to the return from the Babylonian exile. Almost all of the references of Hittites in the OT fit into this picture of a local Canaanite people never quite eradicated in the Hebrew conquest of Canaan.

There are, however, five references to Hittites which do not fit with this picture. The reference in Josh 1:4 to the area around the Euphrates as the Hittite country cannot be the Hittites of Hebron, but rather, depending on the dating of the Conquest, either the Hittite Empire's territories in north Syria or the successor Neo-Hittite kingdoms in that region. The reference in Judg 1:26 to the man who after betraying Bethel goes to the "land of the Hittites" could refer to southern Palestine or to north Syria. In view of the use of the phrase *ʾereṣ haḥattîm,* "land of the Hittites," the only other occurrence of this phrase besides the Josh 1:4 passage, it is quite possible that the Neo-Hittite area is meant. Boling *Judges* AB, 59, indirectly implies his understanding of this phrase as the area of the Anatolian-Syrian Hittites.

The references to the "kings of the Hittites" in 1 Kgs 10:29 and 2 Chr 1:17, where they are importing horses and chariots from Solomon, and 2 Kgs 7:6, in which their very name causes the Syrian army to flee, again imply a powerful and wealthy group of kings, not a local Canaanite people who had been reduced by the Conquest and enslaved by Solomon. Again the Neo-Hittite kingdoms fit perfectly; the chronology is right, they were in the same area as the Syrians and thus known to them, and the plural "kings" fits very well with the nature of these states, which were not unified into one polity, but consisted of a number of small kingdoms.

These five references to the Hittites which on the basis of context may be understood as the Hittites of north Syria, that is, the Neo-Hittites, are also the only five occurrences of the plural form *ḥittîm* in the OT. This may mean nothing, but it could be some indication of a distinction made in the text between the Hittites of Palestine, descendants of Heth, and the Hittites of Anatolia and north Syria, the men of Ḫatti.

We must then distinguish between the "sons of Heth" of Palestine and the "men of Ḫatti" of Anatolia and northern Syria. The similarity of "Heth" and "Hatti" may have led to the use of *ḥitî* to refer to both. This is not to say that these two groups called "Hittites" in the OT may not be related ancestrally from some period antedating our earliest records. Nor do we imply that there was never any confusion between the Canaanite Hittites and Hittites of the Anatolian or north Syrian kingdoms who may have migrated into Palestine and settled there. For the period covered by the OT, however, it is clear that the terms usually translated "Hittites" referred to two distinct groups of people.

d) Egyptians

…the land of the Nile and the pyramids, the oldest kingdom of which we have any record, holds a place of great significance in Scripture. The Egyptians belonged to the white race, and their original home is still a matter of dispute. Many scholars believe that it was in Southern Arabia, and recent excavations have shown that the valley of the Nile was originally inhabited by a low-class population, perhaps belonging to the Nigritian stock, before the Egyptians of history entered it. The ancient Egyptian language, of which the latest form is Coptic, is distantly connected with the Semitic family of speech. Egypt consists geographically of two halves, the northern being the Delta, and the southern Upper Egypt, between Cairo and the First Cataract. In the Old Testament, Northern or Lower Egypt is called Mazor, "the fortified land" Isa 19:6 37:25 where the A.V. mistranslates "defence" and "besieged places"); while Southern or Upper Egypt is Pathros, the Egyptian Pa-to-Res, or "the land of the south" Isa 11:11 But the whole country is generally mentioned under the dual name of Mizraim, "the two Mazors." The civilization of Egypt goes back to a very remote antiquity.

The Old Testament Connections.

Semitic Connections:

The Hyksos invasion unified the rule of Syria and Egypt, and Syrian pottery is often found in Egypt of this age. The return of the wave, when Egypt drove out the Hyksos, and conquered Syria out to the Euphrates, was the greatest expansion of Egypt. Tahutmes I set up his statue on the Euphrates, and all Syria was in his hands. Tahutmes III repeatedly raided Syria, bringing back plunder and captives year by year throughout most of his reign. The number of Syrian artists and of Syrian women brought into Egypt largely changed the style of art and the standard of beauty. Amenhotep III held all Syria in peace, and recorded his triumphs at the Euphrates on the walls of the temple of Soleb far up in Nubia. His monotheist son, Amenhotep IV, took the name of Akhenaton, "the glory of the sun's disc," and established the worship of the radiant sun as the Aton, or Adon of Syria. The cuneiform letters

from Tell el-Amarna place all this age before us in detail. There are some from the kings of the Amorites and Hittites, from Naharain and even Babylonia, to the great suzerain Amenhotep III. There is also the long series describing the gradual loss of Syria under Akhenaton, as written by the governors and chiefs, of the various towns. The main letters are summarized in the Students' History of Egypt, II, and full abstracts of all the letters are in Syria and Egypt, arranged in historical order. Pal was reconquered by Seti I and his son Rameses II, but they only held about a third of the extent which formerly belonged to Amenhotep III. Merenptah, son of Rameses, also raided Southern Palestine. After that; it was left alone till the raid of Sheshenq in 933 BC. The only considerable assertion of Egyptian power was in Necoh's two raids up to the Euphrates, in 609 and 605 BC. But Egypt generally held the desert and a few minor points along the south border of Palestine. The Ptolemies seldom possessed more than that, their aspirations in Syria not lasting as permanent conquests. They were more successful in holding Cyprus.

Abramic Times:
We now come to the specific connections of Egypt with the Old Testament. The movement of the family of Abram from Ur in the south of Mesopotamia up to Haran in the north (Gen 11:31) and thence down Syria into Egypt (Gen 12:5,10) was like that of the earlier Semitic "princes of the desert," when they entered Egypt as the Hyksos kings about 2600 BC. Their earlier dominion was the XVth Dynasty of Egypt, and that was followed by another movement, the XVIth Dynasty, about 2250 BC, which was the date of the migration of Terah from Ur. Thus the Abramic family took part in the second Hyksos movement. The cause of these tribal movements has been partly explained by Mr. Huntington's researches on the recurrence of dry periods in Asia (Royal Geogr. Soc., May 26, 1910: The Pulse of Asia). Such lack of rain forces the desert peoples on to the cultivated lands, and then later famines are recorded. The dry age which pushed the Arab tribes on to the Mediterranean in 640 AD was succeeded by famines in Egypt during 6 centuries So as soon as Abram moved into Syria a famine pushed him on to Egypt (Gen 12:10). To this succeeded other famines in Canaan (Gen 26:1), and later in both Canaan and Egypt (Gen 41:56; 43:1; 47:13). The migration of Abram was thus conditioned by the general dry period, which forced the second Hyksos movement of which it was a part. The culture of the Hyksos was entirely nomadic, and agrees in all that we can trace with the patriarchal culture pictured in Gen.

Circumcision:
Circumcision was a very ancient mutilation in Egypt, and is still kept up there by both Muslim and Christian. It was first adopted by Abram for Ishmael, the son of the Egyptian Hagar (Gen 16:3; 17:23), before Isaac was promised. Hagar married Ishmael to an Egyptian (Gen 21:21), so that the Ishmaelites, or Hagarenes, of Gilead and Moab were three-quarters Egyptian. At Gerar, in the south of Palestine, Egyptian was the prevailing race and language, as the general of Abimelech was Phichol, the Egyptian name Pa-khal, "the Syrian," showing that the Gerarites were not Syrians.

Joseph:
The history of Joseph rising to importance as a capable slave is perfectly natural in Egypt at that time, and equally so in later periods down to our own days. That this occurred during the Hyksos period is shown by the title given to Joseph--Abrekh, (Heb: *'abhrekh*) (Gen 41:43) which is Abarakhu, the high Babylonian title. The names Zaphnath-paaneah, Asenath, and Potipherah have been variously equated in Egyptian, Naville seeing forms of the XVIIIth Dynasty in them, but Spiegelberg, with more probability, seeing types of names of the XXIInd Dynasty or later. The names are most likely an expansion of the original; but there is not a single feature or incident in the relations of Joseph to the Egyptians which is at all improbable from the history and civilization that we know.

Descent into Egypt:
The descent into Egypt and sojourn there are what might be expected of any Semitic tribe at this time. The allocation in Goshen (Gen 47:27) was the most suitable, as that was on the eastern border of the Delta, at the mouth of the Wady Tumilat, and was a district isolated from the general Egyptian population. The whole of Goshen is not more than 100 square miles, being bounded by the deserts, and by the large Egyptian city of Budastis on the West. The accounts of the embalming for 40 days and mourning for 70 days (Gen 50:3), and putting in a coffin (Gen 50:26) are exact. The 70 days' mourning existed both in the Ist Dynasty and in the XXth.

The Oppression:
The oppression in Egypt began with a new king that knew not Joseph. This can hardly be other than the rise of the Berber conquerors who took the Delta from the Hyksos at the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, 1582 BC, and expelled the Hyksos into Syria. It could not be later than this, as the period of oppression in Egypt is stated at 4 centuries (Gen 15:13; Acts 7:6), and the Exodus cannot be later than about 1220 BC, which leaves 360 years for the oppression. Also this length of oppression bars

any much earlier date for the Exodus. The 360 years of oppression from 430 of the total sojourn in Egypt, leaves 70 years of freedom there. As Joseph died at 110 (Gen 50:26), this implies that he was over 40 when his family came into Egypt, which would be quite consistent with the history.

The Historic Position:
The store cities Pithom and Raamses are the sites Tell el-Maskhuta and Tell Rotab in the Wady Tumilat, both built by Rameses II as frontier defenses. It is evident then that the serving with rigor was under that king, probably in the earlier part of his long reign of 67 years (1300-1234 BC), when he was actively campaigning in Palestine. This is shown in the narrative, for Moses was not yet born when the rigor began (Ex 1; 2:2), and he grew up, slew an Egyptian, and then lived long in Midian before the king of Egypt died (Ex 2:23), perhaps 40 or 50 years after the rigorous servitude began, for he is represented as being 80 at the time of the Exodus (Dt 34:7). These numbers are probably not precise, but as a whole they agree well enough with Egyptian history. After the king died, Moses returned to Egypt, and began moving to get his kin away to the eastern deserts, with which he had been well acquainted in his exile from Egypt. A harsher servitude ensues, which might be expected from the more vigorous reign of Merenptah, after the slackness of the old age of Rameses. The campaign of Merenptah against Israel and other people in Palestine would not make him any less severe in his treatment of Semites in Egypt.

The Plagues:
The plagues are in the order of usual seasonal troubles in Egypt, from the red unwholesome Nile in June, through the frogs, insects, hail and rain, locusts, and sandstorms in March. The death of the firstborn was in April at the Passover.

Date of the Exodus:
The date of the Exodus is indicated as being about 1200 BC, by the 4 centuries of oppression, and by the names of the land and the city of Rameses (Gen 47:4; compare Ex 1:11). The historical limit is that the Egyptians were incessantly raiding Palestine down to 1194 BC, and then abandoned it till the invasion of Shishak. As there is no trace of these Egyptian invasions during all the ups and downs of the age of the Judges, it seems impossible to suppose the Israelites entered Canaan till after 1194 BC. The setting back of the Exodus much earlier has arisen from taking three simultaneous histories of the Judges as consecutive, as we shall notice farther on. The facts stated above, and the length of all three lines of the priestly genealogies, agree completely with the Egyptian history in putting the Exodus at about 1220 BC, and the entry into Canaan about 1180 BC.

Route of the Exodus:
The route of the Exodus was first a concentration at Raamses or Tell Rotab, in the Wady Tumliat, followed by a march to Succoth, a general name for the region of Bedawy booths; from there to Etham in the edge of the wilderness, about the modern Nefisheh. Thence they turned and encamped before Pi-hahiroth, the Egyptian Pa-qaheret, a Serapeum. Thus turning South to the West of the Red Sea (which then extended up to Tell el-Maskhuta), they had a Migdol tower behind them and Baal-zephon opposite to them. They were thus "entangled in the land." Then the strong east wind bared the shallows, and made it possible to cross the gulf and reach the opposite shore. They then went "three days in the wilderness," the three days' route without water to Marah, the bitter spring of Hawara, and immediately beyond reached Elim, which accords entirely with the Wady Gharandel. Thence they encamped by the Red Sea. All of this account exactly agrees with the traditional route down the West of the Sinaitic peninsula; it will not agree with any other route, and there is no reason to look for any different location of the march.

Numbers of the Exodus:
The numbers of the Israelites have long been a difficulty. On the one hand are the census lists (Nu 1; 2 and 26), with their summaries of 600,000 men besides children and a mixed multitude (Ex 12:37,38; 38:26; Nu 1:46; 11:21). On the other hand there are the exact statements of there being 22,273 firstborn, that is, fathers of families (Nu 3:43), and that 40,000 armed men entered Canaan with Joshua (Josh 4:13), also the 35,000 who fought at Ai (Josh 8:3,12), and the 32,000 who fought against Midian (Jdg 7:3). Besides these, there are the general considerations that only 5,000 to 10,000 people could live in Goshen, that the Amalekites with whom the Israelites were equally matched (Ex 17:11) could not have exceeded about 5,000 in Sinai, that Moses judged all disputes, and that two midwives attended all the Israelite births, which would be 140 a day on a population of 600,000. Evidently, the statements of numbers are contradictory, and the external evidence is all in accord with lesser numbers. Proposals to reduce arbitrarily the larger numbers have been frequent; but there is one likely line of misunderstanding that may have originated the increase. In the census lists of the tribes, most of the hundreds in the numbers are 400 or 500, others are near those, and there are none whatever on 000, 100, 800 or 900. Evidently, the hundreds are independent of the

thousands. Now in writing the statements, such as "Reuben, 46,500," the original list would be 46 Heb: *'eleph*, 5 hundred people, and Heb: *'eleph* means either "thousands" or else "groups" or "families." Hence, a census of 46 tents, 500 people, would be ambiguous, and a later compiler might well take it as 46,500. In this way the whole census of 598 tents, 5,550 people, would be misread as 603,550 people. The checks on this are, that the number per tent should be reasonable in all cases, that the hundreds should not fluctuate more than the tents between the first and last census, and that the total should correspond to the known populations of Goshen and of Sinai; these requirements all agree with this reading of the lists.

Israel in Canaan:
Two points need notice here as incidentally bearing on the Egyptian connections: (1) the Israelites in Palestine before the Exodus, indicated by Merenptah triumphing over them there before 1230 BC, and the raids during the Egyptian residence (1 Ch 7:21); (2) the triple history of the Judges, west, north, and east, each totaling to 120 years, in accord with the length of the four priestly genealogies (1 Ch 6:4-8,22-28,33-35,39-43,14-47), and showing that the dates are about 1220 BC the Exodus, 1180 BC the entry to Canaan, 1150 BC the beginning of Judges, 1030 BC Saul.

Hadad:
The connections with the monarchy soon begin. David and Joab attacked Edom (2 Sam 8:14), and Hadad, the young king, was carried off by his servants to Egypt for safety. The Pharaoh who received and supported him must have been Siamen, the king of Zoan, which city was then an independent capital apart from the priest kings of Thebes (1 Ki 11:15-22). Hadad was married to the Egyptian queen's sister when he grew up, probably in the reign of Pasebkhanu II.

Pharaoh's Daughter:
The Pharaoh whose daughter was married to Solomon must have been the same Pasebkhanu; he reigned from 987-952 BC, and the marriage was about 970 in the middle of the reign. Another daughter of Pasebkhanu was Karamat, who was the wife of Shishak. Thus Solomon and Shishak married two sisters, and their aunt was queen of Edom. This throws light on the politics of the kingdoms. Probably Solomon had some child by Pharaoh's daughter, and the Egyptians would expect that to be the heir. Shishak's invasion, on the death of Solomon, was perhaps based upon the right of a nephew to the throne of Judah.

Shishak:
The invasion of Shishak (Egyptian, Sheshenq) took place probably at the end of his reign. His troops were Lubim (Libyans), Sukkim (men of Succoth, the east border) and Kushim (Ethiopians). The account of the war is on the side of the great fore-court at Karnak, which shows long lists of places in Judah, agreeing with the subjugation recorded in 1 Ki 14:25,26, and 2 Ch 12:2-4.

Zerakh:
Zerakh, or Usarkon, was the next king of Egypt, the son of Karamat, Solomon's sister-in-law. He invaded Judah unsuccessfully in 903 BC (2 Ch 14:9) with an army of Libyans and Sudanis (2 Ch 16:8). A statue of the Nile, dedicated by him, and naming his descent from Karamat and Pasebkhanu, is in the British Museum.

The Ethiopians:
After a couple of centuries the Ethiopian kings intervened. Shabaka was appointed viceroy of Egypt by his father Piankhy, and is described by the Assyrians as Sibe, commander-in-chief of Muzri, and by the Hebrews as Sua or So, king of Egypt (2 Ki 17:4). Tirhakah next appears as a viceroy, and Hezekiah was warned against trusting to him (2 Ki 19:9). These two kings touch on Jewish history during their vice-royalties, before their full reigns began. Necoh next touches on Judah in his raid to Carchemish in 609 BC, when he slew Josiah for opposing him (2 Ki 23:29,30; 2 Ch 35:20-24).

Tahpanhes:
After the taking of Jerusalem, for fear of vengeance for the insurrection of Ishmael (2 Ki 25:25,26; Jer 40; 41; 42), the remnant of the Jews fled to the frontier fortress of Egypt, Tahpanhes, Tehaphnehes, Greek Daphnae, modern Defenneh, about 10 miles West of the present Suez Canal (Jer 43:7-13). The brick pavement in front of the entrance to the fortress there, in which Jeremiah hid the stones, has been uncovered and the fortress completely planned. It was occupied by Greeks, who there brought Greek words and things into contact with the traveling Jews for a couple of generations before the fall of Jerusalem.

Hophra:
The prophecy that Hophra would be delivered to them that sought his life (Jer 44:30) was fulfilled, as he was kept captive by his successor, Amasis, for 3 years, and after a brief attempt at liberty, he was strangled.

The Jews at Syene:
The account of the Jews settled in Egypt (Jer 44) is singularly illustrated by the Aramaic Jewish papyri found at Syene (Aswan). These show the use of Aramaic and of oaths by Yahu, as stated of 5 cities in Egypt (Isa 19:18). The colony at Syene was well-to-do, though not rich; they were householders who possessed all their property by regular title-deeds, who executed marriage settlements, and were fully used to litigation, having in deeds of sale a clause that no other deed could be valid. The temple of Yahu filled the space between two roads, and faced upon 3 houses, implying a building about 60 or 70 ft. wide. It was built of hewn stone, with stone columns, 7 gates, and a cedar roof. It was destroyed in 410, after lasting from before Cambyses in 525 BC, and a petition for rebuilding it was granted in 407.

The New Jerusalem of Oniah:
The most flourishing period of the Jews in Egypt was when Oniah IV, the son of the rightful high priest Oniah, was driven from Jerusalem by the abolition of Jewish worship and ordinances under Antiochus. In 170 BC he fled to Egypt, and there established a new Jerusalem with a temple and sacrifices as being the only way to maintain the Jewish worship. Oniah IV was a valiant man, general to queen Cleopatra I; and he offered to form the Jewish community into a frontier guard on the East of Egypt, hating the Syrians to the uttermost, if the Jews might form their own community. They so dominated the eastern Delta that troops of Caesar could not pass from Syria to Alexandria without their assent. The new Jerusalem was 20 miles North of Cairo, a site now known as Tell el-Yehudiyeh. The great mound of the temple still remains there, with the Passover ovens beneath it, and part of the massive stone fortifications on the front of it. This remained a stronghold of free Judaism until after Titus took Jerusalem; and it was only when the Zealots tried to make it a center of insurrection, that at last it was closed and fell into decay. Josephus is the original authority for this history

The Egyptian Jew:
The Jew in Egypt followed a very different development from the Babylonian Jew, and this Egyptian type largely influenced Christianity. In the colony at Syene a woman named "Trust Yahweh" had no objection to swearing by the Egyptian goddess Seti when making an Egyptian contract; and in Jer 44:15-19, the Jews boasted of their heathen worship in Egypt. Oniah had no scruple in establishing a temple and sacrifices apart from Jerusalem, without any of the particularism of the Maccabean zealots. Philo at Alexandria labored all his life for the union of Jewish thought with Greek philosophy. The Hermetic books show how, from 500 to 200 BC, religious thought was developing under eclectic influence of Egyptian Jewish, Persian, Indian and Greek beliefs, and producing the tenets about the second God, the Eternal Son, who was the Logos, and the types of Conversion, as the Divine Ray, the New Birth, and the Baptism. Later the Wisdom literature of Alexandria, 200-100 BC, provided the basis of thought and simile on which the Pauline Epistles were built. The great wrench in the history of the church came when it escaped from the Babylonian-Jewish formalism of the Captivity, which ruled at Jerusalem, and grew into the wider range of ideas of the Alexandrian Jews. These ideas had been preserved in Egypt from the days of the monarchy, and had developed a great body of religious thought and phraseology from their eclectic connections. The relations of Christianity with Egypt are outside our scope, but some of them will be found in Egypt and Israel, 124-41.

e) Phoenicians
Phoenicia was the Greek name for the Syrian littoral north of Palestine. The name meant “dark red” and was applied first to the people and region renowned for dyes of this color, and then to some of the natural products that became associated with them in international trade. Phoenicia was neither a country nor a nation but a conglomerate of city-states that was distinguished from adjacent areas by its habitual outreach into the Mediterranean world and by its preferred dealings with Indo-Europeans and Greeks. Its history consists in the contribution of these individual cities and their dominions to the civilization and gradual maturation of the Mediterranean world.
The earliest biblical reference to particular Phoenician cities is in Ezekiel’s lamentation for Tyre (Ez. 26–28). He describes an imagined capture and destruction of the city (Ez 26), its effect on Mediterranean trade (Ez. 27), and its consequences for the Phoenician way of life (Ez 28).
The Dtr historian, writing in the mid-6th century, was familiar with Tyre’s preeminence in the Mediterranean world but was also interested in Phoenician geography and ethnography. The Phoenicians are Canaanites who live in the E and in the W, along the coast and in the Jordan valley (Gen 10:19; Num 13:29; Deut 1:8; 11:30; Josh 11:3; Judg 18:7, 28). They are called Sidonians (Gen

10:15; Judg 3:3; 10:11–12; 18:7; 1 Kgs 5:20; 11:1, 5, 33; 16:31; 2 Kgs 23:13). Their land is N of Philistia and S of Amurru, and includes both the littoral and the possessions of Byblos in Mt. Lebanon as far as Lebo Hamat in the interior (Deut 3:9; Josh 13:2–6). Some of their towns, such as ʿAkko and ʿAkzib, belonged theoretically to Asher (Judg 1:31), other towns such as ʿArqa, Siyannu, Arvad, and Ṣumur were N of Canaan in Amurru (Gen 10:17–18; Westermann *Genesis* BKAT, 694–99) but Phoenicia was not part of the land of Canaan that had been allotted to the tribes of Israel (Gen 10:15–19; 49:13; Josh 11:8; 19:28; 2 Sam 24:6–7).

Tyre is mentioned in the Dtr history only in connection with David and Solomon and the building of the temple. This history ascribes to Solomon the wealth, wisdom, and world renown that Ezekiel admired in the king of Tyre (1 Kgs 3:1–15; 5:1–14; Ezek 28:1–5). Solomon, like Ezekiel's king of Tyre, achieved world dominion (1 Kgs 5:1; 10:23–24; Ezek 26:17–18; 27:1–36) and acquired his wealth from international trade (1 Kgs 10:14–15; Ezek 28:1–5). They both had ships of Tarshish (1 Kgs 10:22; Ezek 27:12, 25), traded with Sheba (1 Kgs 10:1–13; Ezek 27:22) and all the countries from Cilicia and Anatolia to Egypt (1 Kgs 10:26–29; Ezek 27:7, 12–16), and sent their fleets on joint expeditions to Ophir (1 Kgs 9:26–28; 10:11, 22). For both, their grandeur and the richness of their foreign relations was ultimately their downfall (1 Kgs 11:1–3; Ezek 28:1–10).

The Dtr historian portrayed Solomon as a Phoenician king, made him the contemporary and friend of Hiram of Tyre, and gave them joint responsibility for building the temple. Israel exchanged ambassadors with Tyre and made a treaty (2 Sam 5:11–12; 1 Kgs 5:15–20, 26). The Tyrians, following the pattern described by Ezekiel, bartered their materials and expertise for wheat and oil (1 Kgs 5:21–25; Ezek 27:17), summoned the Byblians to help them with the timber and masonry (1 Kgs 5:27–32; Ezek 27:9), imported all the wood and gold and precious stones needed for the construction of the temple (1 Kgs 9:26–28; 10:11–22; Ezek 27:22; Lemaire 1977: 253–55), supplied the bronze for the temple vessels and for the two pillars that stood before it (1 Kgs 7:13–47; Ezek 26:11; 27:13), and acquired the right to settle by the coast in return for their wares (1 Kgs 9:10–14; Ezek 27:3). The magnificence of the temple matched the splendor of its founder. Together they represented the wonder of new beginnings and the innocence of primordial times. The temple was the replica of the created order, a place like sky and earth where Yahweh might dwell (1 Kgs 8:12–13, 27–30), with pillars to sustain the heavens (1 Kgs 7:15–22; cp. Ps 75:4) and a bronze sea to contain the mighty waters (1 Kgs 7:23–26). The king, like God and Adam, had the knowledge of good and evil (1 Kgs 3:9; Gen 3:22) and, like Adam, was led astray by his wives to worship other gods (1 Kgs 11:1–3; Gen 3:8–13). He was like the king of Tyre in the book of Ezekiel who was created in the garden of Eden but sinned and defiled his temples and was removed from the mountain of God (Ezek 28:11–19).

This Tyrian interlude in the Dtr history makes the beginning of the Davidic dynasty coincide with the origin of right worship in the distant and idyllic past. But it differs from the usual Dtr interpretation of Israel's dealings with the Phoenicians and Sidonians. The Dtr historian included them among the nations left in the land to test Israel (Josh 13:2–6; Judg 3:3). They were mentioned with the Philistines in a list of Israel's oppressors (Judg 10:11–12). Their women lured Solomon into the worship of Astarte (1 Kgs 11:1, 5; 2 Kgs 23:13). The worship of Baʿal was introduced into Israel in the early 9th century when Ahab married Jezebel the daughter of ʾIttôbaʿal the "king of the Sidonians" (*mlk ṣdnm*, 1 Kgs 16:31; Katzenstein 1973: 129–192). This critical attitude toward the Sidonians and Phoenicians was governed by the Dtr interpretation of Israel's distinctiveness that required its separation from all the nations of the world.

The Tyrians and Sidonians were famous and successful merchants living in coastal Canaan (cf. Obad 20) and the geographical designation, consequently, acquired a commercial connotation. Hosea criticized Ephraim for its deceitfulness and dealings with the powerful nations of the world (Hos 12:1–3) and then illustrated his point by comparing Ephraim to a wealthy and arrogant Canaanite merchant with no sense of allegiance (Hos 12:8–9).

f) Moabites

In ancient times, the region immediately east of the Dead Sea and the people who occupied that region. Most of the ancient references to Moab are provided by the Hebrew Bible which seems to use the term primarily in reference to the people (Num 22:4). Moab was one of several relatively small kingdoms that emerged in the Levant during the early centuries of the Iron Age, existed for a time alongside each other, and then fell under the domination of the Assyrians. Those kingdoms which survived the Assyrians with their national identity intact would not survive the Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, who dominated the Levant each in turn after the Assyrians. Among these Iron Age kingdoms was Moab. Unfortunately very little is known about the origin of the Moabites or the details of their history.

Biblical Witness

The plains of Moab provide the setting for a considerable portion of the Genesis–Joshua narrative, therefore, from Numbers 21 through Joshua 3. The events reported in these chapters may be summarized as follows.

The Israelites reached N Moab and defeated Sihon, an Amorite king who had taken this region from the Moabites and ruled it from Heshbon. They also defeated Og, another Amorite king who ruled still further N, and thus gained possession of virtually all the Transjordan (Num 21:10–35). Balak, a Moabite king, called on the prophet Balaam to curse the Israelites who now were encamped in the plains of Moab. Balaam, insisting that he could speak only what God gave him to speak, blessed Israel instead of cursing them (Numbers 22–24). Some of the Israelites began to worship Baal of Peor, and one even cohabited with a Midianite woman. Phinehas, son of Eleazer the priest, killed the couple. God commanded Moses and Eleazer to harass and smite the Midianites (Numbers 25). Moses and Eleazer conducted a census of the congregation, after which Yahweh provided further legal and cultic instructions (Numbers 26–30). Israel avenged the Midianites; the Reubenites and Gadites were assigned territory in N Moab; Manassehite clans received territory still further N, and Yahweh provided further instructions (Numbers 31–36). Moses reviewed key events which had occurred while the Israelites wandered in the wilderness and camped in the plains of Moab, reviewed the law which God had handed down to him, viewed the promised land from Pisgah, and died (Deuteronomy 1–34). Leadership was transferred to Joshua at that point, who began preparations for the conquest of Canaan (Joshua 1–3).

Events of the “Plains of Moab” stage in the Israelite journey from Egypt also are mentioned from time to time later on in the biblical narrative as it continues through 2 Kings (see, for example, the summary of conquests in Joshua 12–13 and the exchange of messages between Jephthah and the Ammonite king in Judg 11:12–28).

The story of Lot’s daughters, for example, in spite of its folkloristic character and derogatory slant, shows that the Israelites regarded the Moabites and Ammonites as relatives. The common heritage of these peoples is suggested also, as we have seen, by their shared material culture. Other passages in the Hebrew Bible indicate that there was constant interchange between the Israelites and Moabites including intermarriage. The genealogical record at the end of the book of Ruth is especially noteworthy in this regard. It claims, namely, that King David himself was descended from the Moabitess Ruth. Among the numerous obscure notations in the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–8, on the other hand, is mention of a Moabite ruler of Judaean descent (1 Chr 4:22). 1 Chr 8:8–10 speaks of one Shaharaim (presumably a descendant of Benjamin, although the context is unclear) who “. . . had sons in the country of Moab after he had sent away Hushim and Baara his wives. He had sons by Hodesh his wife: Jobab, Zibia, Mesha, Malcam, Jeuz, Sachia, and Mirmah. There were his sons, heads of fathers’ houses.”

The Sihon passages bear witness to the political conflicts between the Israelites, Moabites, and Ammonites during biblical times, indicate that competition for control of N Moab was a central issue in much of this conflict, and remind us that international disputes always involve some degree of propaganda warfare. No doubt the Moabites and Ammonites also had their own versions of earlier history which supported their respective claims to N Moab.

Similarly, the traditions that report religious apostasy and violence at Beth-peor, although projected back to the Mosaic era when all Israel supposedly was camped in the Plains of Moab, probably had more to do with the on-going experiences of Israelite clans who lived permanently among the Moabites (and Midianites!) in the disputed region. While many will have married non-Israelite wives and worshiped local gods at Moabite shrines, there will have been counter efforts to maintain ethnic and religious distinctiveness; and this distinctiveness will have added a local dynamic to the violence which inevitably occurred each time the disputed territory changed hands (e.g., David’s selective massacre of Moabites; Mesha’s massacre of Gadites).

g) Ammonites

The son of Abraham’s nephew Lot, who was the product of an incestuous union between Lot and one of his daughters (Gen 19:36–38). As such, Ammon serves as the eponymous ancestor of the Ammonites, a Transjordanian people whose kingdom the Israelites encountered in their exodus march to the Promised Land (Num 21: 24–35; Deut 2:16–37). Later David waged war against the Ammonites (2 Samuel 11–12).

The history of Ammon is known from written sources only from the 8th century B.C., when it is mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian annals. The historical value of the biblical references to the Ammonite kingdom is hard to evaluate because of the partly legendary character of the sources relating to the Exodus and the relatively late date of the final redaction of the unit. Most recent research tends, in fact, to lower the date of the biblical redaction to almost the same period as the Neo-Assyrian annals. Therefore, nothing is scientifically certain about Ammon and the Ammonites before the 8th century. The Ammonites are not mentioned in Egyptian historical writings. Happily, archaeology provides abundant proof of the existence of the Ammonites before the 8th century.

The Biblical Traditions

The historical origin of the Ammonites is not specified in the OT; they were already present in Transjordan when the Hebrews arrived. A popular tradition derives the name from the incest of Lot

(Gen 19:36–38); the Ammonites would thus be “Arameans” in the OT sense. It is possible that in another biblical tradition the Ammonites are considered “Amorites,” as are their immediate neighbors, the Moabites (seen as a brother in Gen 19:36). But the OT designation “Amorites” does not have the precision frequently given it by modern historians. Nothing proves that the Ammonites were the fruit of an invasion, Aramean or Amorite, or that they must have settled down (Pitard 1987: 87). The archaeology of the capital city shows a continuous, if irregular, occupation. We still do not know precisely who the Bronze Age Ammonites were. Most probably, they were simply the native people of the country.

1. The Accounts of the Conquest.

There is no biblical reference to the conquest of an Ammonite kingdom. Moses and his forces go around the region of Amman. According to the schema of Num 21:24–35, the Hebrews subdue the Amorite kingdom of Heshbon, then the town of Jazer, and finally, after a detour, that of Edrei in Bashan. In Deut 2:19 and 37, there is recounted an explicit order of God not to attack Ammon. The territories around Ammon are therefore divided between the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh. Gad is the closest to Ammon, with Jazer as its nearest neighboring city. This territory is the nucleus of Gilead, a geographic name which will have greater territorial expansion over the ages. It will extend N as far as the Yarmuk, country of Machir-Manasseh (cf. Num 32:39). However, it should be noted that Num 32:34–38 implies that Gad had a territory so vast as to encompass Reuben and approach Moab. These Hebrew neighbors of Ammon fought with one another and with Moab. They weakened with time (as Gad absorbed Reuben, and then it was absorbed by the Arameans of Damascus).

From the biblical schema of the conquest it is difficult to ascertain what historical factors can account for the fact that the “Amorite” kingdom of Sihon was fought and conquered (Num 21:21–31) while the kingdom of Ammon was not. Furthermore, there is no formal mention of the “kingdom” of Ammon in the accounts of the conquest. It is possible that, at the period in which these accounts are set, Ammon was only a mediocre political entity. But Ammon had been urbanized centuries before the time proposed for the arrival of the Hebrews. It certainly had a local “kingdom.” More probably, the silence concerning Ammon reflects the period when these accounts were written, and a later political situation of the Aramean period, when no one could possibly imagine the Hebrews conquering such a powerful kingdom.

2. The Period of the Judges.

Ammon is mentioned in connection with Israel’s conflicts in the period of the Judges. The first incident is minor, connected with the struggle between the Benjaminites and Moab. In Judg 3:13, it is mentioned that the Moabite king, Eglon, was allied with the Ammonites; but these latter play no part in the rest of the account. Judg 11:4, 12–33 refers to Gileadite resistance (led by Jephthah) against the Ammonites. Here for the first time there is reference to an unnamed “king” of the Ammonites. But the account of Jephthah vv 15–26 is untrustworthy: Ammon and Moab are confused, and the Moabite god, Chemosh, is attributed to the Ammonites.

3. The Period of Saul and David.

The Ammonite king, Nahash, besieged Jabesh of Gilead, which was rescued by Saul in 1 Sam 11:1–11. Nahash was succeeded by his son Hanun, a contemporary of David. The conquest of the Ammonite capital, Rabbath-Ammon, by David (2 Samuel 10–12) marks the true entry of the Ammonites into history. At the time of the revolt of Absalom, “Shobi, son of Nahash, from Rabbah of the Ammonites” came to bring material aid to David, although he did not offer military assistance (2 Sam 17:27). This Shobi, if he really was the son of the king Nahash, would then be the brother of Hanun. He may have been enthroned by David in place of Hanun after the conquest of Rabbath-Ammon.

The OT has nothing more to say about the Ammonites during the time of David. Probably their history was independent of that of the Hebrews after the death of Solomon. The only significant point of contact is the mention of family links between Hebrews and Ammonites. Solomon had Ammonites among his foreign wives (1 Kgs 11:1). Naamah, mother of King Rehoboam, was an Ammonite.

4. The Preexilic Period.

In the 9th century, during the reign of Jehoshaphat, Ammon, Moab, and Edom united in order to attack Judah; they were unsuccessful, probably because of dissension among the allies (2 Chr 20:1, 10, 22–23). A similar coalition took place during the reign of Jehoiakim, at the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th centuries (2 Kgs 24:2). Before this, however, Uzziah of Judah and his son Jotham received tribute from Ammon in the 8th century (2 Chr 26:8; 27:5). Just before the fall of Jerusalem, there was an attempt to form an alliance between Judah and her neighbors, including the Ammonites (Jer 27:3). But this alliance was preceded by an attack by the “Chaldeans,

Arameans, Moabites, and Ammonites" against Judah about 601 B.C. (2 Kgs 24:2). Ezek 21:25, 33 suggests that Nebuchadnezzar attacked Ammon.

5. Exilic and Postexilic Periods.
After the destruction of Jerusalem, the assassin of Gedaliah took refuge with the Ammonites (Jer 41:10, 15). In the time of Nehemiah the Ammonites opposed the rebuilding of Jerusalem (Neh 4:1–2). The Ammonites are cited as adversaries one last time in the Maccabean wars (1 Macc 5:6–7).

6. The Prophetic Literature.
Mention must be made of the references to Ammon in the prophetic oracles. These are often outside the context of precise biblical chronology and belong to a stereotyped literary genre, where Ammon is seen as the traditional enemy of Israel, generally associated with Moab and Edom. This is the case in Amos 1:13–15; Isa 11:14; Jer 9:25; 25:21; 49:1–6; Ezek 25:1–5; Dan 11:41; and Zeph 2:8-11)

h) Edomites
A territory that in OT times was generally located S and E of the Dead Sea. The word "Edom" is derived from a Semitic root meaning "red," "ruddy." The name was thus probably given to the area because of the reddish color of the sandstone there. Less is known of the history of Edom than of most neighbors of ancient Israel, because there are no extant historical records from ancient Edom, and Edom has always been relatively isolated.
The term Edom (ʿ<u>d</u>ôm) denotes either the name of Esau, given in memory of the red pottage for which he exchanged his birthright (Gn. 25:30; 36:1, 8, 19), or the Edomites collectively (Nu. 20:18, 20-21; Am. 1:6, 11; 9:12; Mal. 1:4), or the land occupied by Esau's descendants, formerly the land of Seir (Gn. 32:3; 36:20-21, 30; Nu. 24:18). It stretched from the Wadi Zered to the Gulf of Aqabah for *c.* 160 km, and extended to both sides of the Arabah or wilderness of Edom (2 Ki. 3:8, 20), the great depression connecting the Dead Sea to the Red Sea (Gn. 14:6; Dt. 2:1, 12; Jos. 15:1,; Jdg. 11:17-18; 1 Ki. 9:26, *etc.*). It is a rugged, mountainous area, with peaks rising to 1,067 m. While not a fertile land, there are good cultivable areas (Nu. 20:17, 19). In Bible times the king's highway passed along the E plateau (Nu. 20:14-18). The capital, Sela, lay on a small plateau behind Petra. Other important towns were Bozrah and Teman.
The Edomites (ʿ<u>d</u>ôm, ʾ<u>d</u>omîm) were descendants of Edom (Esau, Gn. 36:1-17). Modern archaeology has shown that the land was occupied before Esau's time. We conclude that Esau's descendants migrated to that land and in time became the dominant group incorporating the original Horites (Gn. 14:6) and others into their number. After *c.* 1850 BC there was a break in the culture of Edom till just before *c.* 1300 BC and the land was occupied by nomads.
Esau had already occupied Edom when Jacob returned from Harran (Gn. 32:3; 36:6-8; Dt. 2:4 5; Jos. 24:4). Tribal chiefs (AV 'dukes') emerged here quite early (Gn. 36:15-19, 40 43; 1 Ch. 1:51 54), and the Edomites had kings 'before any king reigned over the Israelites' (Gn. 36:31 39; 1 Ch. 1:43-51). At the time of the Exodus, Israel sought permission to travel by the king's highway, but the request was refused (Nu. 20:14-21; 21:4; Jdg. 11:17-18). Notwithstanding this discourtesy, Israel was forbidden to abhor his Edomite brother (Dt. 23:7-8). In those days Balaam predicted the conquest of Edom (Nu. 24:18).
Joshua allotted the territory of Judah up to the borders of Edom (Jos. 15:1, 21), but did not encroach on their lands. Two centuries later King Saul was fighting the Edomites (1 Sa. 14:47) although some of them were in his service (1 Sa. 21:7; 22:9, 18). David conquered Edom and put garrisons throughout the land (2 Sa. 8:13-14. Emend ʾ<u>a</u>rām in v. 13 to ʿ<u>d</u>ôm because of a scribal confusion of resh 'r' and daleth 'd'. *Cf.* 1 Ch. 18:13). There was considerable slaughter of the Edomites at this time (2 Sa. 8:13), and 1 Ki. 11:15-16 speaks of Joab, David's commander, remaining in Edom for six months 'until he had cut off every male in Edom'. Some must have escaped, for Hadad, a royal prince, fled to Egypt and later became a trouble to Solomon (1 Ki. 11:14-22). This conquest of Edom enabled Solomon to build a port at Ezion-geber, and to exploit the copper-mines in the region, as excavation clearly shows (1 Ki. 9:26-28).
In Jehoshaphat's time the Edomites joined the Ammonites and Moabites in a raid on Judah (2 Ch. 20:1), but the allies fell to fighting one another (vv. 22-23). Jehoshaphat endeavoured to use the port at Ezion-geber, but his ships were wrecked (1 Ki. 22:48). At this time Edom was ruled by a deputy, who acted as king (1 Ki. 22:47). This 'king' acknowledged the supremacy of Judah and joined the Judah-Israel coalition in an attack on Mesha, king of Moab (2 Ki. 3:4-27).
Under Joram (Jehoram), Edom rebelled, but, although Joram defeated them in battle, he could not reduce them to subjection (2 Ki. 8:20-22; 2 Ch. 21:8-10), and Edom had a respite of some 40 years. Amaziah later invaded Edom, slew 10,000 Edomites in the Valley of Salt, captured Sela their capital and sent 10,000 more to their death by casting them from the top of Sela (2 Ki. 14:7; 2 Ch. 25:11-12). Uzziah, his successor, restored the port at Elath (2 Ki. 14:22), but under Ahaz, when Judah was being attacked by Pekah and Rezin, the Edomites invaded Judah and carried off captives (2 Ch. 28:17). The port of Elath was lost once again. (Read 'Edom' for 'Aram' in 2 Ki. 16:6, as RSV.) Judah

never again recovered Edom. Assyr. inscriptions show that Edom became a vassal-state of Assyria after *c.* 736 BC.

After the fall of Judah, Edom rejoiced (Ps. 137:7). The prophets foretold judgment on Edom for her bitter hatred (Je. 49:7-22; La. 4:21-22; Ezk. 25:12-14; 35:15; Joel 3:19; Am. 9:12; Ob. 10ff.). Some Edomites pressed into S Judah and settled to the S of Hebron (*Idumaea). Edom proper fell into Arab hands during the 5th century BC, and in the 3rd century BC was overrun by the Nabataeans. Through these centuries yet other Edomites fled to Judah. Judas Maccabaeus later subdued them (1 Macc. 5:65), and John Hyrcanus compelled them to be circumcised and incorporated into the Jewish people. The Herods were of general Edomite stock.

i) The Sea People

A modern term referring to nine seaborne peoples mentioned in Egyptian sources from the reigns of Merneptah (1212–1202 B.C.) and Rameses III (1182–1151 B.C.); the Egyptian consonantal spellings can be vocalized in some of the names with the help of cuneiform sources:

Šerdani, Lukka, Šklš, Trš, ʾq(y)wš

(perhaps *Aḫḫiyawa*), *Sikila, Danuna, Wšš,* and Plšt (the Philistines). Some of these warlike bands already occur in Hittite sources and in the Amarna correspondence of the 14th century B.C., both as pirates raiding the shores of Cyprus and Egypt and as mercenaries recruited to the Egyptian and other armies. However, the main thrust of the Sea Peoples to the Levantine coasts occurred in the late 13th and early 12th centuries B.C.

Several groups *(Šerdani, Trš, Šklš, ʾqywš, Lukka)* fought within the ranks of the Libyan armies in the W delta and were defeated by Merneptah in 1207 B.C. There are no pictorial representations, but according to the textual descriptions some of these Sea Peoples were circumcised, others were not. About the turn of the 12th century seaborne raiders invaded the coasts of Cyprus, Cilicia and N Syria and eventually brought about the collapse of the Hittite Empire. Cuneiform sources from Ugarit and from Hattuša portray a situation of total confusion and inability of the imperial fleet and armies to cope with the “enemy,” who, with one exception, are not mentioned by name. “The Sikila people, who live on ships” in an Ugarit text are probably identical with the *Skl* of the Eygptian sources (or else, with the *Šklš*).

After the collapse of the central Hittite government, some of the Sea Peoples settled along the shores of the N Levant and Cyprus, while others gradually continued to move farther S, toward Canaan. In 1174 B.C., Rameses III attempted to block their advance at the N end of the Egyptian Empire, near the land of Amurru; the ensuing battles, both on land and in sea, are depicted on reliefs in the mortuary temple of Rameses III in Medinet Habu. In the sea battle two different types of Sea Peoples are shown on distinctive ships: the *Šerdani* wear horned helmets, whereas the Philistines and related groups *(Šikila, Danuna)* wear feathered headdresses. Only the latter are portrayed on the scene of the land battle; the fighters, three on each chariot, carry long spears, rounded shields, and swords. Their families follow in heavy carriages drawn by oxen. Despite the boastful descriptions of his victory (in the Medinet Habu inscriptions and in the Great Papyrus Harris), it is obvious that Rameses III was unable to stop the advance of the Sea Peoples. To make the best out of the inevitable, he settled them as mercenaries in Egyptian strongholds along the coast of Palestine. The Philistines settled on the fertile coast of Philistia, the Sikila seized the region of Dor in the Sharon Plain, and a third group, probably the Šerdani, settled in the Plain of Acco. In addition to 11th-century Egyptian sources (the report of Wen-Amon and the Onomasticon of Amenope), abundant evidence for the settlement of the Sea Peoples is supplied by excavations in Philistia (Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Timnah, Tel Seraʿ, etc.) and N of it (Tell Qasile, Tell Jerishe, Tel Aphek, Tel Zeror, Dor, Akko, etc.). One of the distinctive features is a monochrome pottery (Mycenaean IIIC) of Aegean origins, found along the Levantine coast, from Cilicia to Philistia, and in Cyprus. This early pottery of Aegean origins gradually adopted local traditions and developed into the characteristic Bichrome Philistine war.

Of the Sea Peoples who settled in Palestine, only the Philistines are mentioned in the OT, probably because the other groups were already fully assimilated with the local populations by the end of the 11th century B.C. The Philistines, organized in five city-kingdoms, gradually became the leading force in Palestine and dominated the land until the reign of David. They still kept their political autonomy and their national identity after the Israelite takeover, until the Babylonian exile.

Clear evidence for the origins of the Sea Peoples is still missing. Disregarding some farfetched theories, the admissible views may be roughly classified according to three main geographical zones. (a) The N Balkans, particularly Illyria on the Adriatic coast; the “Illyrian theory” is related with the identification of the Philistines (*Palaisti may be the original form of the name) with the Pelasgoi (sometimes spelled Pelastoi) of the classical sources, a pre-Hellenic people who inhabited the Balkans and the Aegean regions. (b) The W Aegean region, i.e., Greece, the Aegean islands, and Crete; this theory relies on archaeological (mainly ceramic) comparisons and on the biblical tradition, which brings the Philistines from the island of Caphtor, i.e., Crete. (c) The E Aegean, i.e., Anatolia and the offshore islands. This view, which is gaining increasing acceptance, is supported by the most

solid and diversified evidence. (1) At least two out of the nine Sea Peoples mentioned in the Egyptian sources are undoubtedly located in Anatolia—the Lukka in Lycia and the Danuna in Cilicia; a third group, the *Trš,* is probably related to the Tyrsenoi (and biblical Tiras), who, according to Herodotus, migrated from Lydia to Etruria. (2) The few traces of Philistine words *(seren, q/kobah)* and names (Goliath, Achish) appear to be etymologically connected with Anatolian languages. (3) The Hittite texts provide ample evidence for serious upheavals in SW Anatolia (the Lukka lands) in the second half of the 13th century B.C., which can clearly be related with the emergence of the Sea Peoples. (4) Some of the classical traditions on W Anatolian heroes who trekked eastward and eventually settled in Cyprus and the Levant (Teucros, Mopsus) may reflect dim echoes of the migratory movements of the Sea Peoples.
Although the focal point of the turbulence appears to have been in SW Anatolia (still a poorly explored region), the 'tidal waves' soon affected the neighboring regions and disrupted the authority of the Hittite and the Mycenaean empires. The major cause for the economic and political breakdown, which motivated large populations to migrate, was probably the severe food shortage, amply documented in contemporary Near Eastern texts and also echoed in the classical and biblical sources. Whereas some of the Sea Peoples poured down along the Levantine coast in search of land and food, others turned westward and sailed as far as Sardinia *(Šerdani), Sicily (Sikila* or *Šklš),* and Etruria *(Trš/Tyrsenoi).* Archaeological evidence from the central Mediterranean, particularly from Sardinia, confirms the classical traditions on these movements. Quite extensive in itself, the diaspora of the Sea Peoples represents only a fraction of much larger population drifts, which encompassed vast territories in the E Mediterranean, the Balkans, Asia Minor, and the Levant, and radically changed the face of these regions in the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Contrary to traditional views which conceived of the Sea Peoples as barbarian raiders spreading ruin and chaos, modern historical and archaeological research increasingly appreciates their cultural role in the merging of the Indo-European civilizations of the Aegean realm with the Semitic cultures of the Levant.

j) The Philistines
PHILISTIA: The area which took its name from the Philistines was that of the nucleus of their settlement. This centred on the five main Philistine cities of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron and Gath, and comprised the coastal strip S of Carmel, extending inland to the foothills of Judah. Other cities particularly associated with the Philistines in the Bible are Bethshean and Gerar. There is still uncertainty concerning the identification of the sites of some of the five principal Philistine cities.

In the Bible
In the time of the Patriarchs
Abraham and Isaac had dealings with a Philistine, Abimelech, the king of Gerar, and his general Phichol (Gn. 20-21; 26). In the time of the Monarchy the Philistines were almost proverbially aggressive, but Abimelech was a reasonable man. He had adopted many of the customs of the country, for he bore a Semitic name, and engaged with Isaac in a covenant.

At the time of the Exodus and the Judges
When the Israelites left Egypt the Philistines were extensively settled along the coastal strip between Egypt and Gaza, and they were obliged to detour inland to avoid 'the way of the land of the Philistines' (Ex. 13:17). The adjacent section of the Mediterranean was in fact referred to as the sea of the Philistines (Ex. 23:31).
The Israelites did not encounter the Philistines in Canaan during the Conquest, but by the time Joshua was an old man they were established in the five cities of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron and Gath (Jos. 13:2-3). From this time for many generations these people were used by God to chastise the Israelites (Jdg. 3:2-3). Shamgar ben Anath repulsed them temporarily (Jdg. 3:31), but they constantly pressed inland from the coast plain, and the Israelites even adopted their gods (Jdg. 10:6-7). The great Israelite hero of the period of the Judges was Samson (Jdg. 13-16). In his time there were social links between Philistines and Israelites, for he married a Philistine wife, and later had relations with Delilah, who, if not a Philistine herself, was in close contact with them. The hill-country was not under Philistine control, and Samson took refuge there after his raids. When he was finally taken by them he was bound with bronze fetters (16:21) and forced to make sport for them while they watched from inside and on the roof of a pillared building (16:25-27).

In the reigns of Saul and David
It was probably largely due to the continuing pressure of the Philistines that the need for a strong military leader was felt in Israel. The ark was captured by the Philistines in a disastrous battle at Aphek and the shrine at Shiloh was destroyed (1 Sa. 4), and at this time they probably controlled Esdraelon, the coast plain, the Negeb, and much of the hill-country. They also controlled the distribution of iron, and thus prevented the Israelites from having useful weapons (1 Sa. 13:19-22).

Saul was anointed king by Samuel, and after a victory over the Philistines at Michmash, drove them from the hill-country (1 Sa. 14). His erratic rule, however, allowed the Philistines to continue to assert themselves, as when they challenged Israel at Ephes-dammim, and David killed Goliath (1 Sa. 17-18). Saul turned against David, who became an outlaw and finally a feudatory vassal of Achish king of Gath (1 Sa. 27). He was not called upon to fight against Israel at the battle of Mt Gilboa when Saul and his sons were killed, and when he took over the kingship of Israel he must have remained on peaceful terms with Gath at least, and in fact maintained a personal Philistine bodyguard throughout his reign (*Cherethites). A final conflict had to come, however. David drove the Philistines out of the hill-country and struck a heavy blow in Philistia itself (2 Sa. 5:25), putting an end to the power of the Philistines as a serious menace.

