

Ancient Jewish Prayers and Emotions

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Edited by

Friedrich V. Reiterer, Beate Ego and Tobias Nicklas

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Ancient Jewish Prayers and Emotions

Emotions associated with Jewish prayer
in and around the Second Temple period

Edited by
Stefan C. Reif and Renate Egger-Wenzel

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Stefan C. Reif

The Place of Prayer in Early Judaism

1 Introduction

It is a pleasure and privilege to open this collection of essays by attempting to set them in the historical context of the ancient past, as well as preparing some of the ground for the building of the new critical theories of the present and the future. In that respect, my function here is akin to that of the Roman god Janus. As is well known, Janus was the god of beginnings and ends, as well as of time, and he is usually represented as having two faces, one looking backwards to the past and the other forwards to the future. How then is it best to approach this somewhat daunting and challenging task? Given the title of this paper, and indeed the overall subject of the current volume, it is clear that the broad theme that requires attention is the theory and practice of prayer as they developed within the overall history of the Jews in the period that led up to the rise of Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism. I first propose to assess the degree to which the past 120 years have witnessed methodological change and innovative analysis and to allude to the role played by the discoveries from the Cairo Genizah in such scholarly developments. I shall then offer some remarks about the controversial nature of historical analysis in the treatment of Jewish liturgical evolution and point to the bibliographical studies that can now help us in our research in this field. It will also, of course, be necessary to mention the extent to which we, who specialize in the subject being discussed, are indebted to the scholars of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the materials and the interpretations that they have made available to us, as indeed to the founders and leaders of the International Society for Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature for the conferences and publications that they have so successfully sponsored in the past thirteen years. Moving from the past to the present and the future, I shall make reference to the newest themes and the way forward for scholarship at least in the short term. If by that point I have achieved my stated objective, readers will then be better equipped to read and absorb the important studies that are included in the body of this volume.

2 Earlier perspectives

2.1 Jewish Encyclopedia

If we are to identify the kind of view about Jewish prayer in the Hebrew Bible and in the immediately pre-Christian period that was widely held by learned individuals at the beginning of the twentieth century, it is not unreasonable to examine what was on offer in the *The Jewish Encyclopedia* that was published in New York in 1906. The editors enlisted the assistance of many leading scholars, but also of local rabbis who had trained in seminaries as well as universities, and therefore provided a broad overview of what the thinking Jew had in mind when asked to define some outstanding notion or custom. Rabbi Dr Maurice H. Harris (d. 1930) was the spiritual leader of the Reform synagogue Temple Israel in Harlem at that time and contributed the article on “Prayer” to the *Encyclopedia*.¹ Before an article by Judah Eisenstein offering a practical guide to the content and practice of traditional rabbinic prayer in ancient, medieval and modern times, Harris had some comments to make about the earlier origins of that expression of religiosity as described in the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament:

The building of the Temple naturally invited public prayer... It may be inferred that organized service was sufficiently well established in the days of the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries to have drifted into conventionality (comp. Isa. i. 15, xxix. 13, Iviii. 5). That Daniel “kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God” (vi. 10), and that Ps. lv. 17 speaks of prayer “evening and morning, and at noon”, would indicate the institution of triple daily services, though I Chron. xxiii. 30 specifies only morning and evening. So, too, the mention of grace before and after meat in the New Testament (Matt. xv. 36; Acts xxvii. 37) leads to the inference that such a prayer became customary before the close of the Old Testament canon.

For Harris, then, as for many of his contemporaries, public prayer was a feature of Temple times, communal prayer was already “conventional” in the days of the prophets, institutional daily services existed in the post-exilic period, and statutory graces before and after meals were already recited in the time of the Hebrew Bible.

While a pulpit rabbi apparently gave little credit to the Second Temple period for promoting innovative liturgical development of any significance, it might be thought that those of a more critical bent would surely have seen matters

¹ JE 10, 164–165.

differently. Ludwig Blau (1861–1936) was a professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Budapest and succeeded the great Wilhelm Bacher as the Director of that institution from 1914. In 1911 he founded the periodical *HaZofeh* which became so central to scientific Jewish studies (*Wissenschaft des Judentums*), and edited it until 1931. He contributed the entry on “Liturgy” to the *Encyclopedia*.² In addition to what Harris had written, Blau added details about the Temple, Levites, Psalms, and the *Ma’amadot*, an institution which allowed those not directly involved in Temple activity to gather for some sort of liturgical ceremony.³ Again however, somewhat remarkably, no significance was attached by him to the Second Temple period, nor to Hellenistic literature, and his discussion focussed only on the Hebrew Bible and talmudic literature.

2.2 Elbogen

The doyen of the study of Jewish liturgy in the first half of the twentieth century was undoubtedly Ismar Elbogen (1874–1943) who also represented scientific Jewish studies and taught at the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin before having to emigrate to the United States during the Nazi period. With a keen eye for the historical, Elbogen clearly had a greater appreciation than his predecessors of the fact that the Second Temple period might have had something important to tell him in his field of specialization. He began his research into Jewish liturgy in the early years of the twentieth century but summarized his findings in a book that was published in 1931 and was destined to become a classic in the field, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*.⁴ Remarkably, this indispensable reference work found no English translator until Raymond Scheindlin did the necessary work and published it in 1993. In the English edition, the relevant section reads as follows⁵:

We are not told how long it took for regular public worship to become universal. It is noteworthy that the complaints in the books of Maccabees about the prohibition of religious activities and ceremonies include no reference to the prohibition of public worship. Nevertheless, a number of verses in these books allude to the fact that it was already being held in the widest circles. If it had been introduced later, our sources certainly would not have neglected a fuller discussion of the innovation. In the later quarrels of the parties, we never hear of any dispute about public worship as such or

² JE 8, 132–140.

³ On this institution, see Tabory, *Ma’amadot*.

⁴ Elbogen, *Gottesdienst; Ha-Tefillah*; Jewish Liturgy.

⁵ Jewish Liturgy, § 34 (10), 194.

about the details of its execution. Likewise, Ben Sira and Daniel definitely contain indications presupposing the existence of organized worship. We have certain information from the Diaspora. Agartharchides of Cnidos, writing about the middle of the second century B.C.E., speaks of the public worship of the Jews, and mentions that the Jews linger in their synagogues the entire Sabbath day until a late evening hour. This shows how lengthy was the explication of the Torah on those days.

It is important to summarize what Elbogen was suggesting. He recognized the difficulty in establishing when and how Jewish public worship became an established institution but at the same time noted that the books of Maccabees, Ben Sira and Daniel, as well as a Greek historian and geographer, all had something important to relay to us in this matter. This suggests an altogether less parochial approach to the topic.

2.3 Encyclopaedia Judaica

Elbogen had himself, together with Jakob Klatzkin, been one of the editors of an encyclopedia that had got under way in Germany between 1928 and 1934 and had produced ten volumes from A to L before the Nazi persecutions put paid to the effort.⁶ An English version of this enterprise was edited by Cecil Roth, and then by Geoffrey Wigoder, in the 1960s and was published as *The Encyclopaedia Judaica* in 1972.⁷ Israel Abrahams (1903–1973), a rabbi and scholar in Cape Town, South Africa, particularly renowned for his English translations of learned works written in Modern Hebrew, composed the entry on “Liturgy” for that reference work. Among his comments are the following which, interestingly, carry the heading “Liturgy in the Bible and the Second Temple Period”⁸:

The beginnings of Jewish liturgy are obscure ... The prayers found occasionally in the Bible are spontaneous reactions to personal events or experiences, e.g. the short prayers of Moses (Num. 12:13), Jethro (Ex. 18:10), and Hannah (1 Sam. 1:11), and the extended prayer of Solomon at the inauguration of the Temple (1 Kgs 8:15ff., 23ff.). The only formal prayers are the confessions to be recited when bringing the first fruits (*Viddui Bikkurim*) and the tithe (*Viddui Ma'aser*; Deut. 26:5–15), and that of the high priest which had no prescribed formula (Lev. 16:21). Pious individuals seem to have prayed thrice daily (Dan. 6:11; cf. also Ps. 55:18), and some of the psalms may have served as texts for the levitical service twice a day in the First and Second Temples (1 Chron. 23:30). There is no evidence, however, of communal prayer in the Temple. There was only a short liturgy for the priests

⁶ Encyclopaedia Judaica: Das Judentum.

⁷ EncJud, 1972 and 2007.

⁸ EncJud 11, 392–393.

on duty which comprised a benediction, the recitation of the Shema and the Decalogue, three additional benedictions and the priestly blessing (Tam. 5:1). The laymen present for the sacrifices participated in the ritual by prostrating themselves (Tam. 7:3; cf. Ber. 11b) and at appropriate pauses, probably chanting such responses as O give thanks unto the Lord for He is good (Ps. 136:1). This ceremony might have been one of the sources out of which the liturgy later developed.

Abrahams was rightly reflecting the more cautious scholarship of the 1950 and 1960s by alluding to the obscure origins, the paucity of formal compositions, and the lack of evidence about communal prayer in the Temple.

3 Leading scholars

3.1 Jerusalem

What must now be identified are the central developments in the subject that have taken place between the appearance of the *The Encyclopaedia Judaica* and the present day. The first names to be mentioned in that respect are undoubtedly those of two productive and insightful scholars, Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt (1895–1972)⁹ and Joseph Heinemann (1915–1978),¹⁰ both of them European-born and then major figures in the rabbinic and academic circles of Jerusalem. Both of them saw the need to undertake some basic reconsideration of the topic of Jewish prayer. Goldschmidt made his contribution by what came to be called the “philological method” and by producing text-critical editions of numerous medieval Jewish liturgies, in which he made impressive use of the evidence from manuscripts and early editions and to which he attached historical analyses. Perhaps his most famous and widely used contribution was his 1960 study of the Passover Haggadah which laid the foundations for various historical studies of more recent years.¹¹

Joseph Heinemann adopted a different method, one that he inherited from Arthur Spanier in particular, namely, the form-critical study of Jewish liturgy. He saw the need for classifying different kinds of compositions, as a whole school of scholars had done with various parts of the Hebrew Bible, and

⁹ See the preface to the edition of his Hebrew papers: *On Jewish Liturgy*, with an appreciation by Urbach, 1–8.

¹⁰ See the introduction to the edition of his Hebrew papers, *Studies in Jewish Liturgy*, with an introductory appreciation by the editor, Avigdor Shinan.

¹¹ The Passover Haggadah, based on manuscripts and early printed editions.

explaining the creation of the Hebrew prayer-book over a lengthy period. Temple, academy, synagogue and the circle of mystics each had its own genres. He therefore argued against a diachronic explanation of the textual evolution of the prayers and in favour of a synchronic one. As a result, he proposed that the earliest rabbinic prayer, in the first centuries of the Christian era, was not standard or monolithic but varied and flexible. Unlike most of the work of Goldschmidt, Heinemann's Hebrew publications found English translators and that is perhaps one of the reasons why they became better known and influential in the wider scholarly world beyond Jerusalem.¹² What he and Goldschmidt achieved, by their methodology and their critical spadework, was to put the scientific study of rabbinic liturgy in its earliest forms on an even sounder footing than that established by Elbogen. Their researches were – and remain – important for the earlier study of Jewish prayer because they clarify what liturgical items may have existed in the pre-rabbinic period, and provide settings and possible structures for those. They also give some indications of compositions that are much more likely to have been products of the talmudic or post-talmudic eras and explain how the texts of the later Hebrew prayer-books emerged.

3.2 Elsewhere

In the 1970s and 1980s scholarly treatment of the history of Jewish prayer was not of course restricted to Israel but was also to be found in Europe and the USA. My revered teacher, Naphtali Wieder (1905–2001), who had studied at the Hochschule in Berlin where Elbogen taught, began at that time to be less reserved about publishing the results of the research he had done in numerous research libraries around Europe. As a lecturer at Jews' College and University College in London, and later as professor at Bar-Ilan University in Israel, he cited a welter of fresh manuscript sources and offered novel and exciting interpretations of these, at times touching on matters that went beyond the immediate liturgical text and related to broader religious, historical, and cultural matters.¹³ A combination of history and theology also appealed to Jakob Petuchowski (1925–1991) who tackled liturgical poetry as well as statutory prayers

¹² See, especially, Heinemann, *Prayer*, and also Sarason, *Use*.

¹³ See my appreciation of Wieder: *A Scholar's Scholar*.

and tried to direct future research by summarizing what had been discovered to date.¹⁴

Such research did in fact move in the direction of a much wider agenda. Specialists began to see the importance of critically (and not religiously or traditionally) oriented history, wider treatments, and a more comprehensive and multi-disciplinary approach. They acknowledged the complex and multifarious nature of Jewish liturgy, including, for example, not only the linguistic and the literary but also the social, political, economic, musical, mystical, philosophical, phenomenological, psychological, and anthropological aspects of the subject. A reflection of such changes in outlook is to be found in the work of a younger generation of scholars such as Richard Sarason, Larry Hoffman, Paul Bradshaw and myself who were to a degree inspired by the earlier researchers mentioned above but also saw the need to move into less well charted territory. Jacob Neusner also deserves credit for having raised a generation of younger scholars, including W. S. Green and Tzvee Zahavy, who questioned the dating of rabbinic sources and thereby brought fresh perspectives to the whole topic.¹⁵ Joseph Tabory also promoted the historical study of Jewish prayer texts among his Bar-Ilan students and made a major contribution to the field with his extensive bibliographical aids to the study of Jewish prayer and of the synagogal institutions that came to house it, and by way of a new publication series (beginning in 2001) under the title of “Kenishta; Studies of the Synagogue World”.

4 Genizah research

We shall shortly return to the historical line of scholars who have changed the nature of the subject and shall deal with the work of more recent decades. At this juncture it is, however, necessary to point out the role that Genizah research has played in making possible the flowering of such scholarly activity. The first point to be made is that until the early 1970s only a small proportion of all the texts housed in numerous research libraries and museums, particularly throughout Europe and North America, had been conserved, researched, described and made available to interested specialists. The establishment of the Genizah Research Unit at Cambridge University Library, early in 1974, brought about a major climate change in the academic atmosphere on which so much of

¹⁴ See Petuchowski, *Contributions; Theology; Liturgy*; Petuchowski/Brocke, *Lord's Prayer*. For an appreciation, see Ellenson, *Jakob*.

¹⁵ Reif, *Judaism*, 5–7.

liturgical scholarship was dependent for the oxygen it breathed in the form of manuscript data.¹⁶ The Unit encouraged international co-operation with renowned scholars where previously there had been only individual efforts. It appointed young scholars as post-doctoral research assistants and most of them went on to occupy senior academic posts around the world and to generate their own schools of Genizah research. It created many thousands of descriptions of Genizah texts and numerous volumes that provided such descriptions in particular fields. Clear rules were laid down for the use and citation of Genizah material and scholars in many areas were encouraged to make use of the Genizah source. Interest grew in the Genizah texts, including those relevant to the Second Temple period such as the Damascus Codex, Ben Sira, Tobit, and the Testament of Levi. Just as significantly, it led the way in so many of these areas, and other institutions followed its lead and dealt with their Genizah collections. Thousands of new pages of research were published on Genizah topics because so much fresh material came into the hands of scholars instead of being hidden away in crates and boxes for some seven decades. This process received an enormous boost with the establishment of the Friedberg Genizah Project through which images of most of the world's Genizah texts were put online for easy access by anyone with a computer and an internet connection.¹⁷

5 Historical interpretation

Ezra Fleischer (1928–2006) was one of the scholars who made extensive use of as many Genizah items as could possibly come his way with the opening up of so many collections. Although initially and primarily an editor and historian of medieval Hebrew poetry, and a professor of Hebrew literature, Fleischer turned his attention to the history of Hebrew prayer in the 1980s and authored a most important treatment of the rite of the land of Israel in the pre-Crusader period and in the century or two immediately afterwards.¹⁸ He then began a process of historical revision, the aim of which was to overturn the theories of Heinemann and those who had followed him.

In a seminal article published in *Tarbiz* in 1990, Fleischer reconsidered the widely accepted view of modern scholarship concerning the beginnings of

¹⁶ For various aspects of the story of the Unit, see Reif, *Consigned to the Genizah*; *Famous Genizah*. On the broader scholarly aspects, see Reif, *Archive*.

¹⁷ See <http://www.jewishmanuscripts.org>.

¹⁸ Fleischer, *Eretz-Israel Prayer*; *Prayers*; Reif, *Review*.

obligatory Jewish prayer and its early redaction.¹⁹ The current opinion on this matter, already suggested by Elbogen as early as 1913, saw Jewish liturgy emerging during the period of the Second Commonwealth, either pre- or early post-Maccabean, and considered the formal redaction of the regular prayer, that is, the *'Amidah* or *Shemoneh 'Esreh*, and the benedictions of the *Shema*, to be the gradual accomplishment of many generations. According to this opinion, the text of the *Shemoneh 'Esreh*, and, more so, the texts of the other prayers, were for a long period rather fluid. The text underwent a rigorous formulation and became more or less official only very late, in geonic times, mainly in Babylonia. Remnants of such fluidity are to be found in hundreds of the oldest liturgical texts from the Cairo Genizah. Only the formulae of the eulogies, and perhaps their order, were established by the Sages (after 70 CE), whereas the main part of every benediction was extemporized by the individual on every occasion while praying. Fleischer enthusiastically set about the task of refuting both of these assertions. According to him, there was no obligatory prayer whatsoever in the Second Temple period, primarily because of respect for the Temple service, but a total revolution took place in the second Christian century when Rabban Gamaliel and his Court created the wholly innovative idea of the daily *'Amidah*. Only “sectarians” felt the need to establish another way of serving God. For Fleischer, the Genizah evidence did not testify to a continuing textual fluidity from tannaitic to geonic times but to changes in the text made in the early medieval period under the influence of the liturgical poets and their linguistic and literary innovations.

Although I saw some of the novel suggestions in Fleischer’s article as convincing, I was troubled by the degree to which controversial evidence was in some cases offered in support of dogmatic conclusions and felt the need to respond in a subsequent issue of the same periodical. If certain groups did pray together, it seemed churlish totally to exclude the synagogue as a possible venue for their devotions, at least at certain times, in a few cases, and in individual places. Any presuppositions about Jewish institutions and obligations during the Second Temple period should take proper account of the variety of religious expression then in existence in both Palestine and the Diaspora and not simply dismiss them out of hand as “sectarian”. Similar patterns of liturgical development, however differently expressed, could be detected for each generation. These represented a more impressive interpretation of historical change than a theory of unrelated revolutions led by bombastic individuals. A synchronic approach to the talmudic sources was still dictated by the lack of definitive

¹⁹ Fleischer, *Beginnings*.

criteria for establishing a reliable diachronic analysis.²⁰ Similar criticisms were later made (outside Israel) by Ruth Langer²¹ but many scholars in Israel felt hampered by Fleischer's dominance and distinction in the field of academic Jewish studies from clinically tackling the controversy or expressing views that might damage their relations with the one who was acknowledged widely as the master. The argument rumbles on with Uri Ehrlich, who has set up a most important online site for Jewish liturgical research at Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba, claiming in his most important study of the *'Amidah* according to the Palestinian rite that his findings support Fleischer's theory while I responded negatively to this claim in a review of that welcome and otherwise impressive volume.²²

6 Methodology

In what way has more recent scholarship clarified the degree to which it may be claimed that there existed some precursors and precedents in the Second Temple period for what occurred in the liturgy of Rabbinic Judaism, and indeed in that of early Christianity? To reply to that question, it is necessary to return to the historical line of scholars in the 1980s that was discussed earlier in this article. Before doing so, I hope that I may be permitted to rehearse some of the suggestions that I made, and the caveats I expressed, in a lecture given at the World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem in 1993 in the context of a workshop arranged by Lee Levine on the subject that we are still dealing with here and now.²³ If we can justifiably ask ourselves what history is, we may most certainly inquire after the meaning of both the "Second Temple period" and "liturgy". There is a danger of overestimating, or at least wrongly estimating, the Temple's importance for the period under discussion and of presupposing that its creation and destruction were necessarily the dominant factors in all aspects of its history. The period is simply a convenience and must not prevent us from looking behind or ahead of it for aspects of its content. What emerges from all the evidence and its interpretation is the distinct impression that liturgy was expressed in many ways and that these ways will have been inter-related in Jewish society as a whole. The expansion of Temple buildings for wider use, the more

²⁰ See the exchange between Reif and Fleischer, *Development*.

²¹ Langer, *Revisiting*, and her exchange with Fleischer.

²² Ehrlich, *Weekday*, 275–278, and the review by Reif.

²³ Reif, *Liturgy*.

common occurrence of prayer in its environs, the notion of the *ma'amad*, and the possible importation of such popular items as the *hallel* (the archetypal collection of psalms) and the *shema'* are among examples worthy of consideration. We must be wary of identifying clear-cut practices, easily defined groups, superlative individuals and absolute notions. The corollary is that our academic objective must be the pursuit of the mutual influences exercised by religious customs, the overlapping traditions that might be characteristic of a number of different philosophies, the individuals who express the essence of their particular environment, and the patchwork of concepts that make up the chequered history of ideas. Was the woman's role complementary, challenging or identical to that of the man in various liturgical respects? Was the ideal a Hebrew formulation of a mystical bent in a Palestinian context or a Greek philosophical structure developed in Egypt, to identify the possibilities only at their extremes? And what effect did the Ancient Near Eastern or Classical traditions have on the Jewish liturgy?

7 Dead Sea Scrolls

Considerable progress has been made with regard to many of the issues raised in the context of that 1993 workshop and much of it is due to the extensive research done on the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially by such scholars as Moshe Weinfeld, Bilhah Nitzan, Esther Chazon, Eileen Schuller, Hartmut Stegemann, and Daniel Falk,²⁴ and as clarified in the texts recently published by Donald Parry and Emanuel Tov²⁵ as well as in the *Festschrift* for Eileen Schuller edited by Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner and Cecilia Wassen.²⁶ It is now clear that a process of formalizing communal prayer and using it on special occasions was already in existence in the period leading up to the origins of Christianity. Certain groups, among them those with close attachment to mystical and apocalyptic ideas, recited regular prayers at specific times, even if there is no obvious consistency of text and context. The clearest evidence is present in the liturgical customs recorded within the documents found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. There we encounter hymns, prayers and benedictions and the utilization of biblical vocabulary to which those who wrote them attached their own linguistic and religious significance. It is even possible that these prayers were

²⁴ See, especially, their essays in Chazon/Clements/Pinnick, *Perspectives*, and Falk, *Sabbath*.