During the divided Monarchy
The Philistines continued to cause trouble throughout the Monarchy. With the weakening of the kingdom at the death of David the Philistine cities (except for Gath, 2 Ch. 11:8) were independent and there was fighting on the frontier (1 Ki. 15:27; 16:15). Jehoshaphat received tribute from some of the Philistines (2 Ch. 17:11), but under Jehoram the border town of Libnah was lost to Israel (2 Ki. 8:22). They were still aggressive in the time of Ahaz (Is. 9:8-12), and the last time they are mentioned in the Bible is in the prophecy of Zechariah, after the return from the Exile.

1.3. Locate on a map the main regions of the Promised Land: Galilee, Samaria, Judea, the plain of Jazreel, Mount Carmel, Lake of Gennesereth, Jordan Valley, Dead Sea, Negeb (Arabia), the land of the Philistines.

cf. Appendix I, Maps 1.3a and 1.3b. Nb. The following information is for interest only.

a) Galilee.
The regional name of part of N Palestine, which was the scene of Christ's boyhood and early ministry. The origin of the name as applied here is uncertain. It occurs occasionally in the OT (*e.g.* Jos. 20:7; 1 Ki. 9:11), and notably in Is. 9:1. The latter reference probably recalls the region's history: it originally formed part of the lands allocated to the twelve tribes, but, owing to the pressure from peoples farther north, its Jewish population found themselves in a kind of N salient, surrounded on three sides by non-Jewish populations—'the nations'. Under the Maccabees, the Gentile influence upon the Jews became so strong that the latter were actually withdrawn S for half a century. Thus Galilee had to be recolonized, and this fact, together with its diversity of population, contributed to the contempt felt for the Galileans by the S Jews (Jn. 7:52).
Demarcation of the Galilee region is difficult, except in terms of the provinces of the Roman empire. The name was evidently applied to the N marchlands of Israel, the location of which varied from time to time. In the time of Christ, however, the province of Galilee formed a rectangular territory some 70 km from N to S, and 40 km from E to W, bordered on the E by the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee, and cut off from the Mediterranean by the S extension of Syro-Phoenicia down the coastal plain.Thus defined, Galilee consists essentially of an upland area, bordered on all sides save the N by plains—the coastlands, the plain of Esdraelon and the Jordan Rift. It is, in fact, the S end of the mountains of Lebanon, and the land surface falls, in two steps, from N to S across the area. The higher 'step' forms Upper Galilee; in NT times it was a forested and thinly inhabited hill-country. The lower 'step' forms Lower Galilee, falling steeply to more than 180 m below sea-level at the Sea of Galilee.
It is to this area of Lower Galilee that most of the Gospel narrative refers. Well watered by streams flowing from the N mountains, and possessing considerable stretches of fertile land among its hills, it was an area of dense and prosperous settlement. It exported olive oil and cereals, and fish from the lake.'Outside the main stream of Israelite life in OT times, Galilee came into its own in the NT'. The Roman region was governed successively by Herod the Great (died 4 BC), Herod Antipas and Herod Agrippa. Cut off from Judaea—at least in Jewish eyes—by the territory of Samaria, Galilee nevertheless formed an integral part of 'the land', and the Galileans had, in fact, resisted the Romans even more doggedly than the S Jews. In the time of Christ the relationship between the two groups is well described as having been that of 'England and Scotland soon after the Union'

b) Samaria.
The place name "Samaria" has a twofold sense. First, it refers to the capital city of the N kingdom of Israel, from the time of its construction by Omri in the early 9th century B.C. (1 Kgs 16:23–24) to its conquest by the Assyrians in the late 8th century (probably 721 B.C.; attributed to Shalmaneser V in 2 Kgs 17:1–6, but to Sargon II in Assyrian records).
Second, after the destruction of the city the name "Samaria" (Assyrian *Samerina*) was applied to the larger district in which the city had been situated, following the Assyrian practice of naming a

province after its capital or principal city. The natural borders of this region were defined by the valleys of Jezreel and Aijalon on the N and S respectively, by the coast to the W, and by the Jordan river valley on the E. In pre-Assyrian times this region and its population had been referred to after the old Israelite territorial/tribal name Ephraim (in Hosea 36 times and Isaiah 12 times; cf. Jer 31:5–6). Sometimes the name Ephraim was reserved only for the hill country of S Samaria, while the hill country of N Samaria was called Manasseh. Later, however, the area was repopulated by heterogeneous populations from throughout the Assyrian empire, whom the Judeans of Jerusalem generally regarded with contempt.

c) Judea

The Gk. and Rom. designation of the land of Judah. The word is actually an adjective ('Jewish') with gē ('land') or chōra ('country') understood. After the Roman conquest (63 BC) it appears both in a wider sense, denoting all Palestine, including Galilee and Samaria, and in the narrower sense, which excludes these two regions. Herod's kingdom of Judaea (37-4 BC) included all Palestine and some districts E of the Jordan. Archelaus' ethnarchy of Judaea (4 BC-AD 6) embraced Judaea in the narrower sense and Samaria, and the same is true of the Rom. province of Judaea from AD 6 to 41. After the death of Herod Agrippa I in AD 44 the Rom. province of Judaea included Galilee also.
The 'wilderness of Judaea' (Mt. 3:1), associated with John the Baptist, is probably identical with the 'wilderness of Judah' (Jdg. 1:16, *etc.), i.e.* the desert to the W of the Dead Sea.

d) Plain of Jezreel.

A city in Issachar and the plain on which it stood (Jos. 19:18; Ho. 1:5). The Plain of Jezreel is the valley that slopes down from the town of Jezreel to Beth-shan overlooking the Jordan rift-valley, with Galilee to the north and Mt Gilboa to the south. The city and general neighbourhood are associated with several notable events. By its fountain the Israelites assembled before engaging the Philistines at Gilboa (1 Sa. 29:1). It was a part of Ishbosheth's short-lived kingdom (2 Sa. 2:8ff.); an administrative district of Solomon (1 Ki. 4:12); and the scene of the tragedy of Naboth and his vineyard (1 Ki. 21:1). Here Joram, who had earlier come to convalesce from war wounds (2 Ki. 8:29), was slain by Jehu, and his body significantly cast into the vineyard so cruelly appropriated by Ahab and Jezebel (2 Ki. 9:24-26). Thereafter at Jehu's instigation Jezebel herself (2 Ki. 9:30-37) and the remnant of Ahab's household (2 Ki. 10:1-11) were slain.

e) Mount Carmel

A range of hills, *c.* 50 km long, extending from NW to SE, from Mediterranean to the plain of Dothan. Strictly, Mt Carmel is the main ridge (max. height *c.* 530 m) at the NW end, running *c.* 19 km inland from the sea, forming a border of Asher (Jos. 19:26). This densely vegetated and little-inhabited region was a barrier pierced by two main passes, emerging at Jokneam and Megiddo, and a lesser one emerging at Taanach; between the first two, the hills are lower and more barren but have steep scarps. The main N-S road, however, passes by Carmel's hills through the plain of Dothan on the E. Carmel's luxuriant growth is reflected in Am. 1:2; 9:3; Mi. 7:14; Na. 1:4; also in Ct. 7:5 in an apt simile for thick, bushy hair. The forbidding figure of Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon marching against Egypt is once compared with the rocky eminences of Carmel and Tabor (Je. 46:18).
Joshua's vanquished foes included 'the king of Jokneam in Carmel' (Jos. 12:22). It was here that Elijah in the name of his God challenged the prophets of Baal and Asherah, the deities promoted by Jezebel, and won a notable victory against them (1 Ki. 18; 19:1-2). The text makes it obvious that it was Jezebel's gods that were thus discredited; as she came from Tyre, the Baal was almost certainly Baal-melqart the chief god there.

f) Lake of Gennesereth

The Sea of Galilee: A lake in the region of Galilee, also referred to, in the OT, as the 'sea of Chinnereth' (Nu. 34:11) or Chinneroth (Jos. 12:3), and in the NT as the 'lake of Gennesaret' (Lk. 5:1) and the 'Sea of Tiberias' (Jn. 21:1). Its modern Heb. name is Yam Kinneret.The lake is some 21 km long and up to 11 km broad, and it lies at 211 m below sea-level. The river Jordan flows through it from N to S; its waters are therefore sweet—unlike those of the Dead Sea—and its fisheries, so prominent in the NT narrative, were famous throughout the Roman empire and produced a flourishing export trade. On the other hand, the position of the lake, in the depths of the Jordan Rift and surrounded by hills, render it liable to atmospheric down-draughts and sudden storms.The lake is bordered by a plain of varying width; in general, the slopes on the E side are abrupt (Mk. 5:13), and are somewhat gentler on the W. To the N and S are the river plains of the Jordan as it enters and leaves the lake.
The shores of the lake were the site of towns—Capernaum, Bethsaida, *etc.*—where much of Christ's ministry was carried out. In his time they formed a flourishing, and almost continuous, belt of settlement around the lake, and communicated and traded across it with each other. Today, only

Tiberias remains as a town—even the sites of several other former towns are uncertain—and changed patterns of commerce have robbed the lake of its focal importance in the life of the region.

g) Jordan Valley

The Jordan depression is unique among the features of physical geography. Formed as a result of a rift valley, it is the lowest depression on earth. The headwaters of the river Jordan, fed by springs, collect into Lake Huleh, 70 m above sea-level. Ten km S at Lake Tiberias the river is already nearly 200 m below the Mediterranean, while at the N end of the Dead Sea the floor of the trench has dropped a further 177 m and the river has plunged to 393 m below sea-level. Thus the name 'Jordan' (Heb. yardēn) aptly means 'the descender'. The river is the largest perennial course in Palestine, and its distance of some 120 km from Lake Huleh to the Dead Sea is more than doubled by its meander. No other river has more biblical allusions and significance.

The first historical notice of the Jordan is in the account of the separation of Abraham and Lot (Gen. 13:10). "Lot beheld the plain of Jordan as the garden of the Lord." Jacob crossed and recrossed "this Jordan" (32:10). The Israelites passed over it as "on dry ground" (Josh. 3:17; Ps. 114:3). Twice its waters were miraculously divided at the same spot by Elijah and Elisha (2 Kings 2:8, 14).

The Jordan is mentioned in the Old Testament about one hundred and eighty times, and in the New Testament fifteen times. The chief events in gospel history connected with it are (1) John the Baptist's ministry, when "there went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judaea, and were baptized of him in Jordan" (Matt. 3:6). (2.) Jesus also "was baptized of John in Jordan" (Mark 1:9).

h) Dead Sea

OT: 'Salt Sea' (Gn. 14:3), 'Eastern Sea' (Ezk. 47:18), 'Sea of the Arabah' (Dt. 4:49); classical: *Asphaltites*, later 'Dead Sea'; Arabic: 'Sea of Lot'. The great rift valley reaches its deepest point at the Dead Sea basin. The surface of the water is on average 427 m below sea-level, and the deepest point of the bed some 433 m lower still. The Sea is about 77 km long and stretches from the sheer Cliffs of Moab some 10 or 14 km across to the hills of Judah. On this W side is a narrow shore bounded by many terraces, the remains of earlier beaches. Except for a few springs, the Judaean coast is arid and bare.

i) Negeb (Arabia)

Heb. negeb, 'the dry', refers to the S lands of Palestine. Misconceptions arise from its translation as 'the South' in both AV and RV, where some forty passages have described it inaccurately in this way. An indefinite region, it covers *c.* 1,200,000 hectares or nearly half the area of modern Israel. Mention of the Negeb is almost entirely confined to pre-exilic times, apart from allusions in Zc. 7:7 and Ob. 20. Five districts in the N Negeb are referred to: the Negeb of Judah, of the Jerahmeelites, of the Kenites (1 Sa. 27:10), of the Cherethites and of Caleb (1 Sa. 30:14). These occupied the grazing and agricultural lands between Beersheba and Bir Rikhmeh and the W slopes of the central highlands of Khurashe-Kurnub. This district was settled by the Amalekites (Nu. 13:29), the ruins of whose fortified sites are still seen between Tell Arad (Nu. 21:1; 33:40), 32 km E of Beersheba and Tell Jemmeh or Gerar (Gn. 20:1; 26:1). At the Exodus the spies had been awed by their defences (Nu. 13:17-20, 27-29), which lasted until the early 6th century BC, when they were probably destroyed finally by the Babylonians (Je. 13:19; 33:13). The sites of the twenty-nine cities and their villages in the Negeb (Jos. 15:21-32) are unknown, only Beersheba ('well of seven', or 'well of oath', Gn. 21:30), Arad, Khirbet Ar'areh or Aroer (1 Sa. 30:28). Fein or Penon (Nu. 33:42), and Tell el-Kheleifeh or Ezion-geber, having been identified.

The strategic and economic importance of the Negeb has been significant. The 'Way of Shur' crossed it from central Sinai NE to Judaea (Gn. 16:7; 20:1; 25:18; Ex. 15:22; Nu. 33:8), a route followed by the Patriarchs (Gn. 24:62; 26:22), by Hadad the Edomite (1 Ki. 11:14, 17, 21-22), and probably the escape route used by Jeremiah (43:6-12) and later by Joseph and Mary (Mt. 2:13-15). The route was dictated by the zone of settled land where well-water is significant, hence the frequent references to its wells (*e.g.* Gn. 24:15-20; Jos. 15:18-19; Jdg. 1:14-15). Uzziah reinforced the defence of Jerusalem by establishing cultivation and defensive settlements in his exposed S flank of the N Negeb (2 Ch. 26:10). It seems clear from the history of the Near East that the Negeb was a convenient vacuum for resettlement whenever population pressure forced out migrants from the Fertile Crescent. Also significant was the location of copper ores in the E Negeb and its trade in the Arabah. Control of this industry explains the Amalekite and Edomite wars of Saul (1 Sa. 14:47f.) and the subsequent victories of David over the Edomites (1 Ki. 11:15f.). It also explains the creation by Solomon of the port of Ezion-geber, and, when it was silted up, the creation of a new port at Elath by Uzziah (1 Ki. 9:26; 22:48; 2 Ki. 14:22). The abiding hatred of the Edomites is explained by the struggles to control this trade.

j) The land of the Philistines

cf. 1.2.j.

1.4. Locate on a map the main cities mentioned in the Old Testament: Jerusalem, Samaria, Shechem, Bethel, Jericho, Hebron, Beersheba. Give some information from the Bible concerning these cities.

cf. Appendix I, Map 1.4.

a) Jerusalem

Jerusalem dates from at least the 3rd millennium BC. The city is set high in the hills of Judah, about 50 km from the Mediterranean, and over 30 km W of the N end of the Dead Sea. It rests on a none-too-level plateau, which slopes noticeably towards the SE. To the E lies the ridge of Olivet. Access to the city on all sides except the N is hampered by three deep ravines, which join in the Siloam Valley, near the well Bir Eyyub, SE of the city. The E valley is Kidron; the W is now called the Wadi al-Rababi, and is probably to be equated with the Valley of Hinnom; and the third cuts the city in half before it runs S, and slightly E, to meet the other two.

Eminences rise each side of the Tyropoeon Valley, and the city can at once be divided into W and E halves. Ignoring lesser heights, we may subdivide each of these two sections into N and S hills. When considering the growth and development of the city it will be important to visualize these details. In discussing the respective heights and depths of these hills and valleys, it must be realized that they have changed considerably over the centuries. This is inevitable in any city continuously inhabited for centuries, and particularly when periodic destructions have taken place. Layer after layer of rubble and debris piles up, amounting here and there to more than 30 m in parts of Jerusalem. In the case of Jerusalem there is also the factor that deliberate attempts have been made at various periods to fill in valleys (especially the Tyropoeon) and diminish hills.

Jerusalem's water-supply has always presented problems. Apart from Bir Eyyub, the well mentioned above, there is only the Virgin's Spring, which is connected by an aqueduct with the Pool of Siloam. There are, and have been, other reservoirs, of course, such as Bethesda in NT times, but they all depend on the rains or else on aqueducts to fill them. Bir Eyyub and the Virgin's Spring are in all probability the biblical En-rogel and Gihon respectively. Bir Eyyub lies SE of the city, at the junction of the three ravines mentioned above. The Virgin's Spring is due N of Bir Eyyub, E and a little S of the Temple area. Thus it is evident that only the SE part of Jerusalem has a reliable water-supply.

Name

The meaning of the name is not certain. The Heb. word is usually written yᵉrûšālaim in the OT, but this is an anomalous form, since Heb. cannot have two consecutive vowels. The anomaly was resolved in later Heb. by inserting the letter 'y', thus giving yᵉrûšālayim; this form does in fact occur a few times in the OT, *e.g.*, Je. 26:18. This may well have been understood to be a dual (for the ending -ayim is dual), viewing the city as twofold. (Similarly, the Heb. name for 'Egypt', miṣrayim, appears to be dual.) But there can be little doubt that the original form of the word in Heb. was yᵉrušālēm; this is evidenced by the abbreviation šālēm (Eng. 'Salem') in Ps. 76:2, and by the Aramaic form of the name yᵉrûšlēm, found in Ezr. 5:14, *etc.*

The name is pre-Israelite, appearing in the Egyp. Execration Texts (19th-18th century; the form appears to be Rushalimum) and in later Assyrian documents (as *Urusalim* or *Urisalimmu*). The name also occurs in the Ebla archive, *c.* 2500 BC. The first part of the name is usually thought to mean 'foundation'; the second element, though cognate with the Heb. word for 'peace', probably originally referred to a Canaanite deity Shalem. Thus 'foundation of Shalem' is probably the original sense of the name; in course of time, however, the second element will have been associated with 'peace' (Heb. šālôm) in Jewish minds; *cf.* Heb. 7:2.

Jerusalem is described in Is. 52:1 as the holy city, and to this day it often receives this title. The Heb. phrase is ʿîr-haq-qōḏeš, literally 'the city of holiness'. Probably the reason for this title was that Jerusalem contained the Temple, the shrine where God deigned to meet his people. Hence, the word qōḏeš came to mean 'sanctuary' as well as 'holiness'. To Judaism, then, Jerusalem was the holy city without a rival. It was natural for Paul and John, seeing that the earthly city was far from perfect, to designate the place where God dwells in true holiness as 'Jerusalem which is above' (Gal. 4:26) and 'new Jerusalem' (Rev. 21:2).

History

Traces of prehistoric settlement at Jerusalem have been found, but its early history cannot be traced. After a bare mention in the Egyp. Execration Texts early in the 2nd millennium, it reappears in the 14th-century el-Amarna letters, ruled by a king named Abd Khiba. At that time it was under the suzerainty of Egypt, and was probably little more than a mountain fortress. Possible pentateuchal references to it are as Salem (Gn. 14:18) and the mountain in the 'land of Moriah' of Gn. 22:2. According to very ancient tradition, the latter was the place where later the Temple was built, but there is no possible proof of this. As for Salem, it is almost certainly to be identified with Jerusalem

(*cf.* Ps. 76:2); if so, it was ruled in Abraham's day by an earlier king, Melchizedek, who was also 'priest of God Most High' (*'ēl 'elyôn*).
When the Israelites entered Canaan they found Jerusalem in the hands of an indigenous Semitic tribe, the Jebusites, ruled over by a king named Adoni-zedek. This ruler formed an alliance of kings against Joshua, who soundly defeated them; but Joshua did not take the city, owing, doubtless, to its natural strength of position. It remained in Jebusite hands, bearing the name Jebus. Comparing Jdg. 1:8 with Jdg. 1:21, it appears that Judah overcame the part of the city outside the fortress walls, and that Benjamin occupied this part, living peaceably alongside the Jebusites in the fortress.
This was the situation when David became king. His first capital was Hebron, but he soon saw the value of Jerusalem, and set about its capture. This was not only a tactical move but also a diplomatic one, for his use of a city on the Benjamin-Judah border would help to diminish the jealousy between the two tribes. The Jebusites felt confident of their safety behind the fortress walls, but David's men used an unexpected mode of entry, and took the citadel by surprise (2 Sa. 5:6ff.). In this passage we meet a third name, 'Zion'. This was probably the name of the hill on which the citadel stood.
Having taken the city, David improved the fortifications and built himself a palace; he also installed the ark in his new capital. Solomon carried the work of fortification further, but his great achievement was the construction of the Temple. After his death and the subsequent division of the kingdom, Jerusalem naturally declined somewhat, being now capital only of Judah. As early as the 5th year of Solomon's successor, Rehoboam, the Temple and royal palace were plundered by Egyp. troops (1 Ki. 14:25f.). Philistine and Arab marauders again plundered the palace in Jehoram's reign. In Amaziah's reign a quarrel with the king of the N kingdom, Jehoash, resulted in part of the city walls being broken down, and fresh looting of Temple and palace. Uzziah repaired this damage to the fortifications, so that in the reign of Ahaz the city was able to withstand the attacks of the combined armies of Syria and Israel. Soon after this the N kingdom fell to the Assyrians. Hezekiah of Judah had good reason to fear Assyria too, but Jerusalem providentially escaped. In case of siege, he made a conduit to improve the city's water-supply.
Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon captured Jerusalem in 597 and in 587 BC destroyed the city and Temple. At the end of that century the Jews, now under Persian rule, were allowed to return to their land and city, and they rebuilt the Temple, but the city walls remained in ruins until Nehemiah restored them in the middle of the 5th century BC. Alexander the Great ended the power of Persia at the end of the 4th century, and after his death his general Ptolemy, founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt, entered Jerusalem and included it in his realm. In 198 BC Palestine fell to Antiochus II, the Seleucid king of Syria. About 30 years later, Antiochus IV entered Jerusalem, destroying its walls and plundering and desecrating the Temple; and he installed a Syrian garrison in the city, on the Akra. Judas the Maccabee led a Jewish revolt, and in 165 BC the Temple was rededicated. He and his successors gradually won independence for Judaea, and the Hasmonaean dynasty ruled a free Jerusalem until the middle of the 1st century BC, when Rome intervened. Roman generals forced their way into the city in 63 and 54; a Parthian army plundered it in 40; and 3 years after that Herod the Great had to fight his way into it, to take control. He first had to repair the damage created by these various incursions; then he launched a big building programme, erecting some notable towers. His most renowned work was the rebuilding of the Temple on a much grander scale, although this was not finished within his lifetime. One of his towers was Antonia, commanding the Temple area (it housed the Roman garrison which came to Paul's aid, Acts 21:34). The Jewish revolt against the Romans in AD 66 could have but one conclusion; in AD 70 the Roman general Titus systematically forced his way into Jerusalem, and destroyed the fortifications and the Temple. He left three towers standing; one of them, Phasael, still remains, incorporated in the so-called 'Tower of David'.

Theological significance
By natural metonymy, the names 'Zion' and 'Jerusalem' frequently stand for the body of citizens (even when far away in exile), the whole of Judah, the whole of Israel, or the entire people of God. Jerusalem plays an important theological role in both Testaments; in this respect too it is not readily distinguishable from the wider perspective of the whole land. Two motifs predominate: Jerusalem is at the same time the place of Jewish infidelity and disobedience, and also the place of God's election and presence, protection, and glory. The process of history demonstrated the former, which inevitably provoked divine anger and punishment; the glories of the city can only lie in the future. (*cf.* Is. 1:21; 29:1-4; Mt. 23:37f.; and Ps. 78:68f.; Is. 37:35; 54:11-17.) The contrast between the actual and the ideal gave rise to the concept of a heavenly Jerusalem (*cf.* Gal. 4:25f.; Heb. 12:22; Rev. 21).

b) Samaria
The name of the N Israelite capital and of the territory surrounding it.
After reigning 6 years at Tirzah, Omri built a new capital for the N kingdom on a hill 11 km NW of Shechem commanding the main trade routes through the Esdraelon plain. He purchased the site for two talents of silver and named it after its owner Shemer (1 Ki. 16:24). The place is otherwise unknown unless it is to be identified with Shamir, the home of Tola (Jdg. 10:1). The hill, which is *c.*

100 m high and commands a view over the plain, was impregnable except by siege (2 Ki. 6:24), and the name (šōmᵉrôn) may be connected with the Heb. 'watch-post'.
Omri allowed the Syrians of Damascus to set up bazaars (AV 'streets') in his new city (1 Ki. 20:34). For 6 years he worked on the construction of Samaria, and this was continued by Ahab, who built a house decorated or panelled with ivory (1 Ki. 22:39). In a temple for Baal of Sidon (Melqart), the deity whose worship Jezebel encouraged (1 Ki. 18:22), Ahab set up a pillar ('ăšerâ) near the altar which Jehoram later removed (2 Ki. 3:2). Other shrines and buildings used by the idolatrous priests must have been in use from this time until the reform undertaken by Jehu (2 Ki. 10:19). Samaria itself was long considered by the prophets a centre of idolatry (Is. 8:4; 9:9; Je. 23:13; Ezk. 23:4; Ho.7:1; Mi. 1:6).
Ben-hadad II of Syria besieged Samaria, at first unsuccessfully (1 Ki. 20:1-21), but later the Syrians reduced it to dire famine (2 Ki. 6:25). It was relieved only by the panic and sudden withdrawal of the besiegers, which was discovered and reported by the lepers (2 Ki. 7). Ahab was buried in the city, as were a number of Israelite kings who made it their residence (1 Ki. 22:37; 2 Ki. 13:9, 13; 14:16). His descendants were slain there (2 Ki. 10:1), including Ahaziah, who hid in vain in the crowded city (2 Ch. 22:9). Samaria was again besieged in the time of Elisha and miraculously delivered (2 Ki. 6:8ff.).
Menahem preserved the city from attack by paying tribute to Tiglath-pileser III (2 Ki. 15:17-20). His son Pekah, however, drew the Assyrian army back again by his attack on Judah, then a vassal-ally of Assyria. The city, called Samerina or Bit-Ḫumri ('House of Omri') in the Assyrian Annals, was besieged by Shalmaneser V of Assyria in 725-722 BC. 2 Ki. records that he captured the city, agreeing with the Babylonian Chronicle, but evidently his death intervened before it was finally secured for Assyria. The citizens, incited by Iaubi'di of Hamath, refused to pay the tax imposed on them, and in the following year (721 BC) Sargon II, the new king of Assyria, initiated a scheme of mass deportation for the whole area. According to his annals, Sargon carried off 27,270 or 27,290 captives, and the effect was to terminate the existence of the N kingdom of Israel as a homogeneous and independent state. The exiles were despatched to places in Syria, Assyria and Babylonia and replaced by colonists from other disturbed parts of the Assyrian empire (2 Ki. 17:24). The resultant failure to cultivate the outlying districts led to an increase in the incursions of lions (v. 25). Some Israelites, called *Samaritans (v. 29), still inhabited part of the city and continued to worship at Jerusalem (Je. 41:5). The town, according to a cuneiform inscription (*HES*, 247) and to other records, was under an Assyrian governor and both Esarhaddon (Ezr. 4:2) and Ashurbanipal (Ezr. 4:9-10) brought in additional peoples from Babylonia and Elam. The contention between Samaria and Judah, of earlier origin, gradually increased in intensity, though Samaria itself declined in importance.
The discovery of papyri from Samaria in a cave of the Wadi ed-Dâliyeh 14 km N of Jericho seems to confirm the reports of ancient historians that Samaria was initially favourable to Alexander who captured the city in 331 BC. However, while Alexander was in Egypt they murdered his prefect over Syria. On his return, Alexander destroyed Samaria, massacred the city's leaders in the cave to which they had fled and resettled the area with Macedonians. Information contained in the papyri enables a list of Samaritan governors to be constructed, beginning with Sanballat I *c.* 445 BC.
Samaria was besieged by John Hyrcanus, and the surrounding countryside was devastated *c.* 111-107 BC. Pompey and Gabinius began to rebuild (Jos., *Ant.* 14. 75), but it was left to Herod to embellish the city, which he renamed Sebaste (Augusta) in honour of his emperor. In it he housed 6,000 veterans, including Greeks. On his death, Samaria became part of the territory of Archelaus and later a Roman colony under Septimus Severus. Despite the mutual antagonism between Judah and Samaria, Jesus Christ took the shorter route through Samaria to Galilee (Lk. 17:11), resting at Sychar near Shechem, a Samaritan city (Jn. 4:4). Philip preached in Samaria, but perhaps the district rather than the city is intended, since the definite article is absent in Acts 8:5.

c) Shechem

An important town in central Palestine with a long history and many historical associations. Normally it appears in the Bible as Shechem (šᵉkem), but also once as Sichem (Gn. 12:6, AV) and twice as Sychem (Acts 7:16, AV). It was situated in the hill country of Ephraim (Jos. 20:7), in the neighbourhood of Mt Gerizim (Jdg. 9:7), about 50 km N of Jerusalem and 9 km SE of Samaria.
Shechem (Sichem) is the first Palestinian site mentioned in Gn. Abram encamped there at the 'oak of Moreh' (Gn. 12:6). The 'Canaanite was then in the land', but the Lord revealed himself to Abram and renewed his covenant promise. Abram thereupon built an altar to the Lord (Gn. 12:7).
Abram's grandson, Jacob, on his return from Hanan, came to Shalem, a city of Shechem, and pitched his tent (Gn. 33:18-19) on a parcel of ground which he bought from Hamor, the Hivite prince of the region (Gn. 33:18-19; 34:2). When Shechem, the son of Hamor, defiled Dinah, Simeon and Levi killed the men of the region (Gn. 34:25-26), and the other sons of Jacob pillaged the town (vv. 27-29), though Jacob condemned the action (Gn. 34:30; 49:5-7). Here Jacob buried the 'strange gods' under the oak (Gn. 35:1-4) and raised an altar to El-elohe-Israel ('God, the God of Israel').
Joseph later sought his brothers near the rich pasture-lands round Shechem (Gn. 37:12ff.).

In the 15th century BC the town fell into the hands of the Habiru, as we learn from the Tell el-Amarna letters. The name probably occurs earlier in Egyp. records dating back to the 19th-18th centuries BC. After the Israelite conquest of Palestine Joshua called for a renewal of the covenant at Shechem. Various features of the typical covenant pattern well known in the East, 1500-700 BC, may be identified in Jos. 8:30-35. Before his death, Joshua gathered the elders again to Shechem, reiterated the covenant, and received the oath of allegiance to God, the King (Jos. 24). Many modern scholars see in these assemblies a strong suggestion of an amphictyonic league centred at Shechem.
The boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh passed near the town (Jos. 17:7), which was one of the cities of refuge, and a levitical city assigned to the Kohathite Levites (Jos. 20:7; 21:21; 1 Ch. 6:67). The town lay in Ephraim (1 Ch. 7:28). Here the Israelites buried the bones of Joseph which they had brought from Egypt (Gn. 50:25; Jos. 24:32).
In the time of the judges, Shechem was still a centre of Canaanite worship and the temple of Baal-berith ('the lord of the covenant') features in the story of Gideon's son Abimelech (Jdg. 9:4), whose mother was a Shechemite woman. Abimelech persuaded the men of the city to make him king (Jdg. 9:6; *cf.* 8:22-23). He proceeded to slay the royal seed, but Jotham, one son who escaped the bloody purge, spoke a parable about the trees as he stood on Mt Gerizim (Jdg. 9:8-15), appealing to the citizens of Shechem to forsake Abimelech. This they did after 3 years (vv. 22-23), but Abimelech destroyed Shechem (v. 45) and then attacked the stronghold of the temple of Baal-berith and burnt it over the heads of those who sought refuge there (vv. 46-49).
After Solomon's death the assembly of Israel rejected Rehoboam at Shechem and made Jeroboam king (1 Ki. 12:1-19; 2 Ch. 10:1-11). Jeroboam restored the town and made it his capital for a time (1 Ki. 12:25), but later moved the capital to Penuel, and then to Tirzah. The town declined in importance thereafter, but continued in existence long after the fall of Samaria in 722 BC, for men from Shechem came with offerings to Jerusalem as late as 586 BC (Je. 41:5).
In post-exilic times Shechem became the chief city of the Samaritans (Ecclus. 50:26; Jos., *Ant.* 11. 340), who built a temple here. In 128 BC John Hyrcanus captured the town (Jos., *Ant.* 13. 255). In the time of the first Jewish revolt Vespasian camped near Shechem and after the war the town was rebuilt and named Flavia Neapolis in honour of the emperor Flavius Vespasianus.
Important excavations conducted at Tell Balaṭa by C. Watzinger (1907-9), E. Sellin and his colleagues (between 1913 and 1934) and by G. E. Wright (1956-66) have revealed the story of this site from the mid-4th millennium BC down to *c.* 100 BC when the Hellenistic city came to an end. Although there was a sizeable Chalcolithic village during the 4th millennium BC, the city of the historical period arose *c.* 1800 BC in the Middle Bronze Age and reached the height of its prosperity during the Hyksos period (*c.* 1700-1550 BC). During these years several courtyard temples and city walls were built. About 1600 BC a massive stone wall was erected, earlier walls covered over and a fortress temple built on the filling, which was to remain with some changes till *c.* 1100 BC and may well represent in its later stages the temple of Baal-berith (Jdg. 9:4) known to the early Israelites. The town remained important until the 9th-8th centuries BC when it began to deteriorate. Masses of fallen brick and burnt debris attest the destruction of the city by the Assyrians in 724-721 BC. For 4 centuries the town reverted to a village until it gained new life, probably as a Samaritan centre, between *c.* 325 and *c.* 108 BC. There is a continuous coin record for this period. The town ceased to exist after its destruction by John Hyrcanus *c.* 108 BC.The question of whether Shechem is the same as the Sychar of Jn. 4:5 has not been solved. There are only a few traces of Roman occupation at Tell Balaṭa. Sychar may have lain in the same general vicinity.

d) Bethel

Identified by most scholars with Tell Beitīn on the watershed route 19 km N of Jerusalem. Although traces of earlier occupation have been found, the city seems to have been established early in the Middle Bronze Age. During this period, Abram camped to the E of Bethel, where he built an altar to Yahweh (Gn. 12:8). After his visit to Egypt, he returned for this site (Gn. 13:3). For Jacob, Bethel was the starting point of his realization of God, who is for him 'God of Bethel' (Gn. 31:13; 35:7). As a result of his vision of Yahweh he named the place 'House of God' (Heb. bêṯ ʾēl) and set up a pillar (Heb. maṣṣēḇâ, Gn. 28:11-22). He was summoned to Bethel on his return from Harran, and both built an altar and set up a pillar, reiterating the name he had given before (Gn. 35:1-15). The site is perhaps Burġ Beitīn, SE of Tell Bēitin, the 'shoulder of Luz' (Jos. 18:13).
Excavations yielded some Early Bronze Age traces, with, the excavator claimed, a blood-stained rock high place. This seems to be an improbable interpretation, and the claim that a Middle Bronze Age shrine replaced it is also dubious. The Middle Bronze Age city was prosperous, destroyed about 1550 BC, and followed by well-built Late Bronze Age houses. These in turn were sacked, and the subsequent Iron Age buildings marked a complete cultural change, which the excavator related to the Israelite conquest (Jos. 12:16; Jdg. 1:22-26). Bethel was allotted to the Joseph tribes who captured it, particularly to Ephraim (1 Ch. 7:28), and bordered the territory of Benjamin (Jos. 18:13). The Israelites soon resettled the town, calling it by the name Jacob had given to the scene of his vision instead of Luz (Jdg. 1:23). When it was necessary for Israel to punish Benjamin, the people

sought advice on the conduct of the battle and worshipped at Bethel 'for the ark . . . was there' (Jdg. 20:18-28; 21:1-4). It was a sanctuary too in the time of Samuel, who visited it annually (1 Sa. 7:16; 10:3). The material remains of this period indicate an unsophisticated and insecure community. The settlement was twice burnt, possibly by the Philistines.
Under the early monarchy the city prospered, presently becoming the centre of Jeroboam's rival cult, condemned by a man of God from Judah (1 Ki. 12:28-13:32). The Judaean Abijah captured it (2 Ch. 13:19), and his son, Asa, may have destroyed it (2 Ch. 14:8). Elisha met a group of the 'sons of the prophets' from Bethel but also the mocking boys (2 Ki. 2:3, 23). Amos condemned the rites of the Israelite royal sanctuary (Am. 4:4; 5:5-6; 7:13; *cf.* Ho. 10:15), and Jeremiah showed their futility (Je. 48:13). The priest sent to instruct the Assyrian settlers in Samaria settled at Bethel (2 Ki. 17:28), and worship evidently continued there until Josiah took advantage of Assyrian weakness to invade Israel and destroy its sanctuaries. No traces of Jeroboam's shrine have been unearthed; it may well have been outside the city proper on the site of the patriarchal altars. In the 6th century BC the city was destroyed by fire. Returning exiles settled in Bethel (Ne. 11:31), but their worship was centred on Jerusalem (Zc. 7:2-3). The city grew during the Hellenistic period until it was fortified by Bacchides *c.* 160 BC (1 Macc. 9:50). When Vespasian captured it in AD 69, there was a short break before it was rebuilt as a Roman township. It continued to flourish until the Arab conquest. (*Beth-Aven.)

e) Jericho
OT Jericho is generally identified with the present mound of Tell es-Sultan *c.* 16 km NW of the present mouth of the Jordan at the Dead Sea, 2 km NW of er-Riḥa village (modern Jericho), and about 27 km ENE of Jerusalem. The imposing, pear-shaped mound is about 400 m long from N to S and roughly 200 m wide at the broad N end, and some 20 m thick. Herodian and NT Jericho is represented by the mounds of Tulul Abu el-'Alayiq, 2 km W of modern er-Riḥa, and so is S of OT Jericho. The mountains of Judaea rise abruptly from the plains of Jericho a little distance to the W.

a. Before Joshua
(i) *Beginnings.*
The story of Jericho is virtually a précis of the whole archaeological history of Palestine between *c.* 8000 and *c.* 1200 bc. Every settlement at Jericho has owed its existence to the fine perennial spring there and the 'oasis' which it waters; in the OT Jericho is sometimes called 'the city of palm trees' (Dt. 34:3). Already *c.* 9600/7700 bc, food-gathering hunters may have had a shrine there, and Palestine's earliest-known agriculturists built huts by the spring. Early in the 8th millennium bc (Carbon-14 date), the oldest *town* of Jericho was built with a stone revetment-wall that included at least one tower (with built-in stairway) and round houses. Subsequently, spacious rectangular houses became fashionable and skulls of venerated ancestors (?) were embodied in clay-moulded portrait heads of remarkable realism. In the 5th and 4th millennia bc later Jericho citizens learnt to make pottery, but eventually abandoned the place. Ancient Jericho is currently the primary source of information on the earliest settled life of Palestine.

(ii) *Early historical period.*
From *c.* 3200 bc Jericho was again inhabited as a walled and towered town of the Early Bronze Age, when towns famous later (*e.g.* Megiddo) were first founded, contemporary with Egypt's Pyramid Age and the Sumerian civilization in Mesopotamia. But *c.* 2300 bc Jericho perished violently at the hands of uncultured newcomers who eventually resettled the site. These coalesced with the Canaanites of the Middle Bronze Age proper (*c.* 1900-1600/1550 bc). Biblically this was the period of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; the remains from contemporary Jericho throw a vivid light on the daily life of Abraham's Canaanite/Amorite town-dwelling neighbours. The tombs have preserved more than the badly-denuded town buildings. Splendid pottery, wooden three and four-legged tables, stools and beds, trinket-boxes of bone inlay, basketry, platters of fruit and joints of meat, metal daggers and circlets—all have been preserved by peculiar atmospheric conditions.

b. Jericho and the Old Testament
(i) *Joshua's invasion.*
After *c.* 1600 bc Jericho was violently destroyed, probably by Egypt's 18th Dynasty imperial pharaohs. After this the only (Late Bronze) occupation found at Jericho dates mainly between *c.* 1400 and 1325 bc; from the 13th century bc, the date of the Israelite conquest, virtually nothing is known. Garstang's 'Late Bronze Age' walls (*GSJ*, ch. 7) actually date from the Early Bronze Age, over 1,000 years before Joshua, because of the associated Early Bronze remains, and they are overlaid by Middle Bronze material, only subsequently identified in Miss Kenyon's excavations. It is possible that in Joshua's day (13th century bc) there was a small town on the E part of the mound, later wholly eroded away. Such a possibility is not just a 'harmonistic' or heuristic view, but one suggested by the evidence of considerable erosion of the older settlements at Jericho. The tombs conclusively prove the importance of Middle Bronze Age Jericho (patriarchal period), although on the

city mound most of the Middle Bronze town—and even much of the Early Bronze one before it—was eroded away between *c.* 1600 and *c.* 1400 bc. When so much damage was done by the elements in barely 200 years it is easy to see how much havoc natural erosion must have wrought on the deserted mound in the 400 years that separated Joshua from Jericho's refounding by Hiel the Bethelite (1 Ki. 16:34) in Ahab's reign. It seems highly likely that the washed-out remains of the last Late Bronze Age city are now lost under the modern road and cultivated land along the E side of the town mound, as the main slope of the mound is from W down to E. It remains highly doubtful whether excavation here (even if allowed) would yield much now. The narrative of Jos. 3-8 within which the fall of Jericho is recounted is known to reflect faithfully conditions in, and topography of, the area, while Joshua's generalship is recounted in a realistic manner.

(ii) *From Joshua to Nehemiah.*
For centuries no attempt was made to rebuild the town-mound of Jericho in awe of Joshua's curse (Jos. 6:26), but the spring and oasis were still frequented, perhaps supporting a hamlet there. In the time of the judges, Eglon king of Moab temporarily occupied the oasis (Jdg. 3:13) and David's envoys tarried there after being outraged by Hanun of Ammon (2 Sa. 10:5; 1 Ch. 19:5); the 'blockhouse' may have been a guard-post in this period (10th century bc). Then in Ahab's reign (*cf.* 874/3 853 bc) Hiel the Bethelite refounded Jericho proper and finally fulfilled the ancient curse in the loss of his eldest and youngest sons (1 Ki. 16:34). This humble Iron Age Jericho was that of Elijah and Elisha (2 Ki. 2:4-5, 18-22), and it was in the plains of Jericho that the Babylonians captured Zedekiah, last king of Judah (2 Ki. 25:5; 2 Ch. 28:15; Je. 39:5; 52:8). The remains of this Jericho (9th-6th centuries bc) are very fragmentary (erosion again to blame), but quite definite: buildings, pottery and tombs; probably the Babylonians destroyed the place in 587 bc. After the Exile, a modest Jericho still existed in Persian times. Some 345 Jerichoans returned to Judaea with Zerubbabel (Ezr. 2:34; Ne. 7:36), and their descendants in Jericho helped with repairing Jerusalem's walls in 445 BC under Nehemiah (Ne. 3:2); a pottery jar-stamp (*c.* 4th century BC) 'belonging to Hagar (daughter of) Uriah' is the last memento of OT Jericho.

c. New Testament Jericho
In NT times, the town of Jericho was sited S of the old mound. In that region, Herod the Great (40/37-4 BC) and his successors built a winter palace with ornamental gardens, near the famous palm and balsam groves that yielded lucrative revenues. Fragmentary ruins that may be connected with these great buildings have been excavated. Herod brought water by aqueduct from the Wadi.
The environs of NT Jericho witnessed Christ's healing of blind men, including Bartimaeus (Mt. 20:29; Mk. 10:46; Lk. 18:35). Zacchaeus (Lk. 19:1) was not the only wealthy Jew who had his home in this fashionable district. The immortal story of the good Samaritan is set on the narrow, bandit-infested road from Jerusalem down to Jericho (Lk. 10:30-37).

f) Hebron
(Heb. ḥeḇrôn, 'confederacy'; *cf.* its alternative and older name Kiriath-arba, 'tetrapolis'), the highest town in Palestine, 927 m above the level of the Mediterranean, 30 km SSW of Jerusalem. The statement that it 'was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt' (Nu. 13:22) probably relates its foundation to the 'Era of Tanis' (*c.* 1720 BC). Abraham lived in its vicinity for considerable periods (*Mamre); in his days the resident population ('the people of the land') were 'sons of Heth' (*Hittites), from whom Abraham bought the field of Machpelah with its cave to be a family burying-ground (Gn. 23). There he and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah were buried (Gn. 49:31; 50:13). According to Josephus (*Ant.* 2. 199; 3. 305), the sons of Jacob, with the exception of Joseph, were buried there too. The traditional site of the Patriarchs' sepulchre lies within the great Ḥaram el-Ḫalîl, the 'Enclosure of the Friend' (*i.e.* Abraham; *cf.* Is. 41:8), with its Herodian masonry. During the Israelites' wilderness wandering the twelve spies sent out to report on the land of Canaan explored the region of Hebron; at that time it was populated by the 'descendants of Anak' (Nu. 13:22, 28, 33). After Israel's entry into Canaan, Hoham, king of Hebron, joined the anti-Gibeonite coalition led by Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem, and was killed by Joshua (Jos. 10:1-27). Hebron itself and the surrounding territory were conquered from the Anakim by Caleb and given to him as a family possession (Jos. 14:12ff.; 15:13f.; Jdg. 1:10, 20). In Hebron David was anointed king of Judah (2 Sa. 2:4) and 2 years later king of Israel also (2 Sa. 5:3); it remained his capital for 7 1/2 years. It was here too, later in his reign, that Absalom raised the standard of rebellion against him (2 Sa. 15:7ff.). It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11:10). Hebron is one of the four cities named on royal jar-handle stamps found at Lachish and other sites, which probably points to its importance as a major Judaean administrative centre in the reign of Hezekiah. After the Babylonian captivity it was one of the places where returning exiles settled (Ne. 11:25; Kiriath-arba = Hebron). Later it was occupied by the Idumaeans, from whom Judas Maccabaeus captured it (1 Macc. 5:65). During the war of AD 66-70 it was occupied by Simon bar-Giora, but was stormed and burnt by the Romans.

g) Beersheba

The name given to an important well, and also to the local town and district (Gn. 21:14; Jos. 19:2). The present town lies 77 km SW of Jerusalem and approximately midway between the Mediterranean and the S part of the Dead Sea. There are several wells in the vicinity, the largest 3.75 m in diameter. The digging of this well involved cutting through 5 m of solid rock. On one stone of the masonry lining the shaft Conder found a date indicating that repairs had been carried out in the 12th century AD. At the time of his visit in 1874, it was 11 m to the surface of the water.
Excavations at Tel es-Saba', 5 km W of the town, have revealed a planned and fortified town of the Judaean monarchy. A well outside the gateway is dated to the 12th century BC by the excavator, and associated with Abraham, setting the stories of the Patriarchs after the Israelite conquest. There is no evidence to support this speculation. No pottery of Bronze Age date has been found at the site, nor anything to prove the place's ancient name. Iron Age pottery has been found in the modern town (Bir es-Seba'), which was called Berosaba in Roman times, and may yet prove to be the patriarchal site.
The meaning of the name is given in Gn. 21:31, 'The well of seven' (*i.e.* lambs). The alternative interpretation, 'The well of the oath', arises through a misunderstanding of the use of the Heb. word for 'therefore', which can refer only to an antecedent statement (Gn. 11:9 is not really an exception), and a mistranslation of the Heb. particle ki by 'because', whereas it here introduces an independent temporal clause and should be rendered 'when', or even 'then'. The antecedent statement tells *why* it was done; this clause, *when* it was done. (for a similar use of ki, *cf.* Gn. 24:41; *cf.* König, *Heb. Syntax*, 387 h.) The explanation of the alleged second account of the naming of the well by Isaac (Gn. 26:33) is given in v. 18: 'And Isaac dug again the wells of water which had been dug in the days of Abraham his father; for the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham; and he gave them the names which his father had given them.' Since the digging of a well was often a major achievement, filial respect alone would insist that the work of a great father would be thus remembered. In v. 33 the actual wording is: 'He called it Shibah.' The use here of the feminine of the numeral may merely express the numerical group, roughly equivalent to 'It, of the seven'.
Beersheba has many patriarchal associations. Abraham spent much time there (Gn. 22:19). It was probably a part of Palestine without an urban population, since the seasonal nature of the pasturage would not have been conducive to settled conditions. From here he set out to offer up Isaac. Isaac was dwelling here when Jacob set out for Harran (Gn. 28:10). On his way through to Joseph in Egypt, Jacob stopped here to offer sacrifices (Gn. 46:1). In the division of the land it went to the tribe of Simeon (Jos. 19:2).
In the familiar phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba' (Jdg. 20:1, *etc.*) it denoted the southernmost place of the land. The town owed its importance to its position on the trade-route to Egypt. The reference to it in Amos (5:5 and 8:14) indicates that it had become a centre for undesirable religious activities. Beersheba and its villages (Heb. 'daughters') were resettled after the captivity (Ne. 11:27).

1.5. Locate on a map the main places mentioned in the New Testament: Jerusalem, Bethania, Nazareth, Bethlehem, Capharnaum, Caesarea Maritima and Caesarea Philippi. Locate the following on a map of Jerusalem in New Testament times: the Temple, Mount of Olives, Calvary. Give some information found in the Bible concerning these places.

cf. Appendix I, Map 1.5a. and 1.5b.

a) Jerusalem

cf. 1.4a.

b) Bethania

A village (present population 726) on the farther side of the Mount of Olives, about 3 km from Jerusalem on the road to Jericho. It is first mentioned in the Gospels, especially as the home of Jesus' beloved friends, Mary, Martha and Lazarus; hence the modern Arabic name 'el-'Azariyeh. Its most central role in the Gospel history is as the place of Jesus' anointing (Mk. 14:3-9). Outside the Gospels it figures largely in Christian itineraries, traditions and legends.

c) Nazareth

The town of Galilee where Joseph and Mary lived, and the home of Jesus for about 30 years until he was rejected (Lk. 2:39; 4:16, 28-31). He was therefore called Jesus of Nazareth. It is not mentioned in the OT, the Apocrypha, by Josephus, or in the Talmud. (The earliest Jewish reference to it is in a Hebrew inscription excavated at Caesarea in 1962, which mentions it as one of the places in Galilee to which members of the twenty-four priestly courses emigrated after the foundation of Aelia Capitolina in AD 135.) The reason for this was first geographical and later theological. Lower Galilee

remained outside the main stream of Israelite life until NT times, when Rom. rule first brought security. Even then Sepphoris was the chief town of the area, a little to the N of Nazareth. But Nazareth lay close enough to several main trade-routes for easy contact with the outside world, while at the same time her position as a frontier-town on the S border of Zebulun overlooking the Esdraelon plain produced a certain aloofness. It was this independence of outlook in Lower Galilee which led to the scorn in which Nazareth was held by strict Jews (Jn. 1:46).

d) Bethlehem

There are two towns of the name in the OT:
1. The famed city of David, as it came to be styled. It lies 9 km S of Jerusalem. Its earlier name was Ephrath (Gn. 35:19), and it was known as Bethlehem Judah, or Bethlehem Ephrathah, to distinguish it from the other city of the same name. Rachel's tomb was near it; David's ancestors lived there; the Philistines placed a garrison there; and the Messiah was destined to be born there. Jesus was accordingly born there, and the stories of the shepherds and the Magi centre upon it. Bethlehem suffered at the hands of Hadrian in the 2nd century AD, and all Jews were expelled from it; and it seems that the site of the nativity grotto was lost for two centuries; so the Church of the Nativity erected by Helena in the reign of Constantine may or may not mark the true site.
2. The second Bethlehem lay in Zebulunite territory (Jos. 19:15); it is 11 km NW of Nazareth. Most scholars think the judge Ibzan (Jdg. 12:8) was a resident of it, but ancient tradition favours Bethlehem Judah.

e) Capharnaum

Evidence from the NT, Josephus, Christian pilgrim-texts, mediaeval Jewish itineraries, extant monumental remains and current excavations indicates that Capernaum was undoubtedly located at *Tell Hum*, and was inhabited continuously from the 1st century BC to the 7th century AD. The Gospels are almost sufficient in themselves to fix the site, indicating that Capernaum was (*a*) by the lake-side (Mt. 4:13); (*b*) near a political border, so that a customs-post (Mk. 2:14) and military detachment were necessary (Mt. 8:5-13; Lk. 7:1-10); (*c*) near Gennesaret (Mk. 6:53; Jn. 6:22, 59), which is an area of highly productive land at the NW of the Lake. In short Capernaum was the nearest village to the river Jordan on the NW shores of the Sea of Galilee, a position occupied in fact by the ruins of *Tell Hum.* This is confirmed by Josephus *Vita* 403, which indicates a village close to Julias (*et-Tell*) in the direction of Magdala/Tarichaeae (Mejdel).

f) Caesarea Maritima

This magnificent city, built by Herod the Great on the site of Strato's Tower, stood on the Mediterranean shore 37 km S of Mt Carmel and about 100 km NW of Jerusalem. Named in honour of the Roman emperor Caesar Augustus, it was the Roman metropolis of Judaea and the official residence both of the Herodian kings and the Roman procurators. It stood on the great caravan route between Tyre and Egypt, and was thus a busy commercial centre for inland trade. But Caesarea was also a celebrated maritime trading-centre, due largely to the construction of elaborate stone breakwaters N and S of the harbour. The city figured prominently in the history of the early Church as recorded in the book of Acts. Philip, a deacon in the Jerusalem church, first brought Christianity to Caesarea (Acts 8:4–40). Pontius Pilate, who presided at Jesus' trial, governed Judea as prefect from this provincial capital. An important step toward fulfilling Christianity's destiny as a world religion occurred at Caesarea when Peter there converted the first gentile, Cornelius the centurion (10:3–48). Paul, who earlier had been safely spirited away to Tarsus from Caesarea (9:29–30), was imprisoned for two years (a.d. 57–59) in Caesarea before being sent to Rome for trial (Acts 23–26).

g) Caesarea Philippi

A beautiful locality at the foot of Mt Hermon, on the main source of the river Jordan, famed as the place of Peter's confession (Mt. 16:13ff.). It may be the OT Baal-gad. Baal was the deity worshipped there in OT times; the Greeks later substituted their god Pan, and the town took the name Paneas, the shrine itself being called Panion. When the Seleucid ruler Antiochus III wrested Palestine from the Ptolemies, Paneas was the scene of one of the decisive battles (200 BC). Herod the Great built a marble temple to Augustus Caesar, who had given him the town; and Philip the tetrarch later in the same emperor's reign further adorned the town, renaming it Caesarea in the emperor's honour. The addition 'Philippi'—*i.e.* of Philip—was to distinguish it from the coastal Caesarea.

h) The Temple

Solomon's Temple
a. The site
That it stood within the area now called 'Haram esh-Sherif' at the E side of the 'Old City' of Jerusalem is undisputed. The precise location within the vast enclosure is less certain. The highest part of the rock (now covered by the building known as 'The Dome of the Rock') may have been the site of the innermost sanctuary or of the altar of burnt-offering outside (2 Ch. 3:1). This rock was presumably part of the threshing-floor of Araunah, bought by David for a sum given as 50 silver shekels (2 Sa. 24:24) or 600 gold shekels (1 Ch. 21:25). Nothing of Solomon's structures remains above ground, nor were any definite traces found in the diggings sponsored by the Palestine Exploration Fund. Indeed, it is likely that the work of levelling the rock and building up the great retaining walls for the courtyard of Herod's Temple obliterated earlier constructions.

b. Description
The passages 1 Ki. 6-7 and 2 Ch. 3-4 must be the bases of any reconstruction of Solomon's Temple. These accounts, while detailed, do not cover every feature, are not entirely understood and contain some apparent discrepancies (*e.g.* 1 Ki. 6:2 and 16f.). They may be supplemented by incidental references and by the description of Ezekiel's Temple, an elaborated version of Solomon's building (Ezk. 40-43). The Temple proper was an oblong, orientated E and W. It is reasonable to assume that, like Ezekiel's Temple, it stood on a platform (*cf.* Ezk. 41:8). No dimensions are given for the surrounding area. Again following Ezekiel's plan, it seems that there were two courtyards, inner and outer; a suggestion supported by 1 Ki. 6:36; 7:12; 2 Ki. 23:12; 2 Ch. 4:9.
The bronze altar for burnt-offerings stood in the inner court (1 Ki. 8:22, 64; 9:25). It was 20 cubits square and 10 cubits high (2 Ch. 4:1). Between this and the porch was the bronze laver holding water for ritual washings (AV 'molten' or 'brazen sea', 1 Ki. 7:23-26). This great basin, 10 cubits in diameter, rested upon four groups of four bronze oxen orientated to the four compass-points. These were removed by Ahaz (2 Ki. 16:17).
At the dedication of the Temple, Solomon stood on a bronze 'scaffold' (2 Ch. 6:12f., Heb. kîyyôr the word used for 'laver' elsewhere, Ex. 30:18, *etc.*; here it may denote an inverted basin), which has parallels in Syr. and Egyp. sculptures and possibly in Akkadian.
A flight of steps would have led up from the inner court to the porch (Heb. 'ûlām). The entrance was flanked by two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, with elaborately ornamented capitals. Their purpose remains indeterminate; they were not part of the structure. Gates probably closed the passage (*cf.* Ezk. 40:48).The porch was 10 cubits long and 20 cubits wide (on the length of the cubit, see *Weights And Measures). Its height is given as 120 cubits (2 Ch. 3:4), but this is surely erroneous, as the remainder of the building was only 30 cubits high. W of the porch was the large chamber in which the ordinary rituals were performed. This 'holy place' (AV 'temple'; Heb. hêḵāl, a word derived through Canaanite from Sumerian É. GAL, 'great house') was 40 cubits long, 20 in breadth, and 30 high. It was shut off from the porch by double doors of cypress wood, each composed of two leaves. The statement that the doorposts were a fourth (Heb. mᵉzûzôṯ mē'ēṯ rᵉḇiʿiṯ, 1 Ki. 6:33; RSV in the form of a square' follows LXX) is difficult to explain. Possibly the doorway was 5 cubits wide, *i.e.* one-quarter of the width of the dividing wall, a proportion known in some other temples.
Latticed windows near the ceiling lighted the holy place (1 Ki. 6:4). Here stood the golden incense-altar, the table for showbread, and five pairs of lampstands, together with the instruments of sacrifice. The double doors of cypress leading to the inner sanctuary (Heb. dᵉḇîr, 'innermost place'; AV 'oracle' is an unlikely rendering) were rarely opened, probably only for the high priest at the atonement ceremony. The doorposts and lintel are said to have been a fifth (Heb. hā'ayil mᵉzûzôṯ ḥᵃmiššîṯ, 1 Ki. 6:31). As with the hêḵāl, this may be explained as one-fifth of the dividing wall, 4 cubits.
The inner sanctuary was a perfect cube of 20 cubits. Although it might be expected that the floor was raised above the hêḵāl, there is no hint of this. Within stood two wooden figures side by side, 10 cubits high. Two of their wings met in the centre above the *ark of the covenant, and the other wing of each touched the N and S walls respectively (1 Ki. 6:23-28; *Cherubim). In this most holy place the presence of God was shown by a cloud (1 Ki. 8:10f.).
Each room was panelled with cedar wood and the floor planked with cypress (or pine, Heb. bᵉrôš Trees). The walls and doors were carved with flowers, palm trees and cherubim, and overlaid with gold in the way approved for ancient temples, as inscriptions testify. No stonework was visible.
The outer walls of the inner sanctuary and the holy place were built with two offsets of 1 cubit to support the joists of three storeys of small chambers all around. Thus the ground-floor chambers were 5 cubits wide, those above 6, and the uppermost 7. A door in the S side gave access to a spiral staircase serving the upper floors. These rooms doubtless housed various stores and vestments, provided accommodation, maybe, for the priests in course, and sheltered the offerings of money and goods made by the worshippers.

Much has been made of the proximity of the royal palace to the Temple and the inference drawn that it was the 'Chapel Royal'. While admitting such a relationship (emphasized by the passage connecting the two buildings, 2 Ki. 16:18), it should be remembered that it was appropriate for the viceroy of Yahweh to reside near to the house of God; entry was not restricted to the king. Solomon hired a Tyrian to take charge of the work and used Phoenician craftsmen (1 Ki. 5:10, 18; 7:13-14). It is not surprising to find parallels to the design of the Temple and its decoration in surviving examples of Phoenician or Canaanite handiwork. The ground plan is very similar to that of a small shrine of the 9th century BC excavated at Tell Tainat on the Orontes. This shows the three rooms, an altar in the innermost and two columns in the porch, but supporting the roof. At Hazor a Late Bronze Age shrine is also tripartite and was constructed with timbers between the stone-courses. Numerous carved ivory panels (from the walls or furnishings of palaces) found throughout the ancient East are Phoenician work, often with Egyp. themes. Among the common subjects are flowers, palms and winged sphinxes, undoubtedly comparable with the carvings in the Temple. As with the Temple's panelling, these carvings were overlaid with gold and set with coloured stones.

c. Later history

Ancient temples generally served as state treasuries, emptied to pay tribute or filled and, decorated with booty according to the power of the land. If, for some reason, a ruler paid little attention to the temple it would lose its revenue and rapidly fall into disrepair (*cf.* 2 Ki. 12:4-15). Solomon's Temple was no exception. The treasures which he had gathered in the Temple were raided in the reign of his son, Rehoboam, by Shishak of Egypt (1 Ki. 14:26). Later kings, including even Hezekiah, who had adorned the Temple (2 Ki. 18:15f.), used the treasure to purchase allies (Asa, 1 Ki. 15:18) or to pay tribute and buy off an invader (Ahaz, 2 Ki. 16:8). The idolatrous kings added the appurtenances of a Canaanite shrine, including the symbols of pagan deities (2 Ki. 21:4; 23:1-12), while Ahaz introduced an altar of foreign type, displacing the laver, at the time of his submission to Tiglath-pileser III (2 Ki. 16:10-17). By the time of Josiah (*c.* 640 BC), 3 centuries after its construction, the Temple was in need of considerable repair, which had to be financed by the contributions of the worshippers (2 Ki. 22:4). In 587 BC it was looted by Nebuchadrezzar and sacked (2 Ki. 25:9, 13-17). Even after the destruction men came to sacrifice there (Je. 41:5).

Ezekiel's Temple

The exiles were heartened in their grief (Ps. 137) by the vision of a new Temple granted to Ezekiel (Ezk. 40-43, *c.* 571 BC). More details are given of this than of Solomon's structure, although it was never built. The actual shrine was different in little other than its size (porch 20 cubits wide, 12 long; holy place 20 cubits wide and 40 long; inner sanctuary 20 cubits each way). The walls were again panelled and carved with palms and cherubim. The building was set on a platform mounted by ten steps which were flanked by two bronze pillars. Three tiers of rooms enfolded the inner sanctuary and the holy place. The vision gives a description of the surrounding area, something lacking from the account of the first Temple. An area of 500 cubits square was enclosed by a wall pierced by a single gateway on each of the N, E and S sides. Three more gates, opposite the former, led to an inner courtyard, where the altar of sacrifice stood before the shrine. All these gates were well fortified to prevent the entry of any but Israelites. There were various buildings in the courtyards for storage and for the use of the priests.

The Second Temple

This stood for almost 500 years, longer than either the first or Herod's Temple. Yet it is only vaguely known from incidental references. The exiles who returned (*c.* 537 BC) took with them the vessels looted by Nebuchadrezzar, and the authorization of Cyrus for the rebuilding of the Temple. Apparently the site was cleared of rubble, an altar built and the laying of the foundations commenced (Ezr. 1; 3:2-3, 8-10). A stretch of walling on the W side of the present enclosure, abutting the Herodian stonework, may be a part of these foundations. When eventually finished it was 60 cubits long and 60 cubits high, but even the foundations showed that it would be inferior to Solomon's Temple (Ezr. 3:12). Around the shrine were storeplaces and priests' rooms. From some of these Nehemiah expelled the Ammonite Tobiah (Ne. 13:4-9). 1 Macc. 1:21; 4:49-51 give information about the furnishings. The ark had disappeared at the time of the Exile and was never recovered or replaced. Instead of Solomon's ten lampstands, one seven-branched candelabrum stood in the holy place with the table for showbread and the incense altar. These were taken by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (*c.* 175-163 BC), who set up the 'desolating sacrilege' (a pagan altar or statue) on 15 December 167 BC (1 Macc. 1:54). The triumphant Maccabees cleansed the Temple from this pollution and replaced the furniture late in 164 BC (1 Macc. 4:36-59). They also turned the enclosure into a fortress so strong that it resisted the siege of Pompey for 3 months (63 BC).

Herod's Temple
The building of Herod's Temple, commenced early in 19 BC, was an attempt to reconcile the Jews to their Idumaean king rather than to glorify God. Great care was taken to respect the sacred area during the work, even to the training of 1,000 priests as masons to build the shrine. Although the main structure was finished within 10 years (*c.* 9 BC), work continued until AD 64.
As a basis for the Temple buildings and to provide a gathering-place, an area about 450 m from N to S and about 300 m from E to W was made level. In places the rock surface was cut away, but a large part was built up with rubble and the whole enclosed by a wall of massive stone blocks (normally about 1 m high and up to 5 m long; *cf.* Mk. 13:1). At the SE corner, overlooking the Kidron ravine, the inner courtyard was about 45 m above the rock. Perhaps the parapet above this corner was the pinnacle of the Temple (Mt. 4:5). Stretches of this wall still stand. One gateway pierced the N wall (Tadi Gate), but was apparently never used, and one led through the wall on the E (under the present Golden Gate). Traces of the two Herodian gates on the S side are still visible beneath the Mosque of el-Aqsa. Ramps led upwards from these to the level of the court. Four gates faced the city on the W. They were approached by viaducts across the Tyropoeon valley. At the NW corner the fortress of Antonia dominated the enclosure. This was the residence of the procurators when in Jerusalem, and its garrison was always at hand to subdue any unrest in the Temple (*cf.* Lk. 13:1; Acts 21:31-35). The high priest's robes were stored therein as a token of subjection.
The outer court of the Temple was surrounded by a portico, inside the walls. As described by Josephus (*Ant.* 15. 410-416), the S porch had four rows of columns and was called the Royal Porch. The porticoes of the other sides each had two rows. Solomon's Porch stretched along the E side (Jn. 10:23; Acts 3:11; 5:12). In these colonnades the scribes held their schools and debates (*cf.* Lk. 2:46; 19:47; Mk. 11:27) and the merchants and money-changers had their stalls (Jn. 2:14-16; Lk. 19:45-46). The inner area was raised slightly above the court of the Gentiles and surrounded by a balustrade. Notices in Gk. and Lat. warned that no responsibility could be taken for the probable death of any Gentile who ventured within. Two of these inscriptions have been found. Four gates gave access on the N and S sides and one on the E. This last had doors of Corinthian bronze-work and may be the Beautiful Gate of Acts 3:2.
The first court inside (Women's Court) contained the chests for gifts towards the expenses of the services (Mk. 12:41-44). Men were allowed into the Court of Israel, raised above the Court of the Women, and at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles could enter the innermost (Priests') Court to circumambulate the *altar. This was built of unhewn stone, 22 cubits away from the porch (*cf.* Mt. 23:35). The plan of the shrine copied Solomon's. The porch was 100 cubits wide and 100 cubits high. A doorway 20 cubits wide and 40 high gave entry, and one half that size led into the holy place. This was 40 cubits long and 20 cubits wide. A curtain divided the holy place from the inner sanctuary (the veil, Mt. 27:51; Mk. 15:38; *cf.* 2 Ch. 3:14). The inner sanctuary was 20 cubits square and, like the holy place, 40 cubits high. An empty room above the holy place and the inner sanctuary rose to the height of the porch, 100 cubits, thus making a level roof. Three storeys of chambers surrounded the N, S and W sides to a height of 40 cubits. Golden spikes were fixed on the roof to prevent birds from perching there.
The magnificent structure of cream stone and gold was barely finished (AD 64) before it was destroyed by the Rom. soldiery (AD 70). The golden candelabrum, the table of showbread and other objects were carried in triumph to Rome, as depicted on the Arch of Titus.

'Temple' in the New Testament
Two Gk. words, hieron and naos, are translated 'temple'. The former refers to the collection of buildings which comprised the Temple at Jerusalem, the latter refers more specifically to the sanctuary. Commentators draw attention to the fact that the word preferred by the NT writers to describe the church as the temple of God is naos. But the use of naos in Mt. 27:5 and Jn. 2:20 prevents one from making much of this fact. In the case of Mt. 27:5 the term is almost certainly to be understood in the sense of hieron, otherwise we have the formidable difficulty of explaining how Judas penetrated the area which was closed to all except priests. As for the Jews' statement in Jn. 2:20 that 46 years were spent in building the naos, it is unlikely that only the sanctuary was in mind. The use of naos as a synonym for hieron is also present in Herodotus (2. 170) and Josephus (*BJ* 5. 207-211).

a. 'Temple' in the Gospels
The attitude of Jesus to the Temple of Jerusalem contains two opposing features. On the one hand, Jesus greatly respected it; on the other hand, he attached relatively little importance to it. Thus, he called it the 'house of God' (Mt. 12:4; *cf.* Jn. 2:16). Everything in it was holy, he taught, because it was sanctified by God who dwelt in it (Mt. 23:17, 21). Zeal for his Father's house inspired him to cleanse it (Jn. 2:17), and thought of the impending doom of the holy city caused him to weep (Lk. 19:41ff.). In contrast are those passages in which Jesus relegated the Temple to a very subordinate position. He was greater than the Temple (Mt. 12:6). It had become a cover for the spiritual

barrenness of Israel (Mk. 11:12-26 and parallels). Soon it would perish, for a terrible desecration would render it unfit to exist (Mk. 13:1f., 14ff.). See also Mk. 14:57f.; 15:29f. and parallels. These differing attitudes are not, however, without explanation.

At the beginning of his ministry Jesus addressed himself to the Jews and summoned all Israel to repentance. In spite of mounting opposition, we find him appealing to Jerusalem (Mk. 11:1ff. and parallels). The Temple was cleansed with a view to reforming the existing order (11:15ff. and parallels). But the Messianic implications of this action (Mal. 3:1ff.; *cf. Psalms of Solomon* 17:32ff.; Mk. 11:27ff.) engendered still greater hostility on the part of the religious leaders, and Judaism, persistently obdurate and unreformable, was in the end judged as unworthy of the divine presence (Mk. 12:1-12). So Jesus, who began by venerating the Temple, finally announced that his rejection and death would issue in its destruction. The accusation produced at the trial which asserted that Jesus had taught, 'I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another not made with hands' (Mk. 14:58; *cf.* 15:29) would therefore be a fitting peroration to the appeal of our Lord to Jewry. Mark attributes the saying, however, to false witnesses, and what constituted the falsity of the witness is a matter of conjecture among scholars. It is probably wisest to understand the charge as an unscrupulous combination of the prediction of Jesus that the Temple of Jerusalem would be destroyed (Mk. 13:2 and parallels) and the logion that the Son of man would be destroyed and rise again on the 3rd day (Mk. 8:31; 9:31; 10:34 and parallels). That is to say, the falsity lay in misrepresentation of what Jesus actually had taught. One reason why Mark did not trouble to correct the misrepresentation may be due to the fact that the accusation was true in a deeper sense than the witnesses had in mind. The death of Jesus did in fact result in the supersession of the Temple of Jerusalem, and his resurrection put another in its place. The new temple was the eschatological congregation of Jesus Messiah (Mt. 18:20; *cf.* Jn. 14:23). Luke and John, therefore, made no reference to the false witness because when they wrote their Gospels the accusation was no longer seen to be groundless.

b. 'Temple' in the Acts of the Apostles

Some time elapsed, however, before the full ramifications of the work of Christ became apparent, and in the Acts we find the apostles continuing to worship at the Temple of Jerusalem (Acts 2:46; 3:1ff.; 5:12, 20f., 42; *cf.* Lk. 24:52). It appears that the Hellenistic-Jewish party represented by Stephen was the first to discover that 'belief in Jesus as Messiah meant the abrogation of the order symbolized by the Jerusalem Temple (Acts 6:11ff.). Accordingly, Stephen's defence became an attack on the Temple, or, more correctly, on the attitude of mind to which the Temple gave rise (Acts 7). But whether it is justifiable to find in Stephen's denunciation of the Temple a hint of the new temple made without hands, as some commentators do, is not at all certain. We are on firmer ground in Acts 15:13-18. The 'tabernacle of David' of Am. 9:11, to be sure, has the primary sense of dynasty or kingdom, but the use of this OT text in the eschatology of the Covenanters of Qumran to support their novel conception of a spiritual temple (CDC 3. 9) permits us to see here an adumbration of the doctrine of the church as God's new temple which is so common a feature of the Epistles.

c. 'Temple' in the Epistles

The doctrine of the church as the realization of the Messianic temple of OT and intertestamental eschatology is most prominent in the writings of Paul. See 1 Cor. 3:16-17; 6:19; 2 Cor. 6:16-7:1; Eph. 2:19-22. The appeal to prophecy is particularly strong in the case of 2 Cor. 6:16ff., where we have an OT couplet (Lv. 26:12; Ezk. 37:27) which was already in use in Jewish eschatology on the Messianic temple (*Jubilees* 1:17). Also characteristic of the temple image in 1 and 2 Cor. is its hortatory and admonitory application. Since Christians are the realization of the long-cherished hope of the glorious temple, they ought to live holy lives (2 Cor. 7:1; *cf.* 1 Cor. 6:18ff.). Unity is likewise enjoined upon them. Since God is one, there is only one habitation in which he can dwell. Schism is tantamount to profanation of the temple, and merits the same terrible penalty of death (1 Cor. 3:5-17). In Eph. the figure of the temple is employed in the interests of doctrinal instruction. Uppermost in the mind of the writer is the inter-racial character of the church. The language of the context of 2:19-22 makes it plain that the apostle borrowed liberally from the OT hope of the ingathering of Israel and the nations to the eschatological temple at Jerusalem. For example, the words 'far' and 'near' of vv. 13 and 17 (*cf.* Is. 57:19; Dn. 9:7) were rabbinic technical terms for the Gentiles and the Jews (*Numbers Rabbah* 8:4). Similarly, the 'peace' mentioned in vv. 14 and 17 is an allusion to the eschatological peace which was to prevail when Israel and the peoples were united in the one cult at Zion (Is. 2:2ff.; Mi. 4:1ff.; *Enoch* 90:29ff.). Paul undoubtedly regarded the fruits of his Gentile mission as the fulfilment of Jewish faith at its widest and most generous expression. He spiritualized the ancient hope of a reunited mankind, and represented Jews and Gentiles as the two walls of one building, joined by and resting upon Christ, the foremost cornerstone (Eph. 2:19-22). The statement that the building 'grows' (auxein) into a 'temple' introduces a different figure, *viz.* that of the body, and reveals a certain fusion of images. 'Temple' and 'body' are largely coterminous ideas of the church. Note the juxtaposition of the two conceptions in Eph. 4:12, 16.

Parallels for Paul's use of the metaphor in 1 and 2 Cor. are frequently sought in the writings of Philo and the Stoics, where the individual is called a 'temple'. The practice is scarcely justifiable, however. 1 Cor. 6:19-20 does indeed have the individual in mind, but only as a member of the community which corporately comprises the temple of God. Philo and the Graeco-Roman humanists spiritualized the word 'temple' for the sake of anthropology, whereas Paul was occupied with ecclesiology and eschatology and had only a very secondary interest in anthropology.
With 'temple' in the Pauline corpus *cf.* 'house' in 1 Pet. 2:4-10, where it is manifest that the numerous allusions in the NT to the priestly and sacrificial character of Christian life stem from the conception of the church as God's sanctuary. See also 'house' in Heb. 3:1-6.

d. 'Temple' in Hebrews and Revelation
The idea of a heavenly temple, which was common among the Semites and which helped to sustain Jewish hope when the exigencies of the intertestamental period made it appear that the Temple of Jerusalem would never become the metropolis of the world, was adopted by the early Christians. Allusions to it are present in Jn. 1:51; 14:2f.; Gal. 4:21ff.; and possibly in Phil. 3:20. The 'building from God . . . eternal in the heavens' in the notoriously difficult passage 2 Cor. 5:1-5 may also bear some connection with the idea. The conception is, of course, most developed in Heb. and Rev.
According to the writer to the Hebrews the sanctuary in heaven is the pattern (typos), *i.e.* the original (*cf.* Ex. 25:8f.), and the one on earth used by Jewry is a 'copy and shadow' (Heb. 8:5). The heavenly sanctuary is therefore the true sanctuary (Heb. 9:24). It belongs to the people of the new covenant (Heb. 6:19-20). Moreover, the fact that Christ our High Priest is in this sanctuary means that we, although still on earth, already participate in its worship (10:19ff.; 12:22ff.). What is this temple? The writer supplies a clue when he says that the heavenly sanctuary was cleansed (9:23), *i.e.* made fit for use (*cf.* Nu. 7:1). The assembly of the first-born (Heb. 12:23, that is to say, the church triumphant, is the heavenly temple.
The celestial temple in Rev. is part of the grand scheme of spiritualization undertaken by the author, and note should also be taken of the celestial Mt Zion (14:1; 21:10) and the new Jerusalem (3:12; 21:2ff.). In point of fact the prophet of Patmos was shown two temples, one in heaven and the other on earth. The latter is in mind in 11:1ff. The harassed militant church is depicted under the guise of the Temple of Jerusalem, or, more accurately, the sanctuary of the Temple of Jerusalem, for the forecourt, that is, the lukewarm who are on the fringe of the church, is excluded from the measurement. The imagery owes something to Zc. 2:5, and appears to have the same meaning as the sealing of the 144,000 in 7:1-8. Those measured, alias the numbered, are the elect whom God protects.
Similar spiritualizing is evident in the author's vision of the temple in heaven. On the top of Mt Zion he sees not a magnificent edifice, but the company of the redeemed (14:1; *cf.* 13:6). That John intends his readers to regard the martyr-host as taking the place of a temple is hinted at in 3:12: 'He who conquers, I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God.' The heavenly temple thus 'grows', like its earthly counterpart (see above on Eph. 2:21f.), as each of the faithful seals his testimony with martyrdom. The building will eventually be completed when the decreed number of the elect is made up (6:11). It is from this temple of living beings that God sends out his judgment upon impenitent nations (11:19; 14:15ff.; 15:5-16:1), just as he once directed the destinies of the nations from the Temple of Jerusalem (Is. 66:6; Mi. 1:2; Hab. 2:10).
The new Jerusalem has no temple (21:22). In a document like Rev. which follows the traditional images and motifs so closely, the idea of a Jerusalem without a Temple is surely novel. John's statement that he 'saw no temple in the city' has been taken to mean that the whole city was a temple; note that the shape of the city is cubical (21:16), like the holy of holies in Solomon's Temple (1 Ki. 6:20). But that is not what John says. He states plainly that God and the Lamb is the Temple. What he very likely means is that in the place of the temple is God and his Son. Such indeed would appear to be the grand denouement for which the writer prepares his readers. First he dramatically announces that the temple in heaven is opened and its contents laid bare for human eyes to see (11:19). Later he drops the hint that the divine dwelling may be none other than God himself (21:3; note the play on the words skēnē and skēnōsei). Finally, he states quite simply that the temple is the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb. One after another the barriers separating man from God are removed until nothing remains to hide God from his people. 'His servants. . . shall see his face' (22:3f.; *cf.* Is. 25:6ff.). This is the glorious privilege of all who enter the new Jerusalem.
The use made of the ancient motif of the ingathering and reunion of Israel and the nations at the eschatological temple by the author of Rev. is thus different from, although complementary to, that of Paul. Paul, as we noted above, applied it to the terrestrial church; John projects it into the heavenly realm and into the world to come. The difference is another illustration of the flexibility of the Temple image.

i) The Mount of Olives

Olivet, or the Mount of Olives, is a small range of four summits, the highest being 830 m, which overlooks Jerusalem and the Temple Mount from the E across the Kidron Valley and the Pool of Siloam. Thickly wooded in Jesus' day, rich in the olives which occasioned its name, the mount was denuded of trees in the time of Titus. From the traditional place of Jesus' baptism, on Jordan's bank, far below sea level, Olivet's distant summit 1,200 m higher, a traditional site of the ascension, is clearly visible, for Palestine is a small land of long perspectives.

The OT references to Olivet at 2 Sa. 15:30; Ne. 8:15; Ezk. 11:23 are slight. 1 Ki. 11:7 and 2 Ki. 23:13 refer to Solomon's idolatry, the erection of high places to Chemosh and Molech, which probably caused one summit to be dubbed the Mount of Offence. In the eschatological future the Lord will part the Mount in two as he stands on it (Zc. 14:4).

Jews resident in Jerusalem used to announce the new moon to their compatriots in Babylonia by a chain of beacons starting on Olivet, each signalling the lighting of the next. But since Samaritans lit false flares, eventually human messengers had to replace the old beacons. G. H. Dalman considers the Mishnaic claim that this beacon service stretched as far afield as Mesopotamia perfectly feasible. The Mount has close connections with the red heifer and its ashes of purification (Nu. 19; *Parah* 3. 6-7, 11), as with other ceremonies of levitical Judaism. According to one legend, the dove sent forth from the ark by Noah plucked her leaf from Olivet (Gn. 8:11; Midrash *Genesis Rabba* 33. 6). Some believed that the faithful Jewish dead must be resurrected in Israel, that those who died abroad would eventually be rolled back through underground cavities (*Ketuboth* 111a), emerging at the sundered Mount of Olives. When the Shekinah, or radiance of God's presence, departed from the Temple through sin, it was said to linger for 3-1/2 years on Olivet, vainly awaiting repentance (*Lamentations Rabba*, Proem 25; *cf.* Ezk. 10:18). The name 'Mountain of Three Lights' comes from the glow of the flaming Temple altar reflected on the hillside by night, the first beams of sunrise gilding the summit, and the oil from the olives which fed the Temple lamps.

j) Calvary

The name occurs once only in the AV, in Lk. 23:33, and not at all in most EVV. The word comes from the Vulgate, where the Lat. *calvaria* translates the Gk. kranion; both words translate Aramaic gulgoltâ, the 'Golgotha' of Mt. 27:33, meaning 'skull'. Three possible reasons for such a name have been propounded: because skulls were found there; because it was a place of execution; or because the site in some way resembled a skull. All we know of the site from Scripture is that it was outside Jerusalem, fairly conspicuous, probably not far from a city gate and a highway, and that a garden containing a tomb lay near by.

Two Jerusalem localities are today pointed out as the site of the Lord's cross and tomb; the one is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the other Gordon's Calvary, commonly known as the Garden Tomb. Unfortunately it has always proved difficult to debate the question objectively; in some quarters the identification one accepts is almost the touchstone of one's orthodoxy. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre marks the site of a temple to Venus which the emperor Constantine removed, understanding that it stood over the sacred site. The tradition thus goes back at least to the 4th century. But in view of the operations and activities of Titus in the 1st century and Hadrian in the 2nd, the identification must still be viewed as precarious. It has at least been clarified by recent excavations that the traditional site lay outside the city walls in the time of Christ. On the other hand, the evidence of the church itself may indicate a tomb of slightly too late a date to be authentic.

The Garden Tomb was first pointed out in 1849; a rock formation there resembles a skull; and admittedly the site accords with the biblical data. But there is no tradition nor anything else to support its claim. The more ancient site is much more likely; but any identification must remain conjectural.

1.6. The voyages of St Paul: locate on a map the main places connected with Saint Paul: Tarsus, Antioch, Galatia, Ephesus, Athens, Philippi, Thessalonica, Corinth, Malta, Rome.

cf. Appendix I, Map 1.6.

2. INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT

2.1. Theory of the J E D P sources. Principal criteria for identifying them and the hypothesis of the historical setting of each source (when and in what circumstances each one was written).

The J-E-D-P Source (or 4 Source) theory posits that four distinct oral and written traditions were eventually combined in the postexilic period under the guiding hand of the P tradition, and probably a redactor (R). These sources are distinguishable by the language used and overarching theological, cultic and historical themes and foci explored. Includes the Pentateuch through to 2 Kings.

a) J - Yahwist

Themes	Context / Date	Texts
God is more intimate in his relationship with humans, a "divine communion." God is more anthropomorphic, less abstract, "walks" and "talks" with men, etc. The "younger son" theme is emphasized (Isaac over Ishmael, Jacob over Esau, Judah over older brothers) Unconditioned covenant with Abraham. Vivid storytelling. Creative theological vision (promise / fulfilment). God is named as YHWH from the very beginning of the narrative. Frequently God's blessing extends through Israel to all nations. Concerned with the "history of salvation" from Creation to entry into Canaan Pessimistic / realistic image of human beings (always prone to corruption). This failure on behalf of human beings is the cause of trial and tribulation in life. In spite of this God continued to call Israel / and reveal himself to them.	Focus on Judah and other southern locations suggests that the J source is from the Southern Kingdom Absence of monarchic institution suggests it was written in the Pre-Davidic period. Perhaps during the Solomonic enlightenment. Trad. 9th c. Now 10th c.	Primeval history; Patriarchal saga; Birth of Israel in Egypt.

b) E - Elohist

Themes	Context / Date	Texts
Emphasises morality. Response of Israel - faith & fear of the Lord. "Elohim" is used until the revel. of The Name to Moses. God is more remote and distant than in (J), and speaks to man in dreams, in clouds, or in the midst of fire; and later, through angels. covenant is presented more like an overlord-vassal treaty Also narrative in style and is represented in almost every major segment of the Pentateuchal traditions (from Abraham on). His primary focus is on Israel. Stresses the prophetic - especially through Abraham, Jacob, Joseph and Moses. These leaders are prophets who receive revelations from God in visions and dreams. Monarchy is seen as a potentially dangerous institution and when corrupted must be challenged by prophetic leaders. Focus on Covenant of God with Israel at "Horeb" - it is his covenant narrative which forms the basis for the entire pericope dealing with God's revelation at Sinai. Castigates Idolatry - Aaron fashions the calf. The courageous actions of the four great leaders is regularly contrasted with the disobedience of the people. God "tests" his people.	Northern Kingdom traditions. Trad. 8th c. Now 9th c.	Promise to the fathers; Moses and the exodus; The Sinai covenant; Wilderness wandering; End of Moses' life.

c) D - Deuteronomist

Themes	Context / Date	Texts
Fear / love of God in terms of obedience to the ten commandments and under threat of punishment. "Name" Theology (Dt. 12:5,11,21) God is beyond the Temple (this is a new understanding). His *name* dwells there but God dwells in the heavens. There is an attempt to eliminate the corporality of the traditional imagery. Stresses the covenant of God and conditions God's blessings on the faithfulness of the people. Uses the structure of fealty oaths from the ANE to structure the covenant relationship of love and loyalty between the people and their God. The covenant is seen as God's loving election of Israel, and the law is Israel's loyal response. Cult is heavily centralized while at the same time a minimum of external observance is required. Serves to curtail and correct cult not to enhance and extend it. A high regard for ethical behaviour towards the poor. Spiritual purification and repentance become the means for reconciliation with God. There are no intermediaries. A nationalistic and patriotic outlook - filled with military speeches (rallying cries) It is more hortatory (exhorting) in character, apparently related to the fact that it was composed during a time of religious crisis. The Israelites are "elect" and "holy people" Understanding, knowledge and wisdom are high virtues.	Begun by the Northern Tribes and brought south after the fall of the N. Kingdom to Assyria. Reflects the national enthusiasm of the period Hezekiah-Josiah. 7th c.	Deut. Josh 1:1-9

d) P - Priestly

Themes	Context / Date	Texts
Concerned with questions of cult and ritual - in law and narrative. Interested in genealogies. (Gen.) Presence of God in terms of glory and tabernacling (Ex. 40:34-38) Archaizing Language (El Shaddai) Systematization of Gen. by means of the "generations" formula. Emphasis was on Israel remaining pure and holy and uncontaminated by man-made morality, hence the emphasis ritual and legal cleanliness. The writer of the Priestly source envisioned a world ordered and controlled by God. Israel's history was progressing according to God's predetermined plan. God was in total control, and the world was secure and stable. Israel's relationship with God was ordered by covenant. Even when Israel alienated itself from God, there were sacrifices and rituals that could atone for faithlessness. Indeed, Yahweh was a demanding God, but what he really wanted was to bless Israel. These assurances inspired hope in the hearts of exiled Israelites struggling to keep hope alive. Blessing realized as fruitfulness and multiplying Covenants with God that mark important moments Social and religious role of priests Word of God as a driving force in history Use of the divine name Elohim in the primeval era, El Shaddai in the ancestral era, and YHWH in the Moses era	Priestly caste around the Temple of Jerusalem. Post-Exilic	Ex. 25 - Num 10 Creation: Genesis 1:1-2:4

2.2. Literary genres. What is a literary genre? What is the *Sitz im Leben* of a literary genre? What are the main literary genres of the Psalms?

a) Literary Genre

The term used by literary critics as the equivalent of "type of literature," i.e. a category or type of literature characterized by a particular form, style, or content.
The basic genres found in the Hebrew Bible are prose and poetry, with many different sub-types including song, hymn, story, saying, speech, law, genealogy, saga, history

b) *Sitz im Leben*

The occasion or social setting for a given form is known as its *Sitz im Leben* (German, "setting-in-life"), a term for which no adequate English equivalent exists. The *Sitz im Leben* must be carefully distinguished from the *historical* occasion that may have led to the production of any particular text. Thus, it is possible that certain Psalms can be dated to a particular period in Israel's history, perhaps even to a space of a few years—Psalm 74, for instance, seems to reflect the situation of Israel in the early years of the Babylonian Exile (6th century B.C.). The *Sitz im Leben* of the Psalm, however, is not the *period,* but whatever context (presumably a liturgical context) it was composed to be used in. In the nature of the case, a *Sitz im Leben* is a general, and in principle repeatable occasion, not a single historical event.

c) Genre of Psalms

Generally, the psalms are divided into:

1. Hymns + 2 subgroups based on subject matter
Songs of Zion
Psalms of the Kingship of God
2. Laments - individual & communal
3. Thanksgiving
4. Wisdom Psalms
5. Liturgical Psalms

2.3. Main sections and themes of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, 1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Kings, 1-2 Chronicles.

a) Pentateuch

1] Genesis

Gn 11-1: The Primeval Story
Gn 12-50: The Ancestoral Story
12-25 Abraham Cycle
25-36 Jacob Cycle
37-50 Joseph Cycle

Gn 11-1: The Primeval Story

God created the universe of stars, earth and animal life in six days and rested on the seventh (Gen. 1). The first humans were placed in the perfect world of Eden (2) but were expelled after they disobeyed a divine command (3). Out of Eden the first couple had offspring who typified the worst of sin and the best of culture (4-5). But sin ran rampant, prompting God to cleanse the earth with a flood (6). Only Noah, his immediate family, and a representative sample of animal life survived in a boat of God's design (7). After the waters subsided (8) God made a covenant with Noah, but Noah's episode of insobriety marked the return of wrongdoing (9). Still, humanity grew in number (10). They began building a massive tower ascending heavenward in order to make a name for themselves, but God frustrated their plan and scattered them abroad (11). The Primeval Story ends with the geneology of Shem from whose line comes Abraham. Through him God would reestablish fellowship with humanity.

Gn 12-50: The Ancestoral Story

The Ancestral Story gives an account of Israel's parentage, the matriarchs and patriarchs of the nation. The account is organized into three cycles of episodes revolving around Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph.

Themes

Each narrative cycle has its own literary integrity. Yet there are common themes, motifs and concerns that serve to give the Ancestral Story a wholeness that is greater than the sum of its parts.

1. *Divine-Human Relationship*. These stories take for granted the existence of an intimate relationship between the ancestors and their patron God. The deity promises, protects, and directs the lives of the ancestors. He treats them differently than the people with whom they are in contact (and conflict). Still, these other people, be they Egyptian or Philistine, Edomite or Aramean, would find benefit in being associated with the ancestral family.

a. *Promise*. God determined and guided the ancestors' future, and he pledged that future through promises. The consistent way in which the divine promises were transferred from one generation to the next signals their programmatic character. The promises assured longevity through their offspring who would become a nation, and assured possession of the land of Canaan. In their Priestly form the promises entailed fruitfulness and multiplication.

b. *Covenant*. The relationship between God and the ancestors was formalized by covenants. God bound himself by oath to fulfill his promises. In its Priestly form the covenant was termed everlasting. There is a succession of covenants beginning with Noah, to Abraham, and then to Moses at Mount Sinai that progressively builds and defines the relationship of God with his world.

c. *God of the Fathers*. The patriarchs developed an intimate relationship with the deity such that Abraham could be found in conversation with God near his tent. God also came to Abraham and Jacob in visions. The deity came to be personally associated with the patriarchs and was termed "the Elohim of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." God was not immediately present to Joseph in the same way, and appears only as the force of history in Joseph's lecture to his brothers. In Israel's developing history God seems to continue receding from personal contact.

2. *Offspring*. Israel understood itself as having descended from Abraham in a line of succession miraculously engineered by God. Many of the stories touch on the question of family succession: conceiving, having children, determining the line of inheritance. The frequent genealogies and the *toledot* structure of Genesis reinforce this overall theme.

a. *Firstborn*. Consistently the oldest son does not end up being the favored son. Perhaps one of the lessons intended by all three cycles is that God does not follow human convention when he decides whom he will bless. He is unpredictable, and likely as not will choose the younger over the older. Yet it must also be observed that each of the firstborn sons had some flaw that may have been the reason for their disqualification. Ishmael was the son of a concubine; Esau cheaply bartered away his status; Reuben slept with Bilhah, his father's concubine. However, one could ask if their failings were inherently more heinous than some of the actions of Jacob or Judah.

b. *Barrenness*. As a further indication of the sovereignty of God, the younger son predestined for greatness was in almost every case conceived through the help of God after an extended period of barrenness: Isaac to Sarah, Jacob and Esau to Rebekah, Joseph to Rachel, Perez to Tamar (though more through Tamar's initiative than God's help). Divinely enabled conception of the gifted son is a pattern repeated later with Samson, Hannah and Samuel, and Jesus of Nazareth in the New Testament.

c. *Matriarchs.* Women were marginalized within the patriarchal social system of the ancient Middle East. Although they may not have had institutionalized power, they were not powerless. Within the family they exercised considerable control. Israel's matriarchs--strong-willed, often employing trickery and deceit--were directly responsible for determining lines of descent and inheritance. Abraham deferred to Sarah, who expelled Hagar and her son Ishmael. Sarah and Rebekah agreed to play sister instead of spouse to save their husbands and the promise of offspring. Rebekah conspired against her husband with Jacob to steal the blessing from Isaac's favorite son Esau. Rachel and Leah were rivals to Jacob's sexual attention, and presumably also rivals to inherit the promise. Rachel stole her father's household gods and cleverly hid them from him. Tamar entrapped Judah into siring a child by her, and was judged more righteous for it. Quite possibly some of these women may have been models for the likes of Bathsheba who deftly secured the throne for her son Solomon over his rivals.

3. *Land*. Israel was vitally invested in the claim that Canaan was its heritage and homeland. The people found justification for that claim in the promise made first to Abraham, and in the fact that he actually lived in Canaan for many years. Each of the cycles contains the notice that at least an earnest of land had been purchased; Abraham bought Ehpron's field near Hebron (23) and Jacob bought a plot near Shechem (33:18-20). The family of Jacob even purchased property in Egypt (47:27). The divine land promise is the foundation for Israel's claim to the land, and justifies their conquest of Canaan under Joshua in the thirteenth century B.C.E. All three ancestral cycles are shaped around geographical itineraries, and always in respect to Canaan. Abraham left Mesopotamia and journeyed to Canaan with a sojourn in Egypt; Jacob left Canaan for Haran and returned to Canaan with huge wealth and family. Joseph was deported to Egypt but eventually brought the entire family there to survive another famine. All these peregrinations suggest Israel's hold on the land was tenuous, and separation from the land a periodic reality. Perhaps these ancestral periods of exile and return shaped the hope of the Israelites who experienced their greatest trial in the Babylonian exile. Certainly the ending of Genesis, as it leaves Jacob's family in Egypt awaiting return to the Promised Land for the burial of Joseph's bones, thrusts the reader onward to the book of Exodus in expectation, looking for return and rest.

2] Exodus

Ex 1-18: Exodus: The Deliverance Traditions
- 1-11: Israel in Egypt (Moses)
- 12-15: Passover & Exodus
- 15-18: The wandering in the wilderness

Ex. 19-40: Sinai: The Covenant Traditions
- 19: Theophany on the Mountain
- 20-23: Law and Covenant
- 24: Covenant Confirmation Ceremony
- 25-31: Tabernacle Design
- 32-34: Covenant Breaking and Remaking (Golden Calf)
- 35-40: Tabernacle Construction

Story Line

The opening (Ex. 1) describes how the Egyptians oppressed the descendants of Jacob, subjecting them to forced labor. Because this failed to curtail their growth, all male Hebrew infants were killed--all but one. When Moses was born (2) his parents hid him temporarily and then put him into a basket and set him afloat on the Nile River. Pharaoh's daughter found Moses, had compassion on him, and raised him as her own in the royal court.

When Moses became a man he rashly attempted to rescue some fellow Hebrews by killing their Egyptian task master. He fled Egypt and took refuge in the Sinai wilderness. There he married Zipporah and raised a family. While shepherding the flocks of his father-in-law, Jethro, he met Yahweh at a burning bush (3-4). God told Moses to return to Egypt, which was not what he wanted to hear. However, back in Egypt he mediated Israel's deliverance from slavery and oppression. With a series of natural and supernatural disasters (5-11), Yahweh demonstrated his superior power. After celebrating the first Passover the Hebrews escaped into the Sinai wilderness (12-13). The Egyptian army pursued them and, just when it looked like the Hebrews were doomed, God miraculously opened a pathway through the Reed Sea. The Hebrews passed through safely, but the Egyptians were drowned when they tried to follow (14-15). Then Moses led the people to **Mount Sinai** (16-18) where earlier he had met Yahweh at the burning bush.

At Mount Sinai Yahweh revealed the Law to the Hebrews and established an abiding covenant relationship with them (19-24). In addition to making this covenant he gave them instructions for building worship items and a portable shrine (25-31). Soon after the people agreed to the terms of the covenant they broke it by worshiping the golden calf instead of Yahweh (32-34). Though they deserved to be annihilated, God reestablished his covenant with them. Then, while still encamped at Mount Sinai, the Hebrews built a tabernacle as the residence for their God (35-40).

Themes

The **exodus** declared that Israel exists by the powerful delivering action of Yahweh. The **covenant** shaped Israel's relationship with Yahweh. This relationship has clear expectations of both parties and holds the promise of a glorious future. Taken together these events establish Israel's elemental identity as a delivered people in covenant with God.

3] Leviticus

Lv. 1-7:	Laws of sacrifices.
Lv 8-10:	Ordination rites of the priests.
Lv 11-15:	Laws of purity
Lv 16:	Day of atonement
Lv 17-26:	Holiness Code
Lv 27:	Appendix on religious vows.

Story Line

Leviticus is presented almost entirely as the speeches of Yahweh to Moses at the tent of meeting, a shrine used solely as the meeting place of Moses and God. There are a few chapters of narration but no continuous story line. After divine descriptions of the types of sacrifices (Lev. 1-7) Moses ordained and consecrated **Aaron** and his sons to serve as priests (8). At the conclusion of the eight-day ceremony Aaron blessed the people and the fire of Yahweh consumed their offerings (9). When Aaron's sons Nadab and Abihu burned incense with illicit fire (it is not clear what that was) they were destroyed by the fire of Yahweh (10). Then follows the laws concerning what is clean and unclean (11-15), the Day of Atonement (16), and the Holiness Code (17-26). Within the latter is found the only remaining narrative, a description of a situation when someone blasphemed the name of Yahweh. At Yahweh's instructions he was taken outside the camp and stoned (24). The book concludes with a discourse on religious vows (27).

Themes

Leviticus immediately follows Exodus in the Hebrew Bible, and continues the account of the Israelites in the Sinai wilderness. Most of Leviticus is devoted to ritual legislation and cultic rules. Its rabbinic name is *torat kohanim,* which means "instructions of priests." Since priests came from the tribe of Levi, the **Levites**, the book came to be called Leviticus.

A. Priestly Worldview

Given the highly detailed and monotonous nature of the priestly legislation, it is easy to get lost in minutia. An overall framework is needed to understand the meaning of the purity and holiness laws. There are three general approaches to the biblical system of clean and unclean things.

The hygiene theory claims that the laws were intended to keep Israelites from things that had a high likelihood of doing bodily harm, such as pork causing contagious skin diseases. The cultic theory argues that objects and actions that were associated with forbidden pagan cults were forbidden to Israelites, and so were declared unclean. Anthropologists Douglas (1966) and Turner (1969) pioneered the structuralist perspective which analyzes ritual as components of worldview, and argue that Israel's ritual system discerns an ordered world in which everything exists either as normal or abnormal. Deviations from normalcy were classified as unclean. Rituals provided the means to move from abnormality to normality.

Leviticus, along with the rest of the Priestly Code, employs a distinctive way of looking at the world in relation to God. Everything in the world is graded in holiness, to use Jenson's terminology, in relation to Yahweh. The result is that everything has a set place in the divine order, and everything derives its meaning from its relationship to God.

The major religious dilemma facing the Israelites was how a perfectly holy and righteous God could be in direct contact with sinful people. The rituals and regulations of Leviticus explain how. In essence it means the Israelites must become a holy people, sometimes also called a holy nation. "You must be holy, for I am holy" is a constant refrain throughout Leviticus.

The terms that are critical to this worldview and that need explanation are *holy* and *clean,* and their opposites, *profane* and *unclean.* According to Leviticus 10:10, the Aaronic priesthood was "to distinguish between the holy and the profane, and between the unclean and the clean."

Holiness is a difficult notion to grasp. It has to do with the infinite and qualitative difference between humanity and God, in other words the total otherness of God. God is of a fundamentally different category than human beings. Because he is totally different from humanity, especially in regard to his absolute power and perfection, humans need to respect his total otherness and live in awe of him. Though the analogy is woefully inadequate, the awesomeness of God is like the awe ordinary citizens might feel when they are in the presence of a president or prime minister, or better yet, a sports superstar, renowned actor, or famous rock musician.

The **Holiness Code**, found in chapters 17-26, is the most distinctive subcollection of the Priestly Code. While the issue of dating for the Priestly writings as a whole is debated, it is quite likely that the Holiness Code comes from the period of the late Israelite monarchy. It appears to have been composed in Jerusalem not long before the Babylonian exile. As its name suggests, it is preoccupied with matters of holiness.

The priestly rituals of Leviticus were intended to distance humans from their imperfect world so they could assume a measure of God's holiness. In order for the Israelites to become holy they must refrain from sin and stay away from uncleanness. In the priestly worldview, sin was closely associated with uncleanness. Leviticus categorizes the world into clean and unclean things, and describes procedures that can move one from the state of uncleanness to cleanness. Some of the most important rituals involve animal sacrifices to reconcile penitent Israelites to God if sin and uncleanness have separated them. In short, Leviticus defines the procedural means by which God and humanity can dwell together harmoniously.

The normal or natural state of objects and persons is to be clean, and a clean thing could be elevated to the status of holiness through the process of sanctification (literally, making holy). Clean things could become unclean through contact with other unclean things, such as dead bodies. In order for an unclean person or thing to get back to the state of cleanness, it had to be purified. Once clean, it could then be sanctified through an additional procedure. Once made holy, it was devoted exclusively to divine service.

Holy persons and things could be rendered profane, or unholy, through ritual procedures of decommissioning or by contact with something unclean. A profane thing could be clean or unclean, but in either case, it could not be in direct contact with Yahweh.

The notions of clean and unclean are related to the way the priestly group understood the created world and expressed a comprehensive worldview in which everything had its proper place. The process of putting things in their place began with creation, as told in the Priestly version (Genesis 1). On the second and third days of creation the three elements of sky, earth, and sea were delimited through a process of separation. Then, God fashioned living creatures for each environment, and each environment's creatures received standard habits and means of locomotion which defined them. In particular, the sky was populated by noncarnivorous winged creatures. The earth was inhabited by four-legged creatures that chewed the cud and had cloven hooves. The sea was inhabited by creatures with scales and fins.

Creatures that did not fit the standard profile were considered unclean, for example, crabs and lobsters. Although they live in the sea, they have legs rather than fins. Thus, cleanness was related to a notion of "normalness," and cleanness was protected by keeping things separate and in their proper environment. Food sources that did not meet the priestly definitions of normalcy were unclean and therefore not fit for human consumption. The definitions of what was clean and unclean are also called **kashrut**, the rules of **kosher**.

Definitions of normalcy and laws for maintaining separations applied to many things besides food. For example, they dictated which kinds of thread could be woven together to make fabric, and which kinds of people could marry. Priestly legislation defined a total lifestyle that regulated diet, hygiene, social activity, and the calendar.

Table 4.1 is a synthesis of the priestly worldview. It relates the basic areas of life to the notions of holiness and cleanness. The following discussion is a survey of the particular areas of existence and reality (derived from the left vertical column of Table 4.1) as they are defined by the range of holiness (the top horizontal row). Jenson (1992) develops the notion of "a holiness spectrum" upon which this table is based. He devotes a separate chapter to each dimension: spatial, personal, ritual, and temporal.

Holiness Continuum

	Very Holy	**Holy**	**Clean**	**Unclean**	**Very Unclean**
Places	holy of holies	holy place	court	camp	outside the camp
People	high priest	priest	Levites, clean Israelites	minor impurities	major impurities, the dead
Rituals	sacrifice (not eaten)	sacrifice (priests eat)	sacrifice (non-priests eat)	purification (1 day)	purification (7 days)
Times	Day of Atonement	festivals, Sabbath	common days		

1. Holy Places

A fundamental concern of the Priestly Code was the creation of a place where Israel could dwell in the presence of God. Throughout the Hebrew Bible a key to Israel's welfare is living in proximity to the presence of God.

The place where Yahweh lived was the holiest place imaginable. The tabernacle complex, whose structure, service, and construction is described in Exodus 25-31 and 35-40, was the portable temple of the Israelites. Leviticus and Numbers contain many references to the structure and implements of the tabernacle.

Haran (1978) and Jenson (1992) explain the significance of the structural details. The tabernacle complex, as with the other symbols of Israel's ritual system, had zones of holiness. The direction of holiness moved from outside the camp to the holy of holies. For each zone the Priestly Code defined who is allowed to be there, ending up with only the high priest in the holy of holies, and that on only one day each year. Gradations of holiness are evident also in the construction materials of the tabernacle complex, with fabrics and metals increasing in value moving up each level of holiness.