²⁵ Parry/Tov, *Dead Sea Scrolls*.

²⁶ Penner/Penner/Wassen, *Prayer*.

part of the “common Judaism” of the day. The composers subscribed to theological notions about Israel, Jerusalem and the Temple, the davidic dynasty and the power of God (in the future as well as the past) that occur in the Hebrew Bible as well as in later Judaism and Christianity, but placed their own slant on these. They demonstrate a greater liturgical intensity than other contemporary works but do not appear to have opted for any standard manner in which they formulated prayer or incorporated it in their devotions. Some elements of rabbinic formulations are reminiscent of what is to be found in the qumranic prayers but the format, the vocabulary and the usage later took on a distinctive character that reflected the ideology of early talmudic Judaism.²⁷ It should also be recalled that New Testament scholars such as Ed Sanders,²⁸ Oda Wischmeyer and Eve-Marie Becker,²⁹ Richard Bauckham,³⁰ Joerg Frey,³¹ Markus Bockmuehl³² and Larry Helyer³³ have taken on board much of what has been learnt from the Second Temple period and have been able to apply it to their own researches, moving greatly beyond the traditional use of the *Commentary* by Hermann Strack and Paul Billerbeck.³⁴

8 Recent progress

In addition to work on the Dead Sea Scrolls, other liturgical developments and their theological significance in the Second Temple period have been the subject of recent important research. What has been clearly demonstrated by Patrick Miller and Judith Newman,³⁵ among others, is that one of the results of a successful merger of cultic formality with individual spontaneity was the composition and recitation of penitential prayers. A set of three volumes edited by Mark Boda, Daniel Falk and Rodney Werline have included numerous articles that focus on examples of these prayers as they occur in such books as Ezra, Nehemiah and Daniel.³⁶ These penitential prayers were written at greater length

²⁷ See, most recently, the summary of her research by Chazon, Report.

²⁸ E.g. Sanders, Judaism.

²⁹ E.g. Wischmeyer, Ben Sira.

³⁰ E.g. Bauckham, World.

³¹ E.g. Frey/Schwartz/Gripentrog, Identity.

³² E.g. Bockmuehl, Law.

³³ E.g. Helyer, Literature.

³⁴ Strack/Billerbeck, Kommentar.

³⁵ Miller, Lord; Newman, Book.

³⁶ Boda/Falk/Werline, Favor.

and with more formality than the texts dating from earlier periods and they contrasted God's power with Israel's failures. In an atmosphere of contrition, humility and entreaty, the worshippers acknowledged their guilt and promised to improve their behaviour so that further divine punishment might be avoided. The prayers included historical and didactic elements but they did not yet constitute any form of fixed ritual to challenge that of the Temple. Studies written or edited by Norman Johnson,³⁷ James Charlesworth,³⁸ Renate Egger-Wenzel and Jeremy Corley³⁹ have indicated how these earlier elements recur in the books of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, as well as at Qumran, but are also further developed. Such books include cosmological, angelological, eschatological and mystical themes among the prayers of righteous individuals, personal prayers for divine assistance at times of personal or national hardship, and requests for divine blessings in particular circumstances. There was a growing association between the ordinary folk and the Temple and an author like Ben Sira was able to declare total allegiance to the Temple but was no less enthused by other expressions of liturgy, piety and sincerity, some of them achieved by intellectual and educational means.

9 ISDCL

In the present context, it is undoubtedly appropriate to mention the significant role played by the International Society for Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature in such improved analysis, understanding and appreciation of the history, theology and literature of the Second Temple period. Established in 2002 under the presidency of Friedrich Reiterer and housed at the University of Salzburg, this organization can already claim a most impressive record of organization and publication. Seven major conferences have been held at various academic centres throughout Europe and meetings of shorter duration and with smaller numbers have also been arranged. The proceedings of all such scholarly gatherings have been included in two series published for the Society by Walter de Gruyter in Berlin, namely, the *Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook (DCLY)* and *Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies (DCLS)*. Members of the Society, which has been presided over by Renate Egger-Wenzel since 2011, have also played an important part in the publication by the same

³⁷ Johnson, Prayer.

³⁸ Charlesworth/Rietz/Newsom, Dead Sea Scrolls.

³⁹ Egger-Wenzel/Corley, Prayer.

publishers of various volumes, especially on the topic of Ben Sira, in the *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (BZAW) series.⁴⁰

10 Conclusions

If, then, we may now look back at what has recently been achieved in the academic study of Jewish prayer in the Second Temple period, we may take note of the greater degree of attention being paid to that whole period and its developments; of a caution about characterizing any Jewish group from those centuries as “sectarian” compared to any others; of fresh insights into the nature of the liturgy being practised at that time; and of the new availability of Genizah material which may date from a thousand years later but still offers texts of relevance to much earlier eras. We have also encountered exciting discussions, productive programmes, and the promise of the treatment of new and lively themes in the future. The articles included in the present volume are also indicative of steps being taken to cover related topics in interestingly diverse ways. What we have before us are treatments relating to the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, Hellenistic texts and rabbinic literature, involving, in one way or another, the close study of Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek language and texts. The kind of literature being examined ranges from the theological, liturgical, narrative and historical to the prophetic, sapiential, didactic and exegetical. Among the approaches employed are, on the one hand, the historical, linguistic, literary, exegetical and theological, and on the other, the cultural, form-critical, feminist, philosophical and psychological. The contributors hail from eleven countries and represent a number of religious traditions, and the treatments have been fresh and broad. The study of the relatively neglected theme of emotions within the liturgical sphere is a pointer to the kind of wider expansion that is configured for the future. There therefore seems to me to be ample evidence that those involved have avoided any tendency towards insularity and a clear indication that there still remains much to be researched, and in many varied ways, in the broader subject of Jewish prayer in the Second Temple period.

⁴⁰ For online details of the Society, and of the research publications it has sponsored, see the website: <http://www.uni-salzburg.at/index.php?id=21350>.

Abstract

This paper summarizes the theory and practice of prayer as they developed among the Jews before the rise of Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism. It traces over a century of methodological change and innovative analysis in critical scholarship, noting the special contributions of the manuscripts from the Genizah and the Dead Sea, as well as the recent work of the International Society for Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature. It concludes by making reference to the newest scholarly themes and by pointing the way forward for future studies, at least in the short term.

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Christine Abart

Moments of Joy and Lasting Happiness

Examples from the Psalms

1 Introduction

Are you happy? Many people would classify their well-being at a high level.¹ On the other hand, more and more people who live in rich countries suffer from depression or burn-out. What then is lacking on our path to a happy existence and what can we ourselves contribute to our own happiness?

Today's psychological research on happiness distinguishes between moments of joy (fortuna/εὐτυχία) on the one hand, and being happy, in terms of a lasting happiness (beatitudo, felicitas/εὐδαιμονία) on the other. People who are permanently happy are, according to the Greek definition, filled with a good spirit (εὐδαιμονία). Because of this, they are capable of rejoicing in positive events and of enduring difficulties in a confident manner.² They feel good and balanced, and enjoy an underlying gratitude for their lives, as well as a joy in their existence. Brief experiences of joy intensify their state of happiness.³ According to psychological research, a permanent state of happiness depends on a person's attitude towards him/herself and towards his or her day-to-day life. Satisfaction with life and with the quest for its meaning trigger feelings of happiness. Those, however, who have to rely on brief, barely accessible moments of joy are well on the way to becoming, or remaining, unhappy.⁴

In the following passages from the Psalms, brief experiences of joy, as well as permanent states of happiness are noted, with experiences of lasting joy exhibiting striking parallels to the permanent states of happiness mentioned above. The reason for a worshipper's joy lies in God. He makes life possible and thereby creates joy. The believers respond to this by observing his precepts. Terms such as שמחה and גיל as well as descriptions of the physical expression of such feelings, allow us to recognize these emotions in written texts and, therefore, to relate to them.

1 Cf. Bucher, Psychologie, 33.

2 Cf. Bauer, Glück, 94.

3 Cf. Bauer, Glück, 94–95.

4 Cf. Bauer, Glück, 95.

My doctoral dissertation, recently completed, includes interpretations of the Psalm passages that link lexemes used for joy with physical acts.⁵ By means of three selected examples from Ps 16; 19, and 33, I hope to demonstrate the difference felt by the author between joy over momentary help and a more lasting joy. I shall begin with an interpretation of passages concerning joy over momentary strokes of luck, then move on to those that speak of permanent states of happiness. For this reason, the three passages will be interpreted in the following order: Pss 33:18–22; 16 and 19:8–11.

2 Spontaneous joy over a rescue from famine (Ps 33:18–22)

In Ps 33, the righteous, as a group, are initially called to rejoice (רָגַן; v. 1a) over YHWH. Since YHWH discomfits the nations (vv. 10–11), his own people can rejoice in their happiness (אֲשׁוּרִי; v. 12). But the worshippers are suffering, possibly under a king who, in contrast to YHWH’s people, relies on his own strength (vv. 16–17). How they, nevertheless, as related in the next five verses, manage to show confidence and even experience joy, will now be the subject of a number of remarks.

2.1 The threatened throat (Ps 33:18–19)

But the LORD’S eyes are upon the reverent,⁶
upon those who hope for his gracious help,
Delivering them/their throat⁷ from death,
keeping them alive in times of famine.

הִנֵּה עֵינֵי יְהוָה אֶל־יְרֵאָיו	18a
לְמַיְחֲלִים לְחַסְדּוֹ	18b
לְהַצִּיל מִמּוֹת נַפְשָׁם	19a
וּלְחַיֹּתָם בְּרָעַב	19b

⁵ Derivatives of שמח appear 8x, of these seven are combined with the term “heart” (לֵב/לֵבָב; Pss 4:8; 16:9; 19:9; 33:21; 97:11; 104:15; 105:3), and once with the term “throat” (נֶפֶשׁ; Ps 86:3). Forms of רָגַן appear 9x, once in combination with the flesh (בָּשָׂר; Ps 84:3), twice with the heart (לֵב; Pss 32:11; 84:3), twice with the tongue (לָשׁוֹן; Pss 51:16; 126:2), once with the throat (נֶפֶשׁ; Ps 71:23), 3x with the voice (קוֹל; Pss 42:5; 47:2; 118:15), and twice with the lips (שִׁפְתַיִם; Pss 63:6; 71:23). The verb גִּיל appears a total of 4x, once with the liver (כְּבוֹד; Ps 16:9), once with the heart (לֵב; Ps 13:6); once with the throat (נֶפֶשׁ; Ps 35:9), and once with the limbs (עַצְמוֹת; Ps 51:10). Derivatives of שׂוּשׁוּ appear in Ps 119:111 with the heart (לֵב) and in Ps 35:9 with the throat (נֶפֶשׁ). עֵלִי appears in Ps 28:7 together with the heart (לֵב) and in Ps 94:19 with the throat (נֶפֶשׁ).

⁶ Unless otherwise stated, the translations are taken from The New American Bible (NAB).

⁷ Annotation by Ch.A.

Verses 18–19 are broadly phrased. The verbal connections with verses 20–22, however, lead to the conclusion that the worshippers are speaking of their own situation.⁸ The praying community feels that it is in mortal danger. The people wait and hope that YHWH will allow their throats (שִׁנְיָ) to escape death (v. 19a)⁹ and that he will keep them alive in times of famine (NAB, however, translates “revive”, rather than “keep alive”; v. 19b). Through the שִׁנְיָ humans take what they need in order to live. They breathe through the throat and also take in food. By the same token, their throat cries out when it is in danger and rejoices on good days.¹⁰ The worshippers in Ps 33:19 lack the necessary food. Their throat is empty. From this arises a powerful expression of need.¹¹ That is to say, the worshippers express their wish to be revived (*pi’el*).

The following illustration from Egypt shows starving nomads, who are nothing more than skin and bones. Their situation is dramatic. The woman in the bottom left-hand corner of the picture is pulling vermin out of her hair with her left hand and with her right hand raising it to her mouth.¹² At the top left-hand side of the picture, a child is stretching out its arms; it, however, receives nothing.

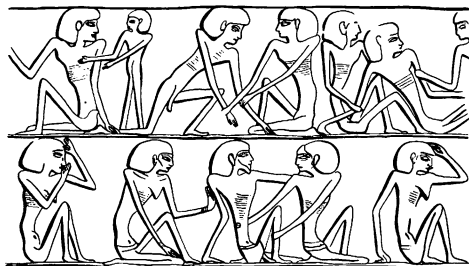


Fig. 1 (Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, 66, 361)
Limestone relief at the staircase of
the pyramid of Unas in Saqqara,
5th Dynasty (2480–2350 BC).

Perhaps a king, such as the one described in vv. 16–17, is (co-)responsible for this famine. Rulers, who depict themselves on horseback and well-equipped,

⁸ The memory of the great danger alone can be such a burden, and it is better if it is kept either at a distance, or generalized. In this way, it remains open for new situations of hardship for the recipients of the text.

⁹ Cf. Ps 56:14.

¹⁰ שִׁנְיָ can mean the entire throat and, therefore, also the windpipe, as well as the esophagus. It has to do with the „Sitz aller elementaren Lebensbedürfnisse“ (Frevel, *Menschsein*, 29).

¹¹ Cf. Westermann, שִׁנְיָ, 75.

¹² Cf. Keel, *Welt*, 67.

are seldom interested in the “little folk”, neither among their own people nor, even less, when they are dealing with conquered ethnic groups.¹³



Fig. 2 (Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, 217–218, 367)
The relief, reaching 1.29 meters and made of plaster-like alabaster, originates in Nineveh and depicts Assurbanipal (668–626 BC). The power displayed in this image is, according to Ps 33:16–17, pointless.

A king is not saved by a mighty army,
nor a warrior delivered by great strength.
Useless is the horse for safety;
its great strength, no sure escape.

אִי־הַמֶּלֶךְ נוֹשָׁע בְּרַב־חַיִל	16a
גִּבּוֹר לֹא־יִנָּצֵל בְּרַב־כֹּחַ	16b
שֶׁקֶר הַסּוֹס לְתַשׁוּבָה	17a
וּבְרַב חֵילוֹ לֹא יִמָּלֵט	17b

Four negatives in vv. 16–17 deny such a king any helpful intervention. The roots of the words *ישׁע* (vv. 16a, 17a) and *נצל* (v. 16b) are in fact used to refer to the one who can truly save, that is, to YHWH.¹⁴

The worshippers turn to him in their mortal fear. The particle *הִנֵּה* (v. 18a) illustrates the great importance of what follows and emphasizes YHWH’s power in comparison with the aforementioned king. The worshippers look for eye con-

¹³ In Ps 33 it remains open, whether or not the king and mighty man in v. 16 belong to YHWH’s people.

¹⁴ The LORD saved Israel from the hand of the Egyptians (Exod 14:30) and from their enemies in their own land (Num 10:9; cf. Deut 20:4). In Deut 33:29 Israel is happy (אֲשֻׁרִי), because they are saved by the Lord (נוֹשָׁע בְּיְהוָה). Furthermore, in 1 Sam 14:23, 39; 1 Chr 11:14; Pss 20:7; 34:7, 19; 36:7; 37:40; 55:17; 80:20; 98:1; 107:13, 19; 116:6; Prov 20:22; Isa 25:9; 33:22; 38:20; 43:12; 45:17; Zeph 3:17; Zech 9:16 and 12:7, individuals, or all people, profess their loyalty to YHWH, their saviour. In divine speeches reported by the prophets, YHWH describes himself as the saviour of Israel (Isa 30:15; 43:12; 49:25; Jer 15:20; 30:10, 11; 31:7; 42:11; Zech 8:7 and 10:6).

tact with YHWH. His eye¹⁵ is permanently (nominal clause) upon those who fear him (יָרֵא; v. 18a) and who wait for (יִחַל; v. 18b) his kindness and love (חֶסֶד). Both sentences are in synonymous parallelism. Thus, it becomes clear that the worshippers experience God’s love when he looks upon them. In v. 5b the Lord is said to have filled the earth with love. In v. 5a, YHWH is described as a lover of צְדִיקָה and מְשֻׁפָּט. In v. 18, the worshippers wait for YHWH’s love and, thus, also for his judgement. Specifically, they hope for the end of their famine and their mortal fear.

2.2 Joy of the heart (Ps 33:20–22)

Our soul/throat ¹⁶ waits for the LORD,	נַפְשֵׁנוּ חִבְתָּהּ לַיהוָה	20a
who is our help and shield.	עֲזָרְנוּ וּמִגְנָנוּ הוּא	20b
For in God our hearts rejoice;	כִּי־בֹ יִשְׂמַח לִבָּנוּ	21a
in your holy name we trust.	כִּי בְשֵׁם קִדְשׁוֹ בְּטָחָנוּ	21b
May your kindness, LORD, be upon us;	יְהִי־חֶסֶדְךָ יְהוָה עָלֵינוּ	22a
we have put our hope in you.	כָּאֲשֶׁר יָחַלְנוּ לָךְ	22b

While in vv. 18–19 the statements are prefixed with “behold” and are fairly general, there is a contrast in vv. 20–22 where the worshippers are clearly speaking of themselves. In v. 20 they begin with נַפְשֵׁנוּ, thereby emphasizing their own situation in life. Their throats were, according to the common statement in v. 19a, threatened by death. However, now the worshippers are speaking about this danger in terms of the suffix conjugation. In retrospect, they now describe their earlier waiting for YHWH with the term חִכָּה. This waiting may be interpreted as “having patience”.¹⁷ After having experienced this rescue, the modification from desperate to patient waiting is understandable.

Having been rescued, the worshippers, in v. 20b, conclude from this that YHWH is their permanent help and shield (v. 20b; nominal clause). In personal

¹⁵ The singular form “the eye of the Lord” (עֵין יְהוָה) is used only in Ps 33:18. However, the eyes of the Lord (עֵינֵי יְהוָה; plural) also look favourably upon the land in Deut 11:12 and in Ps 34:16 upon the righteous.

¹⁶ Annotation by Ch.A.

¹⁷ Cf. Koehler/Baumgartner, *Lexikon* 1, 300.

prayer God is often described as a shield.¹⁸ God is also said to grasp his shield when dealing with legal disputes (Ps 35:2; 47:10).



Fig. 3 (Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, 202, 367)

This limestone relief illustrates the traditional shields that were used at that time. The image originated during the first years of Ramses II (1301–1234 BC) in the Temple of Luxor.

The use of both terms, *מָגֵן* and *עֶזְרָא*, stresses the extent of YHWH's power.¹⁹ Since the worshippers' throats (*נֶפֶשׁ*) have now been saved, their hearts (*לֵב*) rejoice (v. 21a). The heart – being the seat of the mind – has come to realize that the throat did not wait in vain for YHWH. To them, he is both, help and shield. In the wake of this realization comes the emotional reaction. The heart of the worshippers rejoices (*שִׂמְחָה*) over YHWH. This joy is specifically emphasized through the prefixed affirmative particles “yes” (*כִּי*). The waiting has come to an end (vv. 20a, 22b) and there is now cause for rejoicing (prefix conjugation), for YHWH has proven himself to be a lifesaver. The fear of death by starvation has passed by. The worshippers, obviously unexpectedly, have once again received food and, as was common in their day, interpret this rescue as God's help.

Joy within the heart is often described by the term *שִׂמְחָה*.²⁰ In the Hebrew Bible this root is used in more than half of the passages pertaining to “joy”.²¹ The majority of exegetes identify *שִׂמַח* as a static verb.²² However, Richter identifies it as a verb of “emotion” and, thus places it in the category of action

18 Cf. 2 Sam 22:3, 31; Pss 3:4; 7:11; 18:3, 31; 28:7; 33:20; 84:12; 115:9, 10, 11; 144:2 and Prov 2:7. – In concrete terms, YHWH becomes a shield for Abraham in Gen 15:1 (if this is the meaning there) and for Israel in Deut 33:29.

19 In Ps 115:9–11 YHWH is also described with both terms. In Deut 33:29 YHWH is called “shield of thy help” (*מָגֵן עֶזְרָתְךָ*).

20 Cf. Pss 4:8; 16:9; 19:9; 97:11; 104:15 and 105:3.

21 Cf. Lauha, *Sprachgebrauch*, 73. – The verb *שִׂמַח* is documented a total of 158x in the Hebrew Bible. The noun *שִׂמְחָה* appears 97x, the adjective *שִׂמְחָה* 20x (cf. Vanoni, *שִׂמַח*, 809).

22 Cf. Vanoni, *שִׂמַח*, 811.

verbs.²³ Many individual contexts testify to a meaning of outward, intense movement.²⁴ Such a sense is often apparent in such expressions as גיל, רנן, רגז, שוש, עלץ/עלז, רוע, שחק and שמח, which are parallel to שמח. Ps 33:21a deals with spontaneous joy. The sudden mention of feeling and the use of the verb in the prefix conjugation are indicative of this. Plus, there is a concrete occasion for this positive mood. It is brought about by a moment of joy. The individual worshippers share this increasing joy with each other.²⁵

YHWH's help has made happiness possible. Having appreciated this, the worshippers speak directly to YHWH in v. 22a. In Ps 33 this occurs only here. The people make contact with YHWH and, most likely, they also show him their joy. They associate what they have experienced with his love (דֶּסֶד), which fills the earth (v. 5b). The worshippers long to feel this kindness. This desire is, as in the statement in v. 21a, described in v. 22a as a current condition in the prefix conjugation. The worshippers, in v. 18c, had already been desperately awaiting this divine devotion. They recollect this in v. 22b. However, what the worshippers experienced has made them stronger, so that they can proceed to build upon YHWH's love (v. 22a).