The symbolism of the tabernacle expresses two important themes of priestly theology: continuity of life and the presence of God. The floral designs on the walls of the tabernacle and implements suggest the "tree of life" artistic motif. The untarnishable gold of the implements and holiest room suggest the unchangeableness of God. The daily lamp-lighting ceremony symbolizes the light of God that never ceases. Regarding the presence of God, the tabernacle was considered God's dwelling place, so the structure and all the rituals allow for God to be present among his people.

The portability of the tent of dwelling indicates that God was not sedentary but was with his people wherever they went. This notion may have been especially important to the priests of the exilic period who shaped these texts, giving expression to their conviction, similar to Ezekiel's, that God was present with them even outside the Promised Land.

2. Holy People

The Priestly Code defined the social and ritual roles of all people within Israel, and an examination of these roles reveals a hierarchy of holiness. Membership in social groups was based on family lineage, and roles were assigned accordingly. The tribe of Levi provided the officials who were authorized to perform religious functions. Both Moses and his brother Aaron were from this tribe.

Only direct descendants of Aaron could function as priests or become the high priest. Priests were the only ones allowed to offer sacrifices and enter the sanctuary. The high priest could consult with God directly in the cloud and by means of divination dice called the Urim and Thummim. Other members of the tribe of Levi, those not of the family of Aaron, had duties outside the sanctuary itself, and in general assisted the Aaronic priests. This included guarding the sanctuary and dismantling and erecting in when it was moved. Israelites belonging to the other eleven tribes could not perform religious rituals but had them done by priests.

3. Sacrifices

The primary religious rituals of Israelite religion involved sacrifices and offerings. The priestly ritual system was complex, and the meaning of procedures was rarely explained. In most respects it is quite foreign to our way of thinking. Consequently, the precise theological significance of sacrifice is still open to debate.

The rules of the priestly sacrificial system are laid out in Leviticus 1-7. There are five main types of **sacrifice**: whole burnt offering, grain offering, peace offering, purification offering, and reparation offering. Any given priestly ritual usually incorporated several different types of sacrifice

4. Holy Times

Just as space was sacred or profane, so was time. The year defined the basic cycle of larger events and organized the cultic calendar. The year was defined by the solar calendar, but because months were defined by the cycle of the moon, there was a need to adjust the shorter twelve-month lunar year (354 days) to the solar year (365 days) by occasionally adding a thirteenth month.

There were longer periods of time, including the sabbatical year cycle (every seventh year was sacred), and the year of Jubilee (the year after seven sabbatical year cycles; that is, the fiftieth year). But the most important units of repeated time were the day, the week and the month (which was defined by the moon). Months were labeled by number, with the year beginning in the spring.

The Sabbath, the seventh day of the week, was a day set apart from the others. Special rules governed activity on that day, mainly restricting what could be done. Hallo (1977) shows the extent to which the Sabbath and the sabbatical idea shaped the worship calendar of Israel, and distinguished it from the worship patterns of Egypt and Mesopotamia.

Special yearly sacred days were also defined. There were five primary sacred times, all of which are still observed within Jewish communities, and some of these correspond to calendaric moments in the Western world. For example, the Spring equinox, Passover, and Easter all converge, and not by accident.

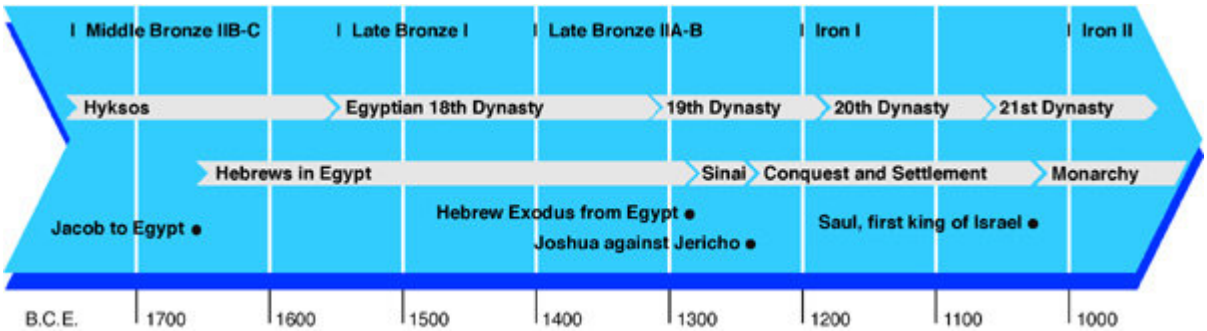
Israelites were required to observe these festivals in Jerusalem. They were worship occasions, and in the rabbinic period were marked by the reading of books from the Five Scrolls of the Hebrew Bible. For example, the Song of Songs was read on Passover and the book of Ruth during the Feast of Weeks.

In addition to these festivals, other feasts and fasts were instituted later during the postexilic periods. Purim celebrates the deliverance of the Jews during the Persian period, as told in the book of Esther. The story of the rededication of the temple during the Greek period is told in the book of 1 Maccabees, and is celebrated as Hanukkah, the Festival of Lights, which comes at the Winter solstice. Fasts were instituted to memorialize tragic historical events. The fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple in 587 B.C.E. is marked as Tisha b'Av and the book of Lamentations is read.

Features of holy place, holy people, holy time, and sacred ritual all come together in Leviticus 16, where the **Day of Atonement** ritual is described, in Hebrew called *yom kippur.* Of all the sacred times, the Day of Atonement was considered the holiest. It was only on this day that anyone entered the Holy of Holies of the tabernacle, and later, the temple.

> *6 Aaron will offer the bull as a sin offering for himself and make atonement for himself and his household. 7 Then he will take the two goats, and stand them before YHWH at the door of the tent of meeting. 8 Aaron will cast lots for the two goats, marking one for YHWH and marking the other for Azazel. 9 Aaron will present the goat on which the lot fell for YHWH and offer it as a sin offering. 10 The goat on which the lot fell for Azazel will be presented alive before YHWH to make atonement with it. It will be sent away into the wilderness to Azazel. (16:6-10)*

On the Day of Atonement the High Priest, here Aaron, offers a bull as a purification offering. Then he takes two goats. He slaughters one of them, collects its blood, and sprinkles it on the mercy seat, a term designating the lid of the ark of the covenant. After exiting the tabernacle, he places his hands on the head of the other goat, thereby transferring the sins of the people to this animal. Called the goat for Azazel in Hebrew (where Azazel may designate the underworld), this goat has come to be called the scapegoat. It was sent away into the wilderness to disappear, symbolically taking with it the sins of the people.



4] Numbers

Nb 1-10:	Priestly Code Continued	Mount Sinai
Nb 10-21:	The Journey Continues	Sinai to Moab
Nb 22-36:	Events in Transjordan	Transjordan

Nb 33: Summary of the journey from Egypt to Canaan.

Nb 5-6; 8; 15-19; 26; 30; 34-36: Other legislative / cultic texts.

Story Line

The early chapters detail the organization of the Israelite encampment. A census of the tribes was taken (Nb 1), the tribes were arrayed around the tent of meeting (2), then the Levites were counted (3-4). A test for female marital faithfulness was established (5) and regulations for Nazirite vows given (6). The tabernacle was dedicated (7), the Levites were purified for tabernacle duty (8), and the Passover was celebrated (9).

The Israelites packed up and left Mount Sinai and resumed their travels (10). When they complained about their diet, God sent quail (11). When Miriam complained about Moses, she was infected with leprosy (12). Twelve spies investigated the fortifications of Canaan, but the Israelites refused to attack (13-14). After more laws of sacrifice (15) Korah, Dathan, and Abiram rebelled and were destroyed (16). Aaron's budding staff proved to the people that he was God's choice (17). More technical instructions were given (18-19), and then Moses got water from a rock by striking it, thereby incurring God's wrath (20).

Israel resumed its journey by avoiding Edom but destroyed many other opponents (21). Moab feared Israel and tried to curse them using Balaam, but this failed (22-24). Then some Israelites slept with cult prostitutes (25), and this was not a good thing. More technicalities, lists, and laws (26-36).

5] Deuteronomy

Dt 1-4:43	First Address	
Dt 4:44-26:19; 28	Second Address	
	5-26	Address
	[27	Shechem Ceremony]
	28	Blessings and Curses
Dt 29-30	Third Address	
Dt 31-34	Concluding Events	
	31	Joshua's commission and covenant ceremony
	32	Song of Moses
	33	Blessing of Moses
	34	Death of Moses

Deuteronomy gets its name from Dt. 17:18, which states that the king was to receive a "copy of the Torah" to guide him. This was mistakenly translated "a second law" in the Septuagint (*deuteronomion* in Greek). Deuteronomy is not a "second law" but a retelling and reapplication of the law given at Mount Sinai.

Story Line

Deuteronomy follows Numbers and is both geographically and temporally continuous with it. Numbers ends with Israel in Moab, poised to enter Palestine.

Moses addressed the Israelites near the eastern shore of the Jordan River, recounting their experiences together during the forty years in the wilderness (Dt. 1-4). He restated the Ten Commandments and urged the Israelites to both love and fear God (5-11). In a major address he laid down guidelines for Israel's worship that specified the place to worship, whom to worship, and when to worship. He gave rules for family and community life, and also defined the public offices of king, prophet, and priest (12-26). Moses solemnized the occasion with covenant renewal using curses and blessings (27-30). After authorizing Joshua as his successor (31) he recounted God's experience with Israel in song (32) and blessed the tribes (33). Then he ascended Mount Nebo and died after seeing but not entering the Promised Land (34).

Themes

1. Words of Moses

Deuteronomy is different from the preceding four books of the Torah in these ways. Instead of being narrative enveloping law, it consists of speeches Moses delivered to the Israelites in Transjordan as they prepared themselves to enter the Promised Land. Instead of being formed from a variety of sources, it is essentially from one source. And instead of being

framed as God's words to Moses, it is Moses' words to Israel.

Deuteronomy is a series of addresses Moses gave to the Israelites in the border region just east of the Jordan River. He knew his death was imminent, so this was his last opportunity to reinforce the values of covenant existence; God denied him entry into the Promised Land because of his actions at Meribah (Numbers 20). The following texts sample the flavor of the book and introduce us to some of its main ideas.

A. The Great Commandment (6:4-9)

The core of Deuteronomy is a law code contained in chapters 12-26. This law code is introduced by two speeches of Moses. The first introductory speech (1:1-4:40) reviews Israel's history from the time God spoke to them at Mount Sinai (called Horeb in Deuteronomy) to the present. Moses highlighted two features of their history. First, the wilderness generation had been unfaithful time and again. They had constantly complained, mumbled, and grumbled. Second, the Lord had demonstrated his faithfulness by giving them all they had needed, including victory over their enemies. Moses was warning the Israelites, "Do not be unfaithful, as was that first generation, or you will not reach your goal."

The second introductory speech (4:44-11:32) is a rehearsal and elaboration of the decalogue from Exodus 20, with a few changes. This generation needed to hear the commandments afresh. If they did not hear and obey them, they would be as doomed as the generation before them.

Immediately preceding the decalogue in its Deuteronomic version Moses delivers the following charge.

> *1 Moses called all Israel and said to them, "Hear, Israel, the laws and rules I speak*
> *in your hearing today! Learn them and make sure you do them. 2 YHWH our Elohim*
> *made a covenant with us on Horeb. 3 It was not with our fathers that YHWH made*
> *this covenant but with us, those of us living here today." (5:1-3)*

Notice the sense of earnestness in Moses' preaching style. This is characteristic of his addresses in Deuteronomy. There is no mistaking that he wants to impress upon the people the crucial importance of the covenant. It is not ancient history, nor did it apply just to their forebears. The covenant applies directly to them. Moses speaks in such a way that the covenant obligations fall on each generation, not just on the generation that heard the original words at Horeb.

After stating the Ten Commandments, Moses goes on to encapsulate the essence of this Torah in one of the most notable passages in the Hebrew Bible, Deuteronomy 6:4-5. The Jewish community calls it the **shema**, from this passage's first word. Along with Deuteronomy 11:13-21 and Numbers 15:37-41 it is Judaism's prime prayer, recited daily by observant Jews. Jesus identifies it as the Great Commandment (Mark 12:29-30).

> *4 "Hear, Israel: YHWH is our Elohim, only YHWH. 5 You shall love YHWH your*
> *Elohim with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength. 6 These*
> *words which I command you today--take them to heart. 7 Repeat them to your*
> *children. Say them when you are sitting in your house, when you are walking on the*
> *road, when you lie down and when you get up. 8 Tie them as a sign on your hand.*
> *Let them be headbands above your eyes. 9 Write them on the door frames of your*
> *houses." (6:4-9)*

The first few words of our text offer several possible translations, all equally allowable given the rules of the Hebrew language, yet each having a different twist.

- YHWH is our God, YHWH alone
- YHWH our God--YHWH--is one
- YHWH is our God; YHWH is one

Is the Hebrew statement affirming the oneness of God--a profession of monotheism in the face of the pantheon of gods from Canaan, Egypt, and Mesopotamia? Or is it primarily affirming that Israel's God is YHWH and that they may have no other? It is difficult to be sure what those first words really mean. An affirmation of monotheism seems too abstractly philosophical for those times, although it is conceivable that the statement was intended to deny the many Baal and Asherah gods that the Canaanites recognized.Yet Moses and the Deuteronomist were probably not interested in affirming the unitary nature of God so much as impressing upon Israel that there is only one God for them. His name is Yahweh.

The injunction to tie these words on forehead and forearm would keep the covenant always in front of each Israelite as a guide for everyday living. This was put into practice early in the history of Judaism by binding small cases containing Torah texts (called *tefillin* or phylacteries) onto the forehead and left arm. Torah was also placed into another other holder, called a *mezuzah,* and attached to the door frame of homes and public buildings.

B. The Place YHWH Chooses (12:2-7)

Moses promoted loyalty to Yahweh by advocating the **centralization of worship**, the policy that Yahweh could only be worshiped in one place. This would have had two purposes. One would have been to eliminate the myriad local shrines dedicated to the ancestors and to traditional Canaanite deities. The other would have been to supervise all legitimate worship practices, and not coincidentally reap the material benefits for the support of the priesthood that accrued when Israelites came to perform their duties.

> *2 "You must completely eradicate all the places where the nations you are dispossessing used to worship their gods, places on the high mountains, on the hills, and those under lush trees. 3 Break down their altars, smash their pillars, burn their sacred poles with fire, and cut down the idols of their gods. Eradicate their name from that place. 4 Do not worship YHWH your Elohim in the same way as they did theirs. 5 Rather, you shall seek out the place that YHWH your Elohim will choose out of all your tribes to put his name, where he will dwell. You should go there. 6 Bring your burnt offerings and your sacrifices, your tithes and donations, your pledges and contributions, and the firstborn of your herds and flocks. 7 There you shall eat in the presence of YHWH your Elohim, you and your household, rejoicing in everything you undertake, in whatever YHWH your Elohim has blessed you." (12:2-7)*

The phrase "the place YHWH your God will choose" is an indefinite way of referring to Jerusalem. The exact place could not be named because the surface setting of Deuteronomy puts it at a time before Jerusalem had been founded as Israel's capital. The various types of sacrifices and offerings in this passage indicate that all forms of worship and the payment of all dues were to be made at this central sanctuary. The phrase "to put his name, where he will dwell" has been taken as an indicator of the attempt of Deuteronomy to change the common Israelite belief that God really lived in an earthly sanctuary. By referring instead to the name of God rather than God himself as what dwells in the sanctuary, Israel was to acquire a less physical and a more transcendent understanding of the nature of God's presence.

Worship centers traditionally were located on hills or other high places, frequently in forests and groves. That goes for the Canaanites and other inhabitants of Palestine ("the nations you are dispossessing") as well as for the Israelites. Both of the places on which Israel's God revealed himself were mountains. The covenant was given on Mount Sinai, and Israel's chief sanctuary was located on Mount Zion in Jerusalem.

The Israelites were warned against using traditional Canaanite high places because of the danger of **syncretism**, blending Yahwism with Baalism, or some other foreign religious element, even in unintentional ways. The experience of the Northern Kingdom suggested that a variety of worship centers could be dangerous to the faith of the people. In the north, before its destruction, many cities contained shrines. Usually they were located in places where Baal and Asherah used to be worshiped, and aspects of Baal worship were frequently assimilated to Yahwistic worship at those places. Sometimes it was difficult to tell the difference between the two. Prophets frequently condemned such worship places (Hosea 8:11; Jeremiah 11:13). According to the prophets the attraction of such shrines was one of the major reasons why the Northern Kingdom fell.

The writer of Deuteronomy, called the Deuteronomist, knew all too well the price of such disloyalty. He was probably a Levite from the north, and after its destruction in 721 B.C.E. he fled south and brought a message of warning to Judah in the hope that its people might avoid Israel's fate. The centralization of worship in Jerusalem mandated in this text was initiated during the reign of Hezekiah (715-687 B.C.E.). He abolished the offering of sacrifices anywhere but in the capital. Josiah (640-609 B.C.E.) went even further by abolishing all sanctuaries and temples throughout the land, except for the Solomonic temple in Jerusalem. In this way stricter control over the religious practices of the people could be maintained.

C. A Prophet Like Me (18:15-22)

One of the central themes of Deuteronomy is the exclusive relationship between Yahweh and Israel. Yahweh was their God and he demanded total loyalty. The Deuteronomist set Israel apart from the other nations in many ways, including how they would maintain contact with God. Whereas other people employed diviners, sorcerers, and soothsayers to hear a divine voice, Israel was not allowed to use such means. Instead, Israel would hear God through a prophet.

> *15 "YHWH your Elohim will raise up a prophet from among your own people, one like me. To him you shall listen, 16 just as you requested of YHWH your Elohim at Horeb in the assembly when you said, 'If I hear the voice of YHWH my Elohim and see this*

great fire again, I will die.' [17] So YHWH said to me, 'They are right in what they said. [18] A prophet I will raise up from among their own people, one like you. I will put my words in his mouth and he will speak to them what I command him. [19] Everyone who does not listen to my words which he speaks in my name--I will hold him responsible. [20] But, the prophet who presumes to speak a word in my name which I did not command him to speak, and which he speaks in the name of other gods, that prophet will die.' [21] You might ask yourself 'How can we recognize the word which YHWH did not speak?' [22] What the prophet speaks in the name of YHWH and which does not happen or come about is not a word YHWH spoke. Presumptuously the prophet spoke it. Do not be afraid of him." (18:15-22)

God would raise up a prophet like Moses. The need for a prophet was revealed by the fear of the people as they stood before Yahweh at Horeb. They could not stand up under the intensity of direct contact with God, but thought they would die. It is a truism of the Hebrew Bible that one cannot look upon God directly and live.

Moses mediated between God and Israel. He became the enduring Deuteronomic model for prophetic communication between God and his people. A true prophet receives his words directly from God, and is distinguished by his access to the Divine Council where he receives God's words directly from his mouth.

The criterion for true and false prophecy was the "wait-and-see" test. In Deuteronomic perspective, prophecy predicted future events. If a prophecy was genuine, it would come to pass. This was not very helpful to those who were trying to figure out at the time who was genuine; this test really only worked in hindsight, when later generations evaluated the prophetic message in terms of the events predicted. Had they taken place or not? And it only worked for past prophets (probably ones already long gone) whose words had been recorded and written down.

The Deuteronomist is really providing a test for his seventh-century contemporaries. They were able to evaluate past claimants to prophetic office--men such as Isaiah, Amos, and Hosea. Having passed the test, these men would have been authenticated as true prophets. Listen to them and learn from their writings. All others are false. As one test for canonization, this would help decide which writings would have authority within the community and which would not.

The Theological Heart of Deuteronomy

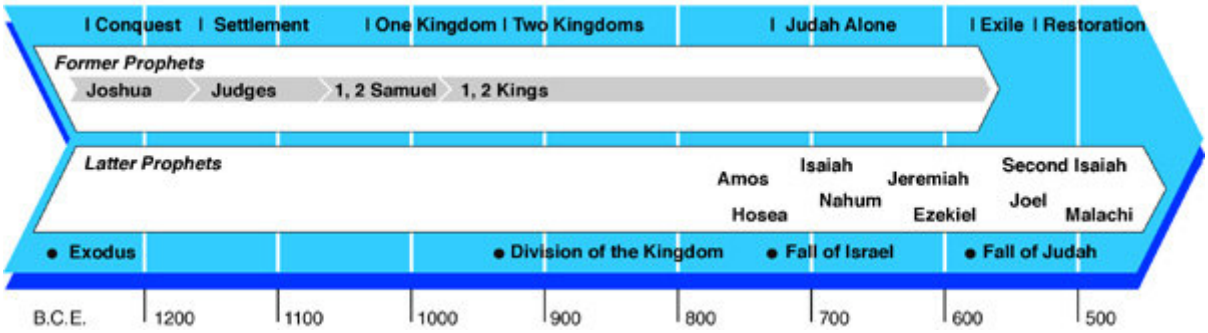
Deuteronomy is perhaps the most deliberately theological book in the Hebrew Bible, if by theological we mean explaining in a systematic and thoughtful way what the nature of God is and what faith entails. The theological teaching of Deuteronomy can be distilled into three phrases.

1. *One God.* The Deuteronomist affirms a "practical" monotheism. "YHWH is our Elohim, only YHWH." He was not concerned with abstract theological formulations. He stated that there was only one God who was interested in Israel. God demonstrated that by his care in the past. He demands their undivided loyalty in the present. He is the one and only God for their future. The people were bound to Yahweh by means of a legal contract, called the covenant. It defined the shape of their loyalty and specified how they would remain in God's good graces.

2. *One People.* Deuteronomy is addressed to the people of God as a whole. No distinction is made between Southern and Northern Kingdoms. There are no tribal distinctions. This presumes the people of God are unified. This is affirmed in the covenant formula, "Yahweh is the God of Israel, and Israel is the people of God." The oneness of the people transcends generations. The book is addressed perpetually to the "now" generation. References to today and this day abound. The covenant is made "not with our fathers but with us alive today." The unity of the people is not based on genetic commonality but on the belief that God called them to be his people. They alone are the people of God, set apart from the rest of the nations and held together because Yahweh, in love, chose them. Sometimes called the "election" of Israel, this notion affirms that these people were singled out by God at his own initiative. That is what makes them special--Yahweh's "treasured possession" in Deuteronomy's language (see also Exodus 19:5, where the same term is used).

3. *One Faith.* Israel had gotten into trouble because it had lost spiritual focus. Local variations in religious practices and the tendency to drift in the direction of Baalism resulted in unorthodox worship. The Deuteronomist demanded uniformity in worship. This could only be enforced if one central sanctuary was officially designated. "The place Yahweh will choose" became the only worship center. Although left unspecified in the text, the Deuteronomist no doubt had Jerusalem in mind.

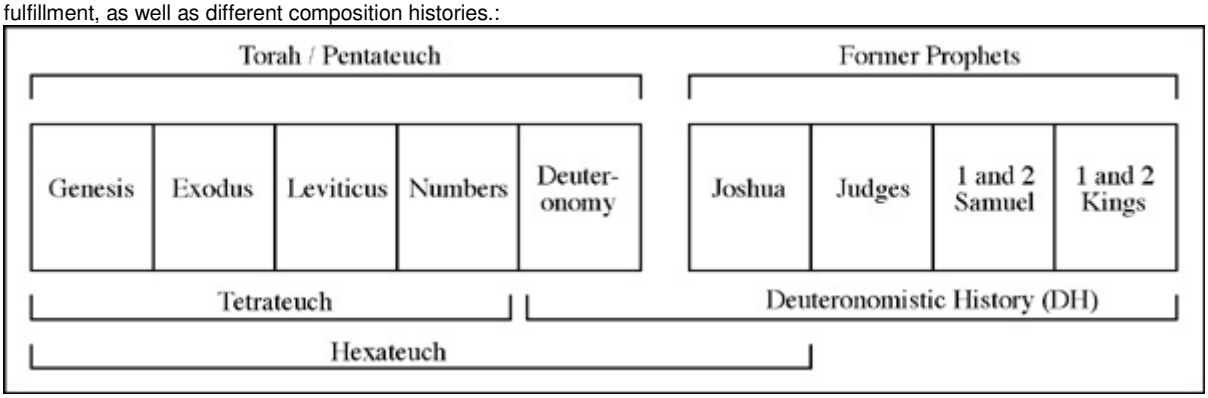
Former and Later Prophets:



b) Joshua, Judges, 1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Kings:

The Prophets collection of the Hebrew Bible contains an account of the nation of Israel from conquest to exile. Called the Former Prophets, the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings are a prophetic history of Israel. This means they interpret Israel's history as a consequence of the nation's relationship to God. The Latter Prophets, such books as Isaiah and Jeremiah, are collections of stories and pronouncements of individuals within Israel who applied this perspective to special situations.
The narrative record of the books Joshua through Kings tells the story of Israel beginning with the conquest of Canaan under the leadership of Joshua. Then it recounts the process of settling the land and defending it over against various enemies, told in Judges. The books of Samuel and Kings relate the rise of kingship in Israel and the development of Israel into two kingdoms. The story concludes with Judah's destruction at the hands of the Babylonians and the captivity of the survivors. Together the Torah and Former Prophets have been called the **Primary History**, a complete creation-to-exile account of Israel's story.

The Primary History can be subdivided in a variety of ways. Each implies a different relationship between promise and fulfillment, as well as different composition histories.:



It is significant that the Jewish community included the books Joshua through Kings in the section titled "The Prophets." The intent of these narrative records was not to chronicle history for its own sake, but to bear witness to the work of Yahweh in the realm of human events. In this sense they are prophetic. Among other things, prophets were spiritually attuned individuals who were able to discern God's presence and work in human affairs.

1] Joshua

Jos 1-12	Military Campaigns	
	6	Jericho
	7-8	Ai
	9-10	Southern City-States
	11	Hazor
	12	List of Conquests
Jos 13-21	Tribal Territories	
	13-17	Settlement of Claims
	18-19	Remainder of Tribes
	20	Cities of Refuge
	21	Levitical Cities
Jos 22-24	Covenant Considerations	

The book of Joshua contains stories and other material from many sources; sagas of military confrontation, origin stories that explain phenomena familiar to Israelites of the monarchy (the etiological tales), lists of conquered kings, and lists of tribal territory. All of this material was organized to tell a story of lightning conquest, and it was all placed within the career of Joshua.

The book of Joshua in its final form consists of three main parts all flowing smoothly in a linear fashion: the campaigns of conquest, the distribution of tribal territories, and covenant renewal before Joshua's death. Yet the surface simplicity of the story masks an underlying literary and historical complexity, as we have seen.

Why was the conquest story told in this simplistic way? No doubt part of the reason has to do with historical memory and the creation of legends. Joshua was idealized and the sweep of victory was portrayed as absolute. The picture also has to do with the troubled times during which the story of occupation was shaped. It was crafted during the time of Babylonian domination in the sixth century B.C.E., so the writers placed emphasis on possession of the land as the fulfillment of promise. They stressed the faithfulness of Yahweh to his word, for they, too, were looking to reclaim their ancestral homeland, to recover a home of their own.

To that end, the Deuteronomistic Historian framed the book with a theology of promise. Chapters 1 and 23-24 form the interpretive framework of the book. The opening address of Yahweh and the closing address of Joshua confirm that occupation of the Promised Land by the Israelites was in fulfillment of a promise made to the ancestors. On this promise, projected into the future again by the exiles who heard this story, Israel based its hope.

Story Line

The book of Joshua begins by noting the death of Moses. God spoke to Joshua, Moses' successor, and encouraged him to lead Israel into the land of Canaan (Joshua 1). Joshua sent two spies to Jericho to provide intelligence before the battle. There they met Rahab, a Canaanite who assisted them (2). The Israelites crossed the Jordan River and went to Gilgal, where all the men were circumcised (3-5). They attacked Jericho and were victorious (6). But Achan stole some property in the process, so the Israelites lost the battle of Ai the first time; they succeeded in the second (7-8). The Gibeonites became allies, but Israel attacked other cities, including Hazor (9-12). Although many territories were not taken (13), Joshua divided the conquered areas among the tribes (14-19) and designated cities of refuge (20). The Levites were given towns but no tribal lands (21). The tribes settled in their territories (22), and Joshua gathered the people to Shechem for his final address and for covenant renewal (23-24).

Themes

The book of Joshua gives an account of Israel's entry into the land of Canaan under the leadership of Joshua, Moses's successor as head of Israel.

The book of Joshua presents the entry as a unified Israelite military undertaking in which after three campaigns Israel was secure in the land.

2] Judges

Jg 1:1-2:5	Failure to Occupy Canaan	
Jg 2:6-3:6	Theological Framework	
Jg 3:7-16	Judge Narratives	
	3:7-11	Othniel
	3:12-31	Ehud
	4-5	Deborah
	6-8	Gideon
	9	Abimelech
	10:1-2	Tola
	10:3-5	Jair
	10:6-12:7	Jephthah
	12:8-10	Ibzan
	12:11-12	Elon
	12:13-15	Abdon
	13-16	Samson
Jg 17-21	Failures of Israelite Tribes	
	17-18	Danites
	19-21	Benjaminites

Story Line

After the death of Joshua the Israelites were attacked by various forces in and around Canaan (Judges 1). The narrator explains that this happened because the Israelites continued to serve Baal rather than Yahweh (2-3). A series of leaders, called judges, arose to deliver the Israelites. The more interesting ones are Ehud (3), Deborah (4-5), Gideon (6-8), Jephthah (10-12), and Samson (13-16). The remaining chapters tell of Israelite inter-tribal conflicts. Micah had a shrine and hired a Levite to be its priest, but was attacked by Danites who were migrating to the north of Canaan and took the Levite with them (17-18). The concubine of another Levite was raped and murdered in Gibeah of the tribe of Benjamin, and this provoked a devastating attack on Benjamin by the other tribes, almost wiping the tribe of Benjamin out (19-21).

Themes

The book of Judges is built around the adventures of the judges. The first three chapters establish a narrative context for their stories. The judges were needed because the Israelites had lost their spiritual direction. The problem revealed itself with the Israelites abandoning Yahweh for Baal and Canaanite religious practices. This theological explanation of historical experience is classic Deuteronomistic thinking. Faithfulness and loyalty to Yahweh is rewarded with success, forgetfulness with failure. Before this theological framework is examined, we need to clarify why the main characters of the book are called judges.

The core of the book of Judges is a collection of stories told about Israel's legendary tribal leaders. The independent stories probably existed orally for a long time, transmitted from generation to generation in the vicinity where the particular judge at one time lived. Many of the stories have a setting in the north and were incorporated into the all-Israel story after the destruction of the Northern Kingdom.

The chronology of the book suggests that the Deuteronomistic Historian artificially chained the judge stories together to create the feeling of a continuous history such that each generation after the next fell away from Yahweh. If all the time indications are added together, the book spans exactly four hundred years. This is too exact to be an accident, and much too long to fit the archaeological and historical record. A reasonable estimate for the time span of the period of the judges is one hundred fifty years. Evidently, many of the judges actually lived and ruled contemporaneously. Further suggesting a certain artificiality, many of the judges judged for twenty, forty, or eighty years--or in biblical parlance, one-half, one, or two generations respectively.

The Deuteronomistic Historian took up the judges' stories, gave them a theological introduction, and reshaped most of the individual stories to fit the cycle of disobedience outlined in the theological introduction. They were combined in such a way that the Israelites are pictured as continually forgetting Yahweh and falling into trouble. Thus, originally local stories were "universalized" into all-Israel tales and combined in linear fashion in order to say something in general about the entire nation and its faith tendencies.

Thus exposing the nation's corporate lack of faithfulness, the Deuteronomistic Historian justified the need for a faithful king who would lead the people back to their God. The book of Samuel picks up the story at this point, recounting the rise of kingship. Note that the book of Ruth follows the book of Judges in many English versions, but you will not find a discussion of Ruth in the next chapter of our book. Ruth is not counted among the Former Prophets in the Hebrew Bible. Rather, it is one of the Five Scrolls.

- The book of Judges is built around stories of Israelite heros, most of whom are in some way or another really anti-heroes.
- The theological agenda of the book of Judges is to use the judge tales to demonstrate how far the Israelites had fallen away from true devotion to Yahweh, yet their god did not abandon them but instead always found a way to rescue them.
- The historical setting of the period of the judges is after the entry into the land of Canaan under Joshua, and before the developement of centralized institutions, especially kingship.

3] 1-2 Samuel

1 Sam 1-12	Samuel Cycle		
		1-3	Samuel's Birth, Dedication and Early Ministry
		4-7	The Travels of the Ark
		8-12	Search for a King
1 Sam 13-31	Saul Cycle		
		13-15	Saul's disobedience
		16-31	Saul versus David
2 Sam 1-24	David Cycle		
		1-8	David's rise to power
		9-20	Dynastic succession struggles
		21-24	David's last days

There is no compelling reason for these books to be called the books of Samuel. They were not written by Samuel, and they deal with Samuel only part of the time. The books might better be entitled "Kingship in Israel" or "The Rise of the Monarchy," because they deal with the development of that institution. In fact, this is very nearly what the books of Samuel and Kings are called in the Septuagint: "Kingdoms I, II, III and IV."

Nonetheless, associating the content of these books with Samuel is not entirely inappropriate. Samuel is an important, even pivotal, figure. He guides Israel's transition to kingship and bridges the periods of the judges and the monarchy.

The Samuel material is configured as two books in English versions. Originally they were one. Ignoring the book division, the subject matter divides neatly into three main sections on the basis of the editor's transitional passages in 1 Samuel 13:1 and 2 Samuel 1:1. Each section focuses on a major historical figure: Samuel (1 Samuel 1-12), Saul (1 Samuel 13-31), and David (2 Samuel). All three figures were pivotal in the development of Israel's institution of kingship.

We were primed for a treatment of the issue of kingship by the refrain of the book of Judges, "in those days there was no king in Israel; all the people did what was right in their own eyes." As a whole the books of Samuel treat the new institution of monarchy that emerged in Israel. They consider the rocky beginnings of monarchy, its early failures, and its golden age in David.

If we place the leadership issues addressed in the books of Samuel within the context of the time the material was edited, we would have to observe that the question of leadership was especially urgent in the world of the Deuteronomistic Historian. During the time of the Babylonian crisis and the exile, one of the reasons for the drastic decline of Israel was the perceived failure of political and religious leadership. If recovery was ever to happen, Israel would need strong leadership. They must have mulled over the questions long and hard--What shape should a new leadership take? Could a king extricate them from their predicament? Would God again speak through Israelite leaders? Presumably the Deuteronomistic Historian thought that reexamining the period of the development of kingship might provide some answers to these pressing questions, and additionally might provide some needed instruction for any new leaders that might arise.

Story Line

Samuel's birth was a miracle and he distinguished himself early on as a prophet in Shiloh (1 Samuel 1-3). The Philistines captured the ark of the covenant, later returning it (4-6), but thereby revealed themselves as Israel's most dangerous foe. Samuel rescued Israel from the Philistines, but Israel demanded a king (7-8). Samuel anointed Saul king (9-10) and he demonstrated his leadership by rescuing Jabesh-Gilead (11). But then Saul broke holy war rules and Samuel removed Saul's divine endorsement, though Saul remained in office (12-15). Samuel anointed David king (16) and he demonstrated his character by defeating Goliath and the Philistines (17). This led to an intense rivalry between Saul and David that had Saul pursuing David to kill him, and David always eluding Saul's grasp (18-27). Saul faced the Philistines in a final battle in which he and his sons died (28-31).

David, earlier designated king, now took office in Judah and later all the tribes of Israel accepted his authority (2 Samuel 1-5). David set Jerusalem as his capital and moved the ark of the covenant there (6) and Nathan presented Yahweh's eternal endorsement of the Davidic line (7). David defeated Israel's enemies (8-10) but sinned with Bathsheba and needed to be punished (11-12). This took the form of severe infighting among his sons as they positioned themselves in line for the throne (13-14). David's son Absalom actually took the throne from his father for a time, but was killed for it (15-19). David consolidated his power and further built his empire (20-24).

Themes

The rise of kingship is the central agenda of the books. The retention of the two sources on the monarchy, one positive and the other negative, allows the text to give a nuanced and realistic evaluation of the new institution. Kingship was part of the plan of God to deliver the people, but it also arose out of the people's disobedience and resulted from their turning away from the theocratic ideals of the Mosaic covenant.

An editor shaped the diverse materials into a linear history that incorporated a prophetic critique of the establishment of the monarchy. Within this history, Samuel was the main figure acting on God's behalf to monitor this new institution. The rise of kingship culminated in the divine covenant established with the house of David. And the lessons of David's career reinforced the need for absolute dependence on God, along with obedience to the Torah that would hold in check a king's impulse to exalt himself above the law.

On the literary plane, the book was cogently organized into three cycles of stories, each centering on a central player in the rise of kingship. The literary-theological theme that unites these cycles and reinforces the supremacy of divine justice is the one articulated in Hannah's Song: the proud will be humbled and the humble exalted.

The final stage of Samuel's editorial development came when this prophetic history was incorporated into the larger Deuteronomistic History. This stage is marked by theological editorializing, including chapters such as 1 Samuel 8 and 1 Samuel 12, which reflect the Deuteronomistic Historian's particular theological point of view.

4] 1-2 Kings

1K 1-11	Solomon and the United Monarchy	
	1-2	Solomon secures the throne
	3-4	Solomon's wisdom
	5-8	Building the temple
	9-11	Solomon's downfall
1K 12- 2K 17	Parallel Histories of Israel and Judah	
	12-16	Division of the kingdom
	17-2K 2	Prophetic ministry of Elijah
	2-9	Prophetic ministry of Elisha
	10-16	Assyrian crisis
2K 18-25	Judah to the Babylonian Exile	
	18-20	Hezekiah and Isaiah
	21-23	Josiah's Reform
	24	First conquest of Jerusalem
	25	Second conquest of Jerusalem

The books of Kings give account of the Israelite empire from its golden age under Solomon to its demise by the Babylonians. Shortly after the death of Solomon the Israelite nation split into two kingdoms, Israel in the north and Judah in the south. Israel remained intact and independent until 722 B.C.E. when the Assyrians destroyed it. Judah remained intact and independent until 587 B.C.E. when the Babylonians destroyed it. The history of the kingdoms is also the environment out of which prophecy arose, most notably in the books of Kings the figures of Elijah and Elisha. Other prophets, some of whom have books after them in the Latter Prophets collection, have as their historical context the history of the kingdoms.

Story Line

Solomon gained control of the monarchy in Jerusalem by eliminating his rivals Adonijah and Joab (1 Kings 1-2). He was recognized for his wisdom (3-4) and effectively made Jerusalem the religious capital of Israel by building the temple (5-8). Solomon lost popular and divine support due to his excesses; too much public debt and too many wives (9-11). After Solomon died, the northern territories rebelled against Solomon's son Rehoboam and created their own nation, called Israel, led by Jeroboam (12-14). Israel's monarchy was less stable than Judah's until Omri took the throne (15-16). Omri's son Ahab promoted Baal practices in Israel and was challenged by the prophet Elijah and others (17-22).

The prophet Elisha followed Elijah in opposition to Omri's Israelite dynasty (2 K 1-8). Jehu bloodily eliminated the house of Omri and established his own dynasty; Israel and Judah coexisted (9-16). Assyria destroyed Israel (17) and attacked Judah, but Hezekiah's Judah survived (18-20). Evil king Manasseh (21) was followed by good king Josiah who reformed religion in Judah (22-23). But Judah stood helpless before Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, who destroyed Jerusalem and deported many Judeans (24-25).

Themes

Like the books of Samuel, the books of Kings were originally one. The story line of Kings continues the history of Israel's leadership that began in the books of Samuel. But Kings differs from Samuel in at least one feature: It does not have a small number of focal figures but instead traces the line of kings from David all the way to the exile.

Kings is a continuation of the Deuteronomistic History, which (as its name implies) traces its pedigree back to Deuteronomy. It shares a basic theological perspective with the other books of the DH. Its foundation is the covenant that united Yahweh and Israel and defined Israel's relationship to Yahweh. A concern for the quality of Israel's religious life is central to the theology of the Deuteronomistic History. If the people were faithful and loyal to Yahweh, then they would be protected and blessed by Yahweh. Otherwise, the nation would suffer.

The quality of Israel's devotion to Yahweh was measured by the exclusiveness of its religious focus. If Yahweh alone was worshiped, the people were judged faithful. If Yahweh was worshiped only in Jerusalem and in the prescribed manner, the people were judged loyal.

Note especially the theological judgments applied to the kings. It is not the king's effectiveness in domestic or international politics that the DH evaluates; it is the king's effectiveness as a religious leader and model citizen. Watch how often the writer evaluates a king by whether he (rarely) "did right" or (most often) "did evil" in the eyes of Yahweh. Kings who rejected idolatry and promoted religious reform, such as Josiah, were approved. Kings who encouraged or even tolerated non-Yahwistic practices were denounced.

The DH's prejudice against the Northern Kingdom is especially obvious. No ruler from the north is given approval, regardless of his accomplishments. Nothing they do can be acceptable because Israel (as the Northern Kingdom was called) was established on religiously shaky ground. Jeroboam, its first king, broke with the divinely authorized Davidic dynasty and the Jerusalem temple, and created alternate worship centers that employed golden calves as religious symbols. Because none of the following kings eliminated these centers, each is categorically condemned. Ultimately, because of the golden calves at Dan and Bethel, the Northern Kingdom was destroyed.

c) 1-2 Chronicles:

1Ch 1-10	Premonarchy History	
1Ch 11-2Ch 36	History of the Davidic Monarchy	
	1Ch 11-29	David's Reign
	2Ch 1-9	Solomon's Reign
	2Ch 10-36	Kings of Judah

The Torah and the Former Prophets, otherwise known as the Primary History, is a comprehensive account from creation to the Babylonian exile. Chronicles is a history of equal scope, but the telling is quite different. Chronicles, along with Ezra and Nehemiah, is called the **Chronicler's History** (or CH) and extends the narrative into the Persian period.

The Chronicler's History had not been all that well studied due to certain historical prejudices in biblical scholarship. Earlier scholarship was obsessed with the drive to recover the earliest sources. This was thought to provide the best chance of recovering "what really happened." The CH is a comparatively late source, so it was neglected in favor of the Former Prophets. The Chronicler used Samuel and Kings as his main sources. He did not add much to them, and what he did add was late.

Students of the biblical text are taking a new look at the Chronicler's History. A study of how the Chronicler retold the history of Israel opens up a window on the beliefs and expectations of the postexilic community of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. Relatively little textual material directly relates to the culture and history of this period, and the CH turns out to be one of the most important. Also, the postexilic period is increasingly being seen as central to the development of the canon, and the writings of the postexilic period, including the CH, provide important clues as to how the canon was shaped.

Furthermore, a comparison of the Chronicler's History and the Deuteronomistic History provides an occasion to analyze how history writing is conditioned by particular historical and cultural contexts. The Deuteronomistic History reflects a sixth-century exilic perspective, while the Chronicler's History reflects a late fifth-century postexilic perspective.

The Chronicler's History essentially parallels the coverage of the combined Pentateuch and Deuteronomistic History. But why should there be two accounts of the same history in the Hebrew Bible? The fact that multiple versions of biblical history were retained affirms that each generation needs to rethink, reevaluate, and rewrite history in order to understand it in relation to present concerns. The Chronicler's History retold Israel's history with almost

single-minded attention to worship institutions because at its moment in time the community needed the temple as the core of its rebuilding efforts, and the priests were the prime movers.

The Chronicler's History did not replace the Deuteronomistic History. Both are still valid. The Chronicler's History is evidence of a continuing historiographic tradition within the community of faith. In each generation the past needs to be reappropriated. The Chronicler's History is evidence of the value of studying history to understand the present. Studying the Chronicler's History enables us to see how retelling history in Israel grounded the identity of the Jews.

The tradition of retelling history continued even beyond the canon of the Hebrew Bible, some of it continuing to be connected with the figure of Ezra. The apocryphal book 1 Esdras appears to be a newer, or at least a different, edition of material from 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Later, the *Antiquities* of Josephus and the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo also retold the history of the Jewish people.

Finally, the Chronicler's History, including Ezra and Nehemiah, is notable for its focus on two heroes of the faith from the Torah and the Prophets. Chronicles focuses on David in his role in the development of the temple, and Ezra-Nehemiah focuses on the importance of Moses and the Torah for community rebuilding. This is a witness for the continuing vitality of these founding fathers.

The role of Ezra in reading and reinterpreting the Torah for the fifth-century Jewish community has canonical implications. It demonstrates that the Mosaic Torah continued to provide the foundation for the faith of Israel, even though it needed reinterpretation and updating. The reappropriation of Torah demonstrates its ongoing vitality and adaptability. Ezra's role has been considered so significant for the development of the canon that he has been considered by some the final compiler of the Pentateuch, in addition to having had a role in the formation of the Chronicler's History. Still today Ezra is considered the "father of Judaism."

Story Line

The Chronicler's History retells the story of God's people from Adam to Ezra. It makes obvious use of pre-existing written sources. The sources include letters, lists, genealogies, and the block 1 Samuel 31-2 Kings 25 of the Deuteronomistic History. The Chronicler also drew on the Torah, Judges, Ruth, Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, and Zechariah. As would any good historian, the Chronicler cited his sources (though certainly not all of them). Unfortunately, most of the sources cited by the Chronicler, including "the records of the seer Samuel" and "the midrash on the Book of Kings," are unknown outside the Bible.

Some scholars date the composition of the Chronicler's History to the time of Ezra in the fifth century B.C.E., others to the fourth century, and still others place it in the Hellenistic period of the third century.

The Chronicler was mostly concerned with the Judean monarchy and the Jerusalem religious establishment. The Northern Kingdom of Israel is mentioned rarely and then only in passing. The Chronicler idealized the reigns of Solomon and Hezekiah and especially of David. David became the model of the godly monarch. He ruled obediently and established religious service as it was meant to be, with the temple, its priesthood, singers, prayers, rituals, and offerings.

Of course, to make such exalted claims about David, the historian had to exercise selective memory. Although the Chronicler's History of David was based on the books of Samuel, the Chronicler ignored narratives that put David in a bad light. Furthermore, he traced the establishment of important priestly and Levitic institutions back to David, although other historical evidence suggests this is unlikely. He grounded proper worship practices in the traditions of the past, mainly those of David's time, in order to give them validity.

Themes

The Chronicler's main focus in writing his history was the priesthood, the temple, and worship practices in Judea. All of history was viewed in terms of how it promoted these concerns. Kings were evaluated in terms of their disposition to temple and cult. And history moved to a climax at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah with the reestablishing of temple worship. The Chronicler was a defender of the status quo and had no vision for a better political future. As long as Yahweh could be worshiped properly, seemingly all else was acceptable.

2.4. The three large law codes of the Pentateuch (the covenant code, the law of holiness, the deuteronomic code). Where are these codes found in the Pentateuch (books and chapters)? What are the main characteristics of each? What are the essential differences among them?

a) The Covenant Code

Exodus 20:22-23:19: The Book of the Covenant, also called the Covenant Code, is the earliest biblical collection of covenant laws. Probably going back to premonarchic traditions, it seems to have been an independent collection predating the Elohist, but preserved by the Elohist. The observation that the setting of this law code reflects a livestock economy rather than a settled agricultural or urbanized economy supports a premonarchic setting.

The Book of the Covenant is introduced with a narrative describing the theophany and the people's reaction to it.

> 18 Now when all the people witnessed the thunder and the lightning and the sound of the trumpet and the mountain smoking, the people were afraid and trembled; and they stood far away, 19 They said to Moses, "You speak to us, and we will listen; but do not let Elohim speak to us, otherwise we will die." 20 Moses said to the people, "Do not be afraid. Elohim has come to test you, and so that you may be aware of his fearfulness. Then maybe you will not sin." (20:18-20)

Following the giving of the Ten Commandments God again appeared in a storm theophany heralded by a trumpet. The people were terrified of God's appearing. Fear of Elohim is very important in this narrative, as in the Elohist source as a whole. Out of fear of getting too close to God the people enlisted Moses as their intermediary. Moses assumed the role of the prophet and explained that God was putting them through this experience so that they would be impressed with his power and think twice before sinning.

> 21 The people stood far away, while Moses drew near to the thick cloud where Elohim was. 22 And YHWH said to Moses, "This is what you should tell the people of Israel: 'You have seen for yourselves that I have spoken with all of you from heaven. 23 You must not make me into a god of silver, and you must not make for yourselves gods of gold.'" (20:21-23)

Moses approached God who was in the form of a thick dark cloud. The cloud was the visible evidence of God's presence. The Book of the Covenant proper begins with verse 22. Note that a change from the preceding verse is evident; the divine name changes from Elohim to Yahweh.

Yahweh impressed upon them that they were encountering the God of heaven. Their prime directive was the absolute prohibition of making statuary representations of God. The Israelites must not represent the God of heaven with metal images, as the Canaanites did of their gods.

This general prohibition of idols and the prescription concerning the type of altar they could use (20:23-26) precedes the main body of laws which is introduced with the preface: "These are the ordinances which you must place in front of them" (21:1). The typical form of these ordinances in the Book of the Covenant differs from the form of the Ethical Decalogue. The Book of the Covenant contains case law, also called casuistic law. This type of law takes the form "If . . . then." An example of case law is the law of the goring ox.

> 28 "If an ox gores a man or a woman to death, the ox must be stoned, and its flesh may not be eaten; but the owner of the ox will not be liable. 29 But if the ox has had the habit of goring in the past, and its owner had been warned but had not kept it restricted, and it kills a man or a woman, then the ox must be stoned, and its owner also must be put to death." (21:28-29)

Typical of case law, first a condition is specified, in this case an ox which gores a person. The consequence is then specified: the ox must be killed, but the owner may not benefit from it by eating the meat. In this instance the owner is not held responsible. This particular statute specifies a subcategory that results in a much harsher punishment. If the ox had been in the habit of terrorizing the community and the owner had done nothing to prevent it, and then it kills someone, the owner will be held directly responsible and must be put to death along with the animal. Biblical law obviously distinguished degrees of responsibility.

In addition to injury laws, the Book of the Covenant also contains laws regarding slaves, death sentences, bodily injuries, a calendar of feasts, and other religious duties.

b) The Law of Holiness

Lv. 17-26: This compilation of laws is called the Holiness code on account of the phrase 'for I the Lord, who sanctify you, am holy' (Lv. 21:8). The contents of this code mainly comprise stipulations in connection with the sanctuary, the priests and the covenant community. All the stipulations must be kept by the Israelites and regarded as holy and thus the property of the Lord. Although these laws could have been compiled in later times, the archaic character

of some of them is obvious and they might go back to the time of the Exodus.

cf. 2.3.a.3 Levitius p.35 esp. section on Priestly Worldview

c) The Deuteronomic Code

Dt. 12-25: Here we have the codification of old Hebrew laws in later times, possibly in the time of Josiah (*c.* 622 BC). It is wrong to assume that the promulgation of laws indicates the time of their origin, as we have seen. Many of the laws have an archaic character and some of them are similar to the laws in the Covenant code (*cf. e.g.* Ex. 23:15-16 and Dt. 22:23-29). It is thus quite probable that most of the stipulations of Deuteronomy may have an early date. As has been pointed out by various scholars, Deuteronomy has in some instances ancient material, but it is also probable that later material was added. This could have been the case in the time of Josiah. The old laws were then adapted to new circumstances and new laws added according to the need of later times.

2.5. Pre-exilic Prophets: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah. General knowledge of the historical circumstances of their preaching (when and where? To whom did they preach?). The main sections and themes of the books attributed to these prophets.

a) Amos

Am 1-2	Judgment Oracles Against the Nations
Am 3-6	Judgment Oracles Against Israel
7-9	Judgment Visions
9:11-15	The Restoration of David's Kingdom

NRSV Summary
Amos preached in the Northern kingdom of Israel around 750bc. His message included an emphasis on social justice as an expression of the covenant, the idea of the coming Day of the Lord, and the hope of a remnant. He emphasised that the covenant with God carried obligations as well as promises.

Historical Circumstances
Taken in chronological rather than canonical order, Amos is the earliest of all Hebrew prophets with books named after them. Amos was an older contemporary of Hosea and Isaiah. He prophesied sometime during the decade 760-750 B.C.E.

The book of Amos appears at first reading to be a collection of sayings with very little organization. But a close reading looking for connections reveals that there are identifiable groupings of material. The first group of similar material is the oracles against the nations (1:3-2:16), discrete units targeting the nations of Syria-Palestine one at a time. Chapters 3-6 are a collection of various Amos sayings. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 all begin with the same phrase "Hear this word ..." This phrase may have provided the principle of organization for this subcollection. Chapters 7-9 are largely vision reports and so have a certain commonality.

There is strong evidence that the book of Amos grew in stages. Wolff (1977) has posited six stages in the literary formation of the book, beginning with words attributed to Amos himself and ending with editorial additions in the postexilic period. Simplifying somewhat the analysis of Wolff, Coote (1981) has posited three primary editorial stages in the book. The first stage, the Amos Edition, contains Amos' words to eighth century Israel. Among the passages included in this early stage are 2:6-8, 2:13-16, 3:9-12, 4:1-3, 5:1-3, 5:18-20 and 8:4-7. In the following two stages material was added by writers who felt they were speaking with an "Amos voice" in their own age.