2.3 Summary (Ps 33:18–22)

The emotions mentioned in Ps 33:18–22 are physically expressed. In v. 18a the worshippers experience YHWH's devotion through his eyes (עֵינָיו). Just as they describe themselves in a physical manner, so do they also describe YHWH. Through their eye contact with him, the people feel his closeness and from this they gain trust in him.

They describe their own situation²⁶ by way of the throat (גִּפְתָּי), which is starving and which feels near death (v. 19). They are in mortal fear, because their throats cannot receive nourishment. This throat awaits YHWH (v. 20a). The worshippers can only await help from him alone (cf. vv. 16–17). Once YHWH has rescued them from mortal danger, their hearts (לֵב) react. The heart has the capability of recognizing YHWH's help (v. 20b) and of trusting in his holy name

²³ Cf. Richter, Grundlagen, 95–96.

²⁴ Cf. Vanoni, שִׁמְחָה, 810.

²⁵ In vv. 19a and 20a, the heart, just like the throat, is used in the singular for the group of several worshippers. An entire people can identify themselves with this collectively conceived heart.

²⁶ Although vv. 18–19 are conceived in general terms, their context indicates a concern with the situation of the worshippers themselves.

(v. 21b). Furthermore, the heart reacts in an emotional manner; it rejoices (v. 21a). Joy suddenly comes upon them. This joy is to be understood as a reaction to the specific help that has been experienced. It concerns a moment of joy. This joy strengthens the worshippers' trust in YHWH's love and help. The briefly experienced happiness contributes to the positive mood of those affected. Such a mood, for its part, becomes apparent later, matching the instruction to the righteous, who were already called upon to shout for joy at the beginning (cf. vv. 1–3).

3 Joy replete after a rescue from mortal danger (Ps 16)

The worshipper in Psalm 16 moves from an urgent cry to God for preservation, to the blessing of the Lord (v. 7a), and then to abundant joy (v. 9a). The worshipper feels this joy within his heart and through the excitement of his liver. Owing to this positive mood, he feels that his flesh is safe (v. 9b) and, at the end of the song (v. 11b), he encounters a fullness of joy in YHWH's countenance.

A miktam of David.	מִכְתָּם לְדָוִד	1a
Keep me safe, O God; in you I take refuge.	שָׁמְרֵנִי אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה אֲסִיִּי בְּדָד	1b
I say to the Lord, you are my Lord,	אָמַרְתִּי לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲדֹנָי אֶתְּהָא	2a
you are my only good.	טוֹבֵתִי בְּלֹאֵ עֹלִיד	2b
<i>But to the saints that are in the earth,</i> ²⁷	לְקַדוֹשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־בְּאָרֶץ הַחַיִּים	3a
and <i>to the excellent, in whom is all my delight.</i> ²⁸	וְאֲדִירֵי כָּל־חֲפָצַיִיבָם	3b
They multiply their sorrows who court other gods.	יִרְבוּ עֲצָבוֹתָם אַחֵר מְהָרָו	4a
Blood libations to them I will not pour out,	בַּל־אֲסִיד נְסִיכָהֶם מִדָּם	4b
nor will I take their names upon my lips .	וּבַל־אֲשָׂא אֶת־שְׁמוֹתָם עַל־שִׁפְתָּי	4c

²⁷ King James Version (KJV).

²⁸ King James Version (KJV).

LORD, my allotted portion and my cup,	יהוה מִנְתַחֲלָקֵי וְכוּסֵי	5a
you have made my destiny secure.	אַתָּה תּוֹמִיד גּוֹרְלִי	5b
Pleasant places were measured out for me;	חֲבָלִים נִפְלוּ-לִי בְנַעֲמִים	6a
fair to me indeed is my inheritance.	אַיֶּן-חֶלֶת שְׁפָרָה עָלַי	6b
I bless the LORD who counsels me;	אַבְרָד אֶת-יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר יַעֲצֵנִי	7a
even at night my heart/ kidney ²⁹ exhorts me.	אַיֶּן-לֵילוֹת יִסְרוּנִי כְּלִיּוֹתַי	7b
I keep the LORD always before me;	שׁוֹיֵתִי יְהוָה לְנֶגְדֵי תָמִיד	8a
with the Lord at my right , I shall never be shaken.	כִּי מִיְמִינִי בַל-אֶמוּט	8b
Therefore my heart becomes joyful, my liver cheers, ³⁰	לְכוּן שִׂמְחָה לִבִּי וַיִּגַּל כְּבוֹדִי/כְּבֹדִי	9a
my body/ flesh ³¹ also dwells secure,	אַף-בְּשָׂרִי יִשְׁכֹּן לְבֶטֶחַ	9b
For you will not abandon me/ my throat ³² to Sheol,	כִּי לֹא-תַעֲזֹב נַפְשִׁי לְשְׂאוֹל	10a
nor let your faithful servant see the pit.	לֹא-תֵתֶנּוּ חֲסִידְךָ לְרְאוֹת שַׁחַת	10b
You will show me the path to life,	תּוֹדִיעֵנִי אֶרֶחַ חַיִּים	11a
abounding joy in your presence/ face , ³³	שִׁבַּע שְׂמֵחוֹת אֶת-פְּנֵיךָ	11b
the delights at your right hand forever.	נַעֲמוֹת בְּיְמִינְךָ נֶצַח	11c

²⁹ Annotation by Ch.A.

³⁰ Translation by Ch.A.

³¹ Annotation by Ch.A.

³² Annotation by Ch.A.

³³ Annotation by Ch.A.

3.1 Help for the threatened throat (Ps 16:1–6, 10)

In order to be able to interpret vv. 1–6, it is necessary to clarify the sense of v. 10, in which the worshipper distinctly expresses his situation. Just as in Ps 33:19, where the throats of the praying community are threatened by death, so too in Ps 16:10 the throat of the individual worshipper is precariously close to sheol (שְׁאוֹל) and the pit (שְׁחַת). However, YHWH does not consign (עָזַב) his throat to sheol and frees the faithful servant from seeing (רָאָה) the pit.³⁴

As the following illustration shows, there was a notion in Egypt that the soul of a deceased person could, from time to time, leave the grave in the form of a bird and return to earth. During this time, the bird is said, amongst other things, to collect food and gain strength for the deceased person.

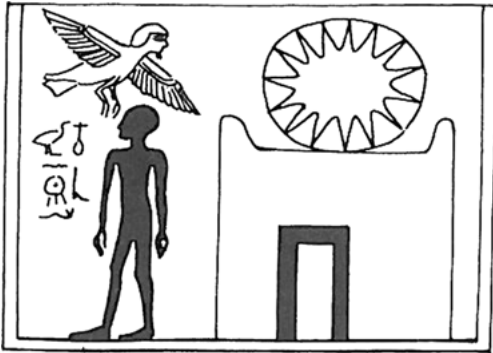


Fig. 4 (Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, 55, 57, 361)

The Amenemsaf papyrus illustrates the bird, Ba, as analogous to the throat. He departs from the grave in order to view the sun. The corpse is not granted this privilege.

In ancient Israel, however, the emphasis lies on the temporal. It is clear from Ps 16:11 that the worshipper is concerned with the continuation of his journey through life.

The second metaphor also demonstrates acute mortal danger. By a pit, what is presumably meant is a dried up cistern, which might serve as a prison.

³⁴ In Ps 49:10, “seeing the pit” is actually used as a description for dying. In Acts 2:31, Ps 16:10 is interpreted as an anticipation of Christ’s resurrection. In the Psalm, however, it concerns rescue from mortal danger (cf. Kraus, *Psalmen* 1, 125).

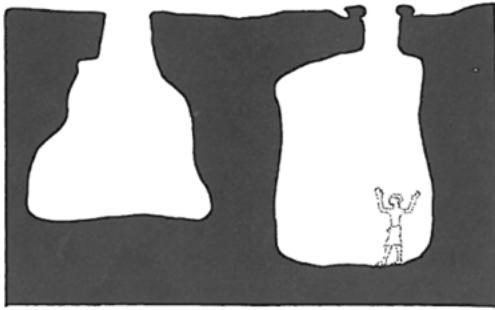


Fig. 5 (Keel, Bildsymbolik, 61, 361)
Cross-sections of typical cisterns illustrate the similarity of the dark pit to a grave. Without outside help it would have been impossible to escape from it.

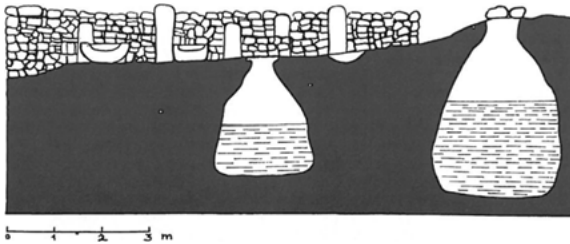


Fig. 6 (Keel, Bildsymbolik, 61, 361)
Since the actual purpose of cisterns was the storage of water, this makes the pit even more threatening. Even dried up cisterns were often still covered with a deep and dangerous layer of mud.

Only with outside help could one escape such a pit. In everyday life, vessels such as the following were lowered into the pit and then pulled back up into the light. This might represent YHWH, who pulls worshippers out of their misery (Ps 30:2).

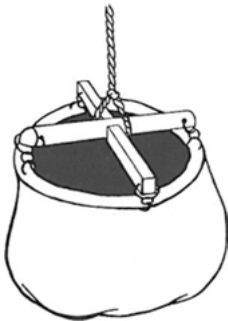


Fig. 7 (Keel, Bildsymbolik, 61–62, 361) A leather vessel.

In the light of this threat, the prayer in Ps 16:1b immediately addresses God with the imperative, “Keep me safe!” (שְׁמֶרְנִי). The worshipper also, however, knows that he can expect good things (טוֹבָה) from God and from God alone (v. 2b). At this point he addresses him by his “name” YHWH (v. 2a).

Vv. 5–6 illustrate that this worshipper suffered from starvation the same way as did those in Ps 33. The goodness of YHWH (v. 2b) consists in his allotting land to the worshipper. The worshipper receives his allotted portion (מִנְתַּחֲלָקִי) from God (v. 5a). Being God’s heir means that one’s basic needs are secured.

The other terms, “lot” (גּוֹרֵל; v. 5a), “measuring line” (קֶבֶל; v. 6a) and “inheritance” (נַחֲלָה; v. 6b), continue the topic of land administration. With the measuring line, YHWH allots the land (cf. Ps 78:55). Kraus points out that all of the expressions (מִנְתַּחֲלָקִי, בּוֹס, גּוֹרֵל, קֶבֶל and נַחֲלָה) used here are connected with the narratives on land allotment (cf. Num 18:21; Deut 4:21; Josh 13:23; 14:4; 15:13; 17:5).³⁵ The allotted land allows Israel to survive by cultivating fields, harvesting fruits, and digging wells.



Fig. 8 (Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, 207–208, 367)

This painting is from the tomb of Menena, from the late 18th Dynasty (1570–1345 BC), located in Abd el Qurna. Like the land in Egypt, the land in Israel was, most likely, also measured with cords.

Perhaps YHWH allots the land just as he does in Ps 78:55 (see also Ps 105:11), and has driven out the strangers from it. It may have been the property of the people in 16:4, who may have threatened the worshipper, but who are now themselves suffering from sorrow. Since they worship other gods, the worshipper explicitly disassociates himself from them. He wants to avoid preserving their names, that is to say, deny them an existence (v. 4b). In contrast, he conforms to those, whom he describes as “saints” (קְדוֹשִׁים) and “excellent” (אֲדִירִים) people, and who, just as he, make their way with YHWH. The worshipper in-

³⁵ Cf. Kraus, *Psalmen* 1, 122.

cludes himself among the faithful servants (דָּסִיִּד; v. 10b). He has entrusted himself entirely to YHWH and, thus, need not fear sheol, nor the pit. To him, the allotted land equates with the “delights” (נְעֻמִים; v. 6a), which emanate from YHWH. At the end of the song it is clear that YHWH permanently keeps these delights at his right hand (v. 11b). For this reason, the worshipper’s throat can breathe more easily.

3.2 The heart rejoices, the liver exults (Ps 16:7–11)

Following the discourse on the allotted land, the worshipper blesses YHWH (הִתְהַלַּלְתָּ אֱתֵי הוֹד; v. 7a) and will never be shaken (בְּלֹא־אָמוֹט; v. 8b). The worshipper knows that he has been counselled (עָצָה) by YHWH (v. 7a),³⁶ even at night his kidneys counselled him (יָסָר; v. 7b; synonymous parallelism).³⁷

In vv. 9 and 11 great joy follows the reassurance that God is near (vv. 7–8). These verses represent the framework for v. 10, in which the situation of the worshipper is discussed. Because YHWH rescues him from mortal danger, he becomes joyful. In v. 9 his joy manifests itself in a physical manner, through two inner organs and two different terms for joy. The heart of the worshipper rejoices (שָׂמַח) and his liver exults (גִּיל; v. 9a). Furthermore, the worshipper realizes that his flesh, that is, he as a whole, can dwell securely (v. 9b).

Very few Hebrew manuscripts contain the spelling כְּבֹדִי rather than כְּבוֹדִי. Koehler/Baumgartner cite Ps 16:9 analogous to Pss 7:6; 30:13; 57:9 and 108:2 under the term “liver” (כְּבִיד).³⁸ Gunkel also believes that for כְּבוֹדִי a vowel was falsely supplemented and that it should correctly be כְּבִידִי, “my liver”.³⁹ Aside from this, there are several parallels in Accadian for the liver as the subject of joyful jubilation.⁴⁰ The variant כְּבִידִי is given preference for two reasons. Firstly, the term כְּבִידִי/כְּבוֹדִי stands parallel to the other physical expressions “heart” (לֵב) and “flesh” (בָּשָׂר). In this strongly, body-related manner of speaking, a

³⁶ Similarly, God, in Ps 32:8, counsels a worshipper. Moreover, his eye is upon him (אֵינָהּ עֹלָיִךְ עֵינִי).

³⁷ God instructs (יָסָר) his people as a man instructs his child (Deut 8:5; cf. Deut 21:18; 22:18; 1 Kgs 12:11, 14 and 2 Chr 10:11, 14). This instruction may serve as a process of strengthening (Hos 7:15), or be understood as guidance in decision making (Isa 8:11; 28:16; cf. Ps 2:10; Jer 6:8; Hos 7:12).

³⁸ Cf. Koehler/Baumgartner, *Lexikon* 1, 435.

³⁹ Cf. Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 54.

⁴⁰ Cf. Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 110. The only mention of an exulting liver in the Hebrew Bible is found here.

parallel with **כְּבוֹד** seems very reasonable. Secondly, with the word “exult” (גִּיל), the noun has a “speaking”-verb correlating with it. This corresponds better to the physical aspect of a person, that is to the liver, rather to the abstract term “honour/glorious”.⁴¹

For the expression of joy, terms relating to two inner organs are chosen. The heart reacts intellectually and emotionally to the experience. The worshipper realizes what possibilities he has in life as a result of working the land: the production of crops and fruits, water in wells and cisterns, and security on his own demarcated property. This knowledge causes emotional joy. Just like the other inner organs, the liver is linked to solely emotional processes.⁴² Specifically, the liver demonstrates a positive mood through exultation.⁴³ By way of the verb גִּיל, spontaneous jubilation is expressed. Likewise, the Ugaritic Baal cycle says the following about Anat, in Kaiser’s translation: „Ihr Inneres“⁴⁴ schwoll durch Lachen, es füllte sich ihr Herz mit Freude, das Innere der Anat mit Triumph.“⁴⁵ (Their livers swelled up from laughing, their hearts were filled with joy, their insides with triumph.)

In terms of content, v. 11 is connected with vv. 9 and 10. V. 11a positively formulates that YHWH makes possible the path of life. The path of life is followed by a discourse on the “fullness of joy” (v. 11b). The worshipper experiences such fullness of joy because YHWH turns his face towards him. Again, we have here an emotionally experienced joy, in the encounter between man and God. New possibilities of life arise from this experience of joy, which emanates from God’s countenance and the benefit of his good deeds (v. 11b, c).

⁴¹ Smith (Herz, 172) mentions the parallel usage of the organ, the “heart”, as an argument for the interpretation of “liver”. Furthermore, he points out that there is no connection here with the topic of “glory” and that there exist difficulties in the matter of the textual criticism. The word could have been understood secondarily as **כְּבוֹד**, “magnificence/splendour” (Smith, Herz, 173).

⁴² Cf. Smith, Herz, 173. Prov 23 contains a comparable statement about the heart and the kidneys: “My heart rejoices” (וְשִׂמְחָה לִבִּי; v. 15), “and my kidneys exult” (וְתִעְלֶזְנָה כְּלִי־תֵבָה; v. 16). Here, the kidneys, just like the liver, represent the emotional expression of joy, while the heart, on the other hand, rejoices over the son’s wisdom.

⁴³ According to the original meaning of the word “weighty”, feelings of depression, as well as joy are clearly manifest in the liver. The perceptions attributed to all the organs together create the impression of a region in the middle of the body, in which a person feels, thinks and also makes decisions, and acts accordingly (cf. Schroer/Staubli, *Körpersymbolik*, 78).

⁴⁴ „*kbd*, „Inneres/Leber““ (Kaiser, TUAT III, 1139, note 41). Greenfield (Notes, 143) in this text, translates the word *kbdh* as liver.

⁴⁵ Kaiser, TUAT III, 1139.

In v. 11b, joy is described with the same root word *שמח* as in v. 9a. Here, the term *שמח* is expanded into the expression “fullness (*שִׂבֵּעַ*) of joy” and through the use of the plural (*שִׂמְחֹת*).⁴⁶ In other texts, the noun *שִׂבֵּעַ* specifically means eating to satisfaction.⁴⁷ In Ps 16:5–6 the worshipper learns that YHWH creates the prerequisites for such satiety. Knowledge of this is the cause of the joy and jubilation in v. 9. In the discourse on the total joy before YHWH’s countenance (*אַת־פָּנָיֶיךָ*) in v. 11b, the worshipper expresses the idea that YHWH is the source of satiety and, thus, also of joy.⁴⁸ By using the term countenance,⁴⁹ he depicts God in the anthropomorphic manner of behaving, like himself, in a physical way. Human beings turn to each other with their face. The worshipper describes God’s devotion in the same way. Therein lies the reason for the satisfaction of his needs and the joy that follows from this. In his joy, the worshipper faces God, and in this encounter, experiences an unsurpassable benefit. It is in the nature of joyful emotion that it communicates and permeates itself. This joy is in its most tangible and fullest form in the face of YHWH. The utilization of the noun *שִׂמְחָה*, the nominal clause, and the possibility of a satiety of joy indicate that YHWH’s joy is a constant, divine trait. While the human being strives after a joyful mood (*εὐδαιμονία*), it is, according to his perception, in its perfect form, already present in God.

In v. 11c, “delights” (*נְעֻמֹת*) are mentioned as a parallel to sated joy. These are in YHWH’s right hand (*בְּיַמֶּינֶךָ*).⁵⁰ With that, YHWH is once again described with a physical term. The delights specifically refer to the land that the worshipper has obviously received as his allotted portion (Ps 16:5–6). In the following illustration from Egypt, a worshipper stands before the face of God. The

⁴⁶ Only in Ps 45:16 is this plural form used one more time. “In the singular it already expresses the idea of feelings and expressions of joy but choosing this rare form accentuates the extraordinary character of the sentiments” (Mindling, Hope, 324).

⁴⁷ This is promised by God (Lev 25:19; 26:5; Deut 23:25; Ruth 2:18; Ps 78:25), or it is the reward for the righteous (Prov 13:25). During the wandering in the wilderness, it seems to Israel, as if, in Egypt, they had eaten bread until they were satisfied (cf. Exod 16:3).

⁴⁸ Great joy “before the face of God” is also mentioned at the banquet for King Solomon (1 Chr 29:22). YHWH himself favours the king with such a joy (Ps 21:7). The joy is especially great in Ps 68:4: “But let the righteous be joyful; let them exult before God; let them be jubilant with joy” (New Revised Standard Version [NRSV]; *וְצַדִּיקִים יִשְׂמְחוּ וְיַעֲלִצוּ לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים וְיִשְׂשׂוּ בְּשִׂמְחָה*; Ps 68:4). In Ps 100:2, the people are to approach God’s face with exultation (*בְּאֵזוֹ לִפְנֵי בְּרִנְנָה*), and in Isa 9:2 we find that this joy is comparable with the joy over the harvest.

⁴⁹ If one links the statement in v. 11b with the fact that a person cannot behold the face of God and stay alive (Exod 33:20), the fullness of joy may represent a type of veil before his countenance.

⁵⁰ In Ps 135:3, YHWH himself is described as *נְעִים*.

delights that are due to him are embodied in the ankh-symbol found in the god's right hand.



Fig. 9 (Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, 146, 148, 365)

At the heart of the Egyptian mortuary chapel there existed, in most cases, a cultic image the size of a grown man. The double doors of this windowless room were opened only for certain cultic acts. This cultic image is a limestone relief found in the Temple of Seti I (1317–1301 BC) in Abydos.

Both nominal clauses in v. 11b, c convey the conviction that limitless joy and delights come from God. The particle “forever” (נֶצַח) reinforces timelessness and, as the last word of the prayer, carries considerable weight.

3.3 Summary (Ps 16)

Just as in Ps 33, emotions are described in Ps 16 in a physical manner. Of three inner organs, the first to be mentioned are the kidneys in v. 7b. The worshipper compares their ceaseless functioning during the day and even at night with YHWH's constant instruction. The worshipper feels in his heart (לֵב; v. 9a) the joy (שִׂמְחָה) that follows. Furthermore, his liver (כִּבְדֹ/כִבֹד) exults (גִּיל; v. 9b). The heart, as the centre of thought, has realized that the daily battle for survival is over. It now has every reason to rejoice. The worshipper intensifies the emotional aspect of his joy by describing his “good feeling”. It is as though his liver were exulting. The parallel terms שִׂמְחָה and גִּיל illustrate the greatness of his joy.

The fullness of joy is located in YHWH's face (v. 11b). This joy of YHWH's may be identified with the continuously joyful mood discussed in contemporary psychological research. His joy (שִׂמְחָה) is permanently available (nominal clause) and invites us to receive our fill (שָׂבַע). Not only can the worshipper, in communication with God, satisfy his hunger, but he can also find joy in the greatest abundance.