The first words of the book were clearly written by an editor, because they refer to Amos in the third person.

> 1 The words of Amos, one of the shepherds from Tekoa, which he saw concerning Israel during the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah, and Jeroboam son of Joash, king of Israel--two years before the earthquake. 2 He said, "Yahweh roars from Zion and thunders from Jerusalem; the shepherd's pastures dry up and the height of Carmel shrivels." (1:1-2)

The very first words are, in effect, the title of the book: "The words of Amos." The editor dates the prophet by reference to the kings ruling in Judah and Israel at the time.

This places Amos in the middle of the eighth century B.C.E. Uzziah reigned 783-742 and Jeroboam 786-746. The latter king is usually referred to as Jeroboam II to distinguish him from the first king of the Northern Kingdom. This kind of introduction is typical of a number of prophetic books, including Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Hosea.

Earthquake. This introduction goes further than that of most other prophetic books in making the date even more precise, specifying that the words of Amos date two years before the earthquake. The reference to the earthquake has been correlated with geological data obtained through field work. The archaeological excavation of Hazor in the Galilee region evidenced in stratum VI a particularly violent quake datable to the time of Jeroboam II (see Yadin 1964).

From this introduction we learn a few things about Amos. He was from a little town in Judea called Tekoa and he was a shepherd. This has been interpreted by some authorities to mean that he was poor, but this was not necessarily so. In addition, from 7:14 we learn that he was an agricultural worker, "a dresser of sycamore trees," and he strongly denied he was a professional prophet. Though not belonging to the prophetic guild, he was called to be a prophet directly by God.

Verse 2 contains the theme statement of the book. These, the first words of Amos in the book, describe an angry Yahweh. In roaring like a lion he laid waste the green pastures of Carmel. Note the geographical indicators, for they tell us a lot about Amos' theological and political perspective. Yahweh roars from Jerusalem, the seat of Davidic ideology, and condemns the heartland of the Northern Kingdom.

This raises an important issue concerning the perspective of Amos. It would appear, on first reading, that Amos was an advocate of Zion ideology. But this might depend on the attribution of these words. If they are Amos', then perhaps yes. If they are an editor's words, shaping the book from a Judean and Davidic slant, then perhaps no. The one other passage in the book of Amos that reflects a strong Davidic bias is the last paragraph, 9:11-15. Here is a sample, with Yahweh speaking:

> 11 "On that day I will restore David's fallen house. I will repair its gaping walls and restore its ruins. I will rebuild it as it was a long time ago." (9:11)

Clearly looking to the rebirth of the Davidic dynasty, these words are usually attributed to an editor later than Amos' day.

Oracles against the Nations

Turning to an examination of the book in terms of its major structural units, the first is 1:3-2:16. This section is a series of condemnatory statements aimed at the nations in Syria-Palestine in this order: Syria (Damascus), Philistia (Gaza), Phoenicia (Tyre), Edom, Ammon, Moab, Judah, and finally Israel. Notice how Amos jumps from one end of Syria-Palestine to the other, until finally he hits his favorite target--Israel.

A sample, the oracle against Syria, gives us the flavor of Amos' language.

> 3 "Thus says YHWH, 'For three transgressions of Damascus, and for four, I will not revoke it (the punishment) on account of their threshing Gilead with iron threshing sledges. 4 I will send fire on the house of Hazael and it will devour the fortresses of Ben-hadad. 5 I will break the gate bars of Damascus and cut off the inhabitants from the Valley of Aven and the scepter-bearer from Beth-eden. The people of Aram will go to Kir in exile,' says YHWH." (1:3-5)

Speaking for God in the first person, Amos condemned Syria for dealing cruelly with the Israelites who lived in Gilead, that is, to the east of the Sea of Galilee. The king and his royal city would be destroyed because of their cruelty, and the population would be exiled to Kir, a place far in the east, near Elam .

The oracles continue with all of Israel's neighbors coming under God's condemnation one by one. The condemnation of Judah must have been especially sweet to the Israelites who were Amos' primary audience. They no doubt welcomed his words and urged him on. Israel's enemies deserved what they got! It was a surprise, then, when Amos continued after Judah and exposed God's anger with Israel "because they sell the righteous for silver, and the needy for a pair of sandals" (2:6).

Amos is especially to be appreciated for his sensitivity to matters of social welfare in Israel. He spared no words in condemning the royalty and aristocracy of Israel, who abused the privilege of wealth and even used their authority to get richer at the expense of the poor.

Oracles against Israel

The next major unit, chapters 3-6, is another collection of oracles, but without the focus and structure of the first collection. The words from chapter 4 continue Amos' accusatory tone and strong condemnation of the Israelite ruling elite, in this case the wives of the aristocracy.

> 1 "Hear this word, you cows of Bashan who are on Mount Samaria--you who oppress the poor, who crush the needy, who say to their husbands, 'Bring us something to drink!' 2 YHWH

> has sworn by his holiness: the time is definitely coming when they will take you away with hooks, even the last of you with fishhooks. 3 You will leave through breaches in the wall, each of you going straight out, and you will be tossed into Harmon." (4:1-3)

These words of Amos are direct and announce that punishment is inevitable and close. There is no hint that it can be avoided--the culprits will not be able to dodge the coming doom. Amos does not seem to allow for repentance.

The socio-economic background for these words is an Israelite elite enjoying an indulgent lifestyle at the expense of disenfranchised peasants. Amos' announcement of punishment is so direct and certain that Coote argues Amos must have uttered these words around 745 B.C.E. when Tiglath-Pileser III, the Assyrian expansionist king, came to power and directly threatened Israel. This would account for the vividness and accuracy of the language describing Assyrian policies of capture and deportation.

In addition to castigating the rich ("you cows of Bashan") who callously oppressed the poor (4:1), Amos was critical of Israel's centers of religious worship, especially Bethel and Gilgal (4:4-5; 5:4-7).

> 21 "I hate and despise your festivals; I do not take pleasure from your pious meetings. 22 Although you offer me burnt offerings and your grain offerings I will not accept them. The peace offering of your choice animals I will not eye. 23 Away from me with the noise of your songs! The melody of your harps I will not hear. 24 Let justice roll down like water, righteousness like an eternally flowing stream." (5:21-24)

Amos' famous call for social caring, "Let justice roll down like water!" is one of his most famous statements. Amos took the religious concepts of justice and righteousness, which had primary application to the way God deals with his people, and applied them to social interaction.

In Amos' analysis, Israel was just going through the motions of worshiping God and observing proper rituals, thinking that this was the sum total of their obligation to God. In reality, God valued personal responsibility and community caring above formal worship. Amos here disparaged formal religion when its performers used it to make themselves right with God, in the absence of personal and corporate morality. His words should not be absolutized as a total prophetic condemnation of all formal worship. This is typical of Amos' unconditional language and a fine example of a sweeping condemnation, in its context appropriate, but not meant by Amos to be universalized.

Visions

The last major section is chapters 7-9 built around five visions and a prophecy of restoration. The first four visions are similarly structured. Each begins with the sentence "This is what my lord YHWH showed me." In each vision Amos saw something that indicated God was going to destroy Israel. In the first (7:1-3) he saw locusts devouring the produce of the land. In the second (7:4-6) he saw a fire consume the land. In both of these visions, after Amos cried out with concern for Israel, God changed his mind and withdrew the punishment.

In the third vision (7:7-9) Amos saw Yahweh with a plumb line in his hand. This vision is different from the prior two. It is not an image of destruction. Rather, Amos sees God holding a measuring device against which Israel was measured.

> 8b YHWH said, "I am putting a plumb line in the middle of my people Israel. I will never again overlook them. 9 The high places of Isaac will be made barren, and the holy places of Israel will be leveled. I will come against Jeroboam with a sword." (7:8b-9)

A plumb line is a construction worker's tool consisting of a weight attached to a string. The weighted string provides a true vertical (or plumb) standard by which other objects, such as masonry walls or door posts, can be built straight. Judged against true vertical, Israel was tilted and out of plumb. Religion was not doing it any good. Consequently, Israel's worship centers would be destroyed, especially the "high places," which had Canaanite Baalistic associations. And Jeroboam II, king of Israel, would be removed.

This, the third vision, is not followed directly by the fourth. Instead, a narrative was inserted recording a confrontation between Amos and Amaziah, a Bethel priest loyal to Jeroboam II. Amaziah was provoked by the preaching of Amos. In Bethel, the main Israelite worship center sponsored by the king, Amos proclaimed that Jeroboam would die and Israel would go into exile (7:11). Amaziah, in reality, told Amos to go back to Judah where he had came from.

This narrative breaks up the flow of the vision accounts, but the arrangement does have a certain editorial logic. The vision accounts condemned Israel for sinning, and especially the third vision account blamed Israelite sanctuaries. The Amos-Amaziah confrontation is evidence of the perversity of Israelite sanctuaries, condemned in the third vision, and evidence of Israelite hardness of heart. Whereas after the first two visions God relented of his planned punishment, there is no relenting in the third and fourth visions. This

confrontation account demonstrates that there was no repentant spirit in Israel that could warrant a removal of God's planned destruction.

The fourth vision account, 8:1-3, was built around a visual-verbal pun. Amos saw a basket of summer fruit (Hebrew qayits). Yahweh said in explanation, "the end (Hebrew qets) of my people has arrived." What follows, almost until the end of the book, is a series of disaster descriptions: famine, mourning, violence, exile, death, and despair.

The fifth vision account, 9:1-4, is structured differently from the preceding four visions. Instead of Yahweh showing Amos an object and constructing a lesson around it, here Amos sees Yahweh standing by the altar. He issues an order to "smash the pillar capitals." Either the temple was to collapse on the people and kill them, or the capitals symbolize the heads and leaders of Israel who will not escape punishment.

The last oracle, 9:11-15, contains expectation of the rebirth of the Davidic dynasty and a delightful depiction of the glorious future awaiting the land and its people. The ground will be so productive harvesters will not be able to keep pace, and the people will enjoy peace and prosperity. This last unit is so radically different from the preceding words of Amos, concerning not Israel but the rebirth of the Judean Davidic dynasty, that it is usually attributed to someone other than Amos.

Why was it attached to the book as the final unit? Perhaps because otherwise the ending would be too depressing. In the view of the compiler of Amos in its canonical form, judgment just had to be followed by salvation, it could never be the last word. It was not fitting to end on a note of despair. The final form of the book strongly suggests that judgment followed by salvation was the complete message of God.

b) Hosea

Hos 1-3	Hosea's Family	
Hos 4-14	Judgment Against Israel	
	4:1-5:7	Covenant Lawsuit
	5:8-6:6	Warning and Lament
	6:7-9:9	Judgment
	9:10-13:16	Historical Review
	14	Salvation

NRSV Summary

Hosea was active from about 745 to perhaps 722bc. He described the ralationship between God and Israel as a marriage. His social themes were the danger of injustice at home and reliance on military alliances abroad. He talked about the compassion of God, and of God's tender longing for God's people.

Historical Circumstances

Hosea was placed first in the Book of the Twelve, but we cannot be sure why. Perhaps because it is the longest book of the twelve. Perhaps because someone at one time mistakenly thought he was the earliest prophet of the twelve. The evidence of the book itself, however, indicates that Hosea prophesied a little later than Amos. Like Amos, he prophesied in the Northern Kingdom. Unlike Amos, he was a native of the north. In fact, Hosea was the only non-Judean literary prophet besides Jeremiah.

Hosea's northern origin probably puts him in touch with the substantial northern prophetic tradition represented by Elijah, the Elohist traditions of the Pentateuch, the traditions of Deuteronomy, and probably even Jeremiah. This may account for Hosea's frequent allusions to the decalogue and the Sinai covenant traditions.

Historical indicators in the text, including the editorial framework of the first verse, suggest that Hosea prophesied from 750 to 725 B.C.E. Jeroboam II was the king of Israel at the beginning of Hosea's prophetic activity, and after he died there was virtual anarchy in the Northern Kingdom until its destruction by Assyria in 721.

The final book was compiled much after the time of Hosea the prophet. The book has a discernible structure, falling into two basic parts. The first unit, chapters 1-3, is built around Hosea's ordeal of marrying a prostitute. This marriage functions as a living parable of husband Yahweh's relationship to Israel. The second unit, chapters 4-11, begins with the phrase "Hear the word of YHWH" and consists largely of uncontextualized statements. It has no obvious thematic unity but consists of oracles of disaster and salvation. This alternation of disaster and salvation, even discernible to some extent in the first unit, provides a structuring principle to the book.

Hosea's Family

The first chapter contains a third-person narrative describing Hosea's marriage to Gomer.

> 2 The beginning of YHWH's speaking through Hosea: YHWH said to Hosea, "Go, take for yourself a promiscuous woman and children from promiscuity, because the land is promiscuous with regard to YHWH." 3 He went and took Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim. She conceived and bore him a son. 4 YHWH said to him, "Call his name Jezreel, because in yet a little while I will avenge the blood of Jezreel on the house of Jehu, and I will put an end to the kingdom of the house of Israel. 5 In that day I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel." 6 She conceived again and bore a daughter, and he said to him, "Call her name Lo-ruhamah, because I will no longer show mercy to the house of Israel. I will not forgive them. [7 But to the house of Judah I will show mercy, and I will save them, by YHWH Elohim, but I will not save them by bow, sword, warfare, horses or charioteers] 8 She weaned Lo-ruhamah, conceived and bore a son. 9 He said, "Call his name Lo-ammi, because you are not my people, and I am 'Not I am' to you." (1:2-9)

Gomer had three children. The text clearly indicates the first child was fathered by Hosea himself, but the second and third might have been children of "whoredom." In any case, the children serve as prophetic signs having to do with the northern kingdom of Israel.

The first child was named Jezreel (which in Hebrew sounds very close to Israel: Yizreel and Yisrael, respectively). "The blood of Jezreel" refers to Jehu's bloody coup d'état and slaughter of the house of Ahab. For these acts the monarchy would be punished.

The second child's name, Lo-ruhamah, means "Without mercy." The Hebrew word rehem (literally "womb") to which it is related recalls descriptions of Yahweh as the merciful God of the covenant (see Exodus 33:19), the one who loves Israel with parental (a mother's ?) love.

The third child's name Lo-ammi means "Not my people." This name is also related to covenant notions. The essence of God's covenant with Israel was this: "I will be your God, and you will be my people." The (anti-) covenant context is reinforced with the words "I am 'Not I am' to you." The Hebrew original of the phrase "Not I am" is Lo-ehyeh, and undoubtedly puns on the covenant name of God, Yahweh, whose name was revealed to Moses at the burning bush (Exodus 3) as "I am who I am", ehyeh asher ehyeh in Hebrew.

A major interpretive, indeed moral, issue regarding this account is whether or not Gomer was a known prostitute at the time of her marriage to Hosea. The command "Go, take for yourself a wife of whoredom and have children of whoredom," as the NRSV renders it, sounds like he was told to marry an out-and-out prostitute. If she was, then Yahweh was asking a very difficult thing of Hosea.

On the other hand, it is quite possible that the wording was affected by Hosea's experience and theology. The account was, of course, written after the fact of the marriage. While at the time he may not have known she was a prostitute, in retrospect it was obvious that she was. God in his providence must have known ahead of time her propensities; therefore, he had told Hosea to marry a prostitute.

Yet a third interpretive possibility is that Gomer was not unfaithful to the marriage bond as such, but that she was associated with Canaanite Baalistic bridal rites of initiation (Wolff 1965). The children were considered, metaphorically speaking, to be children of "whoredom" because conception was credited to Baal, the Canaanite god of fertility, and not Yahweh.

Hosea was the first prophet to use his family life, and in particular his children, to make a theo-political prophetic point. Prophesying shortly after him, Isaiah would do the same (see Isaiah 7-8). Hosea's marriage to Gomer was a mirror of Yahweh's experience with Israel. Marriage was equated with the covenant God had made with Israel in the wilderness.

Chapter 1 is a third-person account of Hosea's marriage. Chapter 3 is an autobiographical description of his marriage. In his own words Hosea describes "purchasing" a prostitute. Some interpreters suggest this account temporally follows the story of chapter 1, with Hosea buying back his wife after an intervening period of unfaithfulness. Other interpreters view it as the same story of chapter 1, just retold in first-person.

> 1 YHWH said to me again, "Go, love a woman who has a lover and is a prostitute, just as YHWH loves the people of Israel--even though they turn to other gods and love raisin cakes." 2 So I bought her for fifteen shekels of silver and a homer of barley and a measure of wine. 3 And I said to her, "You must stay mine in the future; you must not play the prostitute. You must not have intercourse with a man, including me with you." 4 For the Israelites shall remain many days without a king or prince, without sacrifice or pillar, without ephod or teraphim. 5 Afterward the Israelites shall return and seek YHWH their God, and David their king. They shall come in fear to YHWH and to his goodness in the days to come. (3:1-5)

Again, the relationship of man and woman is a mirror of Yahweh's relationship to Israel. The specified purchase price consisted of silver and grain, the usual offerings to a deity. After paying the price, Hosea's expectation was that the former prostitute, now his wife, would be pure.

Originally applying to the Israel (read Northern Kingdom) of Hosea's day, the description of the relationship was reapplied by a later writer in verses 4-5 to Judah. Brought to Judah

after the fall of the north, the experience of Hosea became a lesson to the Southern Kingdom.

Abstinence from sexual intercourse was appropriated as a symbol of Judah's isolation, without king or sacred paraphernalia in Babylonian exile. Mention of the return included the expectation of the return to power of the Davidic line. Although the people were wayward, days of blessing would return. Perhaps this prophetic material was shaped by Deuteronomic circles, as was so much other classical prophecy. Especially in this case it would be natural for Deuteronomic theology to have an influence, given the similar northern origin of Hosea and Deuteronomy.

As has just been suggested above, chapters 1 and 3 may be viewed as third-person and first-person renderings, respectively, of the same experience of marital betrayal and alienation. It seems, however, that the editor took chapter 3 and intended it to be an historical continuation of chapter 1. Note the use of "again" in 3:1. Perhaps his intention in repeating the scandalous affair was to suggest the patience of Yahweh, who puts up with this people even as time after time they, like Hosea's wife, go running after forbidden gods. A recurring biblical theme was this: Generation after generation of Israelites forget their genuine husband, Yahweh, and sought out the company of Baal and Asherah.

c) Isaiah

Is 1-39	Isaiah of Jerusalem--First Isaiah (8th century B.C.E.)	
	1-12	Series of oracles, all but twelve by Isaiah of Jerusalem
	13-23	Oracles against foreign nations, many composed after the 8th century
	24-27	The Isaiah Apocalypse, from the Persian period
	28-33	Prophecies by Isaiah
	34-35	Late additions
	36-39	Historical narrative section, parallel to 2 Kings 18-20
Is 40-55	Isaiah of the Exile--Second Isaiah (mid 6th century B.C.E.)	
	40-48	Concerning the Fall of Babylon
	49-55	The pursuit of justice
56-66	Isaiah of the Restoration--Third Isaiah (late 6th century B.C.E.)	

The book of Isaiah provides a fine illustration of the growth of prophetic traditions. The entire book of Isaiah is attributed to Isaiah ben-Amoz (not to be confused with the prophet Amos) by the editorial superscription in 1:1. In fact, the book contains prophetic material spanning more than two hundred years. A nucleus of material is attributable to **Isaiah of Jerusalem**, a citizen of Jerusalem in the eighth century B.C.E. The remainder comes from a series of anonymous disciples (see 8:16, which mentions his followers) and prophets who saw themselves, or were seen by editors, as coming out of the Isaiah mold.

The book of Isaiah is widely recognized to consist of three sub-collections. Chapters 1-39 is **First Isaiah**. The core of this collection is prophecies from the namesake of the book who lived in the eighth century B.C.E. In this period Israel and Judah were threatened by the Assyrian empire. Chapters 40-55 is **Second Isaiah** also called Deutero-Isaiah. This collection consists largely of salvation oracles applying to the situation of exile in Babylonia dating to the mid-sixth century B.C.E. Chapters 56-66 is **Third Isaiah**, also called Trito-Isaiah, and applies to the late sixth century in Judah where a Jewish community was struggling to rebuild itself.

It would be an oversimplification to see a linear historical progression in the book of Isaiah from the pre-exilic period (chapters 1-39), to the exilic period (chapters 40-55), to the postexilic period (chapters 56-66). Later writers continued to rework earlier material and add to it, so even the first sub-collection, which is largely attributed to the eighth-century prophet Isaiah of Jerusalem, contains postexilic material. Conversely, mostly postexilic Third Isaiah took up older prophetic sayings from the pre-exilic First Temple period and incorporated them into his collection.

i. First Isaiah: Isaiah of Jerusalem (1-39)

The first major section of the book of Isaiah, chapters 1-39, contains a core of material attributable to Isaiah of Jerusalem. Chapters 1-11 are a series of prophetic judgment statements delivered by Isaiah and autobiographical accounts by Isaiah. Chapters 13-23 are a set of oracles against foreign nations. Chapters 24-27 are the so-called Isaiah Apocalypse, a collection of sketches on apocalyptic themes such as universal judgment, the eschatological banquet, and heavenly signs. Chapters 28-32 are a set of prophetic oracles datable to 715-701 B.C.E. concerning Judah and foreign policy. Chapters 34-35 appear to

be postexilic additions that have affinities with chapters 40-66, and may have at one time served to bridge First and Second Isaiah. Chapters 36-39 are an historical appendix, paralleled in 2 Kings 18:13-20:19, dealing with Hezekiah and the Assyrian crisis. We will spend the most time on Isaiah 1-11 and 28-33, which are most securely connected with the prophet himself. These chapters apply to events surrounding the Assyrian crisis of the eighth century.

NRSV Summary
Isaiah of Jerusalem was a counselor to kings from 740-701bc. During this time there were two major crises - the war with Syria in 734 and the Assyrian threats from 734-701. Isaiah saw those events as expressions of God's will over the nations. The cause of the wars, he said, is social injustice. God is working out punishment for his people in the international arena.

Historical Circumstances
We do not know a lot of detail about the book's namesake, Isaiah, son of Amoz. We only know for sure that he began functioning as a prophet in Jerusalem in the latter half of the eighth century B.C.E. He appears to have been from Judah and generally had a high opinion of the Davidic dynasty, at least in principle. Gauging by the social circles in which he moved, he could very well have belonged to the Jerusalem aristocracy.

Isaiah has a lot in common with the other, mostly earlier, prophets of the eighth century, Amos, Hosea, and Micah. It even seems likely that he was influenced to a degree by them. In material dating to the early years of his ministry, Isaiah's critique of official religion in contrast to the demands of social justice (1:12-17) sounds a great deal like Amos. The next section, chapters 2-4, contains material also like his predecessor's, condemning the aristocracy and high society women, whose lifestyles implied disdain for the needs of the disadvantaged. Isaiah differs from Amos, of course, in targeting the ruling class of Jerusalem rather than that of Samaria.

Isaiah may also have been familiar with Hosea, judging by his description of a faithless people as a harlot. Isaiah berates Jerusalem, describing it as a prostitute (1:21-26), and later uses images from the fertility cult to denounce Jerusalem, perhaps dependent on Hosea 10:1. Again, Isaiah takes metaphors earlier applied to the north and reapplies them to Judah.

Isaiah opposed the priestly and prophetic spokespersons who stood in the service of the royal court and its policies. He frequently equated them with the "smooth talkers" of the foreign nations, the diviners, soothsayers, and necromancers. He seems to have viewed himself differently, more as a teacher of Torah (5:24; 30:9) than as a prophet (see Jensen 1973).

Unlike Amos and Hosea, Isaiah did not draw significantly from the resources of the Mosaic tradition of the exodus and settlement or the traditions of the Sinai covenant to give shape to his prophetic analysis. Isaiah's treasury was the complex of images and assurances dependent on **Zion** as the fortress of Yahweh (see the Zion poems in 2:2-4 and 4:2-6), and on the dynasty of David which administered Yahweh's rule on earth.
Zion. The name *Zion* originally applied to the Jebusite fortress that David captured and made his capital (see 2 Samuel 5). Later it came to refer to the temple area and even to the entire city of Jerusalem. Zion, or Mount Zion, was considered the dwelling place of Yahweh as king.

The prophecy of First Isaiah is set within the turbulent times of the second half of the eighth century B.C.E. Assyria was a serious threat to the independence of both Israel and Judah. By the end of the century only Judah had survived, and only barely.

ii. Second Isaiah: Isaiah of the Exile (40-55)

Historical Circumstances
Chapters 40-55 of the book of Isaiah most likely come from the hand of a prophet who lived in Babylonian exile in the sixth century B.C.E. Dated sometime within the period 546 to 538 B.C.E., they do not come from the hand of Isaiah of Jerusalem. We know virtually nothing about this prophet, not even his name. Scholars have taken to calling him Second Isaiah, or Deutero-Isaiah (which means the same thing, but is a fancier term derived from Greek).
One or Two Isaiahs? Conservative Jewish and Christian authorities tend to maintain that the entire book of Isaiah was written by Isaiah of Jerusalem, arguing that though the latter chapters apply to the situation of Babylonian exile, they were written predictively by Isaiah in the eighth century. Some of the reasons mainstream scholarship believes chapters 40-55 were written in the sixth century are references to the destruction of Jerusalem as a past

event (40:1-2), Babylonia as their present setting (43:14; 48:20), and Cyrus the Persian as their coming deliverer (44:28; 45:1-4).

This prophet, though nameless, is one of the most inspiring of all time. And judging by the synthesis of traditions he was able to pull together, his originality, and brilliant poetry, he was tremendously gifted. He drew from Israel's historic faith and reapplied it to the new setting of exile, giving the people reason for hope.

Second Isaiah consists almost entirely of poetic passages, with little of the narrative type material found in First Isaiah. Many scholars have tried to determine the boundaries of these poems, and the logic and flow of chapters 40-55 as a whole, with varying success. The most recognizable division within the text is between chapters 40-48 and 49-55. The first subsection addresses its audience as Jacob and Israel. It deals with the fall of Babylon and the new exodus. The second subsection addresses its audience as Zion and Jerusalem, and deals with the issue of social justice. Beyond this basic division though, little else is agreed upon. Instead of trying to deal with compositional issues we will treat Second Isaiah thematically.

New Exodus

Second Isaiah marks a dramatic change from the prophetic tone of the monarchy era voices of the likes of Amos and Jeremiah. Their words of judgment had by now come true. God had punished Israel and Judah completely (the "double punishment" in the text below) for their sins. Now things will be different. Second Isaiah has sometimes been called "The Book of Comfort" based on passages such as the following.

> [1] "Comfort, comfort my people!" says your God. [2] "Speak tenderly to Jerusalem and call out to her that her time of war has ended, that her sin has been pardoned, that she has received double punishment from YHWH for all her sins....[6] A voice says, 'Call out!' And I said, 'What shall I call out?' This--all flesh is grass....[8] The grass withers, the flower fades, but God's word will always stand." (40:1-2, 6, 8)

The anonymous prophet called Second Isaiah, like his spiritual mentor Isaiah of Jerusalem, was conscious of his calling. Chapter 40 is a bit difficult to sort out because of the different voices that speak, most of them without explicit identification. A number of authorities have reconstructed this text as a call narrative, and this makes some sense. The divine council commissions the prophet to proclaim Judah's release from captivity. First, Yahweh issues the directive to comfort his people. Second, a member of the council ("a voice") looks for someone to go forth with the message. Then the prophet speaks up to volunteer, requests the specific message he should bring ("What shall I call out?"), and receives it ("All flesh is grass").

The divine council's summons in verses 3-5 suggests that it announces the reappearance of Yahweh, a new theophany.

> [3] A voice calls out, "In the wilderness prepare the road for YHWH, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. [4] Every valley will be lifted up, and every mountain and hill will be flattened. The irregular ground will be level and the rough areas even. [5] The glory of YHWH will be revealed so all humanity will see it. It will happen because YHWH's mouth has spoken." (40:3-5)

The destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians presupposed the withdrawal of Yahweh from that city. Some Judeans may have thought he had returned to the wilderness, his original home. Second Isaiah proclaims that the God of the wilderness will reveal himself, lead his people through the wilderness, and then bring them into the Promised Land once again.

Instead of a pathway through the Reed Sea, there would be a straight and level highway right through the Arabian desert. This expressway would carry the people directly home. The exodus tradition once again becomes the basis for hope. The dynamic reuse of biblical traditions is nowhere else more apparent in Scripture than here in Second Isaiah. This prophet keeps coming back to the exodus theme to give shape to a hope for those currently in exile. He encourages them to have faith in a new exodus, this time from Babylonia rather than Egypt.

> [16] Thus says YHWH--the one who makes a path in the sea, a path through the raging water, [17] who brings down chariot and horse, army and soldier (they lie down, they cannot get up, they are snuffed out, put out like a wick)--[18] Remember not earlier events. Do not dwell on the past. [19] Indeed, I am doing a new thing. It is springing up right now, do you not see it coming? I will make a path through the wilderness, rivers in the desert. (43:16-19)

Note the details of the exodus tradition recalled in this passage: crossing the sea, the army of the enemy drowning in the sea. These recall the great salvation event at the Reed Sea of the Mosaic age. Yet, in Second Isaiah's estimation, that Egyptian event will be nothing compared to the future exodus from Babylonia. Yahweh is the redeemer of Israel. If you read other portions of Second Isaiah, be alert to the numerous allusions to Israel's

earlier exodus experience, including the move from slavery to freedom, passing through the water, the miraculous providing of water and manna, and the conquest of the land. In addition to the great exodus theme, Second Isaiah develops other significant themes.

Creation-Redemption

The book of Genesis is by no means the only place the Hebrew Bible talks about the creation of the world.

> [12] "Listen to me, Jacob; Israel whom I called! I am the one: I am the beginning (the first), I am also the end (the last). [13] My hand laid the foundation of the earth, my right hand extended the heavens. When I call them they stand at attention." (48:12-13)

The reason Second Isaiah talks about creation is to ground the redemptive capability of Yahweh in his power. Because he is the one who created the world, he is powerful enough to bring Israel out of captivity. In the following passage, Second Isaiah combines the creation myth with the expectation of redemption.

> [9] Rouse up, rouse up, put on strength, O arm of YHWH! Rouse up, as in the old days of past generations! Was it not you who cut Rahab to pieces? Did you not pierce the Sea Monster? [10] Was it not you who dried up Sea, Great Deep? Did you not make the depths of Sea a road for the redeemed to cross? [11] Now, the redeemed of YHWH will return and come to Zion with singing. Eternal joy is on their head. They will obtain joy and gladness. Sorrow and sighing will leave. (51:9-11)

The terms *Rahab* (not the same as the prostitute Rahab of Jericho in Joshua 2, which is spelled differently in Hebrew), *Sea Monster, Sea,* and *Great Deep,* all synonymous, make reference to the waters of chaos. Their use here recalls the victory of Yahweh over the waters of chaos that preceded the creation of the world (Genesis 1). The victory was achieved by splitting Sea, similar to the way Marduk split Tiamat in half to create the world.

This myth was used to express the cosmic significance of the act of deliverance at the Reed Sea. The splitting of the waters of the Reed Sea (Exodus 14) became the splitting of Sea, a victory over the waters of chaos. Second Isaiah is saying that this type of powerful act would be repeated to return God's people to Zion.

Servant of Yahweh

Four poems in Second Isaiah speak of a servant figure, called the **servant of Yahweh**. They are known as the servant songs, or the songs of the suffering servant (see Table 10.2). For a long time scholars have seen these poems as related and have treated them together to derive a coherent identity of the servant figure.

Song	Isaiah	Theme
1	42:1-6	He will bring justice to the nations
2	49:1-6	I make you a light to the nations
3	50:4-9	My back to those who beat me
4	52:13-53:12	Bruised for our iniquities

The first servant poem describes God's choice of the servant who will bring justice to the nations. The second poem describes, in the servant's own words, his experience of having been called by God to be a light to the nations. The reference in verse 3 to Israel is generally recognized as a late insertion intended to identify the servant with the nation. The third poem turns gloomy with a first-person description of how the servant was physically abused in the course of his mission. The last and longest servant poem, except for the first few verses, is a third party's observations on the suffering of the servant. What follows is a fragment of this last servant poem.

> [4] Surely he has lifted our infirmities and carried our diseases. But we reckoned him stricken, struck down by God, and afflicted. [5] But he was wounded for our transgressions, crushed for our wrongs; upon him was inflicted the punishment that made us whole, and by his wounds we are healed. (53:4-5)

On the basis especially of this last poem, the servant of Yahweh figure has also come to be called the "suffering servant". The notion is a remarkable one. It appears to represent a transference from atonement by animal sacrifice, the traditional ritual means of atonement in Israel, to atonement by a human being's suffering. By his suffering the servant of Yahweh receives God's punishment for the sins of the group.

No one knows exactly who this servant was or how to interpret the figure in the poems. Some have suggested that the servant of Yahweh is a metaphor for Judah, which suffered terribly in the Babylonian exile (remember, this is the audience Second Isaiah is directly addressing). By suffering, Judah delivered healing to other nations in the form of a witness to the saving power of Yahweh.

Others have suggested that the servant was an individual. Israel's prophetic figures were typically called "my servants, the prophets" and "servant of Yahweh." Moses is called this in Deuteronomy, and other prophets elsewhere. If the servant was a real prophetic figure, Jeremiah is a likely candidate. He was called by God (compare Jeremiah 1:5 and Isaiah 49:5). We know from Kings and the book of Jeremiah that he was socially outcast and physically abused. Besides Jeremiah, others have also been suggested, including Judah's king in exile, Jehoiachin, Second Isaiah himself (Whybray 1983), and Zerubbabel, the first governor of Judea after the exile.

Perhaps the very indefiniteness of the allusion was Second Isaiah's intention. He may have had somebody real in mind as a model; but he may have been suggesting, by keeping the identification vague, that the way of selflessness and suffering is the way salvation comes in God's plan, and not by triumphant military might. By keeping the figure indefinite, such a figure is not an historical curiosity but a model for God's chosen and redeemed people.

Cyrus the Messiah

Second Isaiah contains, among other things, a clear example of theological interpretation of history. **Cyrus**, the Persian monarch who opposed the Babylonian empire, was viewed by the Judeans as their great deliverer. Second Isaiah even uses the term *messiah,* that is, *anointed one,* to refer to him in order to indicate the divine initiative behind his mission.

> [24] "I am YHWH, who made all things, . . . [28] who says of Cyrus, 'He is my shepherd, he shall carry out all my plans.'" [1] Thus says YHWH to his anointed one, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped to subjugate nations before him, . . . [5] 'I am YHWH, there is no other. Except for me there is no god. I equip you, though you do not know me.'" (44:24, 28; 45:1, 5)

With eyes of faith, Second Isaiah interpreted the current events of his day as ordained and directed by Yahweh, even down to the actions of their most likely political ally at that time. Second Isaiah clearly threw his support to Cyrus and promoted an anti-Babylonian policy. By 539 B.C.E. Cyrus was successful against the Babylonians.

The references to Cyrus enable us to date Second Isaiah fairly reliably. From these Cyrus passages it is apparent that he was becoming known in Babylon for his military exploits. His first major victories were against Media in 550 B.C.E. and Lydia in 546 B.C.E. It was not until 539 that he defeated Babylon. The hope expressed by Second Isaiah, viewing Cyrus as Israel's deliverer, was no doubt framed sometime within the decade between 550 and 539 B.C.E.

And as it turned out, Cyrus was kindly disposed toward the Judeans, and even assisted the efforts of the Judeans who desired to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple there

Second Isaiah's willingness to identify Cyrus as the Messiah indicates a departure from the Jerusalemite theological tradition, which attached that term to the reigning king from the line of David. Second Isaiah seems not to have put much stock in the Davidic line, nor does he look to it in hope. In fact, although there are numerous references to Zion and to Jerusalem, there are no references to David until 55:3.

> [3b] "I will make with you an eternal covenant, my faithful Davidic-type loving relationship. [4] See, I had made him a witness to the peoples, a leader and commander for the peoples. [5] See, you will call nations that you do not know, nations that you do not know will run to you." (55:3b-5)

Second Isaiah seems to be suggesting something quite remarkable. The loving covenantal arrangement God earlier had established with David would now be transferred to his people as a whole. The dynastic covenant would become a national covenant. The people would complete the mission begun by David. In this way Second Isaiah is claiming that the Davidic covenant had not been annulled. Rather, it has been democratized.

Much more could be said about Second Isaiah's writings. They are full of images and promises of hope and restoration. However, now we turn to Third Isaiah, which was written in that period when Judah was struggling to rebuild and realize those dreams that had been fueled by Second Isaiah.

iii. Third Isaiah: Isaiah of the Restoration (56-66)

The last major component of Isaiah is called Third (or Trito-) Isaiah. It contains prophetic oracles coming from one or more of Second Isaiah's disciples. These oracles were addressed to the faithful and the not-so-faithful Judeans living in Jerusalem in the early postexilic period, that time when the people were struggling to reestablish a life in their homeland. This section of the book of Isaiah is datable to the period 538 to 520 B.C.E. Much of its message is intended to sustain the refugees who had recently returned from Babylonian captivity, especially those who were discouraged and depressed by the difficulty of life back in Jerusalem. You can sense the desperate need of the people in the following passage, which voices Third Isaiah's sense of calling.

> [1] "The Spirit of YHWH Elohim is upon me, because YHWH has anointed me to bring good news to the afflicted; he has sent me to shore up the broken spirited, to proclaim freedom to the captives, the opening of prison to those who are bound, [2] to proclaim the year of YHWH's favor, and the day of our God's vengeance." (61:1-2)

Prophetic calling. Third Isaiah was drawn to minister to God's people, even to fire them up. He had a formidable job to do. Jerusalem was in ruins. The community, too, was morally fragmented. There was dissension between the Judeans who had never left, the so-called people of the land, and those who had returned from exile.

Third Isaiah encouraged those struggling for faith in the absence of a temple and sacrifices. He assured them that God was present even if no building housed him.

> [1] Thus says YHWH: "Heaven is my throne, the earth my footstool. What house would you build for me, what place for me to rest? [2] All these things my hand has made, all these things are mine," says YHWH. [3] "But this is the one to whom I will pay attention: the one that is humble and unassuming and respects my word." (66:1-3)

Third Isaiah, as you can see, concurs with Second Isaiah in promoting the universal dimension of Yahweh's domain. Yahweh claims the entire world and desires to reveal his salvation to all people. Salvation has not yet arrived, but soon it will, and it will embrace all nations, not just Israel.

> [22] "Just as the new heavens and the new earth which I am about to make shall stand before me, so shall your offspring and your name stand. [23] From new moon to new moon, from sabbath to sabbath, all flesh shall come to worship me," says YHWH. (66:22-23)

Through difficult times and dreadful conditions, Third Isaiah sought to keep the faith of the people alive.

d) Jeremiah

Jer 1-25	Book 1: Jeremiah's prophecies and autobiographical material
Jer 26-29	Biographical interlude 1
Jer 30-31	Book 2: New Covenant
Jer 32-45	Biographical interlude 2
Jer 46-51	Book 3: Oracles Against the Nations
Jer 52	Historical appendix: fall of Jerusalem -- taken from 2 Kings 24:18-25:30

NRSV Summary

Jeremiah preached from 627-586, the longest career of any of the prophets. Over so long a career, his message changed as world events changed and called forth new understandings of the work of God. It was a time of trouble for Judah and Jerusalem, ending with the destruction of the city and the temple. Jeremiah continued the great themes of the earlier prophets, calling for true piety, social justice and loyalty to God rather than military alliances. His teaching deepened the idea of repentance, and he introduced the vision of a new covenant written on the heart. After 598, he began to preach of hope and new beginnings following a time of punishment.

Historical Circumstances

The book of Jeremiah spans about a fifty-year period, from the end of the seventh century to the middle of the sixth century B.C.E. The general historical situation taking us up to the beginning of the book of Jeremiah is as follows.

Israel (the Northern Kingdom) had long ago disappeared as an independent entity. Judah alone remained. Assyrian power and its sphere of influence was on the decline by the middle of the seventh century. Having previously been dominated by the Assyrians, Judah toward the end of this century enjoyed a bit of independence. By 628 under Josiah, Judah was politically free and economically prosperous, and had even begun expanding northward into formerly Israelite territory.

There was no longer any external pressure on Judah to pay allegiance to Assyrian deities, as was the case under Manasseh earlier in the century. Taking the opportunity that political independence afforded, Josiah pressed for a return to indigenous Israelite religious practices and beliefs, namely Yahwism. The prophets Zephaniah (see Chapter 13) and Jeremiah supported Josiah in this move to reform worship, which began in earnest in 622.

Our approach to the book of Jeremiah will step out of our typical canonical mode and treat the material chronologically. We will not try to reconstruct the editorial history of the text to understand its present canonical shape, but rather look at texts in Jeremiah in temporal order, divided into periods based on the reigns of Judah's last kings.

Early Years (627-622 B.C.E.)

Jeremiah began his prophetic activity during the reign of **Josiah**. Josiah was the king of Judah from 640 B.C.E. until 609. The early years of Josiah's reign were a time of prosperity and political independence. In the evaluation of the Deuteronomic school, represented by the books of Kings, Josiah was a fine and faithful king.

Jeremiah became a prophet in 627 and continued during those years immediately preceding Josiah's reform movement. After the reform initiative in 622, there are no words from Jeremiah for about a decade (perhaps Jeremiah felt Josiah had succeeded in doing what was necessary). He resumed his prophetic ministry after the death of Josiah.

The Jeremiah of the early years, which fall into the period from his call to 622, is represented by chapters 1-6. They have a lot in common with Amos and Micah. Like Amos, Jeremiah was concerned about social injustice and considered worship to be secondary to a lifestyle attentive to righteousness. Like Hosea, he personified Israel as an unfaithful wife (chapter 2), and longed for the days of the exodus and the wilderness experience, when Israel was thrown totally on the grace of God.

During the Reign of Jehoiakim (609-598 B.C.E.)

Josiah died in battle at Megiddo fighting Pharaoh Neco. He was succeeded by his son Jehoahaz, also called Shallum. Jehoahaz lasted only three months and was deported to Egypt, where he died. **Jehoiakim** succeeded his brother Jehoahaz and ruled until 598 B.C.E.

Jeremiah was active throughout the reign of Jehoiakim. He denounced the king and the people for their idolatry and injustice. Many of the prophecies of chapters 7-19, 25-26, and 35-36 are dated to this period. Perhaps Jeremiah's most notorious denunciation speech comes in chapter 7.

During the Reign of Zedekiah (598-587 B.C.E.)

Jehoiakim died just three months before Jerusalem succumbed to the Babylonian siege. In his stead, **Jehoiachin** was placed on the throne. After Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon subdued Jerusalem in 598 B.C.E. he deported many of its citizens to Babylonia, including Jehoiachin. **Zedekiah** replaced Jehoiachin and ruled with the support of Nebuchadnezzar.

Jeremiah remained in Jerusalem and continued to prophesy after the deportation of Jehoiachin and the others. The words of chapters 24, 27-29, 32-34, and 37-39 come from the time of Zedekiah's reign.

After the Fall of Jerusalem (587-582 B.C.E.)

The fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E. actualized Jeremiah's predictions of doom. On the surface Jeremiah's foretelling of Babylonian victory made it appear he was sympathetic to the victors. Though captured with others at the fall of Jerusalem, he was later released and given permission to travel wherever he wished. He was in the good graces of the Babylonians.

The story of Jeremiah's last years is told in chapters 39-44. Jeremiah remained in Judah for a time. Gedaliah was appointed governor of Judah by the Babylonians. He was betrayed by rival Judeans because he cooperated with the Babylonians and was assassinated in 582. Following the death of Gedaliah, Jeremiah was forced to travel to Egypt with a group of refugees. While there he continued to prophesy until his death.

Jeremiah's Complaints

A distinctive feature of the book of Jeremiah is a set of autobiographical passages which provide insight into the prophet's inner feelings about God and his calling. Called the "Confessions of Jeremiah" by some authorities, they are really laments or **complaints** that Jeremiah addressed to God. These passages have similarities to the individual complaint psalms of the Psalter (see Chapter 14). Jeremiah's complaints are found in 11:18-12:6; 15:10-21; 17:14-18; 18:18-23; 20:7-13, 14-18. In them he expressed his feelings of frustration in being a prophet. He claimed that his enemies within Judean political and prophetic circles seemed always to get the upper hand. He accused God of abandoning him, even though he had been promised divine support. The complaint in 20:7-13 is especially direct in its criticism of God.

> [7] "YHWH, you have seduced me, and I fell for it, you have overpowered me, and you have won. I have become a perpetual laughable clown, everybody mocks me. [8] Whenever I speak up and cry out I feel compelled to shout, 'Bloody murder!'" (20:7-8)

The language here is quite strong. Jeremiah goes so far as to say that God "seduced" him; in effect raped him. Not only are his political opponents his enemies, even God seems so at times.

The reasons for Jeremiah's disillusionment are apparent. Jeremiah experienced mistreatment at the hands of the Jerusalem establishment. He was opposed by priests and

prophets, as we saw in chapter 26. At various other times he was punished by royal officials when he seemed to be advocating the demise of the Judean monarchy. Pashur, a priest, beat Jeremiah and put him in stocks overnight after he heard Jeremiah preach the submission of Judah (20:1-6).

One especially notable incident happened right before the fall of Jerusalem, as told in chapters 37-38. When he tried to leave Jerusalem during the siege of 588 to travel to his home tribe of Benjamin on legitimate business, he was arrested and was accused of treason and inciting desertion. Court officials tried to execute him by dropping him into a cistern. Normally it was full of water. Fortunately for Jeremiah only muck was in the hole. A friend at court pleaded his case with Zedekiah, who allowed him to be lifted out of the cistern.

These incidents indicate how Jeremiah suffered the consequences for his unpopular views. Although we have these examples of rough treatment, we cannot definitively connect his complaints with any specific one of them or attach them to any identifiable period in the life of Jeremiah. They could be general reflections on his prophetic calling, or undated but specific reactions to personal experiences.

Only one of the complaints seems to be tied by editorial arrangement to a specific incident. The placement of chapter 20 implies that the complaint of 20:7-18 is a response to the physical beating that Jeremiah took from Pashur in the temple.

In spite of their general lack of context, the complaints of Jeremiah are theologically significant, even remarkable. They are amazing for the open and honest way they express Jeremiah's feelings of alienation, not only from fellow citizens, but also from God. The frankness of Jeremiah in not hiding his feeling of betrayal from God, but facing God directly, is to be appreciated for its courage.

Jeremiah as a Whole

The book of Jeremiah seems to have had a complex literary history and consists of both prose narrative and poetry. Three main types of sources underlie the book.

> *Type A: Autobiography.* Naturally, this material is framed as Jeremiah's own speech and is found mainly in chapters 1-25 and 46-51. Much of this material is poetic and is generally assumed to be closer to Jeremiah's own utterances than the following types.
>
> *Type B: Biography.* This material is third-person stories about Jeremiah, probably written by Baruch, Jeremiah's personal secretary. These biographical episodes are found in chapters 19:1-20:6; 26-29, and 36-45.
>
> *Type C: Prose Sermons.* These show evidence of composition in the Deuteronomic style. That is, they contain the same vocabulary and style as the Deuteronomic school of theologians. Many have a common theme, namely, exposing the guilt of the people who have failed to heed prophetic warnings and have not repented. Included in this category are chapters: 7:1-8:3; 11:1-14; 18:1-12; 21:1-10; 22:1-5; 25:1-11; and 34:8-22. As with Type A material, these sermons are framed as the direct speech of Jeremiah.

These components were combined to create the final form of the book. Unfortunately, the book lacks a clear organization; chronology was clearly not the determining principle. The date indications in the text jump back and forth, and the book does not follow a linear chronological order. Keep this in mind if you read the book in its entirety. It takes a special effort to orient the chapters within their historical context.

There is one obvious structural division in the book, and that comes after chapter 25. Chapters 1-25 stands out as a structural unit. It consists mostly of Jeremiah's own prophetic statements. Chapters 26-45 on the other hand mostly contain biographical narratives about Jeremiah. Chapters 46-51 are judgment statements directed against Judah's enemies. And chapter 52, the final chapter, contains an account of the fall of Jerusalem taken from 2 Kings 24:18-25:30.

It turns out that most of the Type A autobiographical material is found in chapters 1-25, as well as most of the Type C material. The introductory phrase "the word of Yahweh came to me" is characteristic of passages from these chapters. In contrast, the introductory formula "the word of Yahweh came to Jeremiah" is often used from chapter 26 to the end of the book. This has led some scholars to make the suggestion that the second half of the book (chapters 26-52), in some form at least, comes from the scribal hand of Baruch.

One of the most interesting compositional issues concerns the purpose of the completed book and its intended audience. Clearly the book in its final form was compiled after the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E. The Babylonian invasion along with its devastating results were proof positive of the truth of Jeremiah's prophetic gift. He had been right all along! Someone, apparently someone dominated by the Deuteronomic perspective of guilt and punishment, saw the truth in Jeremiah's life and teaching, and fashioned his message

into a form which could serve as preaching to the surviving refugees in exile. The core message was this: Yahweh had not abandoned his people. They had to be punished for their sins, but the covenant was still in effect. In fact it was a new covenant, new in the way God would relate to his people.

Summary
Jeremiah's career spanned the disaster of 587 B.C.E., in other words he was a prophet both before and after the destruction of Jerusalem.
Jeremiah's prophetic themes and vocabulary indicate he had a connection with the Deuteronomic school. Jeremiah prophesied in Jerusalem, but his family roots were in the north (Israel).
Jeremiah affirmed the importance of the Mosaic formulation of God's covenant with his people, but extended it by infusing it with an inward, spiritual qualitdy, and calling it a "new covenant."
Jeremiah's complaints provide a spiritual autobiography of the prophet and are unique in the prophetic literature of the Hebrew Bible.
Highlights: Jeremiah's call narrative echoing Moses's burning bush call; the temple sermon; the complaints of Jeremiah; the new covenant.

2.6. The exilic and post-exilic Prophets: Ezekiel, Isaiah 40–66, Joel, Zechariah. General knowledge of the historical circumstances of their preaching (see 2.5 above). The main ideas contained in the books attributed to these prophets.

a) Ezekiel

Ez 1-24	Warnings (before 587 B.C.E.):	
	1-3	Throne-Chariot Vision
	4-7	Symbolic Acts
	8-11	Vision of a Corrupt Temple
	12-24	Symbolic Acts and Allegories of Disaster
Ez 25-48	Hope and Restoration (after 587 B.C.E.):	
	25-32	Oracles Against Foreign Nations
	33-39	Words of Hope after the Fall of Jerusalem
	40-48	Vision of a Restored Temple

NRSV Summary
Ezekiel was a priest taken to Babylon in 598. Before 586, he preached a message of judgement and doom. After 586, he focused on hope and salvation. The source of his hope is not in any of the political powers of his day, but in God's own nature and purpose. The temple is destroyed, but God is not bound by a temple and has moved into exile with his people. The sins of the past will not keep the present generation from choosing life and salvation. The book ends with a great vision of the future retoration of the people and the temple.

Historical Circumstances
Ezekiel's vision of God on a Throne-chariot presented the refugees in Babylon with a brand new idea. God is not stuck in a building in Jerusalem. He has wheels and can be anywhere. Even in "godless" Babylon.

God's character may be eternally the same, but the way God is apprehended changes. History has a way of forcing each generation to think of God in new ways--a process that continues to this day.

For the survivors, the trauma of Jerusalem's destruction and the Babylonian exile was as painful as the death of a loved one. Psychologists tell us that those who experience great loss go through predictable stages of grief, including denial, anger, and finally acceptance. The surviving Judeans felt all these emotions. And **Ezekiel**, as God's prophetic "pastor," supported them through this process.

But he was a curious pastor by today's standards. His way of providing pastoral support was to expose the people's responsibility for the disaster that afflicted them and tell them that their only hope for recovery was to change. No warm fuzzies from Ezekiel. Yet through it all Ezekiel never abandoned God's people or saw their situation as hopeless.

Ezekiel endured the Babylonian exile with the people, then emerged on the far side to present a vision of what the survivors must do to rebuild an identity. Ezekiel was a key figure in the survival of a Judean identity, and he was a major transitional figure in the move from an Israelite religion to what became the religion of Judaism.

Ezekiel was taken to Babylonia in 598 B.C.E. in the first major deportation of Judeans to the land of their conquerors. It appears that he was taken in that early deportation because he was a priest. In all, almost 5,000 Judeans were taken to Babylonia in that early displacement. Those taken were the leaders of the community, including royalty, scribes, counselors, craftsmen, and religious leaders.

Ezekiel stayed in Babylonia for his entire career, being a prophet until at least 571 B.C.E. He was unable to perform the traditional priestly functions in exile, which included offering sacrifices of atonement and guarding the holiness of the community. Still, his vocation shaped his perspective on virtually everything, including religious obligations and relationships to God.

Being a priest from Jerusalem meant that he was thoroughly familiar with the rituals and procedures of temple service. This familiarity is evident in his visions, many of which center on the temple. A priestly orientation also meant he was profoundly shaped by the experience of serving in the presence of Yahweh in the temple. Priests referred to the divine presence by the phrase the **glory of Yahweh**. It was believed that Yahweh's presence in Jerusalem bestowed favor on the city and its people. Attentiveness to the divine presence dominated Ezekiel's experience.