4 YHWH's Torah gives lasting joy (Ps 19:8–11)

In the mid-section of Psalm 19, a textually and poetically pre-eminent description of the effective power of YHWH's Torah follows a song about creation (Ps 19:1–7). The Torah enables life and gives joy. This joy is noticeable in enlightened eyes (v. 9b, d).

The law of the LORD is perfect, refreshing the soul/ throat . ⁵¹	תּוֹרַת יְהוָה תְּמִימָה	8a
	מְשִׁיבַת נֶפֶשׁ	8b
The decree of the LORD is trustworthy, giving wisdom to the simple.	עֲדוּת יְהוָה נְאֻמָּנָה	8c
	מְחַכֵּמַת פְּתִי	8d
The precepts of the LORD are right, rejoicing the heart .	פְּקוּדֵי יְהוָה יִשְׂרָיִם	9a
	מְשַׂמְחֵי לֵב	9b
The command of the LORD is clear, enlightening the eye .	מִצְוֹת יְהוָה בְּרָרָה	9c
	מְאִירַת עֵינַיִם	9d
The fear of the LORD is pure, enduring forever.	יְרֵאתָ יְהוָה טְהוֹרָה	10a
	עוֹמְדַת לְעַד	10b
The statutes of the LORD are true, all of them just;	מִשְׁפָּטֵי יְהוָה אֱמֶת	10c
	צְדָקוֹ יַחְדָּו	10d
More desirable than gold, than a hoard of purest gold,	הַנְּחָמָדִים מִזָּהָב	11a
	וּמִפֹּזָב	11b
sweeter also than honey or drippings from the comb.	וּמִתּוֹקִים מִדְּבֶשׁ	11c
	וְנֹפֶת צוּפִים	11d

YHWH's perfect Torah has a “reviving” effect on “the throat” (מְשִׁיבַת נֶפֶשׁ; v. 8b). In other words, the Torah enables the active potential of a person's life to be restored (*hif'il*).⁵² It is similar to Ps 23:3. YHWH revives the worshipper's throat by providing a great abundance of benefits, as well as through security. In Ps 35:17 the worshipper, in reference to his adversaries, calls upon YHWH to restore his life/his throat. The throat is renewed by YHWH, whenever it is threatened by hunger, death, or death-like conditions. The same goes for the throat in Ps 19:8b. Through YHWH's Torah, it is called back to life. Parallel to

⁵¹ Annotation by Ch.A.

⁵² “In fact, it helps suggest that the sense of מְשִׁיבַת נֶפֶשׁ is not simply ‘refreshing’ a well-to-do soul, but restoring a lost life” (Denninger, *Creator's Fiat*, 146).

v. 8a, b, the trustworthy (אמן)⁵³ decree of the Lord (עֲדוֹת יְהוָה) gives wisdom to the inexperienced and simple (מִחֲכִימַת פְּתִי; v. 8d; *hif'il*). The term “simple” (פְּתִי), just like the throat (נֶפֶשׁ), which is parallel to it, illustrates the neediness of the whole person.⁵⁴

In verse 9b, the sound precepts of the Lord are conducive to a “rejoicing of the heart” (מְשֻׁמְחֵי לֵב). Parallel to this, the clear command of the Lord is “enlightening the eyes” (מְאִירַת עֵינַיִם; v. 9d). The verb “to rejoice” (שָׂמַח) is the only verb in that line that is used in the *pi'el*. The expression of joy, in all its intensity, is, compared with the other phrases, more intensely accentuated. As with the surrounding verbs, שָׂמַח is used as a participle, thus making the statement indefinite. The joy continues. The revival of the throat is also permanent (v. 8b; participle); in other words, the throat survives all perils. The heart knows of the life-promoting effect of the Torah and, as a result, acquires a constant passion for life. In observing YHWH’s Torah, a person lives in a permanent state of happiness. In v. 9d the zest for life may be seen in the eyes of those concerned. The parallel wording of v. 9b and 9d demonstrate that the enlightening of the eyes may also be understood as rejoicing.⁵⁵ Joy becomes perceptible and visible in the heart (לֵב) and in the eyes (עֵינַיִם). Happy people may be recognized by their radiant eyes.

V. 10 continues the synonymous parallelism, but, in terms of content, it sets new priorities. Instead of a further description of YHWH’s Torah, v. 10a begins with “the fear of the Lord” (יִרְאַת יְהוָה),⁵⁶ that is to say, a human reaction to what has been experienced. Man enters into communication with YHWH. The joy over the revival of the throat urges one to interact with God. The fear of the Lord described here may be an expression of gratitude. In any event, it is regarded as “pure” (טָהוֹר). In addition to describing cultic and moral purity,⁵⁷ this word is also used in Exod 24:10 to speak of the pure heavens. Human beings

53 God is, furthermore, considered trustworthy in Deut 7:9; Isa 49:7; 55:3; Jer 42:5; Hos 12:1, his word in 1 Kgs 8:26; 1 Chr 17:23–24; 2 Chr 1:9; 6:17, his covenant in Ps 89:29, his decrees in Ps 93:5 and his judgement in Ps 111:7.

54 Cf. Grund, Himmell, 230.

55 Ryder (D-Stem, 102) describes the meaning of שָׂמַח in the *pi'el* “frequent as ‘make joyful’ (Dt. 24.5)”.

56 BHQ notes within the critical apparatus that instead of the initial expression, “the fear of the Lord” (יִרְאַת יְהוָה) perhaps, in comparison with Ps 119:38, we should read “the word of the Lord” (אִמְרַת יְהוָה). However, the sense of יִרְאַת יְהוָה in v. 10a concerns the worshipper’s reaction. This anomaly in the 12-line sequence, which corresponds to the emerging verbal clause in v. 10d, should be retained.

57 Cf. Lev 4:12; 6:4; 7:19; 10:10; Ps 51:12; Prov 22:11 and Hab 1:13.

reciprocate the heavenly purity of God with their fear. V. 10c returns to the original line of meanings. The nominal clause indicates that YHWH's judgements (מִשְׁפָּטֵי־יְהוָה), correspond totally to the truth (אֱמֻנָה). V. 10d contains the only verbal clause used in this section. The verb “to be just” (צָדִיק; suffix conjugation) and the adverb “all of them” (יְחִידוֹ) summarize the characteristics of the Torah. Behind this are many concrete experiences, in which YHWH has passed his judgment and his Torah has given new viability.

Both nominal clauses in v. 11 describe the Torah of the Lord as “more desirable than gold” (וּמִפָּזָז רָב),⁵⁸ “and a hoard of purest gold” (וּמִתּוֹקִים מְדִבֵּשׁ), “and sweeter than honey” (וּנְפֹת צוּפִים), “or drippings from the comb” (וּנְפֹת צוּפִים). Whoever upholds the Torah will grow rich in treasures and be satiated with delicacies. It is not just about gold, but about purest gold; not just about honey, but also about drippings from the honeycomb.⁵⁹ Gold is ten times higher in value than silver⁶⁰ and was used for the building of the temple, as well as its furnishings and décor. Moreover, shiny gold can be easily integrated into the Psalm's themes on light and sun, as well as into the narrative on the clarity and purity of the commandments.⁶¹ The drippings from the honeycomb may be described as the purest of honey.⁶² This sweetness illustrates the abundance that the people receive. However, “Yahweh's law is just right and more satisfying than the most enjoyable delicacy.”⁶³ The worshippers appreciate the Torah as being something desirable that brings pleasure and joy.⁶⁴

In summary, it may be stated that the Torah perpetually gladdens the heart of man (v. 9b) and enlightens his eyes (v. 9d). Just as in the previous examples, physical terms are used in order to describe emotional experiences. Here, the throat is also in need of rescue (v. 8b), although there is no mention of any specific situation. It is altogether about the life-sustaining power of the Torah. Human beings feel the joy of this in their hearts (v. 9b). This is also experienced by

58 While in Gen 3:6 it is the tree that is desirable (חַמֵּד), in Ps 19:11 it is the Torah (cf. Meinhold, Psalm 19, 57).

59 Cf. Goldingay, Psalms 1, 293.

60 Cf. Grund, Himmel, 237.

61 Cf. Grund, Himmel, 238.

62 Cf. Cohen, Psalms, 55.

63 Denninger, Creator's Fiat, 153.

64 Cf. Grund, Himmel, 236–237. Similarly, in Ps 119:127, the worshipper says that he loves YHWH's commandments (מִצְוָה) “more than gold, more than fine gold” (וּמִזָּהָב וּמִפָּזָז). In Ps 119:72 he describes the law (תּוֹרָה) coming from YHWH's mouth as being more precious to him than heaps of silver and gold (וְכֶסֶף וְזָהָב וְכֶסֶף). In Prov 24:13 the son is called upon to eat honey because it is good (דְּבַשׁ כִּי־טוֹב) and the drippings of the honeycomb that are sweet to the taste (וּנְפֹת מִתּוֹק עַל־חֻדָּק).

others through the enlightenment of their eyes (v. 9d). The nominal clauses demonstrate the boundlessness of YHWH's gifts through his Torah.

5 Conclusions

According to the Psalms studied here, joy is either a spontaneous reaction to a stroke of good luck, or a sign of a fundamentally positive way of life. In the Hebrew text, joy is, accordingly, expressed in single instances in verbal forms (Pss 16:9; 33:21), or continuously with a noun (Ps 16:11), and a participle (Ps 19:9).

Climactic experiences, such as those described in Pss 33:18–19 and 16:5–6, trigger brief experiences of joy (Pss 33:21; 16:9). Furthermore, they may strengthen the positive mood of human beings. According to today's psychologists, however, a permanent state of happiness grows out of a contented way of life, as well as out of an enjoyment of life in general. For the worshippers described in the Hebrew Bible, a trusting relationship with YHWH is the best precondition for a lasting enjoyment of life (cf. Ps 16:11). YHWH's Torah shows the way to a permanent state of happiness (cf. Ps 19:8–11).

Figures

- Fig. 1: Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, illus. 88, 66.
- Fig. 2: Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, illus. 325, 217.
- Fig. 3: Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, illus. 305, 202.
- Fig. 4: Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, illus. 72, 57.
- Fig. 5: Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, illus. 78, 61.
- Fig. 6: Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, illus. 79, 61.
- Fig. 7: Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, illus. 80, 62.
- Fig. 8: Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, illus. 311, 207.
- Fig. 9: Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, illus. 230, 148.

Abstract

Today's research on pleasurable feelings distinguishes between the brief experience of joy and a permanent state of happiness. These two varieties of experience may be identified in the book of Psalms. Three examples will illustrate this. In Psalm 33 God sets an end to famine and thus saves the throat (שֶׁפֶת) of the praying community from the peril to its life. The heart of this people then responds with joy (v. 21). In Psalm 16 hunger leads to fatal danger. However, God gives the worshipper land, and thus new possibilities of life. The heart of this people recognizes God's intervention, becomes joyful and their liver spontaneously expresses its cheerfulness (v. 9). Finally the worshipper realizes that in the view of YHWH he/she will be permanently filled with joy (v. 11). Lasting joy is also the topic in Ps 19:9. YHWH's Torah generally pleases the heart of human beings and brings light to their eyes.

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Kristin De Troyer

“Sounding Trumpets with Loud Shouts” Emotional Responses to Temple Building: Ezra and Esdras

In Ezra 6:16 it is stated that “The people of Israel, the priests and Levites and the rest of the returned exiles, made the dedication of this house of God with joy.” In common Bible translations, the verb is nicely adapted to “celebrated”, indicating that the dedication of the house of God was celebrated with joy. The noun used to indicate “joy” is the *hapax* הִיָּדְוָה. In Ezra 6:22, after the Temple is dedicated, it is said that “they celebrated the festival of unleavened bread with joy, for the Lord had made them joyful.” This double mentioning of the “gladness” at the dedication of the Temple and the offering, and at the Passover and the celebration of the Festival of Unleavened Bread, stands in contrast to the response of the people to the erection of the altar on its foundation when they displayed different emotions. In Ezra 3:10–13, we read a double response, one positive and one negative:

When the builders laid the foundation of the Temple of the Lord, the priests in their vestments were stationed to praise the Lord with trumpets, and the Levites ... with cymbals and they sang responsively, praising and giving thanks to the Lord And all the people responded with a great shout when they praised the Lord, because the foundation of the house of the Lord was laid. But, many of the priests and Levites and head of families, old people who had seen the first house on its foundations, wept with a loud voice when they saw this house, though many shouted aloud for joy, so that the people could not distinguish the sound of the joyful shout from the sound of the people’s weeping, for the people shouted so loudly that the sound was heard far away.

These positive and negative emotions are expressed alongside different ways of praying and praising and are associated with the building phases of the new Temple. What does this mean in the context of the book of Ezra and its reworked deuterocanonical book of 1 Esdras? In this paper, I intend to review all the emotions that are depicted in the Hebrew-Aramaic stories about the dedication of the Temple, together with the accompanying sounding of the trumpets, and to explain how the variety of emotions has been interpreted in the deuterocanonical 1 Esdras in comparison with its source text.

1 MT Ezra

1.1 Structure

Before reviewing the emotions, let me review the structure of the book of Ezra and clarify the different stages of the “rebuilding” project.

In the Hebrew/Aramaic book of Ezra, chap. 1 reports that permission has been granted to return to Jerusalem, chap. 2 lists all the people taking part in return, and chap. 3 describes how the altar is installed by the returning exiles and the continual offering is again re-established in Jerusalem. In chap. 4 a beginning is made with the building of the actual Temple. As soon as the returned exiles start building, they are met with local opposition and the Temple building project is halted. Letters are sent back and forth to the king, archives are searched and a temple permission decree is found, on which basis the exiles are permitted to continue with the building of the Temple. By the end of chap. 6, the temple building has reached completion and the Temple is dedicated. The rest of the book of Ezra, chap. 7–10, introduces Ezra and records his activities.

1.2 The different stages of the building project

In the Hebrew-Aramaic book of Ezra-Nehemiah, one may clearly distinguish between three different stages in the building activities of the returned exiles: the establishment of the altar on its foundations (Ezra 3:1–3), the laying of the foundation of the House of God¹ (Ezra 3:10–13), and the actual building of the House of God (Ezra 4–6). The three different stages are connected to the one goal, which is the establishment of the Temple. Already in the section about the setting up of the altar a reference is made to the next stage in the building project, namely, the laying of the foundation of the House of God. In Ezra 3:6b it reads: “But the foundation of the Temple of the Lord was not yet laid.” Also, the report on the laying of the foundation of the Temple is preceded by a narrative report about who was appointed to do the project and to oversee the work on the House of God (Ezra 3:1–9), making clear that the goal of the laying of the foundation of the house of God was indeed the building of the house of God itself.

¹ I will not go into detail about the difference in the text between the House of God and the Temple of God.

1.3 Which emotions?

1.3.1 No emotions at the re-establishment of the altar

A first emotion is encountered at the beginning of the report on the setting up of the altar on its foundation. The reason for setting up the altar is: “because they, that are the returned exiles, were in dread of the neighbouring people” (Ezra 3:3α). Since this is not a response to the establishment of an altar or a Temple, but a reason why a building project was undertaken, I am not taking this emotion into consideration.

1.3.2 Raising a shout with a great shout and weeping with a loud voice

According to some scholars, Ezra 3:10–11 follows a liturgical protocol for festive celebrations. Joseph Blenkinsopp, for instance, notes: “Following liturgical orthopraxy (cf. 1 Chr 15:19; 16:5–6; 25:1, 6; 2 Chr 5:12–13), priests blew trumpets, and Asaphite Levites (see 2 Chr 29:25–26 ...) clashed cymbals, no doubt to keep time and mark pauses in the antiphonal chant. ... The shout (...), also associated with warfare, was probably understood as acclaiming YHWH as king of Israel (cf. the psalms of divine kingship, Pss 93; 95–99).”²

In Ezra 3:11, the emotional response to the establishment of the altar is recorded: all the people are raising a shout with a great shout: **וְכָל־הָעָם הִרְיָעוּ תְרוּעָה גְדוֹלָה**.

Those who are shouting with a loud shout are “all the people.”

The second response to the establishment of the altar comes from those who had, with their own eyes, seen the first house: they are listed as the priests, Levites and heads of families, further defined as old people who had seen the first house. They also are loud, but they are weeping with a loud voice: **בְּכִים בְּקוֹל גְּדוֹל** (3:12). But then the latter group seems to be divided too, since there are also many that shouted aloud for joy:³ **בְּשִׂמְחָה לְהַרְיִים קוֹל**.

The latter phrase is clearly connected to the first response of shouting with a loud voice. But through the use of the concept of joy, **שִׂמְחָה**, it also serves as a hinge that links it with the further emotional responses to the subsequent building activities (which will emerge later in the story).

² Blenkinsopp, Ezra-Nehemiah, 101.

³ See also Davies, Ezra, 36.

Now a few comments on the noun **שִׂמְחָה**. When used with the preposition **בְּ**, the context is often one in which the ark functions (1 Sam 18:6) or it is being brought to Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:12; similarly, 1 Chr 15:25) and offerings are being brought to the Temple (1 Chr 29:17, 22; 2 Chr 23:18), or the Festival of Unleavened Bread is being celebrated (2 Chr 30:21). This element of celebration involving God is also found in the Psalter (21:7; 68:4; 100:2). The positive connotation of the word, in association with the ark, the offerings or festivals, in the books of Samuel and Chronicles, may have influenced the meaning of the word in Ezra, and may point to a positive experience in relation to the ark, the Temple and the offerings to God. The noun without the preposition also connotes a positive emotion, such as the rejoicing over a king, as in the case of Solomon (1 Kgs 1:40), or simply the fact that there is joy in Jerusalem (2 Chr 30:26). The joy in Jerusalem was once taken away (see esp. the Book of Jeremiah, 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 48:33 and also Isa 16:10; 24:11; Joel 1:16), but now the joy is restored and one can sing for joy (Jer 31:7; 33:11, but also Isa 29:19). In the book of Nehemiah, the joy is part of the celebratory events when all circumstances are favourable: people rejoice, eat, drink and send portions (Neh 8:12 and 8:17, but also Esth 8:17 and 9:19).

Given the positive connotation of the word especially in the later books (Chronicles, Nehemiah, Esther, but also Isa 55:12 and Eccl 2:1 and 9:7), the sense of the word in Ezra 3:12 must surely indicate a joyful event and a positive emotion.

In 3:13 the contrast between the two emotional responses is expressed in the two phrases **קוֹל תְּרוּעַת הַשְּׂמִחָה** and **קוֹל בְּיָ הָעָם**. The narrator then continues, not with a further explanation of the two different sounds, but with the quality and quantity of the overall sound – **בִּי הָעָם מְרִיעִים תְּרוּעָה גְדוֹלָה** – “for the people were shouting with loud shouts”. After all, the narrator needs to explain how the enemies of the people found out about the first phases of the building of the Temple (see Ezra 4:1): the sound was so loud that it could be heard far away!

An analysis of “raising a shout with a great shout” reveals the following: it is used in the context of a war or battle: “sounding the alarm”. For instance, in Num 10:7, 9; the alarm is sounded by using trumpets (**בְּהִצְצָרוֹת**); we will return to the trumpets when dealing with 1 Esdras. In the case of Joshua, the Israelites have to shout at the command of Joshua,⁴ so that the walls of Jericho can collapse (Josh 6:5, 10, 16 and 20). The shouting may be done by both the attackers (e.g. Judg 15:14, the shouting Philistine, but also 1 Sam 17:20, David shouting for war, and Isa 42:13, God shouting as a warrior) as well as by the retreating men

⁴ But see below for a discussion of what precisely starts the outcry.

(e.g. Judg 7:21; the fleeing men were shouting). Shouting also occurs in a celebratory context: in 1 Sam 10:24, the people shout “long live the king” and in Job 38:7 it is said that the morning stars were shouting for joy. And once the question is asked why someone is crying (Mic 4:9: “why do you cry?”). The same plethora of meanings, including enemies shouting, shouting for joy, shouting in triumph may be found in the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah and the Minor Prophets. With this diversity of meanings, it is no wonder that the precise emotion needs to be clarified, as happens in Ezra 3:12: בְּתִרְוָעָה בְּשִׂמְחָה לְהַרִים קוֹל where “בְּשִׂמְחָה” clearly indicates the positive connotation of the shouting, and in 3:13, where the shouting is again that of a joyful voice, with שִׂמְחָה once more clarifying that the קוֹל תִּרְוָעָה is positive and definitively a joyful shout.

Now the alternative to shouting for joy is weeping with a loud voice,⁵ and that is precisely the emotion shown by the second party witnessing the establishment of the altar on its foundation. They – and I am not elaborating on precisely who this is – are weeping. The verb used is בכה. It certainly seems like all the patriarchs and matriarchs do a lot of weeping, with Joseph probably holding the record as an individual and the Israelites in the desert as a group in Num 11. Weeping of the people before the Lord also appears in Deut 1:45, but to that weeping God pays no attention. Also particularly striking is the weeping of Jephthah’s daughter in Judg 11:37, 38, of Samson’s wife in Judg 14:16, 17, and of Hannah in the sanctuary of Shiloh (1 Sam 1:7, 8, 10). The major figures continue the tradition of weeping,⁶ with Naomi’s daughters-in-law weeping in Ruth 1:9, David weeping in 1 Sam 20:41, Saul in 1 Sam 24:16, Hezekiah in 2 Kgs 20:3, Ezra in Ezra 10:1 (3x), Nehemiah (Neh 1:4), and Esther in Esth 8:3.⁷ Most of the time, the weeping is induced by a loss of life, whether directly (the death of someone) or indirectly (weeping for possible evil that will occur in the future, e.g. 2 Kgs 8:11). In Job, weeping is lamenting, as for instance in Job 2:12 where the friends are weeping when they see Job’s condition. In Eccl 3:4, the weeping is the opposite of the laughing. In Isaiah, the people are offered the comfort that they will no longer weep (Isa 30:19 [2x]). It is stated that God will graciously hear the sound of the cry! In the book of Lamentations, the weeping is again not heard (Lam 1:2 and 1:16).

In the four instances where the verb occurs in the book of Ezra (3:12, and three times in 10:1), the emphasis is on bitter weeping. Ezra does so after making confession and the people respond with their own bitter weeping. Ezra and

⁵ See also the paper by Michael Duggan in this volume.

⁶ I note that Moses weeps only as a child (Exod 2:6).

⁷ I note that Solomon also does not weep.

the people weep because of the breaking of faith. It could be argued that this is the same as weeping for a loss of life. Given the seriousness of this weeping, I also take the weeping in 3:12 to be a bitter weeping. Although there is now a foundation for the House of God, there is a serious loss associated with it.

1.3.3 Celebrating with joy

The final building project, and the ultimate goal of the entire process, is the building of the Temple. After some resistance and the search for decrees, followed by a continuation of the building project, the Temple is finished. Ezra 6:15, a most famous verse, reads: “And this house was finished on the third day of the month of Adar, in the sixth year of the reign of King Darius.” The following verse, Ezra 6:16, records the emotional response: “The people of Israel, the priests and the Levites, and the rest of the golah celebrated the dedication of the House of God with joy”: **וְעָבְדוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּהֵנִיא וְלוֹיִיא וְשָׂאֵר בְּנֵי־גְלוּתָא חֲנֻכַּת בֵּית־אֱלֹהֵא דְנָה בְחֻדְוָה**.

In 6:22, after the initial dedication offering (6:17) and the appointment of the priests and the Levites in their courses (6:18), the exiles celebrate the Passover (6:19–21) and the Festival of Unleavened Bread (6:22). At this point, in 6:22, it is said that they celebrated the Feast of Unleavened Bread with joy: **וַיַּעֲשׂוּ חֲגֻמְצוֹת שְׁבַעַת יָמִים בְּשִׂמְחָה**.

The common noun for joy is used, namely **שְׂמֻחָה**, “gladness”, “joy”. The sentiment is reinforced and explained in the next phrase: “for the Lord had made them joyful”: **כִּי שְׂמַחֵם יְהוָה**. As in Ezra 3:12 the verb certainly indicates a joyful emotion. H.G.M. Williamson correctly observes with regard to Ezra 6:22: “The unaffected note of joy that accompanied the resumption of temple worship (...) should not be overlooked. The suggestion that the Judaism of the post-exilic period degenerated into a cold and ritualistic formalism is quite the reverse of the evidence presented in any of the texts we have.”⁸

Ezra 6:16 also describes the dedication of the House of God as a joyous occasion, but here a different word is used: **חֻדְוָה**. The Aramaic word for joy, **חֻדְוָה**, is used only once in the Aramaic section of the Bible. The Hebrew word, **חֻדְוָה**, is, however, used in 1 Chr 16:27 and Neh 8:10. Moreover, its verbal counterpart, **חָדַד** II, “rejoice”, occurs in Job 3:6; Exod 18:9, and in the *pi’el* in Ps 21:7. 1 Chr 16:27 is part of David’s Psalm of Thanksgiving. In God’s dwelling place, there are strength and joy. In Neh 8:10, Nehemiah, after reading the Torah,

⁸ Williamson, Ezra, Nehemiah, 85.

sends the people away, encouraging them to eat the fat and drink sweet wine ... and not be grieved. He explains: “for the joy of the Lord is your strength.” In Job 3:6, Job curses the conditions that brought him forth, and wants the night, in which he was conceived, not to rejoice among the days of the year. In Exod 18:9, I note that it is a human who is rejoicing: “Jethro rejoices for all the good that the Lord had done to Israel.” In Ps 21:7, the verb in the *pi’el* is used in combination with the alternative and more common word for joy, namely, הִתְנַחֵם: “you (God) make him glad with the joy of your presence”. A person is made glad through the joy of God. In all these instances, even indirectly in Job, joy is connected with God and thus a theologically laden emotion. The emotions displayed at the final dedication of the House of God in Jerusalem are certainly positive ones.

2 How were the emotions rendered in 1 Esdras?

2.1 From Ezra to 1 Esdras

Whereas in the book of Ezra, the people are celebrating Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread, and later celebrating with joy at the moment of the dedication of the rebuilt Temple, these celebrations are placed at the beginning of the book of 1 Esdras, albeit that the festivities are projected backwards in time to the reign of King Josiah. I have argued elsewhere that the author of 1 Esdras knew the book of Ezra-Nehemiah and also re-used materials from the book of Kings in order to present his views on the sequence of the events at the end of the exile and the beginning of the return. It may also be seen that the author clearly moved the celebrations of the Passover and the Feast of the Unleavened Bread forwards in time in order to presuppose perfect conditions for the exilic community and an ideal start for the rebuilding of the Temple. Indeed, the author who created the Hebrew-Aramaic text of 1 Esdras knew the book of Ezra-Nehemiah – maybe in those days “books”, plural – and most likely the book of Kings.

This hypothesis does affect my thinking about emotions. The question which I would like to answer, but most likely cannot answer for the moment, is whether the interpretation of the emotions happened at the Hebrew/Aramaic level of the rewritten book of Ezra-Nehemia, or at the Greek level of the translator of this rewritten book. In other words, whereas I do believe that 1 Esdras has a Hebrew-Aramaic *Vorlage*, there may be smaller differences between the Hebrew-Aramaic *Vorlage* of 1 Esdras and the actual Greek book of 1 Esdras.

2.2 The reorganized book of 1 Esdras

As the organization of the book of 1 Esdras is rather different from, even if based on, the Hebrew-Aramaic book of Ezra-Nehemiah, a short sketch of the structure of the book, and especially an elaboration of where and when the erecting of the altar, the laying of the foundation of the altar and the building of the Temple occurs in the book, is necessary. Moreover, as the reorganization of the Ezra-Nehemiah material has led to some possible confusion, I will point out instances of this in the structure.

After the first chapter, in which the history of the people is told from King Josiah to the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple, and the exile, 1Esdras picks up the theme of the decree of King Cyrus (from Ezra 1) which allows the exiles to go back to Jerusalem and build the Temple (1 Esd 2:1–11 Ra [= Rahlfs] // 1–15 NRSV). In 2:12 Ra // 2:16 NRSV, the writing of a first letter against those living in Judea and Jerusalem is reported, its contents relating to the “building of that rebellious and wicked city, repairing its market places and walls and laying the foundations for a temple” (1 Esd 2:14 Ra // 2:18 NRSV). Verses 2:15 Ra // 2:19 NRSV and following, however, focus on the city and its walls, albeit that in 2:16 Ra // 2:20 the building of the Temple is mentioned. Similarly, the response of the king focuses on the city (1 Esd 2:19–24 Ra // 2:25–28 NRSV), but again, in the last verse of the chapter, the Temple is mentioned (1 Esd 2:26 // 2:30b NRSV): “And the building of the Temple in Jerusalem stopped until the second year of the reign of King Darius of the Persians.”⁹

In the latter section, I note that there is again some confusion about the issue of what precisely is to be rebuilt: is it the city or the Temple, given that there are mentions of both in Zerubbabel’s request (Jerusalem: 1 Esd 4:43; Temple 1 Esd 4:45) and in the king’s letters (Jerusalem: 1 Esd 4:47–48 and again in 1 Esd 4:53, 55; Temple: 1 Esd 4:51, 55).

The account of the Temple building is halted for two chapters. Indeed, in 1 Esdras 3–4 there is the additional story about the three bodyguards of the king who debate with each other at King Darius’s banquet. The first bodyguard talks about wine, the second about the King, and the third about women. It so happens that the third bodyguard is identified in an additional phrase as Zerubbabel, the additional phrase clearly being secondary, but making the link with the person leading the first return crystal-clear. The third bodyguard then

⁹ See for a further analysis of the key-phrase “until the second year of King Darius” in De Troyer, Year.

also gives an additional speech on truth, for which he is rewarded. The king agrees to allow him to go back to Jerusalem and rebuild the Temple.

In 1 Esd 5:46 Ra // 5:47 NRSV, after the list of the returning exiles, the story picks up with the preparation of the altar (1 Esd 5:47 Ra // 5:48 NRSV) in order to re-start the sacrifice of burnt offerings (1 Esd 5:48 Ra // 5:49). The narrator specifies in 5:50 Ra that the altar has been erected in its place and that the offering has started. In this section there is an additional note – additional in comparison with the MT – that the Temple of God was not yet built: καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ οὐπω ᾠκοδόμητο [= 5:52 Ra]. The author of 1 Esdras does indeed make a nice distinction between the altar for God (θυσία τῷ θεῷ) and the Temple of God (ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ).

The second phase of the building project is recounted in 1 Esd 5:56–57, where the foundations of the Temple are laid. The final stage, the building of the Temple itself, is recounted in 1 Esd 6 and the Temple dedication is reported in 1 Esd 7.

There is, however, again some confusion about which phase is mentioned in what section of the narrative, with again, the Temple building itself being referred to at the stage of the Temple’s foundation (e.g. 1 Esd 5:56 Ra // 5:58b NRSV). Indeed, in 1 Esd 5:62 it is recorded that a variety of emotions are displayed – to which we will shortly return – “praising the Lord for the erection of the house of the Lord” (1 Esd 5:59 Ra // 5:62b NRSV). The subsequent verses also refer to the house of the Lord, and not to its foundation (1 Esd 5:63–65). In 1 Esdras there is actually a neat, in my opinion a redactionally composed, transition from laying the foundation of the house, to starting to build it. This is then halted for two years, “until the reign of Darius” (1 Esd 5:71 Ra // 5:73b NRSV), and finally, after having been given permission (1 Esd 6), re-started (1 Esd 7:1–4), finished (1 Esd 7:5), and dedicated (1 Esd 7:7–9), after which the Passover is celebrated (1 Esd 7:10–13) as well as the Festival of Unleavened Bread (1 Esd 7:14–15). 1 Esd 8–10 contains the parallel text of Ezra 7–10 and Neh 8.

Given the structure of the book, what are the expressions of emotion associated with the different phases in the rebuilding of the altar, foundation and Temple?

2.3 Emotions in 1 Esdras

2.3.1 Emotional responses to the initial celebration of Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread

Since the initial celebration of Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread mentioned at the beginning of the book of 1 Esdras is a parallel to, or even a duplicate of, the celebration of Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread that occurs *after* the dedication of the Temple in Ezra-Nehemiah, it is necessary to verify the emotions mentioned in connection with it. But the truth is that there are no expressions of emotions noted at the initial celebration of Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread (1 Esd 1:17 Ra // 1:19 NRSV), aside from the theological note regarding King Josiah and his deeds: “The deeds of Josiah were upright in the sight of the Lord, for his heart was full of godliness”: καὶ ὠρθώθη τὰ ἔργα Ἰωσίου ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ ἐν καρδίᾳ πλήρει εὐσεβείας (1 Esd 1:21 Ra // 1:23 NRSV). Josiah is thus full of godliness!

2.3.2 Emotional responses to the erection of the altar

When some of the heads of the families arrive in Jerusalem they vow that they will erect the house on its site, literally, they pray to erect the house: εὐξάντο ἐγεῖραι τὸν οἶκον (1 Esd 5:43 Ra). As in the book of Ezra, they indeed start with the erection of the altar in 1 Esd 5:47 Ra // 5:48 NRSV: ἠτοίμασαν τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Ἰσραηλ. In contrast to the book of Ezra-Nehemiah, that is, its MT form, there is no emotional response recorded in connection with the erection of the altar and the establishment of the continual offerings and the celebration of festivals.

2.3.3 Emotional responses to the laying of the foundations of the Temple

The section on the foundations of the House of God can be found in 1 Esd 5:56–65. As already stated, there are also references to the building of the house in this section. As the building project is already said to be under way, it may be assumed that the emotions recorded in 1 Esd 5:62–65 are at least narratologically associated with the laying of the foundations. The response is double, as in its source text, Ezra 4:11–13: there are those who are joyful and those who are weeping. The emotions of the first group are recorded in 1 Esdras as follows.

There are those who “sounded trumpets and shouted with a great shout” and there are those who are coming “with outcries and loud weeping.” Again, as in the source text, there is mention of the joyous group: “while many came with trumpets and a joyful noise.”

I note two changes, in my opinion interpretations, vis-à-vis the emotions mentioned in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah: trumpets have become more prominent, and the concept of joy has been more narrowly associated with the building of the Temple and maybe made less important.

With regard to the trumpets: whereas in Ezra, the emotional responses as recorded in Ezra 3:11–13 are different sounds of human noise, that is of joy and weeping, in 1 Esd 5:59 Ra // 5:62 NRSV, the noise produced by the joyous people is supported by the sounding of trumpets: *καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐσάλπισαν*, all the people sounded trumpets. Now, there were trumpets mentioned in Ezra 3:10; indeed, there the priests were stationed to praise the Lord with trumpets. The Hebrew, however, is not straightforward: *וַיַּעֲמִדוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים מְלִבָּשִׁים בְּחֻצְרוֹת*. “They¹⁰ made to set up the priests, in their vestments, with trumpets.” Trumpets are mentioned in the Hebrew text of Num 10:8, with priests blowing trumpets, and in 10:9: priests blow trumpets as an alarm (as in 2 Chr 13:14). In 2 Kgs 11:14, the trumpeters’ blowing of trumpets stands in parallel to rejoicing. Similarly, in the parallel text of 2 Chr 23:13, but here all the people of the land are rejoicing and blowing trumpets. In 1 Chr 15:24; 16:6, priests blow the trumpets in front of the ark; in 2 Chr 5:12–13; 13:14; 29:26 and Neh 12:41, priests are trumpeting and trumpets are part of the praising and the expressing of thanks to the Lord (similarly in Ps 98:6). Trumpeting also appears at the dedication of the walls (Neh 12:35); and again I note that it is the priests who are trumpeting. In other words, sounding the trumpets is mostly used in contexts of joyous celebration as well as thanksgiving and praising of God – it is therefore not strange that the NRSV Bible translators render the Hebrew with: “praise the Lord with trumpets.” Moreover, in all but one case (2 Chr 23:13), it is the priests who are blowing the trumpets. That the priests are playing a musical instrument also combines well with the Levites playing the cymbals in Ezra 3:10.

In 1 Esdras, however, it is not the priests who are blowing the trumpets but all the people. Let us first look at the concept of “blowing a trumpet.” The use of the verb *σαλπίζω* translates at least two Hebrew verbs. The Greek verb is mostly used as a translation of the Hebrew verb *תקע*, “to thrust”, where trumpets are blown to summon the congregation and break the camp, to go, to sound an alarm, to go into battle (especially Num 10:3–10; Josh 6:5–20; Judg 3; 6–7), to

¹⁰ Strictly speaking, it seems that the builders are the ones referred to.

stop a battle (1 Sam 13:3; 2 Sam 2:28; 18:16), or to announce a message (1 Kgs 1:34, 39; 2 Kgs 9:13; also Neh 4:12?). In 2 Kgs 11:14, the blowing of the trumpet is a joyous occasion and in 2 Chronicles it is used in the context of praising God. In 1 Chr 15:24, the Greek verb σαλπίζω renders מְחַצְרֵי, “to blow”; in 2 Chr 5:12 both the verb and the noun are rendered by the same Greek verb and its derivative: בְּחֻצְרוֹת מְחַצְרֵי, “trumpeting the trumpets”, with εἴκοσι σαλπίζοντες ταῖς σάλπιγξιν, “each trumpeting the trumpets”. In both 1 and 2 Chronicles the Greek verb mostly renders מְחַצְרֵי, except for 2 Chr 23:13 where it renders עָתָה, albeit that the trumpets are also being used there.¹¹

In the Greek books of Maccabees, however, the verb σαλπίζω is used in combination with “giving a loud shout” (1 Macc 3:54), pointing to a desperate situation. In the rest of the book of 1 Maccabees, however, as well as in the Old Greek of Joel, Zechariah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, the trumpet is used precisely as before: to sound alarms, to go to battle, etc. In the context of 1 Esdras, however, the trumpets clearly resonate with the context of the praising of the Lord. After all 1 Esd 5:57 Ra // 5:60 NRSV reads: ὑμνοῦντες τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ εὐλογοῦντες, “praising the Lord and blessing (him)”.

In the Hebrew texts in which either מְחַצְרֵי or עָתָה is used, we see that the instrument which is blown is different: it is either the *shofar* (Josh 6, Judg 3; 6–7; 1 Sam 13:3; 2 Sam 2:28; 18:16; 20:1; 1 Kgs 1:34, 39; 2 Kgs 9:13; Neh 4:18; Ps 81:4; Joel 2:1, 15; Zech 9:14; Isa 27:13; Jer 51:27 [// OG Jer 28:27]; Ezek 33:3) or the trumpet(s) (Num 10; 2 Kgs 11:14; and in the books of 1 and 2 Chronicles; Hos 5:8). In the Greek texts, there are two words to translate the *shofar* and the trumpets, but these words are not used consistently. In other words, the *shofar* is mostly translated with κρατίνη (Josh 6;¹² Judg 3; 6–7; 2 Sam 18:16; 20:1, 22; 1 Kgs 1:34, 39; 2 Kgs 11:14; Neh 4:12) but also with σάλπιγξ (Num 10 – silver trumpets –; 1 Sam 13:3; 2 Sam 2:28; 1 Chr 15:25; 2 Chr 7:6; 13:14; 23:13; 29:28; Ps 81:4; Hos 5:8; Joel 2:1, 15; Zech 9:14; Isa 27:13; Jer 28:27; Ezek 7:14; 33:3). Aside from the reference in Nehemiah, it seems that older texts talk about the *shofar* and most Priestly, incl. Chronicles, and apocalyptic texts, talk about trumpets. Moreover, in the books of Maccabees (first and second), the trumpet is used, not

¹¹ I also note that in 1 Kgs 1:34, 39 and 2 Kgs 9:13, the instrument is the יִבְרֵי, and that also in Josh 6 the same instrument is used. In Numbers on the other hand, it is clearly the trumpets.

¹² According to Auld, Joshua, 135, “σάλπιγξ is used both for *qm hyvl* (the jubilee horn) and for the *shofar* (ram’s horn)”, but aside from Josh 6:5 where the jubilee horn is used, *shofar* is used in the Hebrew text. The *shofar* is, however, defined as *shoferot ha-yovelim* in 6:4, 6 and 8. And we note that יִבְרֵי can refer to jubilee as well as to (a) ram.

the *shofar*. It certainly appears that both “blowing” and “on the trumpets” are more commonly used in later literature¹³ and that it indicates a happy event.

Let us now consider the “trumpets”. In 1 Esd 5:57 Ra // 5:59 NRSV, the trumpets (σάλπιγξ) are mentioned for the first time. “The priests stood arrayed in their vestments, with musical instruments and trumpets” – maybe the translation ought to have read “including trumpets.” The trumpets are not found in the source text of Ezra 3:11 and have clearly been “added” to the text of 1 Esdras. The priests, with their musical instruments, including the trumpets, are praising the Lord and giving thanks, as in the Hebrew counterpart (Ezra 3:11), but they are also, blessing him and singing hymns, the singing being moved from first verb in the Hebrew text to third verb in the Greek, with the blessing nicely sandwiched in between the praising and the singing. The slightly reorganized and revised description of the activities of the priests and Levites (1 Esd 5:57–58 Ra // 59–61 NRSV) is clearly based on the Hebrew text, but the author of 1 Esdras obviously wanted to enlarge the praising activities of the priests and Levites as well as inviting trumpets onto the scene.

The trumpets are mentioned a second time in 1 Esd 5:59 Ra // 5:62 NRSV. In 1 Esd 5:59 Ra // 5:62 NRSV, all the people sounded the trumpets. Technically speaking the instrument is not mentioned as such, but it is “built into the verb” σαλπίζω. They then continue with a great shout when praising the Lord. 1 Esd 5:59 Ra // 5:62 NRSV has kept the great shout and the praising of its Hebrew source Ezra 3:11, albeit slightly adapted. Again, the element of the trumpets is added to the text in comparison with the Hebrew.

The trumpets are also mentioned in the next verse in which the contrasting emotion of weeping is reported. In 1 Esd 5:60 Ra // 5:63 NRSV, the disappointment of the levitical priests and the heads of the houses is recorded: they come with outcries and loud weeping. As in the source text, Ezra 3:12, there is yet again a group that is not, however, disappointed, but joyous. And in the description of this cheerful group, the trumpets again make their appearance: “while many came with trumpets and a joyful loud voice” (1 Esd 5:61 Ra // 5:64 NRSV). The trumpets have again being added to the mix in comparison with the source text Ezra 3:12.

Finally, the trumpets are mentioned a fourth and fifth time in the summarizing of the noise created by the building project. In 1 Esd 5:62a Ra // 5:65a NRSV, it is recorded that some people could not hear the trumpets, because of the weeping of the others; in other words, the weeping was loud. But, in 1 Esd 5:62b Ra // 5:65b NRSV, in contrast to the first phrase, it is stated that the trumpets

13 The text of Isa 27:13, which is part of a later Apocalypse of Isaiah, is an exception.

were sounded so loudly that the sound was heard far away. The text is thus unclear: were they weeping loudly or was the noise of the trumpets so loud? In the parallel text, Ezra 3:13, the contrast is between the sound of the joyful shout and the sound of the people's weeping. In 1 Esdras that contrast is also there. In 1 Esdras there are trumpets on the one hand and weeping on the other and this is totally in line with the earlier changes. However, the sound produced by the trumpets is used in two different ways: it is mentioned in the contrast between the two emotions (joyful trumpets versus weeping), but it is also used to "alarm" the enemy. Narratologically, there is the need for a loud noise, since in the next phase of the building process the enemies are alarmed by the hearing of the noise, that noise being the loud joyous shouting in Ezra 3:13 and the sounding of the trumpets in 1 Esd 5:62 Ra // 5:63 NRSV.

The confusion about the sort of noise that attracts enemies reminds the reader of the Jericho story in Josh 6:1–17. Volkmar Fritz notes the confusion in Josh 6. Do the Israelites start their outcry against Jericho at the sign given by Joshua (Josh 6:10 and 16b), or is it the act of the blowing of the *shofar* that invites the shouting (Josh 6:20)?¹⁴ A priestly redactor has, most likely, adjusted the blowing of the trumpets into appropriate, priestly blowing, but the result is that in the final text the confusion remains until the end: "the people shouted and the trumpets were blown" (Josh 6:20a): "As soon as the people heard the sound of the trumpets, they raised a great shout" (Josh 6:20b).