Ezekiel was a contemporary of Jeremiah. Both were prophets immediately before and after the destruction of Jerusalem. The book of Ezekiel is much easier to follow than the book of Jeremiah because of its logical and chronological structure. It also has a certain thematic unity. There are at least three major issues which interweave the book, surfacing in various ways.

First, Ezekiel gives considerable attention to the continued presence of God among his people, along with the reasons for God's withdrawal and conditions under which he would reappear. Second, Ezekiel probes the issue of moral responsibility for the religious and political failures of Judah. Third, though getting less attention than the preceding two, Ezekiel examines the nature and legitimacy of religious and political leadership in Judah and in the restored community. Be alert to these issues as we examine the book of Ezekiel.

Ezekiel as a Whole

The book of Ezekiel evidences a deliberate and well-considered overall structure. The visions of the presence of God at the beginning and end frame the book. The early visions of corruption in the Jerusalem temple are balanced by the ending vision of restoration. The book consists of two main parts. Part 1 is set before 587 and consists of warnings to Judah. Part 2 is set after 587 and holds out hope.

The oracles against the nations interrupt the flow of material applying to Judah. But there is a logic to their placement. The foreign nations come under God's judgment and must be subdued before Israel could be restored. The book as a whole also shows an intentional movement from prophecies of woe before the disaster of 587 B.C.E. (1-24) to prophecies of hope after the disaster (25-48).

Much of the critical scholarship on the book of Ezekiel concentrates on discerning the origin of individual prophetic units. Zimmerli takes great pains to separate what he judges to be texts original to Ezekiel from the commentary provided by later writers and editors. He gives priority to the former. Childs says that valuing Ezekiel's own oracles over later commentary overlooks a very important point. The so-called commentary additions were canonized along with Ezekiel's originals. The commentary is evidence of how the originals were heard and applied by the community of faith, and they, too, bear scriptural authority.

b) Isaiah 40-66

cf. 2.5.c Isaiah esp. 2.5.c.ii p.57 & 2.5.c.iii p.60

c) Joel

Joel 1:1-2:27	Locust Plague
Joel 2:28-3:21	Day of Yahweh

NRSV Summary

Joel lived in a time of a great locust plague, which he saw as the beginning of the judgement of God.

Historical Circumstances

It is difficult to pin down the historical setting of the prophecies of Joel. Early readers must have thought him pre-exilic, hence his placement between Hosea and Amos. The book of Joel was placed before Amos perhaps because of the correspondence between Joel 3:16

and Amos 1:2, and Joel 3:18 and Amos 9:13. Also, Amos, like Joel, was alert to the coming Day of Yahweh.

The evidence for establishing an historical context for Joel is only inferential. Nothing is mentioned about the destruction of Jerusalem, allowing a pre-exilic date that makes him a contemporary of Jeremiah. But the absence of any reference to a king, or to the Assyrians and Babylonians, and an apparent reference to the dispersion, all suggest a postexilic date. The general consensus is that Joel is to be placed somewhere in the period 400-350 B.C.E.

The central theme of the book is this notion of the Day of Yahweh which gives the book as a whole its coherence. The book of Joel divides into two parts. The first part, chapters 1:1-2:27, centers on an elaborate vision of a locust plague, which is a way to warn of the coming judgment of God, the Day of Yahweh. The second part, chapters 2:28-3:21, describes the blessings on Judah and Jerusalem with the coming Day of Yahweh and the corresponding punishment of the surrounding nations.

Joel has sometimes been called a "cult prophet". That is, he was supportive of the priesthood and the temple, and perhaps was even a priest himself. He was concerned that offerings were not coming in as expected,in part because the land itself was not providing the produce, and in part because the people were not forthcoming. Consequently, the priests were unable to perform their duties.

> 9 The grain offering and the drink offering are cut off from the house of YHWH. The priests mourn, the ministers of YHWH. (1:9)

This concern for the temple and its priests is more characteristic of postexilic prophecy than pre-exilic. Compare Jeremiah, who criticized the complacency and self-servingness of the priests in the Jerusalem temple. Joel is more like Haggai and Malachi in his support of the temple.

Joel was a prophet of the judgment day. He called it the "Day of Yahweh" (1:15), as did Amos, but he broadened the concept into a comprehensive world-historical event. Presuming the postexilic dating of Joel, the book is a study in the appropriation of earlier prophetic tradition, especially that of Amos and the Day of Yahweh.

> 15 Watch out for THE DAY! The Day of YHWH is near. As destruction from Shaddai it comes. (1:15)

Here Joel uses the priestly designation for the God of the Ancestors, (El) Shaddai. But the God of the Ancestors has turned against Israel. The notion of the Day of Yahweh appears to come out of the conquest tradition. It was Yahweh's day, the day when he demonstrated his power by destroying Israel's enemies. Times have changed. Now his power will be unleashed against Israel. But if the people take warning and repent, disaster can be averted.

The occasion for Joel's core prophecy most likely was the devastating locust plague described in 1:4. The only way to avert disaster is though a communal fast. The coming destruction is described as a locust plague, which became a metaphor for the devastating army that would do the actual work of punishing Israel.

Joel also foresaw the coming of a new age, a time of salvation.

> 28 "Then afterward, I will pour out my spirit on all flesh. Your sons and your daughters will prophesy, your old men will dream dreams, and your young men will see visions. 29 I will even pour out my spirit on male and female slaves in those days." (2:28-29)

The pouring out of God's spirit seems to continue the spirit theme expressed in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. In those books, God would give the people a new heart and a new spirit. Here, if we are dealing with the same general expectation, this new spirit would have its source in God.

The pouring out of the spirit in Joel has associations with prophetic anointing. The spirit would inspire dreams and visions. The remarkable aspect of the outpouring is its democratic scope. Everyone, young and old, male and female, slave and free, would receive the prophetic gift in the latter days.

Joel's interest in the future has been read as having apocalyptic characteristics.

> 30 "I will show portents in the heavens and on earth, blood and fire and columns of smoke. 31 The sun will be turned to darkness, and the moon to blood, before the great and terrible day of Yahweh comes." (2:30-31)

The Day of Yahweh, in Joel's description, has cosmic associations. The fire and smoke we associate with an appearance of God, a theophany. The blood could connote many things, including the taking of life. The celestial imagery here in Joel has an apocalyptic flavor. This, combined with Joel's "end of the world," or eschatological, interest, shows he has affinities with the full-fledged apocalyptic literature which proliferates in the late postexilic period.

d) Zecharaiah

Zech 1-8	Zechariah		
		1:2-6	Call to Repent
		1:7-6:8	Night Visions
		1:7-17	Four Horses
		1:18-21	Four Horns and Four Smiths
		2	Man Measuring Jerusalem
		3	Joshua and the Satan
		4	Golden Lampstand and Two Olive Trees
		5:1-4	Flying Scroll
		5:5-11	Woman in a Basket
		6:1-8	Four Chariots
		6:9-15	Crowning of the Messiah
		7	Fasting
		8	Yahweh Returns to Zion
Zech 9-14	Second Zechariah		
		9-11	Oracle 1: Restoration of Israel
		12-14	Oracle 2: The Coming Day of Yahweh

NRSV Summary
Preached in Jerusalem around 520bc, in the reign of Darius of Persia. His message was that the temple was to be rebuilt, and that the people were to come together into a purified and faithful community. The source of hope was that God does keep his promises. When work on the temple is begun, the God will raise up the glory of the house of David in Zerubbabel, the last known prince of David's line.

Historical Circumstances
The prophet Zechariah was a contemporary of Haggai, and both were contemporaries of the leaders of the early Judean restoration, Zerubbabel and Joshua. Zechariah prophesied in Jerusalem from 520 to 518 B.C.E. Whereas the style of Haggai's prophecy was hortatory, Zechariah's prophecy took the shape of visions and dialogues with God.

Zechariah as a Whole
The book of Zechariah divides into two main parts. The first unit, chapters 1-8, is usually attributed to the prophet Zechariah of the sixth century. The second unit, chapters 9-14, are referred to as Second Zechariah. It was written by an unnamed prophet (a situation much like that in the book of Isaiah) in the Greek period of the fourth and third centuries B.C.E.

Zechariah was concerned about the religious purity of the people and the morale of Jerusalem's leaders. To that end he attempted to inspire them. In eight visions Zechariah glimpsed the changes ahead. In the first vision he saw four horsemen patrolling the earth in anticipation of the punishment of the foreign nations, and the return to power of Jerusalem. In the second he saw four horns representing world powers and four blacksmiths who would destroy those horns. In the third he saw a man measuring Jerusalem for the rebuilding of its walls, who was then told that the city would be huge, and Yahweh would be its protecting wall.

In the fourth vision Zechariah saw an unclean Joshua, the high priest, standing accused by Satan of being unfit for duty. Then he was confirmed by God and given the duties of the high priesthood. In the fifth he saw two olive trees, representing Zerubbabel and Joshua, who supplied a golden lamp stand that illuminated the world. In the sixth he saw a flying scroll containing the covenant laws. All wrongdoers fell under the judgment of the Torah. In the seventh he saw wickedness personified as a woman in a flying basket, which was removed to a distant land. In the eighth, forming an envelope structure with the first vision, he saw four horses patrolling the earth in anticipation of the messianic age.

The first unit closes on a highly positive note. Yahweh declared that he would return to Jerusalem, restore its greatness, and usher in a time of peace.

> 7 Thus says YHWH of hosts, "Now I am saving my people from the eastern territory and from the western territory. 8 I will bring them to live in Jerusalem. They will be my people and I will be their God, with faithfulness and righteousness." (8:7-8)

Here Zechariah anticipates even further repatriations of the people. Jerusalem remained the holy city of the Jews, and the ideal for the Jews of the dispersion was to return to Zion. Notice also how Zechariah uses the covenant slogan to express hope: "They will be my people and I will be their God."

We note a couple features of the prophecies of Zechariah. The book of Zechariah demonstrates a considerable awareness of past prophecy. Zechariah clearly sees himself as standing in a long line of prophetic tradition. The book begins by drawing connections.

> 4 "Do not be like your forebears, to whom earlier prophets preached, 'Thus says YHWH of hosts, return from your evil ways and from your evil deeds.' But they did not hear me, says YHWH. 5 Where are your forebears now? Do the prophets live forever? 6 But my words and my laws, which I commanded my servants the prophets, did they not overtake your forebears so that they repented and said, YHWH of hosts has dealt with us according to our ways and deeds, just as he planned to do." (1:4-6)

Zechariah attests here to the power of the word of Yahweh spoken through the prophets. The tragedy of the exile was the result of the hardness of the ancestors' hearts and happened according to God's plan. This should be a warning to the current generation. Furthermore, serving as the introduction to the visions, it reinforces the certainty of the prophetic word concerning the future.

Zechariah also shows his dependence on earlier prophecy by the way he adopts and adapts earlier prophetic images. Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years of captivity (Jeremiah 29) was used in the first vision to designate the length of captivity. It also became the basis of Daniel's vision of seventy weeks of years (Daniel 9). And the flying scroll of the sixth vision seems to derive from Ezekiel's scroll (Ezekiel 2-3).

The oracles found in Second Zechariah echo familiar prophetic themes: the destruction of the foreign nations, the restoration of Israel, and the coming Day of Yahweh. Second Zechariah gives special attention to messianic leadership. It describes the triumphant king who comes on a donkey (chapter 9). The evil shepherds would be removed from office (chapters 11 and 13). The evil nations would be finally destroyed, and Jerusalem would become a holy place where Yahweh the king would dwell forever.

2.7. Apocalyptic literature in the Old Testament. The Apocalypse of Isaiah (Is 22–24) and Daniel. Main characteristics of these works.

In *literary* terms, apocalyptic is a highly stylized form of literature, with its own conventions of symbolism and terminology, continually feeding on OT sources. It is a literature of dreams and visions, often centred on a vision of the heavenly throne-room. Eschatological prophecy may take the form of long discourses or of symbolic imagery, which is sometimes very artificial, sometimes vivid and effective. Probably the apocalyptists never intended to depict the End in literal terms. In their attempt to portray a future salvation which transcends ordinary historical experience, they seem to have borrowed symbols from Canaanite myth and from the mythology they encountered in the Eastern Diaspora and in hellenistic Palestine. Apocalyptic literature often exhibits a close but critical interaction with the international culture of its time.

If Jewish apocalyptic was often indebted for its imagery and forms to its non-Jewish environment, its eschatological content derived from OT prophecy. In this respect apocalyptic was the *heir of prophecy.* Its role was to reassert the prophetic promises for the future in their relevance to the apocalyptist's own generation. The apocalyptists were not themselves prophets. They lived in an age when prophecy had ceased, and probably for that reason they adopted the device of *pseudonymity*, writing under the name of an OT saint from the period of prophetic revelation. This need not be regarded as a fraudulent device, as though they wished to pass off their work as belonging to the age of prophecy; rather it should be seen as a literary form expressing the apocalyptists' role as interpreters of the revelation given in the prophetic age.

From this fictional standpoint in the past, the apocalyptists often give reviews of history up to their own time in the form of predictive prophecy. Again, this device need not be intended to deceive. It is the apocalyptist's means of penetrating the divine plan of history and presenting an interpretation of the prophecies of the past, which he rewrites in the light of their fulfilment in order to show how they have been fulfilled and what still remains to be fulfilled.

The apocalyptists, then, are interpreters of OT prophecy. This does not mean they do not claim inspiration. There is good reason to think that the visionary experiences attributed to the pseudonym often reflect the real experience of the apocalyptist himself. The apocalyptist's inspiration, however, was the source not so much of fresh prophetic revelation as of interpretation of the revelation already given through the prophets. The authority of his message is thus derivative from that of the prophets.

If this view of the apocalyptists' self-understanding is adopted, it will be seen that they occupy an essentially *intertestamental* position. They interpret the prophets to an age when prophecy has ceased but fulfilment is still awaited. Their exclusion from the Canon is not therefore a negative judgment on their value for the intertestamental development of Jewish religion. On the contrary, by sustaining and intensifying the eschatological hope they played a decisively important role as a bridge between the Testaments.

The apocalyptic understanding of *history and eschatology* developed in the context of the post-exilic experience of history, in which Israel remained under the domination of the Gentile powers and the prophetic promises of glorious restoration remained largely unfulfilled. In the extended period of contradiction between God's promises and the reality of Israel's historical experience, the apocalyptists sought to assure the faithful that God had not abandoned his people, that the promised salvation was coming. To this end they stressed the divine *sovereignty over history*: God has predetermined the whole course of world history and the End will come at the time he has appointed. The power of the pagan empires survives only so long as he permits. This strongly deterministic view of history does not, however, become a fatalism which contradicts human freedom and responsibility, for the apocalyptists also call their readers to repentance and intercession and ethical action. Only rarely do they venture to set a date for the End.

The coming eschatological salvation is envisaged in transcendent and universal terms. It is an event which far transcends the great events of the salvation-history of the past. It amounts to a new creation, in which all forms of evil and suffering will be eliminated. It is characteristic of the apocalyptists to believe that even death will be conquered: this belief appears in the form both of bodily resurrection and of spiritual immortality. The eschatological age will be the kingdom of God, replacing all earthly empires for ever. Expectations of the fate of the Gentiles vary. The oppressors of Israel will be condemned, but frequently the nations may come to share in the salvation of the righteous in Israel, while the apostates in Israel will be judged. The universalism of apocalyptic results both from post-exilic Israel's involvement in the history of the world-empires, and from the apocalyptists' intense awareness of the universal problem of evil.

a) The Apocalypse of Isaiah

After oracles against particular nations (Is 13-23), chapters 24-27 announce the final end of the earth. This persepective and themes like the punishment of cosmic powers, the end of death, and the resurrection of the dead betray the late date of these chapters and link them to apocalyptic writings.

In these passages the eschatological future is envisaged in terms of direct divine intervention, a universal judgment of the nations and a new age of salvation, in which the cosmos will be radically transformed. This transcendent eschatology is the central core of apocalyptic belief.

b) Daniel

The book of Daniel can be divided more or less cleanly into two main parts based on content. The first part, chapters 1-6, contains six tales of Jewish heroism set in the late seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E. They are told in the third-person and concern **Daniel** and his three friends, or Daniel alone, or the three friends alone. The second part, chapters 7-12, contains four apocalypses which Daniel narrates in the first-person. An **apocalypse** is a dream vision of the future.

The book of Daniel does not claim to have been written by Daniel. The first six chapters are a narrative about Daniel (and his friends), and while the final chapters contain Daniel's first-person dream accounts, they are introduced using third-person editorial frameworks. Still, Daniel is the dominant figure of the book, absent only in chapter 3.

NRSV Summary

Daniel was written to offer hope and consolation to Jews who were suffering persecution. The account of Daniel and his friends in the first half of the book show how loyaly to God brings victory over one's persecutors. The second part of the book says, in a series of visions, that the fate of the righteous is in the hands of God and that God can be trusted to keep the future safe for his people.

Historical Background

Who exactly was this Daniel? We get conflicting signals. The first hero tale has Daniel taken captive as a young man in 606 B.C.E. The story of Daniel in the lion's den in chapter 6 has a setting after 539, which would make Daniel an old man by this time. On the other hand, the book of Ezekiel (14:14, 20; see also 28:3), which was written around the time of the exile in 587, refers to Daniel in the same breath with Noah and Job--all exemplary righteous men. These references suggest that Daniel and the other two were already well known symbols of godliness. But how could Daniel be considered legendary to the pre-exilic Israelites if most of the stories told about him had not yet been written?

The Ugaritic texts from Syria come to the rescue. These texts, dating to the fourteenth century B.C.E. and written in a language close to Hebrew, contain an account of a Danel (close enough in spelling to the biblical Daniel that they may be considered equivalent). This Danel was a notably righteous Canaanite king who wanted to see justice done in his

kingdom. This suggests that Danel/Daniel was a hero of the ancient world, and that he was the model or namesake for our hero of Israel's exilic period. Or, . . . the Daniel of Ezekiel fame has nothing to do with the Daniel of the book by that name.

The stories of Daniel are set around the time of the Babylonian exile and the tales may have originated at that time. But the apocalypses of chapters 7-12 betray a much later setting. The history they (fore-)tell culminates in the time of the Maccabees, specifically the years of Antiochus IV. The evidence strongly suggests that the apocalypses were written around 165 B.C.E. shortly before the death of Antiochus in 163, and that the entire book was edited and finalized around that time. This would make Daniel the prime candidate for latest book of the Hebrew Bible.

Additions to Daniel.
The figure of Daniel became very popular in Judaism. Post-biblical stories about Daniel, called the "Additions to Daniel," were added in the Greek version of the book of Daniel. The Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men is found within chapter 3. The story of Susanna and the story of Bel and the Dragon follow chapter 12. The tale of Susanna is especially clever and delightful. She was a beautiful Jewish woman who was falsely accused of adultery by two Jewish elders. Daniel exposed their lies and vindicated her.

Theological Themes
Reversal of Rewards and Punishments:
present world is still under the domination of evil forces and cruel empires (Dan 7:1-8, 15-25), but...
future age will be under the rule of God, the Messiah, and/or God's holy people (7:9-14, 26-27).
Good People:
may be suffering now, seem to be punished here on earth (Dan 9:3-14), but...
will be rewarded at the end of time, when God comes in judgment (12:1-13).
Bad People:
may be prospering now, seem to be rewarded here on earth (Dan 5:1-23; 8:1-25a), but...
will be punished at the end of time, when God comes in judgment (5:24-30; 8:25b-26)

2.8. Wisdom literature. Which books are they? What are the main questions and interests of these books?

Wisdom is such a broad notion that it might be helpful to make some distinctions. Authorities talk about wisdom literature, wisdom thinking, and the wisdom tradition. The category wisdom literature is a literary designation. It is not a native Hebrew category, as far as we can tell, but only a scholar's category to define a large body of literature that is present not only in the Hebrew Bible but also in the literature of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The wisdom literature of the Hebrew Bible is generally considered to be **Proverbs** and **Job** (see Chapter 15), **Ecclesiastes** (see Chapter 16.4), and the wisdom psalms (see Chapter 14). If we include deutero-canonical books, the **Wisdom of Solomon** and **Sirach** (short for the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach, also called Ecclesiasticus) would be added.

The books of wisdom literature share a number of characteristics, one of which is an interest in instruction, or pedagogy. This is especially evident in the book of Proverbs, and even in Ecclesiastes, though less obvious in the book of Job. We cannot be sure where and how instruction for ordinary living took place in Hebrew culture. Some authorities who discuss the setting in life of wisdom suggest wisdom may have originated in a family or clan setting, and others associate it with the royal court. Whatever the original context of instruction, the content of instruction was eventually written down. The wisdom books provide direction to those who sought to live moral and productive lives. They were textbooks of a sort to those who were looking for help in how to live life: how to think, how to cope, indeed, how to succeed.

General Themes and Types
The notion of wisdom is difficult to define precisely. The terms wisdom and wise as used in the Hebrew Bible apply to human efforts to master the self, society, or the environment. Von Rad (1962) considered wisdom the "practical knowledge of the laws of life and of the world, based on experience." Much of the wisdom needed for a happy and successful life is gained by experience accumulated over generations. Such wisdom is gained by astute observation and the search for patterns, especially the observation of the relation between cause and effect.

Von Rad (1972) identified the program of wisdom as the search for order in creation and society. Behind the search for order is the belief that God created the world to be harmonious and consistent. The task of wisdom research is to discern this order and suggest ways human beings can align themselves with it. The wise person has the ability to discover this order and live in conformity with it. Seen in this way, wisdom has a lot in common with the modern academic disciplines of the natural and social sciences whose job, broadly conceived, is to discover the laws of the world of nature and human society.

Crenshaw (1969) says wisdom is "the quest for self-understanding in terms of relationships with things, people, and the Creator." He argues that the dynamic tension between order and chaos is a fundamental concern to Israel's faith as a whole, and was not limited just to the wisdom literature (Crenshaw 1981). In Israel's worldview, the ordered realm of God's creation is constantly being threatened by the forces of disorder and dissolution. The creation theology of wisdom literature affirms the divine order by finding it and recommending conformity to it, thereby upholding the goodness and integrity of God.

Murphy (1983) argues that wisdom literature is not so much concerned with the so-called natural order as with human conduct. In other words, he claims that it is ethical rather than philosophical in its intent. Wisdom literature is the attempt to impose order on human life rather than to discover it.

Whybray (1974) views wisdom not so much in terms of the literature that gave it expression but as an intellectual tradition or way of thinking that was not restricted to any one class of people. He says wisdom is innate intelligence and "simply a natural endowment which some people possess in greater measure than others." He argues that within Israel (and more generally throughout the ancient world) the wisdom approach to life differed from the priestly, prophetic, and legal approaches. The wisdom approach utilized logic to master life.

Wisdom literature deals with everyday life and experience. It might seem to have a secular flavor because it is based on human observation and reason, as distinct from divine revelation, as in the Torah and the Prophets. But, as the very inclusion of wisdom literature in the canon makes clear, any division between secular and sacred is foreign to the Hebrew Bible. Human rationality and the truths it discovered were no less sanctioned by God than prophetic oracles.

Crenshaw (1969) uses four different labels to classify wisdom literature. Nature wisdom is based on observations of the real world that enable humankind to understand and coexist in harmony with it. This is represented by the onomastica, or lists of names, of Mesopotamian wisdom literature, and is a precursor to what the physical sciences do in classifying and analyzing flora and fauna. According to 1 Kings 4:33, Solomon "spoke of trees, from the cedar that is in the Lebanon to the hyssop that grows in the wall; he spoke of animals, birds, reptiles, and fish."

Practical wisdom analyzed the social order, the modern analogs being sociology and psychology. Practical wisdom, and probably nature wisdom, originated from the everyday life of the family and clan.

Judicial wisdom sought ways to adjudicate disputes, such as when Solomon settled the matter of the two women who both laid claim to the living child (1 Kings 3:16-28). This type of wisdom originated from the royal court.

Lastly, theological wisdom, sometimes called speculative wisdom, sought answers to deeply puzzling issues, such as the explanation for human suffering and God's role in upholding justice among humankind. Crenshaw attributes this type of wisdom to professional scribes.

Wisdom literature cannot be easily defined by literary genre. Included within wisdom literature are proverbs, parables, discourses, songs, and poems. What unites these various materials we call wisdom literature is something bigger. An approach to reality and a theory of knowledge. The thought contained in wisdom literature approaches the world of experience through the power of human intellect, not through divine revelation, as is the case with the Torah and Prophets.

a) Proverbs

1-9	Prologue		
		1:1-7	Purpose and Theme
		1:8-9:18	Superiority of Wisdom over Folly
10-31	Proverb Collections		
		10:1-22:16	Proverbs of Solomon
		22:17-24:22	Thirty Sayings of the Wise
		24:23-34	Additional Sayings of the Wise
		25-29	Hezekiah's Collection of Solomon's Proverbs
		30	Words of Agur
		31:1-9	Words of Lemuel
		31:10-31	The Ideal Wife

The book of Proverbs is an anthology, actually a collection of seven collections. Each consists of a set of short sayings, except for the first, which consists of wisdom essays. Only the first collection (chapters 1-9) and the last (chapter 31) have longer sub-units with thematic continuity (for example, chapter 31 is the acrostic poem about the ideal wife). Each collection of sayings is identifiable because it is introduced with a title.

The second through fifth collections allude to a monarchy, suggesting a pre-exilic setting. The first, sixth, and seventh collections are generally considered postexilic. The book as a whole does not demonstrate logical movement or plot. It was probably edited into its final form late in the fifth century B.C.E.

b) Job

Job 1-2	Narrative Prologue: Job's tragedy
Job 3	Job's Lament
Job 4-28	Dialogue Cycles (4-31
	4-14 First Cycle
	15-21 Second Cycle
	22-28 Third Cycle
	29-31 Job's Final Discourse
Job 32-37	Elihu's Speeches
Job 38-41	Theophany
Job 42	Narrative Epilogue: Job's reversal

The later books of wisdom literature display a growing theological sophistication. They recognize that easy answers will not suffice. The book of Job is a frontal assault on the glib retribution categories of traditional wisdom, as represented by the book of Proverbs and the Deuteronomic tradition. The book of Job probes the nature of the moral order of the universe by examining the microcosm of the man Job. There is an obvious misfit between the world of doctrine and the world of experience. Doctrine says reward follows a moral life. But reality, in the case of Job, does not uphold this doctrine.

Story Line

The basic story line is straightforward. Job was a morally upstanding individual. He had considerable wealth and a fine family. When the divine council met in heaven God expressed his pride in Job, but he was challenged by one called *the adversary,* otherwise known as **the satan**.

> [7] YHWH said to the satan, "From where have you come?" The satan answered YHWH, "From going here and there on the earth, and from walking up and down on it." [8] YHWH said to the satan, "Have you considered my servant Job? There is none like him on the earth, a blameless and upright man, one who fears Elohim and turns away from evil?" [9] Then the satan answered YHWH, "Does Job fear Elohim for nothing?" (1:7-9)

The satan figure is the official heavenly "gadfly" whose task is to challenge Yahweh's relationship with humankind. In this case the satan is playing "devil's advocate" by giving Yahweh a counter-explanation of Job's goodness. He claims it was just a pattern of behavior calculated to get the best treatment from God.

Ha-satan. Note that "the satan" does not have a capital *s* because it is not a name but a title, indicated by the definite article the, *ha* in Hebrew. The satan figure of the book of Job is a member of the divine council, and is not the devil of later Judaism and Christianity. Satan means adversary or accuser, and this may have been an official function within the council. Satan has an interesting if only very limited history in the Hebrew Bible. The term *satan* used in reference to an individual is found in only three settings. Here in Job, in Zechariah 3:1-2 (also with the definite article), and in 1 Chronicles 21:1 (without the definite article).

The adversary challenged God to take everything away from Job in order to see what his reaction would be. Yahweh first gave the adversary permission to remove all of Job's wealth and family and later his physical health. Job was reduced to being a suffering outcast. Three friends appeared at his side to give him counsel: Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar. In conversation with Job they attempted to make sense out of his plight.

But neither Job nor his friends resolved the conundrum of Job's suffering. Elihu, another counselor-friend appeared, but did not seem to further the argument. Finally, Yahweh came to Job in a terrifying theophany and commanded Job's attention. He never answered Job's questions directly. Instead, he questioned Job in a most intimidating way, seemingly belittling Job because he presumed to question the wisdom of God, who, after all, created the world. But in the end he vindicated Job. Yahweh reprimanded Job's friends and requited

Job with a new family and even greater wealth. The story line is relatively simple. The theological argument is not necessarily so.

Dialogues

One way to get at the meat of the book is to survey the positions of the main players. We hesitate to do this because so much of the argument is in the telling. The following summary should not be taken as a replacement for reading the book itself. Job is a remarkable treatise and contains some of the best poetry in the Hebrew Bible. It should be savored.

Eliphaz

He observes that no one is ever completely sinless. In no uncertain terms he upholds the theology of retribution.

> [7] Think about it. What innocent ever perished?
> Where were the upright destroyed?
> [8] I have seen that those who plow evil
> and sow trouble reap the same.
> [9] By God's blast they perish
> and by the heat of his anger they disappear. (4:7-9)

Eliphaz then goes on to say that everyone can expect at least a little suffering in life. Job is relatively innocent, so he will not suffer permanently. He should be patient; his suffering will soon be over.

Bildad

He applies the theology of retribution relentlessly. He claims that Job's children must have been notable sinners to be treated so brutally by God. No doubt they died justifiably.

> *[3] Can God get justice wrong?*
> *Can Shadday distort rightness?*
> *[4] If your children sinned against him,*
> *he delivered them over to the consequences of their violation. (8:3-4)*

Since Job is still alive, claims Bildad, he must not be too bad a sinner.

Zophar

He claims that Job must be suffering for his own sin. Even though Job will not admit it publicly, he must be a sinner.

> [4] You say, 'My principles are pure,
> and I am innocent before you.'
> [5] But if God would speak
> and talk to you himself,
> [6] and tell you the secrets of wisdom--
> there are many nuances to wisdom--
> know that God is exacting less than you deserve. (11:4-6)

Job should honestly face his sin and ask God for mercy.

Elihu

Elihu speaks (32-37) after Job's other three friends have had their say. He says that suffering is the way God communicates with human beings. It is the way God reveals that we are sinners and that he considers sin a serious offense.

> [10] He opens their understanding by discipline,
> and orders them to turn away from wickedness.
> [11] If they listen and obey,
> they will end up with good days and pleasant years. (36:10-11)

All four speakers maintain the theology of retribution in some way. Their approach is very much "top down." In other words, they hold a basic belief in retribution, and they try to square Job's experience with the theological principles they hold, rather than developing a theology out of human experience.

Job

Job has no coherent response to his calamity. He argues with his friends and attacks their counter arguments. But ultimately he remains confounded. He just does not know how to handle his predicament.

Yet there are certain claims he maintains throughout, certain points he will not relinquish. He never gives in and admits personal guilt in the measure that would call forth such suffering. He often urges God to reveal himself and state why he is afflicting him so. He challenges God in what amounts to a lawsuit, much in the manner of the covenant lawsuit popular with the prophets, even though he recognizes that if God actually appears he would be powerless to respond. This sentiment is amazingly prescient of what would soon happen.

Yahweh

Yahweh does not respond to the intellectual arguments of Job and his friends, all of which had to do in some way with the theology of retribution. He quite ignores that business, neither affirming retribution nor denying it. By God's bracketing the big question of retribution, the book is saying retribution is not the real issue. God does not conduct affairs

on a strictly cause-and-effect basis.

Yet God does address Job's urgent plea that he at least show himself. He appeared in a storm theophany (38-41), but instead of answering Job's questions, he put Job on trial.

> [2] Who is this confusing the issue
> with nonsensical words?!
> [3] Brace yourself like a man.
> I will quiz you. You teach me!
> [4] Where were you when I laid the foundations of the earth?
> Tell me, if you really have such deep understanding! (38:2-4)

Yahweh continues in this same vein, badgering the witness, and impressing upon Job that he really knows nothing about how God created the world and runs it. Job finally admits that he spoke presumptuously in demanding that God justify his actions.

> [1] YHWH said to Job:
> [2] "Will one in need of discipline complain about Shadday?
> Let the one accusing God answer!"
> [3] Then Job answered YHWH:
> "I am worth nothing. How can I respond to you?
> I am putting my hand over my mouth.
> I spoke once, but have no answer for you,
> Twice I spoke, but I will say no more." (40:1-3)

By now Job seems properly contrite, having been put in his place. The reader might expect Yahweh at this point to coddle Job or at least lay off him. Just the opposite happens. God launches into a second discourse designed further to impress Job with his omnipotence. He describes in great detail his creation and the harnessing of Behemoth and Leviathan. These creatures have been likened to the hippopotamus and crocodile, respectively, but the overblown language of their description suggests that God is really referring to the mythic monsters of chaos that he tamed and holds at bay (see Day 1985).

Through the whole encounter God is absolutely overpowering. One might wonder why God felt he needed to react in such an intimidating way. Yet God does give Job satisfaction of sorts, first, in the very fact of his appearing, and second, by putting the issue of suffering in perspective. The important outcome is that God ultimately affirmed Job, in fact had never abandoned him, even though it had seemed so to Job at the time.

Job wanted to know why. But God would not tell him why. This effectively marginalizes the theology of retribution. Perhaps the real issue is trust--can one, will one simply trust God and "leave the driving to him"? Job is the model of the one who suffers, with all the self-doubt, indignation, impatience, and spiritual agony typical of those in great crisis. But he is also the model of one who trusts God, even though he fails to comprehend why he is suffering.

Job as a Whole

The book of Job consists of a poetic core surrounded by a prose narrative framework. The prose framework relates the story of Job, including the tragedy that strikes him and his family. The poetic core contains the theological heart of the book, including the dialogues of Job and his friends, and the appearance of Yahweh himself. In the cycles of dialogue each of Job's friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, speaks in his turn, and Job responds to each.

The structure of the book raises problems for the interpreter. What is the relation of the prose framework and the dialogues? Who is Elihu? What is the function of the theophany, and how does it answer the issues raised in the book? The narrative conclusion of the book seems especially artificial and unsatisfying to many readers--though, perhaps, not for retribution theologians. In the end, Job's fortunes were restored. He was given sons and daughters to replace those he lost, and his former material wealth was doubled. Although Job was reduced to humble acceptance of the power of God, he was vindicated and was told to pray for his three friends who were in the wrong.

Yet the ending is far from satisfying. In one grand narrative stroke what we thought was the lesson of the book to this point seems to be undone. The lesson of the book seemed to be that there is no direct and necessary correlation between righteousness and material well-being. Do we now, at the last, see Job rewarded for being in the right? If so, the theology of retribution seems to be upheld after all: in the end Job is rewarded for his uprightness. It almost seems the profound lesson of the theophany (38-41) is deconstructed by the triteness of the "and they lived happily ever after" conclusion.

How can we deal with this? Literary approaches to the book abound, and many seem quite able to live with the moral ambiguity of the book. Whedbee (1977) interprets the book using categories of comedy and irony. Westermann (1977) reads it as if it were a biblical lament. Habel (1985) reads Job as an allegory of the people of Israel in the postexilic period experiencing suffering and alienation from God.

Babylonian Job.
The book of Job has affinities with a number of Mesopotamian writings. The Sumerian composition "A Man and his God" counsels one to turn to God with prayer and supplication in sickness and suffering (Pritchard 1969: 589-91). *Ludlul Bel Nemeqi,* "I will praise the Lord of wisdom," is an Akkadian composition dating to around 1000 B.C.E. It describes a man's sufferings and blames Marduk, the Lord of wisdom. Yet in the end the sufferer finds deliverance (Pritchard 1969: 434-37, 596-600). See also the *Babylonian Theodicy* (Pritchard 1969: 438-40, 601-604). The story of Ahiqar, late fifth century B.C.E., is about a scribe who suffers misfortunes and is later restored to a place of honor (Pritchard 1969: 427-30). For Babylonian Wisdom as a whole see Lambert 1960.

If Job is first of all theological literature it may be in the mold of **theodicy**, an attempt to cope with the impenetrable character of the governance of God. The ending may be the writer's somewhat clumsy way of affirming the ultimate justice of God. Heaven as the place where rewards and punishments will be meted out was not an option at this stage of biblical religion. Everyone, whether good or bad, went to the same underworld, called *sheol.* Thus, Job's reward had to come during his lifetime. The writer responsible for the final shape of the book was willing, it seems, to live with the resulting tension of the freedom and sovereignty of God as expressed in the theophany, the validity of the theology of retribution, and the reality of righteous suffering.

How, then, should we construe this wonder of wisdom literature? Many things could be said. For one, it represents Israel's literary and theological attempt to get behind the phenomena of reality to the underlying truth. It asks the question *why.* Wisdom literature approaches reality without dependence on divine revelation, a priesthood, or a theology of history. It uses reason, everyday experience, and the power of deduction in its attempt to discern how the power of God manifests itself in the world of human affairs.

Furthermore, Proverbs and Job represent an inner-canonical dialogue on the theology of retribution. The book of Proverbs affirms it unreflectively and somewhat naively. Not to be too hard on Proverbs, this may have been a function of its role in providing clear and unambiguous moral instruction. On the other hand, the book of Job is a frontal attack on overly-simplistic retribution theology. It shows that the principle of retribution is not the only, or even the most important, factor at work in divine-human relations.

Theological reflection on the issue of retribution continues in the book of Ecclesiastes, but indirectly. Ecclesiastes deflects attention away from retribution by deconstructing it. Since the reality of death levels all rewards and punishments anyway, retribution is not the real issue; how you live your life is.

c) Ecclesiastes

Prologue (1:1-11)
Theme (1:1-3)
Cycle of Life (1:4-11)
Life Experiment (1:12-2:26)
A Time for Everything (3:1-9)
Disappointments of Life (3:10-4:16)
The Counsels of Wisdom (5:1-12:8)
Epilogue (12:9-14)

Ecclesiastes is usually included in the category of wisdom literature along with Proverbs and Job (see Part 3). The style of its language, its vocabulary, and themes it holds in common with Greek philosophy suggest that it dates to the second century B.C.E.

Babylonian Wisdom.
Ecclesiastes has some similarity to the Dialogue of Pessimism of the Babylonian wisdom tradition, also called the Babylonian Ecclesiastes or the Babylonian Theodicy (see Pritchard 1969: 438-40, 600-601 and Lambert 1960).

The theological conversation of Proverbs and Job concerning the relationship of human behavior and divine purpose continues in the book of Ecclesiastes. Like Job, it presents a challenge to traditional theology. The book of Ecclesiastes questions the purpose of human existence. It asks, What gives lasting meaning to life? If everyone only dies in the end, what is the meaningful difference between righteousness and wickedness? The seriousness with which the book probes this basic human issue makes it one of the most accessible, almost even "modern," pieces of biblical literature.

Like Proverbs, Ecclesiastes approaches the world of experience looking for order and moral law. Using his powers of observation and reason, the writer attempts to put it all together in a meaningful way. But unlike the wisdom of Proverbs, writer of Ecclesiastes fails

to see an overall coherence or purposefulness. Sure, some things are predictable and regular.

> [1] For everything there is a season,
> and a time for every matter under heaven:
> [2] a time to be born,
> and a time to die;
> a time to plant,
> and a time to uproot what is planted. (3:1-2)

But ultimately, life seems to have no meaning.

> Everything is emptiness and a chasing after wind.
> There is nothing to be gained under the sun. (2:11)

The cynical wisdom of Ecclesiastes appears to challenge the neat and tidy world of proverbial wisdom. If there is no ultimate purpose to life, then why should you care whether you are wise or foolish, righteous or wicked?

The book of Ecclesiates projects itself as the work of Solomon. Solomon is the "patron saint" of wisdom and he naturally gets the credit. And the reputation of Solomon as Israel's wealthiest and wisest king (whether, in fact, true or not doesn't matter) equips the supposed author to pursue the search for ultimate wisdom, unencumbered with limitations. If anyone had the means, time, talent, and opportunity to search for wisdom and find it, that person would be Solomon. But neither the introduction nor any other verse in Ecclesiastes makes the specific claim of Solomonic authorship. The speaker is simply referred to as **qohelet** in the editorial introduction, "The words of Qohelet, the son of David, king in Jerusalem" (1:1). **Qohelet** is not a name but a title. Translators are not sure what it means or why the speaker of the book was called this. The word is related to the verb "to assemble," accounting for its title Ecclesiastes in the Septuagint, meaning the "churchman" (related to the Greek word *ekklesia,* "assembly, church"). The gender of the term *qohelet* is feminine, as is the gender of the Hebrew word for "wisdom"--maybe not a coincidence.

The book is royal autobiography and takes the form of personal reflections and reminiscences. It has been compared to the genre of royal journals found elsewhere. Qohelet's personal story is prefaced with a poem that clearly expresses the theme of the book as a whole and sets the mood.

> [2] Emptiness, Qohelet says, everything is emptiness. [3] What do people gain from all the work they do under the sun? [4] A generation goes and a generation comes, yet the earth remains forever. [5] The sun rises and the sun sets, and rushes back again to the place from which it rises. [6] The wind blows south, then returns to the north, round and round goes the wind, on its rounds it circulates. [7] All streams flow to the sea, yet the sea does not fill up. [8] All matters are tiring, more than anyone can express. The eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing. [9] What is is what will be, and what has been done is what will be done. There is nothing new under the sun. [10] Is there anything of which it can be said, "See this is new!"--It has already been, in eras before us. [11] The people of ages past are no longer remembered, nor will there be any remembrance of people yet to come by those who come after them. (1:2-11)

The central thought of Ecclesiastes is contained in that first line "Emptiness, everything is emptiness." The Hebrew term for emptiness, or vanity in older translations, is *hevel,* which means "mist" or "vapor." The assertion that all is empty is literally the beginning and the end of the book, found here in 1:2 and also in 12:8. The circularity of the system perceived by Qohelet, especially the lack of directionality and goal, is reflected in the very structure of the book, which ends where it began.

Qohelet observes the circularity of nature, the endless cycle of birth, death, and rebirth. He sees regularity and predictability. But in seeing circularity he does not sense the beauty of a self-renewing system. Rather, he senses futility and purposelessness. The wisdom enterprise up till now had prided itself in discovering and articulating the order of nature, but that has turned into something quite different, a reason for despair.

In chapters 1 and 2 Qohelet tells us how and why he arrived at this conclusion. With various experiments and investigations he sought to find the location of meaning. First he tried raw intellect. Applying his mind to know wisdom and folly, he only found that the attempt was an experiment in frustration.

Then he tried the opposite approach. He gave his life over to the pursuit of physical pleasure and personal satisfaction. He drank alcohol, built a magnificent home with palatial grounds, accumulated precious metals, possessions, and a large staff of servants. Although he found fulfillment in none of these, yet he felt there might be provisional satisfaction in these pursuits. He concluded that "there is nothing better for mortals than to eat and drink, and find enjoyment in their work." (2:24)

The cause of Qohelet's frustration is the limited vantage point available to humanity. The phrase "under the sun" occurs twenty-nine times in the book, usually in statements such as, "I saw under the sun that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." (9:11) This

may just be another way of saying "on earth," or it may serve to reinforce the limited scope of human reason and its incapacity to see the whole.

> [11] God made everything appropriate to its time. He has also done this--a sense of eternity he put into the heart of humankind, but without the ability to find out what God has done from the beginning to the end. (3:11)

The writer suspects that there is more to life than he or anyone else can figure out. God has planted in the human mind the notion of eternity, a reality that transcends human finiteness, yet he has not equipped humans to grasp it. Because we are unable to transcend our limits, Qohelet counsels us to enjoy the good things God's creation has to offer.

The book of Ecclesiastes frankly faces the limited capacity of the human spirit to create ultimate meaning. He does not deny that ultimate meaning exists, only that we can expect to find it. Yet all the while he does not come to the conclusion that there is no order. He affirms the reality and goodness of God (Elohim, never YHWH in the book). And he affirms the continuing need to fear God.

Chapters 4-11 mostly contain rather traditional wisdom observations, generally on the order of what can be found in the book of Proverbs. He gives advice for coping in a world where meaningful activity is hard to find. Granted, all may be ultimately meaningless, yet even Qohelet understands that life must be lived and might even be enjoyed for what it does have to offer.

Yet many of his observations tend to highlight the unfortunate or even tragic side of human experience. Note how Qohelet appends a cynical commentary to an otherwise commonplace proverbial statement.

> [10] The lover of money will not be satisfied with money;
> nor the lover of wealth with gain.
> This too is emptiness. (4:10)

Was Qohelet a heretic? For obvious reasons, the book of Ecclesiastes proved somewhat difficult to handle. It just does not contain the kind of upbeat, positive message that Jews wanted to hear. Yet the book was not just dismissed out of hand as the depressed (and depressing) ruminations of a tired old philosopher. There was truth in what Qohelet said, at least at some level. It probably rang true especially to Judeans who were looking to survive in a world dominated by Greek rule, where they felt at the mercy of higher political powers. They were unable to see God's larger purpose and felt unable to affect it significantly.

The Jewish community struggled to canonize Ecclesiastes. Because of its somewhat troubling observations, they perceived the need to retrieve the book from heresy and give it an orthodox patina. The editorial history of the book gives evidence of their efforts. Although there has been considerable discussion concerning the structure and editorial shape of the book, there is a general consensus that the core of the book of Ecclesiastes is 1:2 through 12:8. To this was added the introduction that "Solomonized" the book and a series of two, perhaps three, conclusions.

Verses 9-11 of chapter 12 break with the style of the rest of the book, which is aphoristic and autobiographical, and were probably written by a devoted disciple of Qohelet. They affirm the wisdom of Qohelet and his effectiveness as a thinker and teacher.

> [9] In addition to being wise, Qohelet taught the people knowledge, and how to judge, study and arrange many proverbs. [10] Qohelet looked for pleasing words and wrote truthful words plainly. [11] The sayings of the wise are like prods; like nails well set are the collected sayings of the one shepherd. (12:9-11)

Verses 13-14, on the other hand, were written by a theologian more conventional than Qohelet.

> [13] The end of the matter is this, all has been heard: Fear God, and keep his commandments. That is the whole duty of humankind. [14] For God will bring into judgment every deed, even every secret one, whether it is good or evil. (12:13-14)

The editor got the final say. It is as if he was worried that Qohelet's investigation would lead to nihilism or denial of God. "Lest you be tempted to abandon the faith," he says, "Fear God! Don't give up the faith, don't give up the demands of covenant! God still judges human actions. Lack of understanding is no excuse for immorality."

This concluding editorial is really quite remarkable. It attests the vitality of the faith of the postexilic community. It obviously accepted, even perhaps encouraged, the creative kinds of thinking that took Torah to the edge. It took great effort to apply Torah to their present circumstances. And the integration and synthesis were certainly not complete--yet room was made for theological thinking that stood on the verge of being unorthodox.

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2.9. The deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament. Which are they? Why are they called «deuterocanonical»? What are the main ideas in them? Why are they important for the study of the Old and New Testaments?

Tobit
Judith
Wisdom of Solomon
Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach
Baruch
1 Maccabees
2 Maccabees

a) Tobit

Tobit was probably composed around 180 B.C.E. It is a romantic story instructing, among other values, that God does indeed help those faithful to his laws. The *dramatis personae* are Tobit, a righteous exile in Nineveh; Anna, his wife; Tobias, his son; Sarah, a bride who loses seven bridegrooms in succession; Asmodeus, a demon who successively slays Sarah's bridegrooms on their wedding nights; and Raphael, the angel who defeats the demon.

Tobit is a pious short story of a righteous Hebrew of the northern captivity, Tobit, and his son Tobias. Tobit suffers persecution and privations because of his succour of fellow Israelites under the tyranny of Esarhaddon. At length he is blinded accidentally; and to his shame, his wife is obliged to support him. He prays that he may die. At the same time, prayer is offered by Sarah, a young Hebrew woman in Ecbatana, who is haunted by the demon Asmodaeus, who has slain seven suitors on their wedding night with her. The angel Raphael is sent 'to heal them both'. Tobias is sent by his father to collect 10 silver talents left in Media. Raphael takes on the form of Azariah, who is hired as a travelling companion. In the Tigris a fish is caught, and its heart, liver and gall are preserved by Tobias on Azariah's advice. Tobias arrives in Ecbatana and becomes betrothed to Sarah, who is found to be his cousin. On the bridal night he burns the heart and liver of the fish, the stench of which drives the demon away to Egypt. On his return home (preceded by his dog), where he had been given up as lost, Tobias anoints his father's eyes with the fish-gall and restores his sight. The story apparently originated in the Babylonian or Persian Exile, and its original language is likely to have been Aramaic. Three Greek recensions are known, and fragments in Hebrew and Aramaic have been found by the Dead Sea.

b) Judith

Judith, composed around 150 B.C.E., is a story about how the heroine Judith defeats and beheads Holofernes, the Assyrian general, and delivers her nation. The author intended to exhort Jews to reject evil, especially when it is represented by an invading enemy, and to be obedient to Torah. One of the most startling features of *Judith* is that the author had Judith pray to God to help her to lie.

Judith tells the story of a courageous young Jewess, a widow, and the overthrow of Nebuchadrezzar's host by her guile. A native of Bethulia, besieged by Holofernes, she visits

him in his camp, under the ruse of giving military secrets away: she then begins to entice him by her charms, until at length, banqueting with him alone at night, she is able to behead him. She then returns with his head to the city, greeted by rejoicing. The Assyrian(!) host retreats on the discovery of its general's assassination. Judith and the women of Bethulia rejoice in a psalm before God. The story is frank fiction—otherwise its inexactitudes would be incredible—and dates from the 2nd century BC. Its original was Hebrew, and a Greek translation in 4 recensions has preserved the tale for us

c) Wisdom of Solomon

The *Wisdom of Solomon,* perhaps written in the 1st century B.C.E., is a blend of Jewish wisdom traditions with Greek and Egyptian ideas. Wisdom is clearly personified.

The Wisdom of Solomon is perhaps the highlight of Jewish Wisdom writing. Its roots are in the stream of Wisdom literature which is to be found in the OT and Apocrypha, but here under the influence of Greek thought the book achieves a greater formality and precision than other examples of this literary type. The book is an exhortation to seek Wisdom. Chapters 1-5 declare the blessings which accrue upon the Jews who are the seekers after Wisdom; chapters 6-9 speak the praises of the divine Wisdom, hypostatized as a feminine celestial being, foremost of the creatures and servants of God; chapters 10-19 review OT history in illustration of the theme that throughout it Wisdom has helped her friends the Jews, and has brought punishment and damnation upon her adversaries. The work may thus be interpreted as an encouragement to Jews not to forsake their ancestral faith, but the missionary motive so evident in Hellenistic Judaism is not lacking. The author drew on sources in Hebrew, but it appears clear that the work as it stands was composed in Greek, since its prosody is Greek, and it makes use of Greek terms of philosophy and depends on the Greek version of the OT. The description of Wisdom, in which Stoic and Platonic terminology is utilized, and the author's convictions about the immortality of the soul, are the points at which his dependence on Greek thought is most clearly in evidence. In the opinion of most scholars there are no conclusive arguments for subdividing the authorship of the book, but various sources may be discerned. The author of the book is unknown, but an Alexandrian origin is most likely.

d) Ecclesiasticus

Ben Sira (Sirach or Ecclesiasticus) was probably composed around 180 B.C.E. by a conservative teacher in Jerusalem. It is an apology for Judaism and a critique of Greek culture. Typical themes are the reverence for the Temple, the Torah, and the belief in one God who is just and merciful. A Heb mss of *Ben Sira* was found at Masada.

Ecclesiasticus is the name given in its Greek dress to the Wisdom of Joshua ben-Sira. He was a Palestinian living in Jerusalem, and parts of his work survive in the original Hebrew in MSS of the Cairo Geniza. The work figures in Greek among the apocrypha in the translation made by his grandson, who furnishes chronological details in a preface. The most likely date for Ben-Sira himself is *c.* 180 BC, since his grandson apparently migrated to Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy VII Euergetes (170-117 BC). The author composed his work in two parts, chapters 1-23 and 24-50, with a short appendix, chapter 51. Like the Wisdom books, it is advice for a successful life conceived in the widest sense; fear of the Lord and the observance of his law are allied in the author's experience and teaching with practical 'wisdom' drawn from observation and his own life. Personal piety will express itself in the observance of the law, in which Wisdom is revealed; and in daily living moderation will be the keynote of all aspects of life. The second book concludes with the praise of famous men, a list of the worthies of Israel, ending with Simon II the high priest (*c.* 200 BC), who is known also from the Mishnah (*Aboth* 1:2) and Josephus (*Ant.* 12. 224). The book represents the beginnings of the ideal of the scribe, such as Ben-Sira himself, which became the type of orthodox Jewry—devoted to God, obedient to the law, sober in living and setting the highest value on learning in the law. It became a favourite Christian book, as its title ('The Church-book') shows; and though never canonical among the Jews, it was held in high honour by them, being occasionally cited by the Rabbis as if it were Scripture. The Syriac version is of Jewish origin and is based upon the Hebrew text.

e) Baruch

1 Baruch dates from the 1st or 2d centuries B.C.E., and is composite. It opens with an acknowledgment that Jerusalem was destroyed because of Israel's sins and with a plea for God's forgiveness. It then moves through a poetic celebration of wisdom, to a description of how the lament from Jerusalem was heard.