From the above survey of the use of the trumpets, it is clear that they are used in the context of expressing positive emotions.

One may also observe yet another interpretation of the Hebrew source text (Ezra 3:12) in the Greek 1 Esdras (5:60 Ra // 5:63 NRSV). In the source text, there is a fine, albeit not perfect, alternation between the priests and the Levites on the one hand and the people on the other. In 1 Esdras, the Levites and priests have become the priests from among the Levites, to which the heads of the ancestral houses have been added.

Moreover, in 1 Esdras, both the priests and the people can sound the trumpets (1 Esd 5:57, 59 Ra // 5:59, 62 NRSV). In the Hebrew Bible, it was only in 2 Kgs 11:4 and 2 Chr 23:13 that it was said that "all the people of the land were rejoicing and blowing trumpets." In other words, in all the passages where the trumpets appear – not the *shofar* – it is always the priests who are blowing the trumpets, except for 2 Kgs 11:4 and its parallel text 2 Chr 23:13, where, after King Jehu has been killed, the new king Joash is hailed with trumpets. With the *shofar*, that distinction was not so clear since the *shofar* was blown by priests (Num 10;

¹⁴ Cf. Fritz, Buch, 67–68.

Josh 6; 1 Kings), but also by Ehud, Gideon, 100 or 300 of his men, Saul, Joab, Sheba, in battle by different people, a man, the children of Benjamin, a sentinel, and even by God (Zech 9:14).

Now, since both the *shofar* and the trumpets are not consistently rendered, it is difficult to judge which Hebrew words stood behind the Greek σάλπιγξ, but surely the fact that the people can also sound the trumpet is a remarkable element and one that is unexpected in later tannaitic tradition. With regard to sounding the *shofar*, Shmuel Safrai has keenly observed: “From here we can understand the Tannaitic tradition that the sounding of the *shofar* on Rosh Hashana was a prerogative of the priests, just as it was their prerogative to sound the call on all other occasions: Jubilee, public fasts, the shofar of excommunication and the soundings on Sabbath eves and at the end of the Sabbath to distinguish between sacred and profane.”¹⁵

With regard to “joy”: whereas in Ezra 3:11–13, the word was used twice (3:12 and 3:13), in 1 Esd 5:61 Ra (// 5:64 NRSV), the parallel word, χαρά, is used only once. We will, however, see that the expression of joy is more fully associated with the building of the Temple, as well as with its culmination point, the dedication.

Before turning to the last expression of emotion demonstrated in the context of building, I would like to emphasize that with regard to the double emotion of the people, trumpets and joy on the one hand and weeping on the other, these emotions were expressed at the dedication of the altar in Ezra-Nehemiah, but here in 1 Esdras they are connected with the laying of the foundation of the Temple.

2.3.4 Joy as the emotional response to the building of the Temple?

There is one word for “joy” that is used twice in 1 Esdras: indeed in 1 Esd 4:63 (Ra and NRSV) and 5:61 Ra (// 5:64 NRSV) χαρά is used. In 4:63 a celebration develops because permission has been given to go up and build Jerusalem and the Temple. In 5:61, the final response to the laying of the foundation of the Temple is recorded (see above).

In almost all the Greek biblical passages where the emotion “joy” is recorded, there is also a mention of the emotion “gladness”, εὐφροσύνη or the verb “to rejoice”, εὐφραίνω. The final moment of joy in the book of 1 Esdras may be found at the dedication of the finally rebuilt Temple. For the description of the

¹⁵ Safrai, Jerusalem, 109.

final dedication of the Temple in 1 Esd 7:14 (Ra and NRSV), the Greek verb εὐφραίνω, is used, not the Greek word χαρά; it reads: “they kept the Festival of Unleavened Bread seven days, rejoicing before the Lord” (εὐφραίνόμενοι ἔναντι τοῦ κυρίου). In other words, the joy at the final dedication, and at its festive activities, is different from the joy expressed at the beginning of the release from exile and the permission to go to Jerusalem, and different from the expression of joy at the laying of the foundations and its associated joy before the Lord.

Moreover, whereas in the Hebrew text of Ezra 6:22, which is the parallel passage of 1 Esd 7:14–15, joy was mentioned twice: “they celebrated in joy because God had made them joyous,” in 1 Esdras joy is only mentioned once. Also, the last explicative phrase in the Hebrew text: “because God had made them joyous,” has been interpreted in 1 Esd 7:15: “because he (God) had changed the will of the king of the Assyrians concerning them, to strengthen their hands for the service of the Lord God of Israel.” In other words, whereas in the Hebrew-Aramaic book of Ezra, the emphasis lies on the joy at the time of the dedication – a joy instilled in the people by God – in the book of 1 Esdras there is no such emphasis on joy. Moreover, whereas in the Hebrew text, God made the people joyous, in 1 Esdras God changes the attitude of the king, so that the service to God can be strengthened. I note that maybe the translation ought to read, “so that the works of God can be strengthened”, seeing that this is the meaning of the construction in most other biblical passages.¹⁶ This small change may show that the element of joy was less important for 1 Esdras.¹⁷ Fortunately for us, the book of Ezra-Nehemiah, with its abundance of joy, became a canonical text for Judaism. If 1 Esdras had become canonical, then we would have ended up with more blowing on trumpets on Ḥanukkah and I am not sure whether Ḥanukkah would then have ended up as one of the “Days of Joy”.¹⁸ Or, maybe it is precisely the blowing of the trumpets by the people that prevented 1 Esdras being included in the canon?

Now, one could object and say that the choice of words stems from the Greek translator and not from the Hebrew-Aramaic *Vorlage* of 1 Esdras. Although further study needs to be done on this specific topic, given that there is interpretation

¹⁶ Exod 34:10; Deut 11:7; Josh 24:29; Esth 4:17; Pss 27:5; 45:9; 106:24; 110:2; 117:17; Odes 8:57; Sir 11:4; 39:16, 33; 42:15; Jer 28:10; DanTh 3:57. Service to God can be seen in Num 8:11 and maybe Jer 31:10.

¹⁷ We note that precisely the opposite tendency is visible in the book of Nehemiah, where the noun שְׂמֵחָה and the verb שמח, are together used five times. As Böhler, Stadt, 366, notes: „Diese Freude (fünf Mal שמח!) überbietet noch die Freude, die unter Serubbabel anlässlich der Grundsteinlegung des Tempels und der Tempelweihe geherrscht hatte ...“.

¹⁸ Cohn-Sherbok, Faith, 181–182.

going on, such as the reorganization of the book, the addition of the trumpets and the lesser emphasis on joy, it seems more logical to ascribe this to the credit of the *Vorlage* rather than that of the translator; but then yet again, further study is necessary in order to decide the issue.

Abstract

In this paper the emotions expressed on the occasion of the different stages of the building of the Temple as well as the accompanying soundings of the trumpets are analysed. As these reports can be found in both the Hebrew-Aramaic Book of Ezra as well as its apocryphal counterpart 1 Esdras, the texts of these two books are investigated and the findings compared.

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Simone M. Paganini

Adjusting the Narrative Emotions and the Prayer of Moses (Jub 1:19–21)

According to the narrative framework of Jubilees¹ – which should not be separated from the rest of the book² – Moses speaks only once in a direct address to God. This direct speech in the first chapter of Jubilees (Jub 1:19–22) undoubtedly constitutes an intercessory prayer. It is a unique text that has no direct parallels in the Hebrew Bible, even if its main elements and its literary background may be found in some of Moses's speeches in Exodus and Deuteronomy.³ A close reading of the text of the first chapter of Jubilees demonstrates that this prayer is not isolated and should be understood within its literary context.

The first chapter and the prologue to the book of Jubilees are very concise, summarizing a similar situation to that of Exodus 19. Moses's words are closely connected to two divine speeches, which frame his prayer. The first one – Jub 1:5–19a – prepares the intercessory prayer, the second one – Jub 1:22b–27a – is a direct, positive answer to Moses's intercession. Yet, this answer is not God's last word, since he later speaks again (Jub 1:27), when he does not address Moses, but the Angel of the Presence. This new figure does not feature in the Exodus text while in the book of Jubilees it appears to fulfil a task that was reserved to Moses in the *Tanakh*.

It will here be argued that Jubilees shows a certain development towards correcting the biblical narrative in relation to the role of Moses, and that this is emphasized by God's response to Moses's intercession. This divine response seems to be motivated by God's emotional reaction to Moses's prayer.

At first, it is necessary to demonstrate how Moses's intercessory prayer fits into the overall context of Jubilees 1. One cannot understand the real meaning

¹ The topic of Michael Segal's research stresses the general dynamic of the whole book of Jubilees. Our two approaches fit well together. After the breadth of Segal's vision I wish to make some specific observations relating to the first prayer in Jubilees. The characterization of Jubilees as a literary composition may take various forms. VanderKam, *Book*, 135–136, describes several hypotheses that capture a number of traits in the book.

² Cf. Segal, *Book*, 247, footnote 1. The narrative framework is necessary because it introduces the dynamic between the first stone tablets, which God wrote, and the new tablets, which Moses will write. Furthermore, the Angel of the Presence and Moses are introduced. These two characters play an important role – the angel dictating and Moses writing the content of the tablets – in the continuation of the book.

³ See for details Segal, *Book*, 248–251.

of this prayer without considering God's first monologue (1.). Further, Moses's prayer (2.) and God's emotional reaction (3.) need to be considered in more detail. As will be shown below, both Moses's prayer and God's answer have important and decisive implications for the book as a whole.

1 God's first monologue

At the beginning of Jubilees, as well as in Exodus 19 – “And it came to pass in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month” (Jub 1:1) – Moses receives the order to ascend the mount⁴ to meet God and to receive “the two tablets of stone.”⁵ At the beginning of the book, however, the content of these two tablets remains obscure. The description in Jubilees connects expressions taken from Exodus 19 with expressions from Exodus 24. Thus, God gives to Moses either the two tablets with the commandments following Exodus 20 or – if we take account of the rewriting of Exod 24:12–18 offered in Jub 1:1b–4⁶ – other tablets similar to the ones known from Exod 31:18.⁷ There is also a third possibility: the content of the two tablets of Jub 1:1 could also be the same as the content of Jub 2–50.⁸ In Jubilees 1, the reader simply does not know and – what is more surprising – the content of the tablets is not vital for an understanding of the dynamics of the first chapter of Jubilees.

At the beginning, however, the similarities between the Book of Jubilees and the Book of Exodus are unmistakable. The first substantial difference appears at the end of Jub 1:4. After noting that Moses was on the mountain for forty days and forty nights, Jubilees continues with the statement that God showed him

⁴ The positive and decisive role of the mountain as a place where a revelation is received is an important feature for understanding the theological background of Jubilees. See Brooke, *Mountains*, 73–75.

⁵ In Exod 19:20 – “And Yhwh called Moses to the top of the mountain, and Moses went up” – there is no mention of this order. The same expression indeed appears in Exod 24:12. After the temporal indication in Jub 1:1, which is taken from Exod 19:1, the book of Jubilees rewrites Exod 24:12–18.

⁶ Cf. Crawford, *Scripture*, 63–64.

⁷ “And he gave to Moses, when he had finished speaking with him on Mount Sinai, the two tablets of the testimony, tablets of stone, written by the finger of God.”

⁸ See on this problem the short presentation in Segal, *Book*, 247. Further details on this aspect are featured by VanderKam, *Moses*, 28–42.

“the earlier and the later history of the division of all the days of the law and of the testimony”⁹ before – like in Exodus 21 or in 24 – God began his direct speech.

In the Hebrew Bible, the topic of this divine speech either revolves around the explanation of the Decalogue (“the covenant code”) (Exodus 21), or it describes the rules for building the tabernacle and other correlated precepts (Exodus 24). Either way, the topic of God’s speeches in the *Tanakh* does not coincide with the topic of his first monologue in Jub 1.

This long monologue introducing and inspiring a homiletical reaction by Israel’s leader begins with two imperatives addressed to Moses – twice it is said that he has to write¹⁰ “all these words”. It then proceeds with a direct speech by God himself that initially outlines Israel’s future sin (Jub 1:8–14), followed by the eventual repentance of the people (15), and finally their reward, i.e. the people will find the Lord and he will build his sanctuary in their midst (17).

The structure and content of the first part of this monologue provide the background against which to understand and interpret Moses’s subsequent intercession.

God specifies ten future sins of the people (Jub 1:8–14). This represents an allusion to the Ten Commandments outlined in Exodus 20 and an attempt to accord to the narrative of Jubilees a similar status to that of Exodus 19. The ten evil actions of the people – turning to strange gods; forgetting the commandments; walking after the nations and their uncleanness; making high places and worshipping there; sacrificing children to demons; not following the witnesses; slaying the witnesses; persecuting those who seek the law; abrogating and changing everything; forgetting law, commandment and judgement – represent a wholesale damage to the covenant pact between God and Israel.

Nonetheless, God’s speech does not conclude with this list of the people’s sins and their subsequent punishment. Instead, God reveals that the people will search for, and find him. The formulation “I shall be found when they seek me with all their heart and with all their soul” in Jub 1:16 introduces an oracle of salvation. God will build his sanctuary; he will not forsake or fail his people.

In this long monologue, one may observe an interesting dynamic: God describes a cyclical movement which is also characteristic of the deuteronomic

⁹ This is an expression which means the subject matter of Jubilees.

¹⁰ Six times in Jubilees Moses is ordered to write – Jub 1:5, 7, 26; 2:1; 23:32; 33:18. Three times this order originates with God, while another three times it comes from the Angel of the Presence. However, this angel is himself also engaged in writing. His role as a writer becomes more important as the narrative progresses and even surpasses Moses’s own role as a writer. All the passages in which Jubilees uses the verb “to write” are discussed in VanderKam, *Author*, 438–447. See also note 19 below.

understanding of history: from sin to punishment, and afterwards to repentance and salvation.¹¹ Everything happens only at God's behest. Neither Moses nor the people are capable of convincing God to change his mind.

The profound message of Jubilees according to this speech is unequivocal: God is the Lord of history, he knows his people and their sins but he does not cease leading them. He is also merciful and his final aim is to save them.

2 Moses's prayer

Although the introductory formula of God's direct speech in Jub 1:5 – "And he said" – does not mention Moses, he is clearly the addressee of God's monologue. According to Jub 1:2, he is on the mountain and listens to God. The conversation between God and Moses continues with Moses's reaction. But God did not intend to start a dialogue. The contents of his speech are conclusive in their positivity: he has seen and has also judged the sin of his people. He has the knowledge that they will repent and thus also reach their salvation. God's monologue in the context of the narrative of Jubilees 1 does not require any answer or statement from Moses.

Moses's intercessory address nevertheless begins and ends like a prayer to a deity who wishes to destroy his people.¹² Indeed, God has just confirmed that he is going to save his people. This fact leads to the conclusion that Moses has misunderstood the divine speech.

The intercessory nature of Moses's prayer is emphasized by the narrator's remark "Moses fell on his face and prayed and said ..."¹³ The artistic, literary structure of Moses's speech¹⁴ underlines its importance, but also reveals Moses's

11 Cf. Paganini, *Deuteronomio*, 477–479.

12 On Moses's role as an intercessor, see the remarks in Widmer, *Moses*, 72–86.

13 Such an expression, with Moses as the subject, occurs only twice in the *Tanakh*: Exod 34:8, Num 16:4.

14 The first two expressions, using two negative imperatives ("do not forsake" and "do not deliver"), refer to God's actions in favour of the people. In the midst of Moses's speech are three petitions – the first two are positive ("let your mercy lifted up" and "create an upright spirit"), the third is negative ("let not the spirit of Belial rule over them") and develops two different traits ("accuse" and "ensnare") – that plead for God's mercy and for the upright spirit to oppose the spirit of Belial. The end of the prayer features two supplications, firstly a positive, and secondly a negative one. The dynamic – "2x negative – 2x positive – 1x (+2) negative" – comes to its end with the occurrence of one positive ("create a clean heart and a holy spirit") and one negative ("let them not be ensnared in their sins") final element. The repetitions of "your

incapacity to understand the merciful nature of his God. In the *Tanakh*, Moses is the one who most frequently converses with God, but at the beginning of Jubilees he is presented as a person unable to comprehend God's speech.

The two imperative petitions at the beginning of his Prayer – “do not forsake ... do not deliver” your people – reconnect Moses's plea with the end of God's monologue, but, given the content of God's speech, Moses's request appears unnecessary and misplaced. It seems that he has only listened to the first (negative) part of God's monologue and neglected the rest. This explains why he considers, for instance, the possibility of being delivered into the hands of the nations, which has already been denied by God (Jub 1:15). Further, the appeal for God to be merciful is not really necessary, since God has already declared his merciful disposition towards his people (Jub 1:16). The subsequent attempt to make the spirit of Belial responsible for the sin of the people is likewise absurd. God knows – and he has already described it in plenty of detail – Israel's situation. The real motivation for the sins of the people may be found in their desire to forsake the ordinances, commandments and covenant (Jub 1:10). Belial does not play any relevant role. Moses's positive requests to create a clean heart and a holy spirit are already fulfilled by God: peace and righteousness, but also blessing and truth, are already – according to God's first monologue – his gifts for the people.

Considering the individual elements of Moses's prayer, it is evident that his demands have already been met by God.

To be clear, Moses's attempt to convince God not to punish his people – which is based on Moses's prayer in Deut 9:2–29¹⁵ after the sin of the golden calf, where Moses also refers to Israel with the words “your people and your inheritance” – is unnecessary in Jubilees. At the beginning of the book, there is no description of Israel worshipping other gods. The introduction presents the people at the Mount Sinai in accordance with the account of Exodus 19 (and not Exodus 32).

One might understand this prayer as a pre-emptive measure to beg God's mercy and to implore his intervention in order to preclude Israel from sinning.¹⁶ Moses implores God twice to protect his people: at first against the negative

people and your inheritance”; “create a spirit” and “let not ensnare” build a chasing rhythm, which structures the prayer in three different parts.

¹⁵ Moses's prayer picks up on several themes and motifs used in other biblical prayers. For an indication of the various texts quoted in the prayer, see Nitzan, *Moses' Prayer*, 35–41.

¹⁶ Cf. Segal, *Book*, 248.

influence of the spirit of Belial;¹⁷ and subsequently he says: “let them not be ensnared from all the paths of righteousness”. These two appeals specify the initial request expressed at the beginning of the prayer: “do not forsake your people ... to go along the error of their minds.”¹⁸

By performing this prayer, Moses tries to change God’s mind, but this superfluous effort only shows his incapacity to recognize God’s real nature.

However, a prayer directly addressed to God – whether it is necessary or not – demands a divine answer. Obviously, this answer is not part of the prayer, but connected to it, since it presents an immediate response. While God’s reply occurs immediately, it does not change the destiny of the people, but only that of Moses. Until this moment we have no indication of emotions in the text, but now this aspect changes.

3 God’s emotions and the consequences of Moses’s prayer

After Moses’s plea, God’s answer summarizes and stresses the same situation that he has already described in his first monologue: God knows the wicked thoughts of the people – its “stiffneckedness”, Jub 1:22 – and he is perfectly aware that they “will not be obedient”. Nevertheless, and at the same time, he repeats and underlines his belief that the people “would turn to me in all uprightness, with all their heart and their soul”. This conviction not only echoes the proclamation of the first divine monologue, but now it is specified by way of four unmistakable expressions that clarify the divine position. These four elements refer to, and fulfil, not only Moses’s plea, but they also offer much more than he has requested.

A prayer like Moses’s one does not remain without consequences. These are: 1.) God will circumcise the foreskin of their heart; 2.) he will create in them

¹⁷ For an explanation of this expression and of its implications in the DSS, see Segal, Book, 251–256. In Jubilees, Belial (the second occurrence of this name is in Jub 15:33) – the name of a demonic figure who belongs to the heavenly court of God – represents the power, which is able to lead mankind in a particular – mostly negative – direction. This identification is commonly attested in other writings from the Dead Sea (CD 12:2–3).

¹⁸ The context of Jubilees, however, is quite different from that of Deuteronomy 9. Deut 9:26–29 is based on Exod 32:11–14. In Jubilees, Moses tries to change God’s mind, because the people should not be allowed to sin, but in Deuteronomy he tries to prevent Israel’s annihilation (Deut 9:26).

a holy spirit; 3.) he will cleanse them so that the people will not turn away from him, and 4.) the people will keep and fulfil his commandments.

At this point, the divine answer includes additional elements that were not the topic of Moses's intercessory prayer.

God's positive intention, which has been shown before, becomes apparent at the very end of his second speech. The conclusion of God's answer is full of emotions: twice he states that he is the father of the people and he emphasizes this expression with its logical implication: "they will be my children". This significant aspect is fundamental and also definitive since – as Jub 1:25 underlines – every angel and every spirit will know it. The climax of God's second speech is a short, but touching love declaration to his people. God can no longer control his emotions.

He needs to be sure that this time his message will be unequivocal and definitively clear. His final proclamation – "I love them" – does not leave any room for doubts. All fears and problems that Moses raised in connection with the future situation of the people, with their sins, with the possibility of punishment, and with the possibility of salvation are wiped away. It is true that this is at first established through God's concrete assurances not to destroy his people, but the absolute sense of security – the guarantee – that the future will be a positive one is finally based only on God's emotional declaration of love for his people, his inheritance.

At first sight, Moses's role is not different from the one he had at the beginning of God's first monologue (Jub 1:5, 7): he receives the mission to write.¹⁹ Therefore, Moses's position appears to be the same as in the *Tanakh* according to Exodus 19: he is appointed to be the mediator between God and Israel. In Jubilees his authorisation is even more significant. While in Exodus 20, after receiving the first two tablets with the commandments, Moses agrees to be the intermediary between God and the people only after the people ask him (Exod 20:19), in Jubilees God himself assigns this role to Moses (Jub 1:5, 7, 26).²⁰

Nevertheless, the consequence of God's emotional declaration is different here from that in the Exodus narrative. For the reader, the Book of Jubilees

¹⁹ The role of Moses as writer, as opposed to his role as an author, is prevalent in the literature of Second Temple Judaism. For a detailed description of this point, see Paganini, *Legitimationsprozess*, 266–280.