The Book of Baruch is allegedly the work of the friend and scribe of Jeremiah. The work is brief, but, in the opinion of most scholars, it is a composite work, variously attributed to two, three or four authors. It falls into the following sections. (*a*) 1:1-3:8. In the setting of the Babylonian Exile of 597, Baruch is depicted as addressing the exiles, setting out a confession of sins, a prayer for forgiveness and a prayer for salvation. (*b*) 3:9-4:4. This section sets out the praises of Wisdom which may be found in the law of Moses, and without which the heathen have come to naught, but with which Israel will be saved. (*c*) 4:5-5:9. A lament of Jerusalem over the exiles, followed by an exhortation to Jerusalem to be comforted, since her children will be brought back to their home. The first part was patently written in Hebrew, and, although the Greek of the two later sections is more idiomatic, a plausible case for a Hebrew original can be made.

f) 1 & 2 Maccabees

1 Maccabees, composed near the end of the 2d century B.C.E., celebrates the military exploits of the Maccabees up to the rule of John Hyrcanus. The author is pro-Hasmonean, but does not articulate the importance or value of martyrdom. This document is a major source for studying the history of 2d-century Palestine.

1 Maccabees covers events between 175 and 134 BC, *i.e.* the struggle with Antiochus Epiphanes, the wars of the Hasmonaeans, and the rule of John Hyrcanus. The book ends with a panegyric on John and was evidently written just after his death in 103 BC. Originally written in Hebrew, it is translated in the literal style of parts of the LXX. The aim of the work is to glorify the family of the Maccabees seen as the champions of Judaism.

2 Maccabees, written in the latter part of the 2d century or the early decades of the 1st century B.C.E., is an epitome of the lost five-volume history by Jason of Cyrene. Much more theologically oriented than 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees stresses the resurrection of the body, the efficaciousness of martyrdom, and the revelatory dimension of miracles. It is anti-Hasmonean. Two letters introduce the Epitome. The first is probably authentic, was composed around 124 B.C.E. in a Semitic language, and is an appeal to celebrate Hanukkah. The second letter is probably inauthentic, dates between 103 and 60 B.C.E., and may have been composed in Greek.

2 Maccabees is a work of different origin: its subject-matter covers much of the same history as its namesake, but does not continue the history beyond the campaigns and defeat of Nicanor. Its unknown author is sometimes called the 'epitomist', since much of his book is excerpted from the otherwise unknown work of Jason of Cyrene. There are a number of discrepancies in chronological and numerical matters between the two works, and it is customary to place more reliance on 1 Maccabees. There is debate also over the historical value of the letters and edicts which figure in the two works. Nevertheless, neither work is to be discredited as an historical source.

3. OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY

3.1. The problems of using the Old Testament as a source for the study of the history of Israel. Is the Old Testament a book of «history» or of «historiography» in the modern sense of the word? Why or why not?

The documents of the Hebrew Bible that deal with the rise of Israel and the events of the monarchy are not first of all historiographic literature. The Deuteronomistic History and the Chronicler's History both drew upon historical sources such as court chronicles and lists. But the DH and CH themselves are ideological literature; that is, they bring a certain perspective to bear on the telling. These works may thus tell us a great deal about the spirit of their times as well as the events of national history. But authorities do not take the latter for granted without independent verification. There is a strong tendency in modern studies to view the DH as a type of literature rather than as historical chronicle.

As it just so happens, no external references to events recorded in the Deuteronomistic History exist until relatively late. No text references or artifactual remains have been found that can confirm the accuracy or even the happenedness of biblical history from Joshua all the way until the time of Omri, the Israelite king of the ninth century B.C.E. This does not mean that the biblical story is necessarily inaccurate or that its players did not exist. Reasonable historians are quick to point out that absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. Still, it is fair to say the climate in modern biblical studies lends itself to historical skepticism given the arguably ideological nature of the texts and the ambiguous witness of external evidence.

The academic study of the ancient Middle East has divorced itself from the goal it had in earlier times of reinforcing the accuracy of the biblical text. Today Palestinian archaeology and textual studies are pursued largely as disciplines independent of a biblical agenda. However, they retain a utility for those in biblical studies because they serve to build a context for Israel's story. Conditions in Palestine from the time of Israel's entry into the land until the end of the biblical period have been brightly illumined by the social sciences, though a great deal of work remains to be done. Archaeology has clarified the patterns of settlement, the movements of peoples, population densities, and material culture in all its variations. Social anthropology has defined the nature of tribal societies, patterns of nomadism and urbanization, political processes, and the formation and organization of nation states. Historical and textual analysis of official and popular documents will clarify political, economic and social conditions. These disciplines will continue indirectly to illumine the biblical story from the outside.

3.2. Traditional chronology of the Patriarchal Era, of the stay in Egypt and of the exodus, of the installation in Canaan (or the «conquest») and of the beginning of the monarchy (Saul and David).

ca. 1800-1700 - ***Patriarchal Era -***

God promises to give the Holy Land to the descendants of Abraham (see Gen 12-50); the first four generations include the following main characters:

Abraham & Sarah (also her handmaid Hagar)
Isaac & Rebekah (also his elder brother Ishmael)
Jacob = Israel (with two wives and two handmaids)
Twelve Sons of Jacob = Twelve Tribes of Israel (Judah, Levi, Joseph, etc.)

ca. 1700-1300 - ***Stay in Egypt -***

Israelites (a.k.a. Hebrews) in Egypt, where they are welcome at first, but later endure worsening conditions and slavery (see Gen 46-50; Exod 1-2)

ca. 1250 - ***Moses and the Exodus -***

Plagues; Passover; Exodus from Egypt (possibly during reign of Pharoah Rameses II, 1279-1213); Law on Mount Sinai; Wandering in the Desert for 40 years (see Exod - Deut)

ca. 1200-1030 - ***Installation in Canaan*** -

The conquest of Promised Land; loose confederation of the tribes of Israel (see Josh-Judg)

ca. 1030-930 bc - ***United Kingdom Of Israel*** -

The "Golden Age" of the Israelite Monarchy, as Egypt's power declines and before Assyria's empire rises

ca. 1030 - twelve tribes united more closely under a monarchy; first ruler is King Saul; continual war with Philistines (see 1 Sam)

ca. 1000 - conquest of the Jebusite city of Jerusalem by the army of King David; Jerusalem becomes the capital of all Israel; David consolidates his rule and expands the kingdom (see 1 & 2 Sam)

3.3. The more important kings mentioned in the Old Testament: David, Solomon, Jeroboam I, Jeroboam II, Hezekiah, Josiah. What are the most important facts of their reigns? With which kings are the prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Jeremiah associated? With which king is the deuteronomistic reform associated? Why?

David	Israel's second and greatest king, David rose to power from humble circumstances and amid many difficulties; he captured Jerusalem, established it as his capital, unified the nation, and built an empire that stretched from Egypt to Mesopotamia during a 40-year reign, ca. 1010–970 B.C.E. He was a man of many talents—a shepherd, musician, poet, warrior, politician, administrator—but he is most prominent as the king par excellence, as the standard for all later kings, and as a messianic symbol.

As he is presented in the Bible, David was ideally suited to the tasks of kingship that came to him. His popular following, his victories over the Philistines and others, and his establishment of a powerful kingdom show him to have been a shrewd military strategist and motivator. His successful courting of the factions in Israel and Judah, and his forging of a united Israel that retained its identity for close to 80 years, showed his political skills; and his descendants were able to retain their position on the throne in Jerusalem for centuries afterward. Administratively, his establishment of the military, civil, and religious bureaucracies displayed yet another dimension of his talents.

David's skills as a poet, musician, and sponsor of music were renowned as well. His compositions in 2 Samuel and the Davidic psalms demonstrate a poetic genius. His sponsorship of, and involvement in, religious celebrations in connection with the ark show his musical talents and interests. We even read of "instruments of David" that he created or that were somehow associated with him (2 Chr 29:26; Neh 12:36; cf. Amos 6:5).

In addition, David displayed a fine religious sensitivity for the most part. Certainly the Davidic psalms demonstrate this, although the actual composition of all of them by David is disputed. Even outside the Psalter, however, David's relationship with his God, his concern for others' welfare, his ready repentance when confronted with his sin, and his concerns for the religious matters pertaining to the temple and the cult all evidence this as well.

Ultimately, however, David's lasting significance lay in his position as YHWH's chosen king for Israel and as the father of the royal dynasty that YHWH chose to bless. He occupied a midpoint between his great ancestor Abraham and his great descendant Jesus. The promises made to David stood in continuity with those to Abraham, and they pointed to a messianic ideal of great promise for the world, an ideal that, so Christians have affirmed, found its expression in Jesus, the Christ.

Solomon	The third king of the kingdom of Israel and the second king of the kingdom of Judah in the 10th century B.C. He is especially renowned for his WISDOM and for the construction of the Temple.

Solomon inherited from David the United Kingdom of Israel, which David had established by the personal union of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, with a vast area of conquered lands stretching over the bulk of Palestine and part of Syria. This was a great inheritance not easy to maintain, but Solomon successfully executed the difficult task. As to domestic issues, he accomplished, among others, the following five matters which had been prepared but left unfinished by David: (1) the consolidation of the kingship through a thorough purge of political enemies; (2) the development of the administrative organization; (3) the Temple building with the construction of the royal palace; (4) the crystallization of Zion theology around the doctrine of Yahweh's joint election of the House of David and of Jerusalem/Zion; and (5) the reinforcement of the defense system.

As to the relationship with the neighboring countries, Solomon gave up the expansionism of David and held peaceful relations with them through diplomacy and trade. Except for a problematic report on the conquest of Hamath-zobah (2 Chr 8:2), we have no information on any military campaign of Solomon. On the contrary, he lost the S territory in Edom and retreated in the N border before Damascus. Nevertheless, we should not underestimate the strength of the military power and the defense system which he maintained. It was strong enough to have a showdown with the invading army of Pharaoh.

By taking advantage of the geographical position, Solomon shrewdly increased the revenue not only by collecting toll from caravans passing through his kingdom but also by launching international trade. His active operations in diplomacy and trade made in wealthy and raised his prestige in the international community. As a result, Jerusalem became one of the important centers into which various information and technology came from every corner of the world. Under the stimulus of foreign cultures the royal court served as the center of intellectual creativity. The legendary tradition of Solomon's fabulous wisdom must have stemmed from the Solomonic court with its international surroundings.

In short, the kingdoms of Judah and Israel enjoyed prosperity and peaceful life in the days of Solomon. However, this was not without malcontents, especially among the N tribes. The zealots of Yahwism condemned the religious tolerance and syncretism in the Solomonic society. The traditionalists refused to accept the Zion theology, which was formed as the ideology of the Judean dynasty ruling over Israel. Above all, the N tribes were so discontented with the heavy tax and forced labor, imposed with a bias favoring Judah, that they revolted under the leadership of Jeroboam ben Nebat. Solomon suppressed the revolt, but this problem became the direct cause of the division of the kingdom immediately after his death. He hardly succeeded in bequeathing the Davidic rule over Israel which he had inherited from David. But this sober reality faded away in later traditions in which "Solomon in all his glory" (Matt 6:29) remained as his formal portrait.

Jeroboam I	The son of Nebat, and the first king of the N kingdom of Israel (ca. 922–901 B.C.E.). Prior to his elevation to the N Israelite kingship, Jeroboam had served in Solomon's royal administration. He eventually opposed Solomon's policies and rebelled against the king. He fled to Egypt to escape Solomon's wrath and remained there until Solomon's death. Jeroboam subsequently returned home and was elevated to the kingship by the N Israelite tribes. He proceeded to develop a religiopolitical system for the new nation to establish its independence from the Davidic kingdom of Judah in the S. For this, Jeroboam is remembered in biblical tradition as the king who led Israel to sin, setting the new nation on its fateful course of decline and fall.	
Jeroboam II	The son and successor of Joash (2 Kgs 14:23–29). He was the grandson of Jehu and a contemporary of Amaziah and Uzziah, kings of Judah (2 Kgs 14:23; 15:1). Jeroboam is said to have enjoyed a lengthy reign of forty-one years (ca. 786–746 B.C.E.). By material standards it was a glorious reign, but was marked by extreme wealth and poverty (Am. 2:6-7), empty religious ritual (Am. 5:21-24; 7:10-17) and false security (Am. 6:1-8) are among the characteristics of Jeroboam's lengthy reign.	**Amos** **Hosea**
Hezekiah	Hezekiah was king of Judah ca. 715–687 B.C.E., the son and successor of Ahaz. He came to the throne at the age of 25 and ruled 29 years (2 Kgs 18:2; 2 Chr 29:1). Hezekiah undertook a major reform of religious practice in the 1st year of his sole reign (2 Ch. 29:3ff.). He re-established the true worship of Yahweh in the purified and renovated Temple, reaffirmed the covenant between Yahweh and his people, and reinstituted the Passover on a grand scale (2 Ch. 30:26)	**Isaiah**
Josiah	King of Judah ca. 640–609 B.C.E.; son and successor of Amon. Josiah after his father's murder was made king by the "people of the land"(2 Kgs 21:24; 2 Chr 33:25), designating especially the Judean landowners enjoying full citizen rights. He came to the throne at the age of eight and reigned for 31 years (2 Kgs 22:1; 2 Chr 34:1). He discovered in the Temple the "Book of the Law" in 621. This is understood to be Deut 12-26 - as his reforms focussing on centralisation of cult and condemnation of idolatory match the ideas of the Deuteronomic Code. Kings distinguishes three main aspects in Josiah's reform: the purge of the temple and its precincts, the destruction of the high places in Jerusalem and Judah, and the desecration of the sanctuaries in the old N kingdom (2 Kgs 23:4–20, 24).	**Jerem.**

3.4. What are the most important political and religious differences between the kingdom of the North and that of the South?

South: The S kingdom (Judah) was a sacral and centralized society ruled by what its citizens believed was the divinely chosen Davidic dynasty. It was a slow-moving, conservative, and highly traditional society. Jerusalem and its temple were the focus of Judah's national and religious life. Although the monarchy introduced Judah to foreign cultural perspectives, it absorbed these by modifying gradually its social system and religious traditions without significant social disruptions. Stability was the hallmark of the S kingdom. That is why it retained a single dynasty throughout its existence.

North: The N kingdom (Israel) did not enjoy the benefits that a stable political structure provided. In its 200 years of existence, it had 19 kings, only 10 of whom succeeded to the throne. Nine came by way of *coups d'état.* Assassination was the fate of seven of Israel's kings. One committed suicide.

Theoretically Israel valued the type of leadership that emerges in times of crisis over a hereditary monarchy. In reality, several of Israel's kings were little more than opportunists.
Though religiously, ethnically, and culturally the two kingdoms were parts of one whole, politically they were independent. The N kingdom was the more prosperous and powerful. It had more natural resources, a large population, and a greater military capability. In terms of international relations, Israel and Judah were just two of several minor kingdoms in Canaan.

A Touch of History: Two Kingdoms (922-721 B.C.E.)

Solomon may have died in peace but he left behind a precarious kingdom and a legacy of resentment. After his son Rehoboam took the throne, the northern leadership held a conference with him. They wanted to find out whether or not he would continue Solomon's oppressive policies. When Rehoboam refused to back down, they rebelled and opted out of the Davidic empire. Rehoboam was powerless to stop them.

In these events we see the old, fiercely independent spirit of the tribes reasserting itself. The kingdom reverted back to what it had been, a southern faction and a northern faction. Biblical historians may talk of a "United Kingdom," but while it lasted it was an unnatural alliance. It was only due to the military savvy and political genius of David that the two collections of tribes ever overcame their regional identities, put aside parochial differences, and became one kingdom.

The Northern Kingdom, now called Israel, chose Jeroboam to be its king. Jeroboam made Shechem his capital, the place of covenant renewal under Joshua and a city strongly associated with the tribal federation of the judges period. But Jeroboam had a serious problem: Israel, though politically independent of Judah, still worshiped Yahweh, the same god Judah worshiped. The religious practices of Yahwism were still associated with Jerusalem, the home base of the Davidic family. That was where the ark was housed, the temple was located, and the chief priest officiated. If the people had no choice but to go to Jerusalem to fulfill their religious duties, Jeroboam feared the people might develop divided loyalties.

To counter this threat he developed a version of Yahwism for Israel. He instituted alternate feast days, a new set of priests, and new religious centers. These religious centers, one at Bethel near the Judean border, and one at Dan near the northern border, housed golden bull statues which became the new symbols of divinity in Israel.

The powerful empire that once was David's no longer existed. In its place were two relatively small states, certainly insignificant compared to the empires of their day. They shared many of the same traditions and both still worshiped Yahweh, but they were different in other ways. The Elohist texts of the Torah, according to standard source analysis, come from the Northern Kingdom sometime in the ninth century.

Throughout its history, the Southern Kingdom of Judah was ruled by the Davidic family. It lasted as an independent nation until 587 B.C.E. Not so the Northern Kingdom, Israel, which never had a stable monarchy. Instead, one dynasty after another tried to establish itself, resulting in political instability. Israel only lasted as an independent nation for two hundred years. In 721 B.C.E. it was conquered by the Assyrian empire. Much of its population was dispersed throughout Assyrian territory, but some Israelites escaped south to Judah.

The religious and civil politics of this period inspired the prophetic movement in its classical form. Prophets could be pro- or anti-monarchy, pro-Israelite or pro-Judean, but their unifying distinctive characteristic was the transcendent moral perspective they brought to bear on the realm of human affairs.

3.5. Explain the importance of the following persons for the history of Israel: Tiglath-Pileser III, (Pûlu; see 2 Kings 15:17), Sennacherib, Neco, Nabuchadnezzar II, Cyrus, Alexander the Great.

a) Tiglath-Pileser III:

An Assyrian king who invaded N Israel twice, once intervening on behalf of Judah (2 Kgs 15:19–20, 29; 16:5–18; Tiglath-Pilneser in 1 Chr 5:6, 26; 2 Chr 28:16–21). Three kings in Assyrian history bore this name and two of them were outstanding monarchs, Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) and Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.). Only Tiglath-pileser III is mentioned in the Bible, where he is sometimes called Pul (Heb *pûl*), a form of his nickname Pulu (an abbreviation of the element *apil* in his name), which is attested in cuneiform records.

It is known from the royal inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III that Samaria, together with other major cities such as Damascus and Tyre, paid tribute to Assyria as early as 738 B.C. That the kingdom of Israel was submissive to Assyria in the reign of Menahem is confirmed by the biblical

narrative in 2 Kings. Certainly by 734 B.C. Tiglath-pileser was able to march right through Palestine without opposition and capture Gaza in the S. This was part of Tiglath-pileser's attempt to establish an Assyrian trading center on the border with Egypt.

This attempt in S Palestine and the Sinai was frustrated, however, by a major rebellion in the years 733–732 B.C. The leader of the rebellion was Rezin (*Rahianu* in cuneiform sources) of Damascus. Rezin was supported, among others, by Samaria, which was now ruled by Pekah. In 733 the Assyrians defeated Rezin's army and laid siege to Damascus. But when the city had not fallen after 45 days, Tiglath-pileser III gave up the attempt and returned to Assyria, carrying many people from the surrounding regions into exile. In the following year, 732 B.C., Damascus was once again attacked and this time captured.

According to the narrative in 2 Kgs 16:5–18, Tiglath-pileser III launched a campaign against Rezin of Syria because he together with Pekah of Israel had laid siege to Ahaz, king of Judah. Ahaz appealed to the Assyrian king for help and accompanied the appeal with a bribe. After the fall of Damascus Ahaz went there to pay homage to Tiglath-pileser. The biblical narrative continues to describe how Ahaz was impressed by Assyrian religious practices and tried to institute them in Jerusalem.

Pekah, king of Israel, who had been in league with Rezin of Damascus, was a target of Assyrian vengeance during this period. According to Assyrian records Pekah's army was defeated and various regions such as Gilead and Galilee were captured and their people taken back to Assyria in exile. Samaria, however, remained free and was not captured until the time of Shalmaneser V. Some time after the Assyrians defeated Pekah he was assassinated and replaced by Hoshea as king of Israel, who became an Assyrian vassal.

b) Sennacherib

The king of Assyria (704–681 B.C.) mentioned in connection with the invasion of Judah during the reign of Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:13–19:37 = Isa 36–37; 2 Chr 32:1–23). The biblical narratives about Sennacherib concern two major events, Sennacherib's invasion of Judah and Judah's involvement in a rebellion against Sennacherib led by Merodach-baladan of Babylonia.

A. Sennacherib's Invasion of Judah

In the Bible, the main narrative is found in 2 Kgs 18:13–19:37 and essentially the same narrative is found in Isaiah 36–37. In brief we read here that Hezekiah, king of Judah, was allied to Egypt, but when Sennacherib invaded Palestine and laid siege to Lachish, Hezekiah sent a valuable amount of treasure to Sennacherib at Lachish in an effort to buy off the Assyrian. Nevertheless, Sennacherib sent an army S under the leadership of his Tartan, his Rabsaris, and his Rabshakeh. Upon arrival the Rabshakeh approached the walls and addressed a speech to the inhabitants of Jerusalem who were sitting on the walls. In this eloquent speech he attempted to persuade the citizens to turn against their own king Hezekiah and their ally Egypt and surrender the city to the Assyrians without a fight. He pointed out that other cities of Syria and Palestine had had no success in withstanding Assyrian might and the Egyptians had not lifted a finger to help them. He called Egypt a "broken reed" which pierced the hand which leaned upon it. Hezekiah sent out emissaries to negotiate with the Rabshakeh and in particular to try and persuade him to stop speaking to the men on the wall in "the language of Judah." They pleaded with the Rabshakeh to speak in Aramaic since they did not want the common citizens to understand what was being said. The Rabshakeh however refused. The officials returned to Hezekiah reporting that their mission had been unsuccessful. Hezekiah asked the prophet Isaiah for advice. Isaiah counselled him not to submit to the Assyrians and predicted that they would withdraw of their own accord.

In the meantime the Rabshakeh returned to Sennacherib, who was now besieging Libnah, to report. At the same time a second report came in to Sennacherib that an army led by Tirhakah of Ethiopia was marching against the Assyrians. Curiously nothing further is said about this invasion. In response to the report of the Rabshakeh, Sennacherib sent a second message to Hezekiah which was essentially the same as the first. Hezekiah again consulted Isaiah, and Isaiah gave the same advice, do not submit for the Assyrians will withdraw of their own accord. The biblical narrative then proceeds to say that the "angel of the lord" descended upon the Assyrian camp at night and slew 185,000 warriors. When the survivors woke in the morning and saw their dead comrades, they retreated quickly to Assyria. The narrative concludes with a statement that Sennacherib was assassinated in Nineveh while worshiping in the temple of his god Nisroch. The assassins were two of his sons called Adram-melech and Sharezer, who subsequently fled to "the land of Ararat" (Urartu). Another son of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, then ascended the throne in Nineveh.

B. Judah and Merodach-baladan

The second major event in the Bible concerning the relations between Hezekiah and Sennacherib is described in 2 Kgs 20:12–19; 2 Chr 32:31; Isaiah 39. Once again the fullest version of the events is found in 2 Kings and Isaiah; only a brief summary is given in 2 Chronicles. In these passages we read that ambassadors were sent from Merodach-baladan of Babylonia to Hezekiah. Hezekiah received them cordially and showed them over his palace and treasury. Isaiah castigated Hezekiah for receiving them and predicted that in the future Babylonia would conquer Jerusalem.

c) Neco

An Egyptian Pharaoh of the 26th Dynasty (Saite), who ruled from 609 to 595 B.C.E. He is most well known for his role in the death of Josiah of Judah at Megiddo in 609 (2 Kgs 23:28–30 = 2 Chr 35:20–27), and for his brief control over Syria-Palestine in the closing years of the 7th century B.C.E. According to Babylonian sources, he was a major foe of Babylon during the last years of Assyria in the late 7th century B.C.E.

The sources for Neco's reign are biblical, Akkadian, and classical, and so are written from a perspective which does not reflect the Egyptian point of view. They consist of part of the biblical account of the last decades of the kingdom of Judah (2 Kings 23–24), some highly emotive poetry from the prophetic tradition (Jer 46:1–12), fragments of the neo-Babylonian Chronicles, and the history of Herodotus.

The great event of his reign was his expedition across Syria to secure for himself a share in the decaying empire of Assyria. In the days of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, Egypt had been tributary to Assyria, and, when it began to break up, Egypt and other subject kingdoms saw their opportunity to throw off its yoke. Psammetichus had turned back the Scythian hordes which had reached his border on their western march, and now his son Necoh was to make a bold stroke for empire.

On his expedition toward the East, he had to pass through the territory of Judah, and he desired to have Josiah its king as an ally. Whatever may have been his reasons, Josiah remained loyal to his Assyrian suzerain, declined the Egyptian alliance, and threw himself across the path of the invader. The opposing armies met on the battlefield of Megiddo, 608 BC, where Josiah was mortally wounded and soon after died amid the lamentations of his people. Necoh marched northward, captured Kadesh, and pressed on to the Euphrates. Not having met an enemy there, he seems to have turned back and established himself for a time at Riblah in Syria. To Riblah he summoned Jehoahaz whom the people had anointed king in room of his father Josiah, deposed him after a brief reign of 3 months, and set his brother Jehoiakim on the throne as the vassal of Egypt. Jehoiakim paid up the tribute of a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold which Necoh had imposed upon the land, but he recovered it by exactions which he made from the people (2 Ki 23:35).

d) Nebuchadnezzar

The second king of the Chaldean dynasty of Babylonia, successor to his father Nabopolassar. Nebuchadnezzar ruled for 43 years (605–562 B.C.). Before his reign began, he developed a considerable reputation as a field commander. In early 605 B.C. he took the initiative against Egyptian armies located south of Carchemish on the Euphrates River and won a decisive victory. After word was received of Nabopolassar's death, Nebuchadnezzar returned to Babylon to formally ascend his father's throne. He then left his capital city for Syria where, over the next three years, he forced a number of cities, including Damascus, to accept Babylonian suzerainty and provide tribute. From 601 to 598 B.C., his armies not only fought the Egyptians and their pharaoh Necho II (610–595 B.C.) but also penetrated Arabia, where they were able to carry off much plunder. While it appears that he suffered heavy losses in the engagement with Egypt in 601 B.C., he nevertheless (in 599) prepared to deal with Syria and the kingdom of Judah, whose king Jehoiakim subsequently lost his throne. In March of 597 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem and placed Zedekiah, Jehoiachin's uncle, in control.

Josephus, in his *Jewish Antiquities*, and the OT relate an account of a second siege of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. that resulted in the destruction of Solomon's temple and the beginning of the so-called Babylonian Captivity of the Jews that was to last until 538 B.C. Unfortunately, the Babylonian Chronicle breaks off after the entry for 594 and, thus far, no corroboration of this second campaign into Judah can be found in the cuneiform sources. In fact, his later campaigns against Tyre and Egypt referred to by Josephus cannot be precisely dated or completely accounted for in the cuneiform evidence. Nebuchadnezzar died in 562 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Amel-Marduk (OT Evil-Merodach) who, according to Jer 52:31, released the imprisoned Jehoiachin, former king of Judah, and gave him an allowance.

e) Cyrus

A great conqueror and statesman, Cyrus II was the founder of the Achaemenid empire. He was born ca. 590/589 B.C., most probably in Parsa, the modern Iranian province of Fars, but we know nothing historical about his early life. Much more is known of Cyrus after he came to the throne of Persia in 559 B.C. His career divides into four phases: (1) the triumphant war against Astyages and the Medes in 550 B.C.; (2) his successful campaigns against Lydia in 547 B.C. and the operations against Ionia following the fall of Sardis; (3) campaigns to the NE of the Iranian plateau between 546 and 540 B.C.; and (4) the conquest of Babylon in 539/538 B.C.

Cyrus' defeat of Babylon and the Babylonian empire, along with his previous conquests, brought the whole of the Near East within the Persian empire with the exception of Egypt. Strategically Cyrus's defeat of Babylon began when he conquered Lydia, thus greatly increasing the political and military isolation of Mesopotamia. Tactically the campaign began when Cyrus was fighting in the E and NE, for the Persians mounted a propaganda campaign against Nabonidus, the unpopular king of Babylon, prior to their invasion which proved so successful that the Neo-Babylonian empire ultimately fell almost without a battle. We have evidence of this propaganda campaign in native Mesopotamian cuneiform sources, but probably our best evidence comes from Second Isaiah. In Isa 45:1–3 the prophet speaks of Cyrus as the anointed of Yahweh who is destined to subdue all nations before him. In return for this favor, of course, the prophet notes (Isa 45:13) that Cyrus will restore the Jewish exiles to their native land. In short, Cyrus has been called by God to capture Babylon, to free the Jews from their bondage, and by inference to permit them to return to Jerusalem. It is suggested that Isaiah could so prophesy because he knew of the discontent with their own government among the Babylonians.

The policy of Cyrus to rule his empire by maintaining respect for local cultures and traditions is documented in his famous decree, probably issued in Ecbatana (modern Hamadan), permitting the Jews of Babylon to return to their native land and to rebuild their temple in Jerusalem (Ezra 1:1–4). Such a policy of remarkable tolerance based on a respect for individual people, ethnic groups, other religions, and ancient kingdoms must have seemed amazing to people who had grown accustomed to the governing techniques of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires, in which ruthless destruction, the deportation of people, and the forced integration of the conquered into the conqueror's political system had been common practice.

f) Alexander The Great

The youthful king of Macedon whose pan-hellenic expedition of 336 BC to liberate the Greeks of Asia Minor unexpectedly demolished the Persian Empire. Only the mutiny of his troops turned him back in India, and he died in 323 while planning the conquest of the W. His generals established the concert of Hellenistic kingdoms to which the Herods performed the epilogue. Probably from necessity rather than idealism, Alexander abandoned the isolationism of the Greeks in favour of racial cooperation. Hellenism became an international norm of civilization. Hence the agonies of the Jews in the Maccabean age, and the tensions that surrounded the crucifixion. Hence also the inspiration of the cosmopolitan philosophies that chimed in with Christian ideals. Presumably it is Alexander to whom reference is made in Dn. 8:21; 11:3.

The effects of Alexander's reign and conquests were far reaching. From the wars which broke out among his generals after his death there eventually emerged the great successor kingdoms of the East, each under its Macedonian dynastic family; the most important are Ptolemaic Egypt and Seleucid Syria. These are the states in which Hellenic civilization became modified into what is now called Hellenistic civilization. The Near East was opened up to Greek and Macedonian settlement and exploitation. Great cosmopolitan cities, each with its Greco-Macedonian upper class, grew up in the successor kingdoms, the most famous of which was Alexander's own Alexandria in Egypt, with its royally founded and endowed library and museum. Greek, in its modified *koine* form, became the language of the educated classes throughout the Near East. As early as the third century the OT was translated into Greek at Alexandria and Greek was the language of the NT. The Greeks who migrated to these new cities took with them their culture as well as their language and thus brought about the spread of Hellenism. Nor was the process one-sided; Asian art, literature, and, above all, religion exerted increasing influence on the Greeks. For Greek religion offered little, either in the present or the future, to the ordinary person. But the mysteries of Isis and Osiris, Sarapis, Mithras, and eventually Christianity, which promised a life of bliss hereafter, were eagerly embraced by Greeks and Macedonians both in Asia and in the old country. During the second century Rome rapidly became the dominant power in the eastern Mediterranean, and it was this Hellenistic Greek civilization that overcame the fierce victors. Greek ideas, science, and literature were absorbed by the Romans and modified by their own native traditions and ways. The resulting Greco-Roman culture was in its turn transported by the Romans to their western provinces and so formed the basis of the civilization not only of the Latin countries, but of all western Europe.

3.6. The fall of Samaria, the fall of Jerusalem and the exile in Babylon: the date and main information concerning these events; a brief chronology of these events, names of the main historical persons who were involved, the biblical books (historical and prophetic) which speak of these events.

721 - Fall of Samaria

2 Kings 17:1-41
Shalmaneser - King of Assyria
Hoshea - King of Israel
Hoshea made overtures to King So of Egypt and withheld tribute to Shalmamaser.
Shalmanaser imprisoned Hoshea
Shalmanaser invaded Israel and beseiged it for 3 years (724-722)
Samaria fell to Shalmanaser's successor Sargon II.
He deported many Israelites. (His own records speak of 27,290)

586 - Fall of Jerusalem

2 Kings 25; Jeremiah 52; 2 Chronicles 36
Nebuchadnezzar - King of Babylonia
Jehoiakim - King of Judah

After 721 B.C.E. Judah was the only kingdom of "Israelites" left; the territory north of Judah was now an Assyrian province. Ahaz, the Judean king at the time of Israel's demise, remained loyal to Assyria, but his son, Hezekiah, established alliances with Egypt and Babylon as a hedge against Assyria. This roused Sennacherib, king of Assyria, to mount an attack on Jerusalem in 701 B.C.E. Under mysterious circumstances Sennacherib withdrew his troops before achieving the surrender of the city. During this crisis Isaiah supported the Davidic dynasty in principle but criticized its particular rulers

Manasseh, the next king of Judah, ruled for forty-five years, content to submit to the Assyrians and benefit from the international peace that came from the arrangement. Toward the end of his reign Assyria was on the decline, and Babylonia was gaining strength and territory. By the mid-seventh century B.C.E. things were astir in the ancient Middle East, and even Egypt was reasserting influence in Canaan.

Into this volatile situation Josiah assumed the throne in Judah. He was greeted as a David "reborn." He won back some territory in the north. He also backed a major religious reform in Judah, a reform that is intimately associated with the book of Deuteronomy. At this same time Jeremiah and Zephaniah challenged Judah to return to faith during its stand against mighty Babylonia.

In 622 B.C.E., during the reign of Josiah a scroll was found in the Jerusalem temple in the course of cleaning up the sanctuary to return it to authentic Yahwistic worship. The scroll contained a collection of laws that originated in the Northern Kingdom. This scroll has been identified as the core of the present book of Deuteronomy. Called the "book of the covenant," it inspired serious Yahwistic revival in Judah, entailing sweeping political and religious changes.

Meanwhile, Nebuchadnezzar was extending Babylonian influence westward. Defeating the combined forces of Assyria and Egypt at Carchemish in 605 B.C.E., he now had access to Canaan, including Judah. Nahum gloated over the destruction of once mighty Nineveh, the capital of Assyria.

Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem in 597 B.C.E., deported its king Jehoiachin to Babylon, along with many of Jerusalem's influential citizens, and placed Zedekiah on the throne expecting him to be cooperative. When Zedekiah made an alliance with Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar returned to Jerusalem in 587 and destroyed Jerusalem, including its temple. Zedekiah was blinded and taken away captive. In a second deportation, Nebuchadnezzar took even more of Jerusalem's citizenry to Babylon, and rendered Judah incapable of challenging him again. Habakkuk agonized over a divine justice that could employ wicked Babylonia to punish God's chosen people

3.7. The reform of Ezra and Nehemiah. The origin and general evolution of the Maccabean revolt.

a) Reform of Ezra and Nehemiah

The return from Babylonian exile, the process of rebuilding Jerusalem, and the restoration of Jewish community life back in Judea took place in four stages.

I. 538 B.C.E. **Sheshbazzar** led a return after Cyrus, king of Persia (550-530), gave permission. Temple rebuilding was begun, but due to economic hardship and local opposition it was not finished at that time.
II. 522 B.C.E. **Zerubbabel** and **Jeshua**, the high priest, led a second group of Jews back to Palestine during the reign of Darius I (522-486). They succeeded in completing a temple in Jerusalem in 515.
III. 458 B.C.E. **Ezra** led a group of Jews back to Palestine during the reign of Artaxerxes I (465-424) and reestablished adherence to Mosaic standards of law and religion.
IV. 445 B.C.E. **Nehemiah** organized the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem and returned religious and civil authority to the Levites.

The book of Ezra-Nehemiah is a single unit consisting of three identifiable sections, each centered around a significant leader of the restoration.

Ezra Memoirs (Ezra 7-10, Nehemiah 8-9)

Chapters 7-10 of the book of Ezra, along with Nehemiah 8-9, which were misplaced, deal with Ezra the scribe.

Ezra was a priest descended from the line of Aaron through Zadok. Also called a scribe, he was a court official under the Persian king Artaxerxes I. He returned to Judea from Babylon in 458 with another group of refugees. Ezra had the full authorization of the Persian government to reestablish proper modes of Yahweh worship and adherence to the Torah of Moses.

*Ezra's Mission***.**

Authorities debate the date of Ezra's mission. The seventh year of Artaxerxes I (Ezra 7:7) would be 458 B.C.E., the date we use. The problem is this: Ezra and Nehemiah do not seem to acknowledge each other, and they seem to work independently of each other, even though the straightforward reckoning of their dates puts them in Jerusalem at the same time. Consequently, some scholars place Ezra after Nehemiah, and read thirty-seventh year of Artaxerxes, rather than seventh, thus placing the beginning of Ezra's mission in 428. Still others place the beginning in 398 during the reign of Artaxerxes II (404-358). Nehemiah 8:9 and 12:26, 36 place Ezra and Nehemiah in Jerusalem at the same time, though these are often judged to be late editorial insertions.

In Ezra's analysis, one of the most serious problems among the Judeans was mixed marriages. In the interim, male Judeans had married Canaanite, Hittite, Ammonite, Moabite, and Egyptian women. Ezra saw this as a breach of the injunction to remain separate from non-Israelite people. Intermarriage promoted assimilation and was a threat to Yahwistic religion. Israel's theological historians had concluded that one of the biggest reasons for Israel's downfall was intermarriage with Canaanites that led to idolatry.

Ezra required the men to divorce their non-Jewish wives and expel them, along with any children of the marriage. It was a time of great anxiety and mourning, but the priests, Levites, and ordinary people who had married foreign women carried out the directive.

Ezra also rededicated the people to keeping the Torah (see Nehemiah 8-9). He assembled all Jewish adults in Jerusalem and read the Torah to them in Hebrew. However, because Hebrew was no longer the native tongue, having been replaced by Aramaic during the exile, there were translators who interpreted the text to the people as he read. Such an Aramaic translation of a Hebrew original is called a *targum.* This is the first biblical attestation of the practice of Scripture translation from one language to another.

After the Torah was read and interpreted, the people celebrated the Festival of Booths, which is a commemoration of the wilderness wandering period of their early history. Then Ezra offered a prayer to God, recounting the history of God and his people from creation to that moment. This is not unlike other covenant renewal events, such as the ones under Moses (the entire book of Deuteronomy), Joshua (Joshua 24), and Samuel (1 Samuel 12). Such covenant renewal occasions were times of corporate reflection and rededication to the compact with Yahweh.

Nehemiah Memoirs (Nehemiah 1-7, 10-13)

Nehemiah was an official at the court of Artaxerxes I in Susa. He traveled to Jerusalem in 445bc. to be the governor of the Persian empire's province of Jehud, that is, Judea. His great accomplishment was rebuilding the enclosure walls of Jerusalem. His work was opposed by Sanballat, leader of the Samaritans, and Tobiah, leader of the Ammonites. They saw this as a threat to their power in the region. On various occasions they tried to stop the work, and they tried to assassinate Nehemiah.

Nehemiah and his crew were able to complete the rebuilding of the walls in fifty-two days in spite of the opposition. These walls gave Jerusalem the protection and security its people needed. Nehemiah served twelve years as governor of the province and then returned to Babylon in 433.

Shortly afterward he returned to Jerusalem and instituted some important religious reforms. He closed the city on the Sabbath so that no trading could take place. He guaranteed that the Levites would receive their proper support, and like Ezra, he forbade mixed marriages.

b) The origin and evolution of the Maccabean Revolt

167 Antiochus IV issues a decree abolishing Jewish religion.
He defiles the temple (1 Macc. 1:54-59; 2 Macc. 6:2-5; Dan. 11:31).
He tortures those who refused to comply.
Mattathias, an old priest in Modein, N.W. of Jerusalem, refuses to cooperate, kills an idolatrous Jew and flees with his five sons: John, Eleazar, Judas, Jonathan, Simon.
The Maccabean revolt (and the Hasmonean dynasty) begins. See *1 Macc.*2:15-28.
On the zeal of Phinehas, see Num.25:6-15; Psm.106:28-31; Sir.45:23-24; 1 Macc.2:27, 54.
*1 Macc.*2:29-38: a band of rebels hiding in the desert are attacked on the Sabbath. They refuse to defend themselves and are slaughtered.
*1 Macc.*2:39-41: Mattathias and company determine to fight even on Sabbath--they would break the Torah for the sake of Torah.
166/165 Mattathias delivers his final testament (*1 Macc.*2:49-68) and dies (*1 Macc.*2:69-70).
Judas ("Maccabeus"='the hammerer'), 3rd son of Mattathias, becomes commander of about 3000 rebel forces.

165-164 The rebels successfully wage guerilla warfare on the Syrian forces lead by Antiochus' commander, Lysias (while Antiochus is away in Persia raising funds).
To explore how the author of 1 Maccabees makes good use of his characters' *speeches* and *prayers*, see 3:18-22, 58-60; 4:8-11, 17-18; 4:30-33.
For examples of *circumlocutions* (like "kingdom of *heaven*" in Matthew) see 1 Macc. 3:18, 19, 50, 60; 4:10, 24, 40, 55.

164 The temple is purified.
They store the stones from the profaned Altar of Burnt Offering.
On the hope for a future prophet, see *1 Macc.*4:44-46; 14:41; *Deut.*18:15; *Mal.*4:5.
The altar is rebuilt and sacrifices resume on 25th of Chislev (= November/December).
This event is celebrated as the 8 day *Feast of Hannukah* (began on Dec.24, 1997). See *1 Macc.*4:36-58.

4. INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

4.1. GENERAL QUESTIONS:

4.1.1. The principal literary genres of the New Testament

Gospels - proclamations of the "good news" about Jesus intended to establish and/or strengthen people's faith in him; quasi-biographical, semi-historical portraits of the life, teachings, and actions of Jesus (Mark, Matt, Luke, John)

Acts - a partial narrative account about the beginnings and the growth of early Christianity; not a complete history of the early Church, since it focuses only on the actions of a few missionary leaders (Acts)

Letters - real letters addressing practical and theological issues relevant to particular communities (Paul's)

Epistles/Encyclicals - more stylized literary works in letter format; "circular letters" intended for broader audiences (1 & 2 Peter)

Apocalypse - a vividly symbolic narrative that "reveals" God's views about a historical crisis, in order to provide encouragement for a difficult present and hope for a better future (Rev)

Other genres:
Church Orders - collections of instructions for the practical organization of religious communities (1 Tim, Titus)
Testament - a document that gives a dying person's last wishes and instructions for his/her successors (2 Tim & 2 Peter)
Homily/Sermon - an exegetical sermon that cites and interprets older biblical texts in reference to Jesus (Heb)
Wisdom Collection - a collection of general instructions on how to live an ethical Christian life well (James)

4.1.2. Date of Writing - Jerusalem Bible (Brown - Intro).

Mk	64	(60-75)
Mt, Lk, Ac	70-80	(80-90)
1Th, 2Th	50	
Phlp	56-7	
1Co, 2Co	57	
Ga, Rm	57-8	(Ga: 54-55)
Col, Eph, Phil	61-63	(Col: 80s, Eph: 90s)
1Tm, 2Tm,Tt	65-80	(90s or 2Tm poss. 68-69)
Hb	70-80	(80s)
Jd, 2Pt	70-80	(Jd: 90-100, 2Pt 130)
Jm, 1Pt	62	(Jm: 80-100, 1Pt: 70-90)
Apoc	95	
Jn, 1Jn	100	(Jn 90-100, 1Jn, 2Jn, 3Jn c.100)

4.1.3. Meaning of the following adjectives in relation to the writings of the New Testament: anonymous, apocryphal, authentic, pseudepigraphic. Give examples of each.

anonymous: An unsigned work. The work does not make manifest it's author. *Hebrews*

apocryphal: In general, the term "New Testament Apocrypha" has come to refer to that corpus of early Christian literature that shares with the writings of the NT proper—with respect either to form and content, or to similar claims to apostolic derivation—a common self-consciousness in laying claim to the authority that derives from the age of Christian origins. Like the books of the NT, the apocryphal NT writings derive from various early Christian communities and from various time periods. But unlike the books that have come down to us as the "canonical NT," the apocryphal

writings generally did not achieve the level of widespread ecclesiastical use that would have prompted their inclusion in most of the early Christian canonical lists. *The Gospel of Thomas*

authentic: Their are well founded reasons for evaluating the work as being written by the signatory. *Philippians*

pseudepigraphic: "Pseudepigraphy" denotes the incorrect (i.e., false) attribution of authorship to famous persons. This term derives from two Greek words: *pseud*, "false," and *epigraphos*, "superscription." Emphasis must be placed on the fact that scholars judge only the titles to be "false"; the writings themselves can be invaluable. Several epistles traditionally ascribed to Paul, including *Ephesians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and possibly 2 Thessalonians*, are pseudepigraphical.

4.1.4. What is a canonical work? Give the name of one non-canonical work in ancient Christian literature.

The word "canon" comes from the Gk *kanon* "measuring stick." By extension it came to mean "rule" or "standard," a tool used for determining proper measurement. Consequently, the word has come to be used with reference to **the corpus of scriptural writings that is considered authoritative and standard for defining and determining "orthodox" religious beliefs and practices**. Books not considered authoritative and standard are often called "noncanonical" or "extracanonical." Generally speaking, the corpus of authoritative books is called the "Bible," although obviously the Christian Bible (or canon) differs from that of Judaism. *Shepherd of Hermas.*

Canonicity was determined based on:

1. ***Apostolic Origin*** – attributed to and based on the preaching/teaching of the first-generation apostles (or their close companions).
2. ***Universal Acceptance*** – acknowledged by all major Christian communities in the ancient world (by the end of the fourth century).
3. ***Liturgical Use*** – read publicly when early Christian communities gathered for the Lord's Supper (their weekly worship services).
4. ***Consistent Message*** – containing a theological outlook similar or complementary to other accepted Christian writings.

4.1.5. What is meant by high Christology and low Christology?

High Christology: The divine made man (Word Incarnate) *John*
Low Christology: The human reveals the divine (Son of God) *Mark*

4.1.6. What are the main theological characteristics of the Christology, ecclesiology, eschatology and moral theology of the principal New Testament writings?.

4.2. GOSPEL AND ACTS:

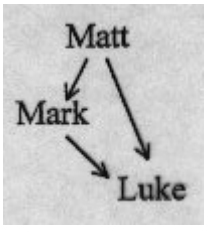
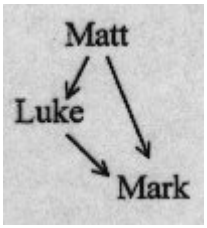
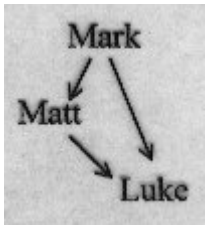
4.2.1. What does the synoptic question mean? What are the main solutions that have been proposed? What is meant by the theory of the two sources?

The "Synoptic Gospels" - The Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, and Luke are so similar to each other that, in a sense, they view Jesus "with the same eye" (*syn-optic*), in contrast to the very different picture of Jesus presented in the Fourth Gospel (John) or the non-canonical Gospels. Yet there are also many significant differences between the three Synoptic Gospels.

The "Synoptic Problem" - The similarities between Matthew, Mark and Luke are so numerous and so close, not just in the order of the material presented but also in the exact wording of long stretches of text, that it is not sufficient to explain these similarities on the basis of common oral tradition. Rather, some type of literary dependence must be assumed. That is, someone copied from someone else; some of the evangelists made use of one or more previous Gospels as sources for

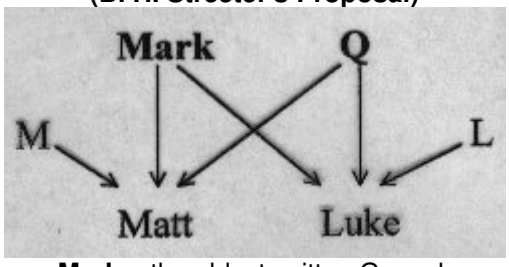
their own compositions. The situation is complicated because some common material is in all three Synoptics but other material is in only two out of three. Moreover, the common material is not always presented in the same order in the various Gospels. So the question remains, who copied from whom?

Some Proposed Solutions:

The Traditional Theory (Augustinian Hypothesis)	**The Griesbach Theory (Two-Gospel Hypothesis)**	**The Farrer/Goulder Theory (with Markan Priority)**
		

The Two-Source Theory (the solution accepted by most, but not all, scholars today):

The Two-Source Theory
(B. H. Streeter's Proposal)



Mark = the oldest written Gospel,
which provided the *narrative framework* for both Matt & Luke
Q = "Quelle" = a hypothetical written "Source" of some *sayings / teachings* of Jesus (now lost)
M = various other materials (mostly oral, some maybe written) found *only in Matthew*
L = various other materials (mostly oral, others probably written) found *only in Luke*
Note: the arrows indicate direction of influence;
older materials are above, later Gospels below
Note: by definition, Q consists of materials found in Matthew and Luke

4.2.2 What is the generally accepted origin and what are the various stages of redaction of each of the Synoptic Gospels?

Activity of the Historical Jesus / Oral Tradition (kerigma) / Written Tradition (catechesis, worship, mission...) / Systematizing.

cf. 4.2.3

4.2.3. What is the cultural and ecclesial situation mirrored in each of the Synoptic Gospels?

GOSPEL acc. to...	MARK	MATTHEW	LUKE
Written in	probably in Rome; possibly Decapolis, Syria or Alexandria?	probably in or near Antioch in Syria	probably in Greece; possibly Syria/Antioch (Pauline missions)
Written to	mostly Gentile who had some contact with Judaism (explanation of Jewish customs but not all feasts, etc.), outside of palestine (spoke no aramaic and needed translations), with an overheated expectation of the parousia (cf. ch13), and facing persecutions. Missionary character (sent 2 by 2)	a majority judeo-cristian community involved in polemic with fariseic judaism from whom they had probably separated: who correctly interprets the Law? Community problems of cohesion (possibly after schism) and lack of faith before persecution	mostly gentiles (Greeks) for whom the synagogue was always a foreign institution. A strong universal perspective and the elimination of judeo-christian material of Q. Jewish titles are replaced with Greek (kyrios or epistates...). In part a work written to aid self-understanding - to explain (with acts) that the mission to the Gentiles was God's will.

4.2.4. List some of the main characteristics (literary and theological) of the Synoptics?

GOSPEL acc. to...	MARK	MATTHEW	LUKE
Style of Greek	grammatically poor	Semitic influenced	good, elegant, literary
Geographical Focus	Galilean towns & villages; some Gentile territory	Galilee, esp. mountains; mostly Jewish areas	one long journey to the goal: Jerusalem
Literary Features	quick action ("and then"; immediately…"); loosely connected episodes	five major discourses; well-organized sections of collected pericopes	stories often in pairs (esp. Male/Female characters); many extra parables
Christology I: Main Titles for Jesus	Christ/Messiah & Son of God; Suffering Son of Man; Eschatological Judge	Son of David, Son of Abraham; Great Lawgiver and Teacher (like Moses); Emmanuel; King of Jews	a great Prophet (in word & deed); Lord (of all nations); Savior (esp. of the poor)
Christology II: Jesus' Major Actions	miracles; overcoming evil powers; arguing with religious authorities	teaching disciples; decrying religious hypocrisy	healing sick & impaired; forgiving sinners & debtors
Discipleship I: Teachings about Disc.	persevere in faith despite suffering; follow Jesus "on the way" to the cross; be ready for his return	be righteous; forgive always; live ethically (Golden Rule); fulfill God's laws, esp. charitable deeds	leave everything to follow Jesus; share with poor; accept everyone, esp. outcasts, women, enemies
Discipleship II: Role Models for Disc.	anon. women (5:25; 7:24; 12:41; 14:3);Jairus (5:21); Bartimaeus (10:46)	Peter (16:13-20); children (18:1-5); faithful servants (24:45--25:46)	Mary (1:26--2:51); Good Samaritan (10:25-37); Zacchaeus (19:1-10)
Eschatological Expectations	imminent and suddenly, but no one knows when; so "Keep awake" (13:1-37)	false prophets will arise; many will fall away; Gospel must first be preached to all (24:10-14)	after Jerusalem is destroyed & the Gentiles' time is fulfilled; not so soon; pray! (21:20-24, 28, 36)
Basis for Final Judgment	whether you persevere in faith despite persecutions (13:13)	what you do for "the least" people; Sheep & Goats parable (25:31-46)	how you use wealth / possessions; parables of Rich & Poor (16:1-31)
Other Major Themes	Messianic secret; main disciples don't understand, but minor characters do believe	fulfillment of Scripture; divisions within the community;final separation of good vs. bad	fulfillment of God's plan; eschatological reversal; tax collectors & sinners favored

4.2.5 Division, author and dating of the Fourth Gospel. What is its relationship to the other Gospels? What are its main theological characteristics?