²⁰ Due to the limited scope of this paper, a complete comparison between Moses's role in the Hebrew Bible and in Jubilees is not here possible. It is, however, clear that the two contexts are very different. For more details, see Kvanvig, *Jubilees* (2005), 75–83.

introduces another, totally unexpected speech. This time, it is not God who addresses Moses, but an angel, the Angel of the Presence.²¹

The fact that Moses did not understand the profound meaning of God's first long monologue, and the subsequent, divine emotions caused by Moses's prayer, represent the only possible explanation – obviously assuming a synchronic point of view – for this surprising insertion of a new character. Ultimately, the Angel of the Presence has to perform the same function as Moses: he has to write. Only the addressees of this act of writing are different. While Moses has to write directly for the people – “write them (the words which I shall speak to you) in a book in order that their generations (of the people) may see” – the angel will write for Moses (Jub 1:25). This constitutes a decisive change in the dynamic that represents the communication of God's will. All at once, there is a second intermediary between God and the people, and this new mediator – if we understand the message of Jubilees – is more important than Moses. Only the Angel of the Presence receives communications directly from God, since Moses is no longer in direct contact with him.

The situation described at the beginning of Jubilees 2, is consequently different from that noted in the Hebrew Bible: “And the Angel of the Presence – not God (!) – spoke to Moses according to the word of the Lord, saying: ‘Write’ ...”. The action that Moses has to perform is the same but the call to do so no longer derives from God.

Emotions have contributed to a correction of the biblical narrative.

4 Conclusion

The whole Book of Jubilees uses the base text of Genesis and Exodus in order to produce a new work.²² Many themes and much content that were not present in the Torah are now part of the new narrative.²³ This methodology may also be

²¹ Nitzan, *Prayer*, 39, points out that this figure has some similarities with the angel of God, who, according to Exod 32:34, is sent before Israel to fight against its enemies. Since Jubilees changes the angel's duty from a military to a halakhic task, connecting the two angelic figures becomes quite a problematic exercise.

²² See also Kvanvig, *Jubilees* (2004), 243–261.

²³ Crawford, *Scripture*, 80.

detected in the first chapter of the book, in particular in Moses's short prayer and in the emotions which this generates in God.²⁴

The setting of Jubilees is ambiguous. Moses is introduced at the very beginning of the book with the same features as in the biblical text. Jubilees also concurs that the revelation took place at Mount Sinai²⁵ and that Moses is the man God is addressing, but, at the same time, Moses's role changes. In Jubilees 1, he hears the revelation of Israel's future sins and the consequent punishment, but he also recognizes that God is ready to accord his people the possibility of repentance, and that he wants to build his sanctuary in their midst. The first long monologue of God is introduced with the words: "God spoke to Moses saying". No one else has the same familiarity and intimacy with God. Moses alone knows God's thoughts and also his project of salvation. Nonetheless, he unnecessarily pleads to God in an intercessory prayer for the people in order to preserve them from God's rebuke. This uncalled-for prayer does not remain without consequences. It causes another reaction by God, which, in comparison with his first speech, is not only descriptive, but emotional.

At this point, the narrative of Jubilees evolves in a different direction from the biblical description.²⁶ Moses is no longer the unique mediator between God and the people. He is only the writer of words that do not originate directly from God, but originate in the mouth of an angel.²⁷ This angel, and not Moses, now enjoys a special intimacy with God; he is the Angel of the Presence.²⁸ In God's plans, his angel receives the mission of "writing for Moses". The leader of Israel acquires a secondary function in the dynamic of the revelation. In the whole book of Jubilees he will no longer converse with God directly.

Prayers evoke emotions. Neither prayers nor emotions remain without consequences, even if these consequences are quite difficult to understand. At the

24 The aim of the author of Jubilees is an exegetical one. This is also argued by VanderKam, *Moses*, 28–29, when he states that the author "worked out his method and came to his conclusion on the basis of his reading of scriptural texts."

25 This is an important detail, which strengthens the authority of Jubilees. See Najman, *Sinai*, 53–56.

26 The Temple Scroll shows a more direct rejection of the figure of Moses. In Jubilees Moses still has the task of writing, while in 11Q19 he becomes obsolete, since God speaks to the people directly without the use of a mediator. See Paganini, *Wörter*, 279–296.

27 The angel, however, no longer has the function of mediating the revelation in order to authorize it, as is assumed by Najman, *Sinai*, 60–61. It is not only an expression of respect for the divine. In Jubilees 1, the moment of Moses's delegitimation is more distinct. Moses is no more the author – and, as in Deuteronomy, also the interpreter of the law – but only its writer.

28 See VanderKam, *Angel*, 378–393.

beginning of Jubilees, a prayer and the emotions that arise from it, have the power to adjust the biblical narrative.

Abstract

The book of Jubilees uses the base text of Genesis and Exodus, but it also incorporates new themes and contents otherwise unknown from the Torah. Thereby, it presents an adjusted narrative in addition to the well-known biblical narrative from the Torah. This raises obvious methodological questions pertaining to the way this change occurs, and how it is legitimized. One example of this rewritten narrative may already be observed in Moses's short prayer and God's subsequent emotions at the beginning of the book (Jub 1:19–21). Initially, Moses is introduced in a manner similar to that used in the biblical narrative, but, after the dialogue with God, he ceases to be the unique mediator between God and his people. This change is a consequence of God's emotions, which are inspired by Moses's prayer. These emotions have the (literary) power to change the biblical narrative.

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Emotions in Jerusalem's Prayer: Baruch and Lamentations

1 Introduction

1.1 Book, letter or manuscript?

The five chapters in the Septuagint that are attributed to Baruch as the author are commonly referred to as the “Book of Baruch”.¹ The Septuagint itself does not, however, use the genus “book” in this regard. On the contrary, the meta-headline used for this text is only the name “Baruch” (Βαρουχ).

This traditional terminology of “book” is apparently derived from the first verse of those five chapters, which states: και ουτοι οι λογοι του βιβλιου, and adds “which was written by Baruch, the son of Nerias”. This and the following verse are to be regarded as the real title of the Baruch book. Nevertheless, the term (το) βιβλιον can mean not only “book” but also “letter”, or it can imply a collection of scripts.² In this context reference may be made to the third verse of the first chapter where, beside the term (το) βιβλιον, the term η βιβλος is also used. Is this merely a change of expression,³ in a text that is otherwise so deliberately composed? The concept η βιβλος is more commonly used in the sense of a closed anthology. This observation concerning the text is of great significance for the question of who is actually speaking in Baruch, and for its authorship, even if it is undisputed in contemporary scholarship that he must represent a fictional character.⁴

1.2 Perspective of the speaker

With regard to this question of identifying who is speaking in the book Baruch, it should be noted that there is no reference to a speaker in the first person

¹ Cf. various editions of the Bible, introductions to the Old Testament and commentaries.

² Cf. Bensele, Schul-Wörterbuch.

³ Cf. Steck, Buch, 27, n. 4.

⁴ Cf. Steck, Baruchbuch, 303–312.

singular. After the introduction to Baruch's writing, in 1:1–2,⁵ Baruch is referred to in the third person singular, and it is reported how he reads from a book to the exiles in Babylon, and how they react to this (Bar 1:3–9). In Bar 1:10–14, however, the exiles speak in the first person plural. In Bar 1:15a the exiles are preparing a prayer text for the group left behind in Jerusalem. Again, this prayer is consistently composed in the first person plural (Bar 1:15b–3:8). The first person plural does not appear in the section of the text in which Israel is directly addressed, including the reflection on wisdom. (Bar 3:9–4:1). In the subsequent call to Jacob to repentance (Bar 4:2–4), a first person plural is used in a *makarismus* for the last time in the book of Baruch (“Blessed are we, Israel; since we know what is pleasing to God”, Bar 4:4). The first person plural is silent from Bar 4:5 until Bar 5:9, including the added calls of encouragement to Israel through different speakers.

The prophetic narrator does not reveal his identity at any point in the sections Bar 4:5–9a and 4:30–5:9. Only in Bar 4:5 does he speak in the first person singular, when he calls Israel “my people” (λαος μου). This is the only place in Baruch in which the speaker expresses himself in the first person singular, although ultimately remaining anonymous. If we take the book of Jeremiah in the Septuagint version as a reference point, we find the term “my people” only in the speech of God.⁶ The anonymous speaker introduces a new narrator, who is then identified as Jerusalem (Bar 4:8). So the first person singular,⁷ who speaks in Bar 4:9b–4:29, is literarily identified with Jerusalem.

2 Emotions in the words of encouragement (Bar 4:5–5:9)

It is widely recognized among scholars that the so-called book of Baruch consists of four parts.⁸ If we examine these four parts from the perspective of “emotional expressions in prayer”, we have to focus particularly on the fourth part (Bar 4:5–5:9). It belongs to the second main section⁹ and, more precisely, to the

⁵ Cf. Ballhorn, Sekretär, 212–213.

⁶ Cf. Jer 2:11, 13, 31, 32; 5:31; 8:5, 7; 18:15; 27:6; 38:14 (LXX).

⁷ Pronouns and personal endings in the first person singular: Bar 4:9b, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26.

⁸ Cf. Meyer, Buch, 586; Steck, Baruchbuch, V–VII.

⁹ Cf. Kalt, Buch, 2.

poetic part of the book (Bar 3:9–5:9).¹⁰ Ivo Meyer classifies this text as „Ermutigungszuspruch einer prophetischen Stimme“.¹¹ It should be noted that the text Bar 4:5–5:9 is a coherent whole. In that case we are not dealing with so-called basic texts which were later elaborated with additions.¹² This section is in turn divided into two parts. The first part is a call of encouragement, which is addressed to the exiled people of Israel (Bar 4:5–29), while the second part is a call of encouragement for the remnant, which remained behind in Jerusalem (Bar 4:30–5:9).¹³

2.1 The first call of encouragement to the exiled people of Israel (Bar 4:5–29)

The first call of encouragement is divided into the direct speech of a speaker, who remains ultimately unknown (Bar 4:5–9a), and the indirect speech of Jerusalem (Bar 4:9b–29), which is cited by the narrator of Bar 4:5–9a.

2.1.1 Direct speech of a prophetic speaker (Bar 4:5–9a)

The direct call of encouragement by the prophetic speaker is profoundly emotional. He opens immediately with the imperative call to “be of good cheer” (θαρσείτε). This call is addressed to the exiled people, which indicates a very close relationship between the speaker and the exiled. The possessive pronoun “my” shows the intensity of this relationship.¹⁴ Also added in an apposition is the somewhat bulky phrase *μνημοσυνον Ισραηλ*, which characterizes the exiled people as a place of remembrance for Israel¹⁵ (Bar 4:5). The reason why the people are living in exile is also emotionally expressed. Israel has provoked God

¹⁰ Cf. Meyer, Buch, 586. Expressed as „die Aufteilung des Textes auf poetische Verszeilen“, Steck, Buch 45, n. 1, 56, n. 1.

¹¹ Meyer, Buch, 586.

¹² Cf. Steck, Buch, 61.

¹³ Subdivisions follow Steck, Buch, 61.

¹⁴ Clear information about the speaker actually remains rather elusive. The phrase “my people” has a speaker in Jer (LXX): JHWH or the Kyrios (Jer 2:11, 13, 31, 32; 5:31; 8:5, 7; 18:15; 27:15; 38:14). Also, neither *θαρσει* nor *θαρσείτε* are attested in Jer (LXX). The form *θαρσείτε* is found in prophetic writings in the LXX only for statements attributed to God (Kyrios) (Joel 2:22; Hab 2:5; Zech 8:13, 15). Finally, in Bar 4:5–9a, we find the fusion of a human and divine speaker (Kyrios).

¹⁵ Here we have a case of the *genitivus objectivus*; cf. Steck, Buch, 61, n. 29.

(παροργιζειν) by worshipping demons instead of the true God (Bar 4:6). The context and the terminology in the Septuagint attest well to the link between the anger of God and idolatry.¹⁶ This statement is further reinforced through the expression παροξυνειν (“to goad or incite someone”, Bar 4:7). In this way, the wrath of God is ultimately activated. This anthropomorphism is remarkable since, for example, the Greek version of Job, as against the Hebrew original, does not mention the incitement of God by Satan (cf. Job 2:3). Bar 4:8 is formulated as a violation of God’s commandment to honour parents (Exod 20:12/Deut 5:16): as a failure to remember the one who raised the folk,¹⁷ who is the eternal God, and as a cause of grief for the one who brought up the people as a foster-mother, that is, Jerusalem. A more deeply emotional accusation than this could hardly be made.

2.1.2 Jerusalem’s speech to her children (Bar 4:9b–29)

The maternal side of Jerusalem is expressed in Bar 4:9 in such a way that she speaks up when she sees the wrath of God falling upon those whom she has raised up (Bar 4:9a). This highly emotional speech by Jerusalem is again divided into two parts. In the first part, Jerusalem twice addresses her neighbouring cities (Bar 4:9b–16). It is ultimately not clear, whether this is meant for non-Israelite centres¹⁸ or the cities of Judah. In the second part (Bar 4:17–29), Jerusalem addresses her children (τεκνα).

In the first part of the speech Jerusalem begins her remarks to the neighbours of Zion (αι παρικοι Σιων)¹⁹ with moving words about her fate,²⁰ both as deserted mother and forsaken widow (Bar 4:9b–13). Although the term “mother”, in contrast to the term “widow”, is not used in Baruch, the first part of the speech contains the lamentation of a mother over her children: on the one hand the joy of rearing the children (Bar 4:11a),²¹ on the other hand, the misery of witnessing,

¹⁶ Cf. 1 Kgs 16:13, 33; 2 Kgs 17:11, 17; 21:6; 2 Chr 33:6; Jer 11:17.

¹⁷ The term τροφειν is a neologism and apparently appears only in the LXX, in two instances. In Exod 2:7, the sister of Moses asks Pharaoh’s daughter if she should get her a nurse.

¹⁸ Cf. Steck, Buch, 62.

¹⁹ The phrase “neighbouring cities of Zion” is found only in Baruch; cf. Bar 4:9, 14, 24. Otherwise, the term “neighbouring cities” appears only in Jer 30:12 (LXX) in relation to Sodom and Gomorrah.

²⁰ Literally: “great suffering”. This phrase in the LXX is attested in other later texts (Esth 4:3; 1 Macc 1:25; 12:52) in addition to Gen 50:11.

²¹ Cf. Isa 66:10–13.

with mourning and weeping, the fate of her children, who have experienced captivity (Bar 4:10, 11b). The unexpected reference to the widowhood of Jerusalem is surprising (Bar 4:12a), because there was no previous mention of the city as a woman, or a wife. Added to that, the miserable isolation of the widow Jerusalem is not a result of the death of her husband, but because of the neglect of God's commandments by her own children (Bar 4:12b–13). It is noteworthy that the concept and the image of the widowhood of Jerusalem are found explicitly only in Baruch (cf. Bar 4:16). Although the metaphorical image of a marriage between YHWH and Jerusalem is already found in Ezek 16:1–8, it is used there in a negative sense (she is a whore) and with an ambivalent connotation.²² In contrast to Ezekiel 16, the sins are not here attributed to Jerusalem (cf. Ezek 16:2–3), but to her children, i.e. the inhabitants of Jerusalem (cf. Bar 4:12b–13). In this way, there is not only a rehabilitation, or a release from guilt, but also a hypostasis of Jerusalem.

Further, in the second speech addressed to the neighbours of Zion (Bar 4:14–16), the (war-)captivity of the children of Jerusalem is illustrated in vivid and captivating words (cf. Bar 4:14). Here we again encounter the theme of the abandoned widow Jerusalem (Bar 4:16). Now the talk is no more of transgressions by the children of Jerusalem, but of the unrestrained behaviour of a people who have come from a distance, and are acting ruthlessly and disrespectfully towards the old people and children (Bar 4:15). Although this misfortune has been decreed and brought about by God or by the Eternal²³ himself (Bar 4:10b, 14b), this reference to the “distant nation” is designed to elicit a deep sympathy on the part of the neighbours of Zion not only for the children of Jerusalem, but also for Jerusalem herself. After having addressed these words to the neighbouring cities, Jerusalem now turns the message directly²⁴ to her own children in a mood of disappointment, and with an expression of her own sufferings (Bar 4:17–20). This passage opens with a sharp rhetorical question,²⁵

22 Although the metaphorical image of a wife with respect to (the people of) Israel is well attested in the prophetic literature (cf. Hos 1:2–3, 5; Jer 3:1–13), only Ezekiel 16 expressly uses this image with regard to Jerusalem. Of course one could, with Greenberg, equate Jerusalem with Israel in the context of marriage imagery in Ezekiel (cf. Greenberg, Ezekiel, 324). But the prophet does not expressly say so. However, it is common to all these passages that the metaphorical image of marriage is usually presented negatively.

23 When Jerusalem speaks (Bar 4:9b–29), she uses not only the term “God”, but also “the eternal” (ο αἰώνιος); cf. Bar 4:10, 14, 20, 22, 24. In Bar 4:8 we find the phrase “eternal God” (θεὸς αἰώνιος).

24 In this sense there is a parallel here with Bar 4:5–9a.

25 Introduced by εἰω δε (“but I”), which has to be understood as an adversative.

which accentuates the actual helplessness of Jerusalem towards her own children. As in Bar 4:15, her helplessness is justified by a reference to God, who has initiated the punishment and the disaster. But, at the same time, Jerusalem makes it clear that it is God alone who can reverse their misfortune. In anticipation of the impending end of the disaster, Jerusalem urgently summons her children to start making their way immediately (Bar 4:19a).²⁶ In the course of this literary process, Jerusalem describes her own wretched condition with passionate, appealing and sad words: she lies desolate and abandoned (Bar 4:19b); she has taken off the dress of peace, and put on the sackcloth of mourning (Bar 4:20a); finally she cries to God incessantly (Bar 4:20b). Jerusalem succeeds with these statements in showing her twofold loyalty, both towards her children and to God.

With Bar 4:21, a new section commences, and it again opens with the imperative acclamation "Be of good cheer" (θαρσευτε), which we have already seen in Bar 4:5. With this call, the city of Jerusalem once more turns expressly and emotionally to her children. In contrast to section Bar 4:9b–20, the situation of Jerusalem is now determined not by sorrow but by firm confidence. Conveyed together with this call is an invitation to cry unto God, because Jerusalem now has the firm confidence that the liberation of her children from the power of the enemy is imminent (Bar 4:21–22a). The children have themselves to beg God persistently and to cry out to him (βοαν). The reason for this firm confidence is the fact that Jerusalem has already experienced the mercy of God. This mercy will be revealed in the form of the salvation²⁷ of her children (Bar 4:22). The credibility of this statement is accentuated by the adverbial "very soon" (εὐ ταχει, Bar 4:22). It is also found, three times in all, in subsequent verses. Moreover, this encouraging statement is underlined by how solemnly Bar 4:22 speaks about God in closely succeeding terms: the Eternal, the Holy One, the Redeemer. Although Bar 4:23 underlines the sorrow of Jerusalem because of the continued exile of her children (cf. Bar 4), Jerusalem is now quite certain that she will get back her children as a joyful gift, and that this will be forever (Bar 4:23b). Sorrow and lamentation are followed by cheerfulness and joy,²⁸ brought about through the intervention of God himself (cf. Bar 4:9b). This transformation of Jerusalem is not hidden from the neighbouring cities. Just as they once wit-

²⁶ From a stylistic and syntactic point of view, this call consists of a vocative framed by two identical imperatives.

²⁷ Bar 4:22 consists of three parts. Both the first and the third part end with a hint of salvation: your salvation (την σωτηριαν υμων, Bar 4:22a); your saviour (σωτηρος υμων, Bar 4:22c). Corresponding to this, Bar 4:22a and 4:22c speak of God as "the eternal".

²⁸ Cf. the corresponding phrases in Bar 4:23.

nessed the captivity of the children of Jerusalem (Bar 4:14), so will they also take notice of their return from exile (Bar 4:24), and that will be “very soon” (ἐν τάχει). Furthermore, just as the circumstances of the deportation were grievous (Bar 4:15), so the return of the children will be like the solemn entry of a victorious sovereign into his city, accompanied by “great splendour”²⁹ and “radiance”.³⁰ It is worth noting that Jerusalem speaks not about “our God”, but about “your God”, when talking about her children, their liberation and their homecoming. After this auspicious announcement in Bar 4:25, the vocative “children” is used, as at the beginning of this section, and it marks a point of departure. In view of the imminent salvation of their children, they are now urged to endure the wrath of God with patience (Bar 4:25), especially because the destruction of the enemy is very near (ἐν τάχει). It is remarkable that within Bar 4:25 a grammatical change of the addressees takes place. Suddenly there is talk of the enemy who has persecuted “you” (singular). Who is this “you”? So far, the children have been always addressed in the second person plural, even in Bar 4:25. Does this change to “you” in Bar 4:25 mean an intensification in the form of address? There is also a change of number regarding the pronoun within Bar 5:25 itself. While at the beginning of the verse the enemy is mentioned in the singular – in the sense of a collective dimension – so at the end of the verse it is in the plural in the reference to their neck, upon which the children shall tread.³¹ Apart from the fact that we find here a reference to Deut 33:29 (LXX),³² the change in number³³ may equally well be interpreted as an intensification of gratification on the part of the children of Jerusalem.

Between the direct address to the children in Bar 4:25, and Bar 4:27, Bar 4:26 is inserted as a *dictum* of reflection. Jerusalem's repetitive talk about the deportation of their children is remarkable for the degree of love and sympathy that it expresses.³⁴ The children are called “my tender ones”,³⁵ if we translate τρυφερος³⁶ with “tender” and “lovely”.³⁷ They would also have fallen prey to the

²⁹ The “great sorrow” of Jerusalem (Bar 4:9b) is now matched by the “great glory” (Bar 4:24).