GOSPEL acc. to...	**John**	
Traditional Author	The Apostle John, son of Zebedee	
Detectable Author	The "beloved disciple"	
Assumed Author / Redactor	Jewish Christian follower/s of the beloved disciple.	
When	90-100	
Major Theological Characteristics	*Christology I: Main Titles for Jesus*	Divine Logos (Word made Flesh); Son sent from Father; Passover Lamb; "I Am…" / "Equal to God"
	Christology II: Jesus' Major Actions	speaking God's words; doing God's works; revealing God and himself
	Discipleship I: Teachings about Disc.	see, believe, know, remain in Jesus & God, despite hostility; love one another; be in unity; serve humbly
	Discipleship II: Role Models for Disc.	John Bapt. (ch.1); blind man (ch.9); Martha (11:27); the B.D. (13:23ff)
	Eschatological Expectations	realized eschatology; all who hear & believe have eternal life already now and are not judged (5:21-25)
	Basis for Final Judgment	whether or not you believe in Jesus (3:16-18; 5:19-24; 12:44-50)
	Other Major Themes	"eternal life" = "life in his name"; Paraclete = Holy Spirit; Christian unity; mutual indwelling of God/Jesus

1) Material found *only* in the Fourth Gospel (John), not in the Synoptic Gospels (Mt, Mk, Lk)

- Prologue (1:1-18)
- Wedding at Cana (2:1-12)
- Dialogue with Nicodemus (2:23—3:21)
- Samaritan Woman at the Well (4:1-42)
- Healing of a Sick Man at Pool of Bethesda (5:1-18)
- New Details at Feeding of 5000 (6:1b, 3-6, 8-9, 12b, 14-15)
- Bread of Life Discourse (6:22-65)
- [Woman caught in Adultery (7:53—8:11)]
- Giving Sight to a Man Born Blind (9:1-41)
- Raising of Lazarus (11:1-44)
- Washing of the Disciples' Feet (13:1-20)
- Last Supper Discourses, including "Paraclete" & "Vine and Branches" (13:31—16:33)
- The "Disciple Whom Jesus Loved" (13:23-25; 19:26-27; 20:2-10; 21:7, 20-24; cf. 18:15-16?)
- Great Prayer of Jesus (17:1-26)
- New Details at the Crucifixion (19:20-24, 26-28, 30-37, 39)
- Resurrection Appearance to Mary Magdalene alone (20:11-18; cf. Matt 28:9)
- Resurrection Appearance to Thomas (20:24-29)
- Resurrection Appearance at the Sea of Galilee (21:1-25; cf. Luke 5:1-11)

2) Material familiar from the Synoptics but *not* in John

- No Infancy Narrative
  - but see John 1:14 - "the Word became flesh"
- No Childhood Episodes
  - but see 1:12; 13:33; 21:5 - believers called "children"
- No Baptism of Jesus
  - but see 1:19-34 - John testifies about Jesus.
- No Temptation in the Desert
  - but see 8:44; 13:2, 27 - the role of Satan & the Devil
- No Calls to Repentance
  - but see 1:29; 5:14; 9:41; 15:22; 20:23 - on sin and forgiveness

- No List of "Twelve Apostles"
  - but see 1:35-51; 21:2 - smaller groups and lists of disciples
- No Parables
  - but see 10:6; 15:1-8; 16:25, 29 - use of "figures of speech"
- No Exorcisms
  - but see 7:20; 8:48-52; 10:19-21 - Jesus accused of having a "demon"
- No Transfiguration
  - but see 1:45; 3:14; 5:45-47; 9:28-29 - Jesus associated with Moses
- No Passion Predictions
  - but see 5:18; 11:50-53 & 18:14; 12:24-25, 32-33; 18:31-32 - talk of Jesus' death
- No Institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper
  - but see 6:22-59; 13:1-20 - Bread of Life Discourse, and Washing of the Feet
- Almost No Predictions of Jesus' Return
  - except 14:3; 21:22-23 - Jesus will "come"

3) Material Significantly Different in John and the Synoptics

Synoptics	***John***
Jesus' ministry lasts about one year	Jesus' ministry spans three Passovers
Only One Journey to Jerusalem	Multiple Journeys to Jerusalem (2:13; 5:1; 7:10)
First Disciples Jesus calls directly are Simon & Andrew, James & John	First Disciples are Andrew, an anonymous second one, Simon Peter, Philipp, Nathanael (1:35-51)
Temple cleansing one week before Jesus' death	Temple cleansing at the beginning of Jesus' ministry
Jesus' ministry begins after John the Baptist's arrest	Jesus' ministry overlaps with John (3:22-24)
Anointing at Bethany by anonymous woman, and objection by anonymous people	Anointing at Bethany by Lazarus' sister Mary, and objection by Judas Iscariot (12:1-8)
Last Supper is the Passover Meal, and Jesus is crucified on the Day of Passover	Last Supper is before the Passover (13:1; 18:28), and Jesus dies on the Preparation Day before Passover (19:14, 31, 42)
Many miracles but few longer speeches	Only a few "signs" but several long monologues and dialogues
Opponents of Jesus include Sadducees, Herodians, etc.	Jesus' opponents are usually called "the Jews" or "the world"
Love your neighbors; Love you enemies	Love one another (focus within the community)
Peter is the first and most prominent of the "apostles"	Martha of Bethany, Mary Magdalene, and the "Beloved Disciple" are more prominent as "disciples"
Future Eschatology (Imminent)	Realized Eschatology (Present)
Main focus: "Kingdom of God"	Main focus: "Eternal Life"

4.2.6. What are the purpose and the message of the Acts of the Apostles?

Acts cannot be understood as an autonomous work, but only in connection to Luke. The author of Luke-Acts presents the history of salvation in 3 phases: Old Testament, Time of Jesus, Time of the Church. The book of Acts reveals the fulfilment of the mission entrusted by Jesus to his disciples at the climax of Luke and which is repeated at the beginning of Acts, salvation offered through grace to every man without distinction of faith, race or nation.

4.3. PAULINE LITERATURE:

4.3.1. What are the deutero-Pauline letters? What does this mean?

The six "Disputed Letters" (a.k.a. the "*Deutero-Pauline* Epistles").
For two of these, the scholarly divide is about 50/50 (that is, about 50% of scholars think they were written by Paul himself, while the other 50% think they were written later by some follower of Paul):
If **2 Thessalonians** is authentic, Paul probably wrote it *soon after* 1 Thess (in order to correct some misunderstandings caused by 1 Thess itself), since it is so *similar* in form and content to 1 Thess.
But if **Colossians** is authentic, Paul probably wrote it *near the end of his life* (after spending several years in prison), since the theology expressed in it is rather *different* from Paul's earlier letters.
For the other four, about 80% of scholars think they were written *not* by Paul, but by one of his followers after his death:
Ephesians is almost definitely a later expansion of Colossians, since they are so similar in structure and theology, but quite different from Paul's earlier letters; Ephesians was probably written to serve as a "cover letter" for an early collection of Pauline letters.
1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus (a.k.a. **The Pastoral Epistles**) were most likely written late in the first century by some member(s) of the "Pauline School" who wanted to adapt his teachings to changing circumstances.

4.3.2. List some of the main theological concepts of the following letters of St Paul: 1 Th, 1 Cor, 2 Cor, Gal, Rom, Phil.

a) 1 Thessalonians:

Particularly important for it's eschatalogical perspective: focus on the imminence of the *parousia* and on the need for readiness. The language is apocalyptic.

b) 1 Corinthians

Deals with urgent problems in the church and how they need to be dealt with: moral conduct, marriage and virginity, liturgy and eucharist, charisms, appeals to civil courts, eating foor sacrificed to demons. These cases become the means by which Paul sets forth the profound doctrine of Christian liberty, sanctification of the body, the surpremacy of love, union with Christ. Contrasts Christ as the Wisdom of God with the human wisdom of philosophers. Strives to correct the proud reliance of the Greek mind on reason.

c) 2 Corinthians

A letter in which Paul defends himself against accusations within the Church at Corinth. In the first part of the letter he writes of the dignity of the apostle's ministry.

d) Galatians

Contains important information about the life of Paul and about the beginnings of the Church. It is key to understanding Paul's fith in Christ, justification, and the relationship between Judaism and Christianity. In both Galations and Romans, Paul contrats the uprightness people can achieve by purely human means with Christ, who is the Uprightness of God. Strives to correct the proud reliance of the Jews on the Law. In Galatians, he responds to the teaching of Judaizing Christians that circumcision is necessary for salvation. Paul argues that to accept circumcision is to accept the whole Law. Here, for the first time, Paul teaches of justification through faith apart from deeds prescribed by the Law.

e) Romans

Paul tries to show how Christianity is rooted in Judaism but is a faith for all humanity. Once again, Paul teaches on the justification that comes through faith. To the Galatians message he adds teachings on: the postion of the human race whilst waiting for salvation, the spiritual struggle of each person to be saved, what the death and resurrection actually achieved, how Christians share in this by dying and rising by faith and baptism, the vocation of the whole human race to be children of God, the love and wisdom of God who - being perfect and faithful to his promises - guides each different stage in the plan of salvation.

f) Philippians

A warm, personal letter giving thanks to God for a gift from the Church and encouraging the Church to be faithful. Paul gives us the hymn in 2:6-11 which is an important witness to the early Christian understanding of Jesus.

4.3.3. The Letters to the Colossians and to the Ephesians. What are the similarities and the differences with respect to the other Pauline letters?.

A heavy and repetitious style not found in earlier letters.
Characteristic Pauline language does not appear: righteousness, to believe, law, to save.

Category of Theology:	**Col / Eph**	**Early Paul**
Christology: (Jesus)	cosmic, divine, exalted [like John] (Col 1:15-20; 2:9-10; Eph 1:21-22)	earthly, human, suffering [like Mark]
Ecclesiology: (Church)	one world-wide body, with Christ as *head of the body* (Col 1:18; Eph 1:22-23; 3:10)	many local churches, each forms the "body of Christ" (Rom 12:4-5; 1 Cor 12:12-27)
Soteriology: (Salvation)	present: we share resurrection life *already now* (Col 1:12-14; 2:12-13; 3:1; Eph 2:6)	future: we will be raised on the last day
Moral Theology: (Sin & Forgiveness)	forgiveness of sins *(pl.)* through Christ (Col 1:14; 2:13; 3:13)	freedom from sin *(sg.)*
Eschatology: (End Times)	realized, spatial focus [Christ reigns above]; we have already been raised in Christ (Col 3:1-2; Eph 1:20; 2:6)	imminent, temporal focus [Christ returns soon]

4.3.4. The Pastoral Letters. What is special about them in relation to the preceding letters? What are their main ecclesial and theological concepts?

1 Timothy, Titus, 2 Timothy (AD 65-80).
They are addressed to loyal followers.
There is little reference to the great mysteries of Christianity on which Paul's thought had hinged.
Paul does not argue against false teaching, he merely condemns it.
Not concerned with missionary expansion but with the care of evangelised communities.
These epistles reflect the beginnings of the organisational life of the Church.
Titus and 1 Tim are especially concerned with church structure, with the apointment of officials to administer the Christian community - presbyter/bishops and deacons.

4.3.5. How is the heart of the Gospel according to St Paul generally presented?

Romans 1:3-4:

> the gospel concerning his Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh and was declared to be Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness by resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord.

Romans 4:24-25:

> It will be reckoned to us who believe in him who raised Jesus our Lord from the dead, who was handed over to death for our trespasses and was raised for our justification.

Gal 2, 15-21:

> We ourselves are Jews by birth and not Gentile sinners; [16] yet we know that a person is justified not by the works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ.And we have come to believe in Christ Jesus, so that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by doing the works of the law, because no one will be justified by the works of the law. [17] But if, in our effort to be justified in Christ, we ourselves have been found to be sinners, is Christ then a servant of sin? Certainly not! [18] But if I build up again the very things that I once tore down, then I demonstrate that I am a transgressor. [19] For through the law I died to the law, so that I might live to God. I have been crucified with Christ; [20] and it is no longer I who live, but it is Christ who lives in me. And the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me. [21] I do not nullify the grace of God; for if justification comes through the law, then Christ died for nothing.

1 Co 15, 1-11:

Now I would remind you, brothers and sisters, of the good newsthat I proclaimed to you, which you in turn received, in which also you stand, [2] through which also you are being saved, if you hold firmly to the message that I proclaimed to you—unless you have come to believe in vain.
[3] For I handed on to you as of first importance what I in turn had received: that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, [4] and that he was buried, and that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, [5] and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. [6] Then he appeared to more than five hundred brothers and sisters at one time, most of whom are still alive, though some have died. [7] Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles. [8] Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me. [9] For I am the least of the apostles, unfit to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God. [10] But by the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace toward me has not been in vain. On the contrary, I worked harder than any of them—though it was not I, but the grace of God that is with me. [11] Whether then it was I or they, so we proclaim and so you have come to believe.

4.4. THE OTHER WRITINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT:

4.4.1. List the Catholic letters. Explain this term. What is their background and what are their main theological concerns?

James, 1-2 Peter, 1-3 John and Jude.
They are called the Catholic Epistles because they are addressed to the Church universal.

James: written to Jewish Christians to remind them that faith, if it is real faith, leads to faithful living. It consists of a series of moral exhortations on issues such as: how to behave in time of trial, the origin of temptation, how to control the tongue, good relations with one's neighbour, the power of prayer. The two main themes are: concern for the poor and lowly and the necessity of a faith that bears fruit.

1 Peter: written to encourage the church in Asia Minor during a time of persecution. The key idea is hope in Christ. This hope helps us to see through difficult times. Because we have hope in Christ, we are called to live a life of hope and love in the world.

2 Peter: reflects the belief of the early church in the imminent parousia. It calls the church to be faithful and continue to expect Jesus to return.

1 John: urged Christians to return to fundamental loyalties. It stresses that Jesus came in the flesh, probably against heretics who were teaching that Jesus only appeared to be human. The writer says that believers experience eternal life now, that to know God is to obey his commandments, and that the mark of eternal life is love.

2 John: written to a church to emphasise the commandment of love and to condemn those who do not believe that Christ took human nature.

3 John: a letter to a church leader warning against a false teacher.

Jude: written to warn against a doctrine (and particularly against it's purveyors) that said God's grace is an excuse for immoral living.

4.4.2. What does the word apocalypse mean and designate?

In *popular terminology* today, an "apocalypse" is a catastrophic event (e.g., nuclear holocaust). In *biblical teminology*, an "apocalypse" is not an event, but a "revelation" that is recorded in written form:

- it is a piece of crisis literature that "reveals" truths about the past, present, and/or future in highly symbolic terms;
- the revelation often comes in dreams or visions, and usually needs to be interpreted with the help of an angel;
- it is usually intended to provide hope and encouragement for people in the midst of severe trials and tribulations.

Scholarly Definition of "Apocalypse"(from the SBL's "Apocalypse Group"):

" 'Apocalypse' is a *genre of revelatory literature* with a *narrative framework*,
in which a revelation is *mediated* by an *otherworldly being* to a *human recipient*,
disclosing a *transcendent reality* with is
both *temporal*, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation,
and *spatial* insofar as it involves another, supernatural world."

Addition to the Definition, incorporating the purpose of the genre, from the suggestions of Hellholm (1982) & Aune (1986):

"…intended to *interpret* the present, earthly circumstances in light of the supernatural world and of the future, and to *influence* both the understanding and the behavior of the audience by means of divine authority."

4.4.3 Dating and ecclesial situation of the Apocalypse of John.

Most common opinion is that it was written in the reign of Domitian in about 95ad to churches in the Western sector of Asia Minor.

It was written during a period of disturbance and bitter persecution to increase the hope and determination of the infant church. The refusal of Christians to join in the public cult, and perhaps to honour the divinized Domitian (self-styled "Lord and God"), when reported by those hostile to them, would have resulted in tribunals and sentences and martyrdom. The instances may have been very limited, but the memory of what Nero had done in Rome 30 years before would have coloured Christian apprehension about what might be coming.

5. NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY

5.1. When was Palestine invaded by the Romans?

63 bc - Roman army under General Pompey takes over much of Middle East, incl. Israel.

5.2. Discuss the presence of the Roman procurators in the New Testament writings.

The Procurators were the Roman appointed governors of the territory of Judea, Samaria and Idumea. They were entrusted with full authority, even with the power of capital punishment. They were both financial and military administrators, who dwelt in Herod's palace at Caesarea or Jerusalem. They collected the tribute for the emporer and maintained public order.

Roman Prefects (Procurators/Governors) of Judea mentioned in the New Testament:

- *Pontius Pilate*: ruler of Judea as John the Baptist begins preaching (Luke 3:1); responsible for a massacre of some Galileans (Luke 13:1); conducts the trial of Jesus (Mark 15:1-15; Matt 27:2, 11-26; Luke 23:1-25; John 18:28--19:31; Acts 3:13; 4:27; 13:28; 1Tim 6:13); permits Joseph of Arimathea to bury Jesus (Mark 15:43-45; Matt 27:57-60; Luke 23:50-53; John 19:38); permits the Jewish authorities to post a guard at Jesus' tomb (Matt 27:62-66; 28:11-15).
- *[M. Antonius] Felix*: after Paul was arrested in Jerusalem, he is imprisoned in Caesarea and has an initial hearing before Felix (Acts 23:23--24:27; 25:14)
- *Porcius Festus*: after being incarcerated for about two years, Paul receives a longer hearing before Festus (Acts 24:27; 25:1-27; 26:24-32).

5.3. Give some general information on: Herod the Great, Herod Antipas, Herod Agrippa I. Who were they and what was their importance for the New Testament?

a) Herod the Great (37-4bc)

King of Judah. Highlights of his long reign include:

- he appoints high priests, including Hananel, a priest from Babylon (37-30 BC), Aristobulus, son of Alexandra (briefly in 36 BC) and Simon son of Boëthus (23-5 BC).
- he executes many aids and family members, including uncle Joseph, former king Hyrcanus II, wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra, sons (by Mariamne) Alexander and Aristobulus, and son (by first wife Doris) Antipater, all based on suspicions, fears and his desire to remove contenders for his office.[*Matthew 2:* Herod's attempt to execute Jesus as another potential threat follows this pattern.]
- he expanded his territories to include Jericho, Gaza, Gadara, Samaria, and the northern regions of Trachonitis, Batanaea, Auranitis and Ituraea.
- he engages in massive building program: establishing, (re)fortifying and (re)naming many cities, including Caesarea (formerly Strato's Tower); building a palace and fortress in Jerusalem; fortresses at Masada and Herodium, and, beginning in 19 BC, reconstructing the Temple
- he employs a court historian, Nicolas of Damascus, an important source for Josephus

b) Herod Antipas (4bc-39ad)

The son of Herod the Great who, in 4bc inherited from his father the territory of Galilee and Perea, which he governed as Tetrarch until 39ad. Antipas is named simply "Herod"—not "Antipas" or "Herod Antipas"—in Josephus, in the NT, and on his own coins. He was ruler of Jesus' home province of Galilee, Antipas was given an opportunity to question and ridicule Jesus during his trial before Pontius Pilate.

c) Herod Agrippa I (37-44ad)

'Herod the king' (Acts 12:1), otherwise known as Agrippa. He was a son of Aristobulus and grandson of Herod the Great. After his father's execution in 7 BC he was brought up in Rome, in close association with the imperial family. In AD 23 he became so heavily involved in debt that he had to leave Rome. For a time he received shelter and maintenance at Tiberias from his uncle Antipas, thanks to his sister Herodias, whom Antipas had recently married. But he quarrelled with Antipas and in AD 36 returned to Rome. There he offended the Emperor Tiberius and was imprisoned, but on Tiberius' death the following year he was released by the new emperor, Gaius

(Caligula), from whom he received the title of king, with territories NE of Palestine as his kingdom. On Antipas' banishment in AD 39, Galilee and Peraea were added to Agrippa's kingdom. When Claudius became emperor in AD 41 he further augmented Agrippa's kingdom by giving him Judaea and Samaria, so that Agrippa ruled over a kingdom roughly equal in extent to his grandfather's. He courted the goodwill of his Jewish subjects, who looked on him as a descendant of the Hasmonaeans (through his grandmother Mariamne) and approved of him accordingly. His attack on the apostles (Acts 12:2f.) was perhaps more popular than it would have been previously, because of their recent fraternization with Gentiles (Acts 10:1-11:18). His sudden death, at the age of 54 (AD 44), is recorded by Luke (Acts 12:20ff.) and Josephus (*Ant.* 19. 343ff.) in such a way that the two narratives supplement each other illuminatingly. He left one son, Agrippa (see 5), and two daughters: Bernice (born AD 28), mentioned in Acts 25:13ff., and Drusilla (born AD 38), who became the 3rd wife of the procurator Felix (*cf.* Acts 24:24).

5.4. Flavius Josephus: what are the importance of his writings for the study of the New Testament?

A Jewish historian, who was born AD 37/38, and died early in the 2nd century. He was the son of a priest named Matthias, of the order of Jehoiarib (1 Ch. 24:7), and claimed kinship with the Hasmonaeans, who belonged to that order. After a brief period of association with the Essenes, and with an ascetic wilderness-dweller named Banus, he joined the party of the Pharisees at the age of 19. On a visit to Rome in AD 63 he was impressed by the power of the empire. He was strongly opposed to the Jewish revolt against Rome in AD 66, and although he was given a command in Galilee in which he manifested considerable energy and ability, he had no confidence in the insurgent cause. After the Roman seizure of the stronghold of Jotapata, which he had defended until further resistance was useless, he escaped with forty others to a cave. When this refuge in turn was about to be stormed the defenders entered into a suicide pact, and Josephus found himself one of the last two survivors. He persuaded his fellow-survivor that they might as well surrender to the Romans, and then he contrived to win the favour of Vespasian, the Roman commander, by predicting his elevation to the imperial purple. This prediction came true in AD 69. Next year Josephus was attached to the Roman general headquarters during the siege of Jerusalem, acting as interpreter for Titus (Vespasian's son and successor in the Palestinian command), when he wished to offer terms to the defenders of the city. After the fall of Jerusalem Josephus went to Rome, where he settled down as a client and pensioner of the emperor, whose family name, Flavius, he adopted. Not unnaturally, Josephus' behaviour during the war won for him the indelible stigma of treason in the eyes of his nation. Yet he employed the years of his leisure in Rome in such a way as to establish some claim on their gratitude. These years were devoted to literary activity in which he shows himself to be a true patriot according to his lights, jealous for the good name of his people. His first work was a *History of the Jewish War*, written first in Aramaic for the benefit of Jews in Mesopotamia and then published in a Gk. edition. The account of the outbreak of the war is here preceded by a summary of Jewish history from 168 BC to AD 66. His two books *Against Apion* constitute a defence of his people against the anti-Jewish calumnies of an Alexandrian schoolmaster named Apion; in them, too, he endeavours to show that the Jews can boast a greater antiquity than the Greeks, and in the course of this argument he has preserved for us a number of valuable extracts from ancient writers not otherwise extant. His longest work is his *Jewish Antiquities*, in twenty books, relating the history of his people from earliest times (in fact, he begins his narrative with the creation of the world) down to his own day. This work was completed in AD 93. Finally, he wrote his *Autobiography* largely as a defence of his war record, which had been represented in unflattering terms by another Jewish writer, Justus of Tiberias.

The works of Josephus provide indispensable background material for the student of late intertestamental and NT history. In them we meet many figures, both Jewish and Gentile, who are well known to us from the NT. Sometimes his writings supply a direct commentary on NT references, *e.g.* on the mention of Judas of Galilee in Acts 5:37 and of the 'Egyptian' in Acts 21:38. It is unlikely, however, that his works were known to any NT writer. Of special interest are his references to John the Baptist (*Ant.* 18. 116ff.), to James the Lord's brother (*Ant.* 20. 200), and to our Lord (*Ant.* 18. 63f.)—a passage which, while it has been subjected to some Christian editing, is basically authentic.

5.5. What were the main religious groups in first-century Judaism and what were their main characteristics?

a) Pharisees

A group of influential Jews active in Palestine from 2nd century BCE through 1st century CE; they advocated and adhered to strict observance of the Sabbath rest, purity rituals, tithing, and food restrictions based on the Hebrew Scriptures and on later traditions.
"Pharisees" probably means "separated ones" in Hebrew, referring to their strict observance of laws and traditions (Luke 18:10-12).
Long-time political and religious rivals of the Sadducees, vying for influence among the rulers and the people.
Mostly laymen, but possibly also some priests (from the tribe of Levi) or even members of the Sanhedrin (Acts 5:34).
Followed not only the laws of the Hebrew Bible, but also the "traditions of the elders" (Mark 7:1-13; Matt 15:1-20).
Leaders were called "rabbis" or "teachers", such as Nicodemus (John 3:1-10; 7:50; 19:39) and Gamaliel (Acts 5:34; 22:3).
Also had trained "scribes" (Mark 2:16; Acts 23:9) and "disciples" (Mark 2:18; Matt 22:16; Luke 5:33).
NT Gospels portray them mainly as opponents of Jesus (Mark 8:11; 10:2), who conspire with the Herodians to kill Jesus (Mark 3:6).
Some of Jesus' harshest polemics are directed against the "hypocrisy" and "blindness" of the Pharisees (Matt 23; John 9).
In contrast to Sadducees (Mark 12:18-27), Pharisees believed in the resurrection of the dead (Acts 23:1-8).
Paul himself was a Pharisee (Phil 3:5; Acts 23:6; 26:5), as were some other early Christians (Acts 15:5).

b) Sadducees

Another prominent group of Jews in Palestine from 2nd century BCE through 1st century CE; they were probably smaller "elite" group, but even more influential than the Pharisees; they followed the laws of the Hebrew Bible (the Torah), but rejected newer traditions.
"Sadducees" comes from the Hebrew *tsaddiqim* ("righteous ones"), which may refer to the way they wished to live their lives.
The name may also derive from Zadok, the high priest under King David (1 Kings 1:26), since many Sadducees were priests.
Long-time political and religious rivals of the Pharisees, although their influence was more with the wealthy ruling elites.
Probably also rivals of the Herodians, since they had supported the Hasmonean Jewish rulers against King Herod.
Closely associated with the Jerusalem Temple and with the ruling council ("Sanhedrin") of the Jews (Acts 4:1; 5:17; 23:6).
Did not believe in life after death (Mark 12:18-27; Luke 20:27) or in angels or spirits (Acts 23:8).
NT Gospels portray them (often together with the Pharisees) mainly as opponents of Jesus (Matt 16:1-12; Mark 18:12-27).
But they also rejected the teachings of the Pharisees, esp. their oral traditions and newer innovations.

c) Essenes

A smaller group or "sect" that lived a communal "monastic" lifestyle at Qumram (near the Dead Sea) from 2nd century BCE through 1st century CE; the "Dead Sea Scrolls" found in this location in 1947 are usually associated with them.
Originally a group of priests, founded and/or led by a "Teacher of Righteousness" during the early Maccabean/Hasmonean era.
They regarded the Jerusalem priests as illegitimate, since those were not Zadokites (from the family of the high priest Zadok).
They rejected the validity of the Temple worship, and thus refused to attend the festivals or support the Jerusalem Temple.
They expected God to send a great prophet and two different "Messiahs" (anointed leaders), one kingly and one priestly.
They live a communitarian life with strict membership requirements, rules, and rituals; they probably also practiced celibacy.

Mentioned by Josephus, but *not in the NT* (although some scholars think the "Herodians" in the NT refer to Essenes).
Some scholars think John the Baptist (also Jesus?) was closely associated with the Essenes, but a direct connection is unlikely.
Monastery destroyed by the Roman Army ca. 68 AD, during the Jewish War against Rome, which Essenes probably considered the final battle between the forces of good (the true Israelites) and evil (the Romans and their collaborators).
Dozens of complete scrolls and thousands of written fragments were discovered from 1947 to mid-1950's in caves near Qumran.
The Scrolls contain copies of almost the entire Hebrew Bible, some older non-canonical texts, and dozens of the Essenes own writings.

d) Herodians

Probably a faction that supported the policies and government of the Herodian family, especially during the time of Herod Antipas, ruler over Galilee and Perea during the lifetimes of John the Baptist and of Jesus.
Mentioned only twice in Mark and once in Matthew, but never in Luke, John, or the rest of the NT.
In Mark 3:6 they conspire with the Pharisees to kill Jesus, still fairly early during Jesus' ministry in Galilee.
In Mark 12:13-17 and Matt 22:16 they join some Pharisees in trying to trap Jesus with a question about paying taxes to Caesar.
See also the possibly related references to the friends and court officials of Herod (Mark 6:21, 26; Matt 14:1-12; Luke 23:7-12).

e) Zealots

One of several different "revolutionary" groups in the 1st century CE who opposed the Roman occupation of Israel.
"Zealots" were probably not an organized group at first, but any Jews "zealous" for God's law (Num 25:13; 1 Kings 19:10; Acts 22:3; Gal 1:14).
Just before and during the First Jewish War against Rome, "Zealots" were a nationalistic revolutionary party opposed to the Romans.
One of Jesus' apostles (not the same as Simon Peter) is called "Simon the Zealot" in Luke 6:15 and Acts 1:13 (but "Simon the Cananaean" in Mark 3:18 & Matt 10:4).
He may have belonged to a revolutionary group before joining Jesus, but more likely was "zealous" in the older sense.

f) High Priest, Chief Priests, Priests, and Levites

Members of the tribe of Levi who were responsible for the temple and its sacrifices, and thus were the religious and social leaders of the Jewish people.
Priests and Levites in ancient Israel had to be men from the tribe of Levi; any Jews from the eleven other tribes could not be priests.
Levites (members of the tribe of Levi who were not priests) assisted in the practical operation of the temple as guards, musicians, etc. (Luke 10:32; John 1:19; Acts 4:36; cf. Num 3, 8; etc.).
Priests offered the sacrifices and took care of other cultic/ritual concerns in the temple (Mark 1:44; Matt 12:4-5; Luke 1:5-23; etc.).
The same Greek word is translated "High Priest" (sg.) and "Chief Priests" (pl.) in most English Bibles; they were in charge of the Temple in Jerusalem and thus were the most important religious leaders in ancient Israel, at least prior to the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE.
The High Priest was appointed annually, but members of the family of Annas and Caiaphas were often reappointed in the first century (Matt 26:3, 57; Luke 3:2; John 11:49; 18:12-28; Acts 4:6).
The Gospels portray the chief priests (often with the scribes and elders) as members of the ruling authorities who opposed Jesus, long sought to arrest and kill him, and eventually condemned him to death (in cooperation with the Roman governor).

g) Scribes

Men specially trained in writing, and thus influential as interpreters and teachers of the Law, and agents of the rulers.
"Scribes" did not form their own party, but could belong to other groups (e.g. "the scribes of the Pharisees" in Mark 2:16; Acts 23:9).

Most of their duties involved writing, e.g. producing legal documents, recording deeds, copying scriptures, teaching people, etc.
Since they specialized in the interpretation of the Jewish Law (Torah), "scribes" are sometimes translated and regarded as "lawyers".
But only Luke uses the technical term for "lawyer" (*nomikos*; 7:30; 10:25; etc.) in some passages where Mark and Matthew have "scribe" (*grammateus*).
The Gospels usually portray scribes (along with chief priests, elders, and/or Pharisees) as opponents of Jesus who actively sought his death (Mark 11:27).
The Acts of the Apostles also portrays them as opponents of the early Christians (Acts 4:5; 6:12).
But there are a few exceptions: some scribes are neutral (Matt 13:52), or even praised by Jesus (Mark 12:28-34), or rise to defend Paul (Acts 23:9).

h) Elders

The "older men" of a community who formed the ruling elite and were often members of official "councils".
The Greek word "presbyter" simply refers to older men, but was mainly used for men respected by others as leaders and role models.
The Gospels usually portray the elders (often with scribes and/or priests) as opponents of Jesus who conspired to have him killed.
The NT Letters and Epistles also mention "elders" as leaders of the early Christian communities (1 Tim 5:17-20; 1 Peter 5:1-5).
The Book of Revelation gives a prominent role to "twenty-four elders" who surround God's throne (Rev 4:4-11).

i) Disciples of John the Baptist

During his lifetime and for several centuries thereafter, certain groups of people considered themselves followers of John the Baptist; some of them became Christians, but others maintained that John was earlier and more important than Jesus.
John the Baptist was recognized as a great preacher and prophet, calling the people to repentence (Mark 1; Matt 3; Luke 3; John 1)
According to Luke 1:36, Elizabeth and Mary were closely related, and thus John the Baptist and Jesus were cousins.
John has an effective and popular ministry, preaching and baptizing people for the forgiveness of their sins (Mark 1:4-8).
Yet he also aroused enough opposition that he was eventually arrested and executed by Herod Antipas (Mark 1:14; 6:14-29).
He had a substantial number of disciples during his own lifetime (Mark 2:18; Matt 11:2-19; Luke 11:1; John 1:35-39; 3:25).
Even after his death, some people were still disciples of John the Baptist (Acts 18:24-28; 19:1-5).

j) Followers of Jesus of Nazareth

Starting with smaller numbers of Jews in Galilee and Judea during his lifetime, those who believed in Jesus grew over the decades, spreading the "Jesus Movement" to other nations, cultures, and languages throughout the ancient Mediterranean.
During his public ministry, Jesus had many "disciples"; he chose some (Mark 1:16-20; 2:13-14), while others came to him (10:17-31).
Since he was an itinerant preacher, people literally "followed" him as he journeyed throughout Israel (Mark 2:15; Luke 9:57-62).
He also sent some of them out as "missionaries" or "apostles" (twelve in Mark 3:13-19; 6:6-13; seventy in Luke 10:1-20).
After his death, his disciples and relatives formed a community of believers soon joined by others (Acts 1:13-15; 2:37-47; 6:7; 9:31).
At first, all the disciples of Jesus were Jews, but later they were also joined by Gentiles (Acts 11:1-21; 12:24; 14:1; etc.).
The group was called by various names: followers of "the Way" (Acts 9:2; 18:25; 19:9, 23; etc.), "Christians" (Acts 11:26; 26:28; 1 Peter 4:16), "Nazarenes" (Acts 24:5), etc.
They usually called each other "brothers and sisters" (Mark 1:31-35; Rom 1:13; James 1:2; etc.) or "saints" (Acts 9:13; Rom 1:7; Col 1:2; etc.).

5.6. Biographical information on St Paul. What is the approximate dating of his various missionary voyages?

36	Conversion to Christ
39	Visit to Jerusalme after Damascus
40-44	In Cilicia
44-45	At Antioch
46-49	First Missionary Journey: beginning in Antioch, to Cyprus and southern Asia Minor, returning to Antioch.
49	Jerusalem conference
50-52	Second Missionary Journey: beginning in Antioch, through southern Asia Minor to N. Galatia, Macedonia, Corinth, return to Jerusalem and Antioch
54-58	Third Missionary Journey: beginning in Antioch, through N. Galatia to Ephesus; 3 year stay there - imprisoned? Through Macedonia toward Corinth, winters at Corinth, returns to Rome.
58-60	Arrested in Jerusalem; imprisoned two years in Caesarea.
60-61	Sent to ROme; long sea journey
61-63	Prisoner in Rome for two years
After summer 64	Death in Rome under Nero

5.7. The first Jewish war: Give some general information. Date of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple which Herod had rebuilt.

(66–73 C.E.). The name usually given by scholars to the uprising of the Jews against the Romans that took place between 66 and 73 ad.

Causes and Factors

It is not difficult to find causes for the Jewish revolt against Rome. The primary sources suggest a number of very plausible ones, and modern scholars have offered other possibilities as well. Josephus, for example, focuses on a number of factors. For the most part he blames a small group of fanatical hotheads who utilized whatever means necessary (murder, pillage, burning homes, kidnapping) to foster rebellion. He also links the Jewish-pagan hostility which surfaced throughout Judea—especially in Caesarea—during the mid-1st century to the outbreak of the rebellion in Jerusalem. Finally, he points an accusing finger at the corrupt and rapacious procurators whose ambitions, appetites, and incompetence contributed enormously to generating the final confrontation. Tacitus, too, implies that much responsibility for the war lies with the cruel and irresponsible behavior of governors such as Felix and Florus. Rabbinic literature, largely ignoring these kinds of historical factors, opts for moralistic considerations—social hostility, a breakdown of values, and overly materialistic concerns.

To these reasons modern scholars have added other, socioeconomic factors. The devastating famine of 48 C.E., when combined with the oppressive taxation by the procurators, impoverished the people. Little wonder that brigandage increased markedly in the 50s. The fact that the first act of the Jerusalem populace after the defeat of the Romans was the burning of the Jerusalem archives containing debt records indicates the role played by economic factors at the outbreak of the revolt. It has been suggested that the wealth pouring into Jerusalem from donations by Jews the world over heightened class tensions, making the rich richer and leaving others in even greater poverty.

Social conflicts within Jewish society at the time are also viewed by modern historians as an important factor that contributed to the revolt. The widening social rift within the city, together with rural disenfranchisement due to heavy taxation, population increase, and growing economic instability, added fuel to the fire of revolt.

Jewish-pagan tensions in late Second Temple Judea have likewise been singled out as a primary reason for the conflict with Rome. These tensions were exacerbated by the employment of local pagan inhabitants in Rome's auxiliary contingents stationed in Judea.

The existence of this wide range of theories regarding the causes for the revolt indicates the complexity of the problem. Our sources can substantiate each and every view, and there can be little doubt that many factors indeed contributed to the outbreak against Rome. The search for one basic cause, however, is misleading, for most if not all of the above factors were present in Jewish society, and each played a distinct role among one or more of the many groups involved in the events leading to the outbreak of the revolt. Divisions among the Jews were numerous. We know of the existence of moderate and radical camps among them. In the former were the high priestly families (undoubtedly Sadducees), some Pharisees, the Herodian family, the urban aristocracy, and others. The radical

camp was comprised of a number of different groups that, even at the very beginning of hostilities, fought one another no less than they did the Romans and the moderates. By the end of the war, no less than five different revolutionary parties existed, and the tension and friction among them were devastating.

Compared to the later Jewish revolt under Bar Kokhba, or the previous one under Judah the Maccabee, the revolt of 66 C.E. was unique in its lack of overall organization, planning, and leadership. Given this chaotic situation, in which many different groups, each with its own ideology, leadership, and composition, were competing with one another, it is no wonder that to speak of an underlying cause of the revolt is misleading. The number of grievances were at least as numerous as the many different factions, and no doubt opinions and motivations differed even within any one group. For example, both Rabbi Simeon b. Gamaliel and Rabbi Yoḥanan b. Zakkai belonged to the Hillelite faction within Pharisaic circles. They even functioned together in a number of halakic matters. Nevertheless, their political paths (and presumably their attitudes toward the war as well) differed greatly: Rabbi Simeon, a leader of the moderate faction, stayed in Jerusalem until the bitter end (and probably died there during or soon after the end of the siege); Rabbi Yoḥanan fled the city at the height of the siege, seeking asylum with the Romans.

The Siege and Fall of Jerusalem (70 AD)

By the time Titus Vespasianus approached Jerusalem in the spring of 70 for his final assault, the city was teeming with rival revolutionary groups, each bearing its own distinct leadership, ideology, origin, and history. Leadership of the city had passed into the hands of Simon. According to Josephus, Simon commanded 10,000 of the 23,000 troops then in Jerusalem and was allied to a 5,000-strong Idumean contingent. John had 6,000 troops at his disposal, and the Zealots 2,400. These Jewish forces had fought one another for a year before they were able to forge some semblance of unity—but by then it was too late. Even if united, they could never have hoped to withstand the Roman onslaught. Sooner or later Jerusalem was doomed to fall. However, with the internal wounds still festering and the Jewish body politic so shredded, conquest by Rome came all the sooner.

Titus marched on Jerusalem at the head of four legions. At first the Jewish forces made a number of successful forays against the besiegers, as Titus initially concentrated his efforts on the northwestern section of the city just north of the Hippicus tower. Having successfully breached the outer two walls, the Romans found themselves in the narrow streets of the city. Utilizing their greater mobility and knowledge of the neighborhood, the Jews inflicted heavy casualties, and the Romans were forced to retreat. The respite, however, was brief. Four days later the Romans renewed their attack and, destroying a large section of the wall, took this part of the city. Now came the last and the most difficult stage of the siege—the assault on the Antonia fortress.

The Romans erected four ramparts against the Antonia fortress. Their advance was now much slower and more costly: They succeeded in breaking through the outer wall, only to find that the rebels had built another one directly behind it. Despondent because of the futility of their continual efforts, the Roman troops were given encouragement by Titus, and the siege work resumed. After repeated efforts, the Antonia was overrun, and the Romans continued on to the temple itself, where they were repelled by the forces of John and Simon. Josephus notes that it was at this point that the daily sacrifices at the temple were suspended, due to the lack of animals. With the Jewish forces ensconced within the temple precincts, Titus once again offered terms of peace. The appeal encouraged a number of people, particularly those from the upper classes and priestly families, to cross over to the Roman side. Titus sent them to Gophna, which was being used then as a refugee center.

Unable to dislodge the stones of the temple wall after using the battering ram for days, the Romans set fire to the gates and porticoes of the temple. Continuous fighting slowly forced the Jews back into the confines of the temple's inner court. It was at this point that Titus called a strategy meeting of his chief commanders to determine the fate of the temple: Should it be destroyed or spared? Overriding the advice of his advisers, Josephus reports, Titus decided that the edifice was not to be destroyed under any circumstances, as it would serve as an ornament to the Roman Empire. There is reason to doubt the accuracy of Josephus' narrative, since a 4th-century writer, Sulpicius Severus, reports that Titus himself decided to destroy the Jerusalem edifice. Destroying a temple could easily be construed as an act of impiety, and it is quite understandable that Josephus might have wanted to exonerate his friend and patron from having a hand in this act, if indeed he was responsible. The contradiction in our sources as to Titus' responsibility for the destruction of the Second Temple remains unresolved. Josephus reports that the temple was destroyed on August 30, the 10th of Ab, the same day the First Temple was destroyed by the Babylonians according to Jer 52:12 (2 Kgs 25:8 gives the dates as the 7th of Ab, and later rabbinic tradition settled on the 9th of Ab).

The Romans now proceeded to destroy the entire city. Rejecting Simon and John's suggestion to discuss terms of surrender, Titus had his troops burn large sections of Jerusalem. On the 20th of Ab, the Romans began their attack on the Upper City by constructing embankments in four places. At

this point, the Idumeans sought to come to terms with Titus but were prevented from doing so by Simon. Completing the embankments in eighteen days, the Romans prepared for a final assault. Resistance was now slight; the remaining forces fled to underground passages or attempted to flee the city. The Romans quickly took the Upper City, and victory was complete; Jerusalem was in their hands. Following a mass slaughter, fire broke out and the city was entirely destroyed. John was sentenced to life imprisonment, and Simon was to be executed following the triumphant procession in Rome. Josephus estimates the number of those who perished in the siege at 1,100,000; Tacitus speaks of 600,000. Both numbers, however, appear to be exaggerated. The entire population of Jerusalem at the height of the siege probably never exceeded 250,000 (its 23,400 soldiers probably represented about 10 percent of the total population).

5.8. Give some information on the history of Massada.

Following the fall of Jerusalem, Jewish rebels continued to hold three fortresses: Herodium, Machaerus, and Masada. The first two were taken with relative ease by the new Roman legate, Lucilius Bassus.

In 73 C.E., Bassus died in office and was succeeded by Flavius Silva. The new governor turned his attentions to the last remaining Jewish stronghold at Masada. Only one spot—the western slope of the mountain—presented itself as an appropriate place for a ramp. The Romans proceeded to erect a 100-m-high embankment, on top of which large stones were placed to serve as a platform for the siege engines. They then threw their battering ram into action with devastating effectiveness, only to find that the Jews had erected a second wall behind the first. They set fire to this wall, but their plan at first appeared to have backfired as the wind blew the flames back in the face of the soldiers. However, a sudden wind change caused the flames to envelop the inner wall and set it ablaze.

The conquest of the fortress was imminent, and realizing that there was no hope of victory Eleazar gathered his comrades in an attempt to convince them that suicide was the only honorable course of action remaining. Josephus has left us a detailed account of what supposedly transpired. To be captured by the Romans would have meant torture, humiliation, and death. Eleazar is said to have reviewed some of the ideological tenets associated with the Fourth Philosophy (for instance, the recognition that there is but one God and that no Jew should become a slave) and finally argued that God had now turned against the Jews, dooming them to destruction. How else would He have let such wholesale destruction take place in Jerusalem or have allowed the city to fall into ruins? The misfortune which befell the entire Jewish nation was to be the lot of the Sicarii as well, but it should come at their own hands and not at the hands of the Romans; let them say, “We preferred death to slavery.”

Realizing that not all were convinced by these arguments, Eleazar reportedly renewed his appeal. This time, however, the argument took a more philosophical bent. Its major themes were not Israel, God, and sin but rather soul, death, and suicide: Life, not death, is man’s misfortune. Death liberates man’s soul from the shackles of the body, from the miseries and pain of mortal life. Thus, the soul is restored to its pure sphere, unadulterated by things human. Eleazar then compared death to sleep in which the soul is liberated from the body to enjoy complete repose, holding conversation with God and foretelling things of the future. The example of Indian philosophers is invoked—people who hasten to release their souls from their bodies through immolation leave the soul as pure as possible. Moreover, God himself has decreed defeat; the Romans cannot claim this victory. To live and see the women and children desecrated, tortured, or sold as slaves is worse than death.

Subsequently, each of the defenders of Masada is said to have executed his own family; and each of these, in turn, was killed by ten men chosen by lot. These ten were then killed by the last survivor, who then committed suicide. Only two women and five children who had hidden in a cistern escaped this fate. The following day, upon entering the fortress, the Romans were astounded and dumbstruck by the mass suicide.

Despite its inherent drama and heroic grandeur, Josephus’ account of the Masada episode is not without its problems. How is it that these pious Jews chose suicide? Did Eleazar really make such speeches? Is this story really based on the reports of two women and five children who had been hiding in a cistern? And even if plausible, Eleazar’s second speech sounds more like the words of a Stoic philosopher than of a commander of a group of revolutionaries on an isolated mountain fortress in a remote province of the empire. If 960 people committed suicide, where are the remains of their bodies? And why would Josephus glorify a group of people whom he hated? Let us try to resolve at least some of these problems.

In the first place, similar mass suicides are well known in antiquity generally and in Jewish history in particular. Many Jews in Jotapata and Gamla preferred killing themselves to falling into Roman hands, and the actions of the Masada defenders are therefore quite plausible. Secondly, whether all the defenders of Masada died as described or whether some actually died fighting, the fact that so few bones have been found is surprising. No convincing explanation has heretofore been offered.

Thirdly, Eleazar's speeches are almost definitely the product of Josephus' pen: he most probably attempted to put into the mouth of a hero what might or should have been said at that critical moment, an exercise that was universally practiced among ancient historians. Finally, it seems that Josephus' intent in telling the story was not so much to idealize the Sicarii as to fix the blame on this group of revolutionaries. He had Eleazar take responsibility for the war, admit that he was mistaken and had sinned, and that, in the end, God had rejected the Jews. The death of the Sicarii by their own hands was a dramatic statement of the futility and misguidance of those who dared to challenge Rome. Josephus remained the fierce opponent of Jewish revolutionaries to the very end. That he packaged all this in the dramatic account which lent an aura of heroism and even admiration to the victims was not his primary intention. At best, it was the price he was willing to pay to conclude his book on a heroic and dramatic note.

5.9. Discuss the Christian persecutions of the first century A.D.

As encountered by Christians, this was nothing new. It was part of their Jewish heritage. The association of witness and suffering, begun as early as the second part of Isaiah, was crystallized in the Seleucid struggle. A theory of martyrdom rewarded by personal immortality grew up till it dominated the outlook of the Jews towards the Roman government (4 Macc. 17:8ff.). The possibility of death for Torah became accepted as a demand of Judaism. Thus the Jews were not averse to martyrdom; despite official Roman toleration of their religion, their cohesiveness, non-co-operation and uncanny financial success won them widespread hatred and spasmodic persecution, especially outside Palestine: pogroms were common in Alexandria. This legacy was taken over by the Christians. Their willingness to face suffering was intensified by the example of Jesus and by the association of persecution with the longed-for end of the age (Mk. 13:7-13). Even so, we must ask what aroused such animosity towards them among both the Jews and the Romans.

a. Opposition from the Jews

This gradually grew in intensity. The preaching of a crucified Messiah whose death was publicly blamed on the Jewish leaders was highly provocative. Even so, the people were favourable (Acts 2:46f.; 5:14) and the Pharisees moderate (Acts 5:34ff.; 23:6ff.), while opposition arose, naturally enough, among the Sadducees (Acts 4:1, 6; 5:17). Stephen's preaching of the transitoriness of the law (Acts 6:14) turned public opinion and brought about the first persecution in Jerusalem and elsewhere, *e.g.* Damascus. In AD 44 James was executed by Herod Agrippa, and throughout the Acts the Jews appear as Paul's most vehement enemies. This attitude could only have been made worse by the Apostolic Council which repudiated the need for circumcision, and it culminated in the excommunication of Christians at Jamnia, *c.* AD 80.

b. Opposition from the Romans

Rome's attitude underwent a marked change. At first, as we see in Acts, she gave Christians toleration and even encouragement. This soon gave way to fierce opposition. In Rome (Tacitus, Ann. 15. 44) such was their unpopularity by AD 64 that Nero could make them scapegoats for the fire. In Bithynia (Pliny, *Ep.* 10. 96-97) by *c.* AD 112 persistence in Christianity was a capital offence, though Trajan would not allow anonymous delation and he deprecated 'witch hunting'. Three explanations of this changed attitude are suggested:

(i) That Christians were prosecuted only for specific offences, such as cannibalism, incendiarism, incest, magic, illicit assembly and *majestas* (in their case, refusal to sacrifice to the *numen* of the emperor). There is, indeed, evidence that they were accused on all these counts, but 1 Pet. 2:12; 4:14-17; Pliny, *Ep.* 10. 97; and Suetonius, *Nero* 16, all make clear that at an early date the *nomen ipsum* of Christian, irrespective of the *cohaerentia flagitia* associated with it in the popular mind, was punishable.

(ii) That there was a general law throughout the empire, the *institutum Neronianum*, which proscribed Christianity. Tertullian makes this claim, and says that this was the only one of Nero's *acta* not rescinded later (*Ad. Nat.* 50. 7, see also *Apol. 5*), and the evidence of Suetonius, 1 Pet. and Rev. is patient of this interpretation. However, Christianity was probably not important enough to evoke such a general law, and if there was one it is hard to explain Pliny's ignorance of it, Trajan's failure to mention it, the property rights enjoyed by the church prior to the Decian persecution, and the remarkable lack of uniformity in its execution.

(iii) That persecution was at the discretion of the governor, who acted only in response to private accusation: there was no public prosecutor in Roman society. Whatever the formal charge, it is clear that by Pliny's time active membership of an organization believed to be criminal, and therefore, like the Bacchanals and the Druids, banned because in all three cult and *scelera* appeared indistinguishable, constituted an actionable offence, and *contumacia*,

persistent refusal to recant, met with death. The competence of proconsuls and city prefects in *crimina extra ordinem* has been shown in recent years to have been very great. If a governor wished to take action against Christians he had the Neronian precedent to guide him and his coercive *imperium* to support him. Alternatively, it lay within his discretion, like Gallio (Acts 18:14-16), to refuse jurisdiction. If in doubt he could refer to the emperor, whose rescript would be binding on him as long as he remained in the province, though not necessarily upon his successors.

It is because the governors enjoyed such discretion that Tertullian addressed his Apology not to the emperor but to the governor: for it was in his hands that the remedy lay. This accounts for the spasmodic nature of persecution until the days of Decius. It depended so much on the policy of the governor and whether the extent of the unpopularity of Christians in the province was such as to drive private individuals to prosecute them. There is no satisfactory evidence (despite Orosius, 7. 7) for believing that there was any general action against Christians throughout the empire under Nero, though the sect seems to have become *illicita* in Rome itself (Suetonius, *Nero* 16). The actual evidence for a Domitianic persecution of the church is precarious despite the invective heaped on that emperor by the Fathers. A broad generalization in Dio (67. 14), concerning the death of Flavius Clemens, who was possibly, and Acilius Glabrio, who was probably, a Christian, and the banishment of Domitilla, is about all that can be summoned. But it is quite possible that Domitian, who minutely inspected and vigorously exacted the Jewish revenue (Suetonius, *Domit.* 12), discovered uncircumcised Christians sheltering under the religious privileges of the Jews and instituted against them a general persecution of which we have vivid traces in the Apocalypse, if this is to be dated under Domitian rather than Nero.

Persecution was therefore restricted by three factors: (i) that the Roman governors were reluctant to admit charges concerning private religious opinions (*superstitiones*) and tried to confine their attention to real offences; (ii) that accusations had to be made personally and publicly—and to bring a capital charge was both dangerous and difficult; (iii) that in each province only one man, the governor, could pass the death sentence.

These three factors combined to protect the majority of Christians long enough for the church to become firmly established throughout the empire.

6. HERMENEUTICS

6.1. General knowledge of the dogmatic constitution Dei Verbum.

6.2. General knowledge of the document of the Pontifical Biblical Commission, The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church (Rome 1993).