³⁰ The phrase “the radiance of the eternal” in Bar 4:24 is unique in the LXX. There are biblical parallels to this, but only a few; cf. Pss 89:17; 109:3.

³¹ Although the expression of putting your foot on the neck of the enemy is known in Josh 10:24 (LXX), the term “foot” is not used in Bar 4:25.

³² Nouns and pronouns are congruent in Deut 33:29.

³³ Steck, Baruchbuch, 218–219.

³⁴ Cf. Bar 4:10, 11b, 14, 16, 23a, 24a.

³⁵ Cf. Mic 1:16.

³⁶ Cf. Sus 31.

enemies (plural!) as victims without any guidance and protection. After this reflection, Jerusalem again turns insistently to her children and repeats the imperative call “Take courage, my children, call on God”, almost like a refrain. Unlike Bar 4:5, 21, the aorist tense is consequently used in Bar 4:27a (θαρησατε³⁸ ... βοησατε). In this way, the critical point, that is, the immediate liberation of the children of Jerusalem through God alone is also brought out grammatically.³⁹ The urgency of the rescue is expressed by the very compact form used in Bar 4:27b and may be regarded as brachylogy.⁴⁰ Bar 4:27b may be translated as follows: “he who brought this on you will remember you”. From the immediate context it is possible to apply this arrangement to the destruction of the enemies, which was spoken about two verses earlier. This destruction of the enemies simultaneously brings the deliverance of the children, who cry out to God. But the salvation also assumes that the children have a verifiable commitment to reversion. In order to compensate for the lapse from God, a tenfold,⁴¹ that is to say, a constant striving for reversion is necessary. This striving is for nothing but a seeking after God (Bar 4:28). Reversion here, not as in Deut 1:24, 40; 2:1; 3:1 (LXX), no longer carries a geographical but a theological sense, which corresponds to a searching for God.⁴²

The speech of Jerusalem to her children concludes with a refrain-like sentence (Bar 4:18), which again summarizes what has been already said with the appropriate keywords (Bar 4:29): hitherto disaster; in the future eternal joy associated with salvation. The speech of Jerusalem started with the reference to the great suffering inflicted by God. The speech ends with the prospect of her children’s eternal joy and salvation coming from God.

37 This is a term that is used mostly with ambivalence and rarely in the Septuagint; cf. Deut 28:54, 56; Isa 47:1, 8; 58:13; Jer 27:2.

38 This form is a *hapax legomenon* in the LXX, but also occurs in the New Testament.

39 For aorist use, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 8.293.

40 The word επαγοντος is a participle present tense active; genitive singular masculine, which represents a *genitivus absolutus*; cf. regarding participle present tense: Prov 26:11; Eccl 4:21; 2 Pet 2:1. Just as God has brought sorrow to Jerusalem (Bar 4:9b) and her children (Bar 4:10, 14, 15, 18), so will he let this happen to their enemies.

41 This verb δεκαπλασιαζειν is an absolute *hapax legomenon* in the LXX. It testifies to the word-coining-capability of the author as well as the editors of the book of Baruch.

42 Cf. Ezra 8:22; Pss 21:27; 118:2; Heb 11:6.

2.2 The second call of encouragement to Jerusalem (Bar 4:30–5:9)

In Bar 4:30 the anonymous prophetic speaker again takes up his oracle, this time by directing four encouragement calls to Jerusalem herself. These are formally structured in such a way that each of them starts with a direct address to Jerusalem.⁴³

2.2.1 First call (Bar 4:30–35)

In the first call of encouragement, the anonymous prophetic speaker comforts Jerusalem with the same words that Jerusalem herself had previously used to comfort her children. Three times consecutively, and very emotionally, a request for misfortune is expressed.⁴⁴ This request is aimed at those who brought Jerusalem to devastation and rejoiced over it; at the cities in which the children of Jerusalem were employed as slaves, and at the city, probably Babylon, which led away the sons of Jerusalem.⁴⁵ The sins of the children are no longer mentioned. The misery being announced for those enemy forces is contrasted with their former jubilation. Just as the misery of Jerusalem turns into real happiness, so the jubilation of the opponents of Jerusalem turns into actual misery.

2.2.2 Second call (Bar 4:36–37)

The second call of encouragement is reserved for the imminent joy of Jerusalem about the return of her children. Three times the word “coming” is used in the present tense: first about the coming of God’s joy, and twice about the coming, that is the return, of her sons (Bar 4:32). However, in this second call of encouragement there is a break with the first call of encouragement. For now it is Jerusalem herself, who had sent away their sons (Bar 4:37). This leads to a contrast to the first call of encouragement, where Jerusalem is mentioned as a city deprived of her children and sons (Bar 4:32).

⁴³ Cf. Corley, *Transformation*, 240–245.

⁴⁴ This concentration of requests for misfortune in the LXX is only attested in Bar 4:31, even although the adjective *δελαιος* in the LXX occurs five times; cf. Hos 7:13; Neh 3:7.

⁴⁵ Cf. Steck, *Buch*, 65.

2.2.3 Third call (Bar 5:1–4)

The third call deals with the question of the restoration of Jerusalem and the complete reestablishment of her royal dignity.⁴⁶ Three times in this section the word “forever” appears. In contrast to the sackcloth of mourning (Bar 4:20), Jerusalem will now clothe herself in the magnificence of glory (Bar 4:23), and that will be forever (Bar 5:1). Jerusalem receives from God an unsurpassable programmatic name (Bar 5:4) lasting eternally. This can be granted and guaranteed only by the one who himself is the Eternal. This is because he is the one who has created the world for all time (Bar 5:2) and whose law is forever (Bar 4:1).

2.2.4 Fourth call (Bar 5:5–9)

The fourth call of encouragement sounds like a solemn and final chord and like a summary of the three previously issued calls. Like a chorus, Jerusalem is asked to look to the east (Bar 4:36).⁴⁷ The children of Jerusalem are already filled with joy (χαίροντας, present tense participle) because God has remembered them (Bar 5:5); God himself is leading them back (επισταγει, Bar 5:6). The uniqueness and the significance of this event is shown by the fact that God makes changes in well-structured nature and places it entirely at the service of the returning children of Israel (Bar 5:7), just like in the escape from Egypt. The last words of Baruch underline that fact that all of this is grace. It is righteousness, paired with mercy that comes from God.

Abstract

The narrator of the so-called book of Baruch ultimately remains unknown. What is more, the book speaks about Baruch himself only in the third person. Beginning at Bar 4:5, two different messages are delivered. First, an ultimately unidentifiable prophetic speaker conveys his message in Bar 4:5–9a and in Bar 4:30–5:9. This narrator then lets Jerusalem, who is incarnated as mother and widow, have her say in Bar 4:9b–4:29. The highly emotional speech of Jerusa-

⁴⁶ Cf. Steck, Buch, 65.

⁴⁷ Parallels are found in Isa 60:4 and Ps 11:2. The question whether these are patterns or even dependencies remains open.

lem expresses in a very colourful way the departure of her children into exile and their happy return from that exile because of the Eternal's grace. This dense language is almost without parallel in the Septuagint, although there are affinities with other biblical books. It is not these affinities but the composition that is in the end crucial.

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Beate Ego

Prayer and Emotion in the Septuagint of Esther

It is a well-known fact that the Greek version of the Esther narrative as it appears in the Septuagint differs from its equivalent in the Hebrew Bible by its so-called additions¹ and its somewhat significant changes to the Hebrew text.² In the Greek Esther version, as often emphasized, the theological understanding of events plays a prominent role.³ Furthermore, the additions of the royal decree to annihilate the Jews (Addition B) and the counter decree (Addition E) emphasize the historical credibility of the events.⁴ Whereas these two aspects have frequently been the focus of research, another characteristic of the Greek Esther narrative has been widely neglected. In contrast to the Hebrew book of Esther, the Greek version in the Septuagint emphasizes the characters' emotions, a phenomenon that this article seeks to explore in greater depth. The figure of Esther and her prayer play an especially prominent role within this framework of the protagonists' emotions. For this reason, I will first address the narrator's presentation of Esther in her prayer (Addition C) and the so-called audience scene according to which Esther appears before the king unsummoned (Addition D). Hence, the first part of my contribution focuses on the literary level and is of a descriptive nature. In addition to demonstrating how the figure of Esther expresses her emotions in the Septuagint version, I will also examine the

1 I.e. Addition A: Mordecai has a dream and uncovers a conspiracy; Addition B: Text of the first royal letter; Addition C: Prayer of Mordecai – Prayer of Queen Esther; Addition D: Esther appears unsummoned before the king; Addition E: Text of the second royal letter; Addition F: Interpretation of Mordechai's dream (cf. Moore, *Daniel*, *passim*).

2 To give but one example: D 1–16 and its narration of Esther's audience with the king. LXX Deutsch provides a good and concise overview and italicizes the differences from the Hebrew text. It is important to stress that the Septuagint Esther has to be regarded as a text with literary integrity; on this, cf. the contribution by Zsengellér, *Addition*; see also Boyd-Taylor, *Esther's Great Adventure*, 81–82; Day, *Faces*, 28; deSilva, *Apocrypha*, 113, 120–122, Marböck, *Gebet*, 73–74, Wahl, *Buch*, 38.

3 This was already pointed out by Strack, *Einleitung*, 162. For more recent research, see Moore, *Daniel*, 158–159; Kaiser, *Apokryphen*, 46–47; Mittmann-Richert, *Erzählungen*, 103–110; Middlemas, *Esthers*, 152. By way of contrast, cf. Clines, *Esther Scroll*, 169–172, who sees the main purpose of the revised version as an adjustment of the Esther narration to match a “scriptural norm”; the aspect of theologization, however, also represents a key element. For more details on this, see Schmitz, *Ende*, 275–296.

4 Cf. Middlemas, *Esthers*, 146–147.

emotions as expressed by the voice of the narrator in the introduction to the prayer and in the passage concerning Esther's audience with the king. In the second part of this paper, I will investigate the function of emotions within the narrative. In this context, it will become apparent that the Septuagint version of Esther demonstrates an interesting interplay between the narrator's and the figures' voices, underlining the theological impact of the story. Finally, I will attempt to view the description of the emotions as expressed in the Septuagint Esther within the cultural framework of the Hellenistic world and as a result of the encounter between Greek and Jewish culture and religion. This article should therefore be regarded as a contribution to the field of historical psychology, which has received scant attention until now,⁵ and it will place emphasis on the change from "Hebrew" to "Greek" anthropology.⁶

1 The descriptive level: Emotions as depicted in the narrative of the Esther Septuagint

1.1 Esther's expression of emotions

If we wish to examine how the protagonist Queen Esther expresses her emotions, the prayer of Esther⁷ necessarily becomes the focus of attention because it is the only longer text in the narration that reveals something about her inner feelings.

As I. Kottsieper pointed out in his commentary, Esther's prayer consists of two layers. The first layer resembles the collective lament. These verses are characterized by their poetical form and their use of the first person plural, which could be referred to as the "we-style" (C 14 beginning; 16*–23a, 25 beginning; 29 end; 30). This part is adapted to Esther's particular and individual situation by

⁵ Generally cf. Gillmayr-Bucher, *Emotion; von Gemüden, Überlegungen; von Gemüden, Affekt; Egger-Wenzel/Corley, Emotions; Wagner, Emotionen*.

⁶ Not many works focus on the different descriptions of emotions in the Hebrew Bible or the Septuagint; to cite just some examples, see the survey by Rösel, *Mensch, or Wagner, Emotionen*, 39–64, who more generally differentiates between a Hebrew and a Greek or Western concept of rage.

⁷ For more details on Esther's prayer, see Marböck, *Gebet*, 78–92; see also Moore, *Daniel*, 208–215, Steck/Kratz/Kottsieper, *Buch*, 166–178; Schorch, *Piety*, 32–39; Day, *Faces*, 63–84 (with a focus on the characterization of the figure of Esther). See also the general overview provided by McDowell, *Prayers*, 37–41.

way of prosaic embellishments as well as passages that voice Esther's perspective in the first person singular (15, 16 beginning; 23b, 25b–28).⁸

It seems striking that, in the prayer itself, we find only one passage where Esther explicitly expresses her feelings, namely, at the end of her prayer in its individual part. Here, Esther asks for encouragement and the ability to find the right words to address the “lion”, i.e. the king who appears to be superior and dangerous, and to change his mind so that he will fight against her adversary and his supporters (C 24). The addition C 25b introduces the paragraph in which Esther deals with the problems resulting from her marriage to a pagan king. She explicitly states that she is able to adhere to the Jewish dietary laws at the court of the foreign king; she also distances herself from sexual contact with an uncircumcised man by saying:

C 25 You know everything 26 so you know that I hate the pomp of the wicked, and I loathe the bed of the uncircumcised – and of any foreigner. 27 You know my ‘duty’: that I loathe that symbol of my exalted position which is upon my head. When I appear at court – I loathe it like a menstrual rag – I do not wear it when I am not at court. 28 Your maid servant has not dined at Haman’s table, nor have I extolled a royal party nor drunk the wine of libations. 29 From the day I arrived here until now, your maid servant has not delighted in anything except you, Lord, the God of Abraham. 30 God, whose might prevails over all, hear the voice of the despairing, and save us from the hands of the wicked! And, Lord, protect me from my fears.⁹

This is a fairly obvious expression of Esther's despair and fears. However, her fears are not the main topic of this paragraph; she rather expresses her feeling of disgust and revulsion at having to deal with her non-Jewish husband and at her royal title. The depth of her loathing for the pagan monarchy and her own title is probably best embodied by the Greek term βδελύσσομαι, since this expression, and the related term βδέλυγμα, is used in the Septuagint to refer to things that are ritually impure. Special emphasis is given to specific pagan elements that, according to biblical traditions, are particularly repulsive to God.¹⁰

The statement that Esther loathes her royal crown is, of course, even more drastic, especially if we consider the comparison with a sanitary towel – an image that can hardly be any more revolting. By expressing her feelings like this and by using this image, Esther is able to counteract all suspicion that she enjoys being a queen. According to I. Kottspieper, the image of the sanitary towel can be used here because it implies an argument that emphasizes Esther's situation:

⁸ Cf. Steck/Kratz/Kottspieper, Buch, 166–169.

⁹ Quoted according to Moore, Daniel, 209.

¹⁰ Cf. Foerster, βδελύσσομαι, 598–600.

just as the menstrual period defiles a woman, without any fault on her part and without denying her the status of a devout Jew, Esther's situation is portrayed as some sort of defilement for which, however, she cannot be made responsible. She finds herself in an unavoidable predicament.¹¹ To some extent, this makes Esther a tragic figure. Because of her marriage to a pagan king, she is unable to live wholly according to Jewish laws. By expressing her contempt for her own lifestyle and distancing herself from it, an attempt is made to exonerate her and to make her appear as a protagonist of the symbol system of the Jewish religion.

1.2 The narrator's description of Esther's emotions

Other statements about Esther's emotional state may be found in the narrative frame of this prayer. In the introduction to the prayer, the narrator's voice can be heard to say:

C 12 Queen Esther was terrified and sought refuge in the Lord. 13 She took off her stately robes and put on clothes appropriate for distress and mourning, and instead of extravagant perfumes she covered her head with ashes and dung. She debased her body completely, and she covered with her disheveled hair those parts which she ordinarily loved to adorn.¹²

The introduction to this paragraph states that Esther is "seized with mortal anguish" and seeks refuge in God, creating a dramatic framework for the prayer. The prayer is accompanied by rites of self-humiliation as Esther puts on "garments of distress and mourning" and neglects her personal appearance. She does not wear any jewellery and her hair is tangled.¹³ Although the narrator does not explicitly address the protagonist's feelings, the description of her clothing as "garments of distress and mourning" and the mention of mortal anguish clearly allude to the emotional side of Esther's situation. It seems unnecessary to elaborate on her mortal anguish and extreme state of desperation.

Following Esther's prayer, the narrator speaks again and describes in Addition D how Esther goes to the king accompanied by her maids.

D 1 On the third day, when she had finished praying, she took off the clothing of a suppliant and dressed herself in a splendid attire. 2 After she had called upon the all-seeing God and saviour, she, looking absolutely radiant, took two maids, 3 leaning daintily on the

11 Cf. Steck/Kratz/Kottsieper, Buch, 176.

12 Quoted according to Moore, Daniel, 208.

13 Cf. Marböck, Gebet, 82.

one, 4 while the other followed carrying her train. 5 She was radiant, in the prime of her beauty, and her face was assured as one who knows she is loved, but her heart was pounding with fear.

6 When she had passed through all the doors, she stood before the king. He was seated on this royal throne, arrayed in all his splendid attire, all covered with gold and precious stones – a most formidable sight! 7 Raising his face, flushed with color, he looked at her in fiercest anger. The queen stumbled, turned pale and fainted, keeling over on the maid who went before her.¹⁴

After God has changed the king's spirit to gentleness, he inquires about her situation and she responds that she saw the king "like an angel of God" (D 13) and that she was "upset" (D 13) by his "awesome appearance" (D 13), because he was "wonderful" (D 14) and his "face was full of graciousness" (D 14). The passage closes with the words: "And as she spoke, she sagged with relief. The king was upset, and all his court tried to reassure her."¹⁵

The motif of Esther's fear is the common thread in this paragraph. Her heart is anxious and her fear is increased by the terrifying and awesome appearance of the king. Esther even confirms in her own words that she is afraid when she talks to the king. Once more, these feelings are reflected by her body. At the beginning of this paragraph there is a discrepancy between Esther's beauty and gracefulness and her emotional state, while in this context, the sudden feeling of faintness mirrors her fear and distress.

It is possible to draw an initial conclusion regarding the description of Esther's feelings at this point in the Septuagint version of the Esther story. The motif of fear is a defining element within the entire ensemble of traditions. While this motif is at the centre of the prayer's framework, it is, in the prayer itself, a rather constant voice in the background. However, in Esther's actual prayer, her hatred and disgust of her royal position are particularly emphasized. Bearing in mind that Esther is in mortal danger, the use of this motif is rather surprising and thus carries even more emphasis than in the case of the drastic comparison between the crown and a sanitary towel.

¹⁴ Quoted according to Moore, Daniel, 216.

¹⁵ D 15–16; quoted according to Moore, Daniel, 217.

2 Stressing the theological impact of the Esther story

In view of the above, we may address the function of the representation of emotions as a second step. If the passages presented in the context to hand are the only passages that focus on Esther's feelings, even presenting them very dramatically, then these statements seem to have the task of drawing attention. They serve to draw the readers' and listeners' attention to Esther's prayer. This correlates with the significance that Esther's prayer assumes in a theological respect. The prayer does not acquire its significance solely by its length or prominent position within the narrative. Rather, as J. Marböck has pointed out, Esther's prayer plays a central role in the Septuagint Esther because almost all the theological threads of the entire narrative converge on the prayer. Among the themes contained in Esther's prayer, particular mention should be made of the choosing of Israel, faithfulness to the Jewish law and the exclusive worship of the one God.¹⁶ When it specially comes to Esther's feelings, it should be stressed that there is an internal connection between her fear and her disassociation from her role as queen and wife of a pagan ruler with the result that her revulsion against her role as queen exonerates her and therefore encourages God – at least implicitly – to intervene and save her.

3 Esther's emotions in a cultural context

If we wish to place these observations on the emotions of Esther in the Septuagint into a broader context, different aspects need to be elaborated. Firstly, it is important to note that the emotional attitude of the narrative fits in well with the overall historical context and cultural environment of Hellenistic Judaism, which is the place of origin of the Greek version. In the context of the binding of Isaac, the scholar of Romance languages and literature, E. Auerbach, stated in his classical work *Mimesis* that the Hebrew style of narration is very reserved when it comes to portraying the inner perspective, whereas the Greek method of narration provides more depth in this regard.¹⁷

¹⁶ Cf. Marböck, *Gebet*, 91.

¹⁷ Cf. Auerbach, *Mimesis*.

If we continue E. Auerbach's line of thought, it is even possible to say that we owe this focus on the description of emotions to the Greek world.¹⁸ It is therefore not a coincidence that the Greek version of the Esther narrative, which probably dates back to the second century BCE, shows the influence of Greek preferences and a Greek approach to the world and to the image of the human being. In an essay published in 1963, R. Stiehl already emphasized these connections and stressed the literary proximity of the Greek Esther narrative to the Greek novel.¹⁹ Moreover, in an article that mainly focuses on Esth LXX 2:7, C. Boyd-Taylor also recently drew attention to this cultural and literary context of the Esther narrative.²⁰ To use his words, the development of emotions may be regarded as a "literary assimilation of the narrative to the popular fiction of his [i.e. the author's] time, namely the prose romance of late Hellenism."²¹ The author concludes from the statement that Mordechai brought Esther up and that she and Mordechai had been in love; Esther's marriage to the Persian king would therefore imply that the lovers had been separated. To quote C. Boyd-Taylor once again, however, this is one "of the most distinctive features of the Greek romantic novel,"²² carrying forward, as it does, the portrayal of larger emotions and the further plot that strives for a reunification of the couple. The Greek Esther narrative may therefore be seen as the product of a "time of profound socio-cultural transition."²³

C. Boyd-Taylor thus concludes: "Since there is only fragmentary evidence for the production or editing of Jewish prose narrative during this period some have spoken of a 'Dark Age' in Jewish Literature. Of course, it is unlikely that there was a break in literary activity as such; yet, history is silent, and this might suggest that Jewish literacy culture was without a coherent force or direction at this time. One thing is clear, however, namely, that during this period of latency, a new class of Jewish readers was emerging, a cosmopolitan one firmly situated in the 'push and shove' of life in the great Hellenistic empires. And so by about 200 BCE, with the renewal of significant Jewish literary activity, we would expect an accommodation on the part of Jewish authors to the imaginative needs of this generation. We need not posit a dramatic change in the substance of Jewish story telling; the same sort of stories no doubt continued to be told, stories based on biblical and Persian epic models. Yet, with the advent of a new readership, these stories were likely

18 In this context, cf. Snell, *Entdeckung*, 269. For further reference to this topic, see Plamper, *Geschichte*, 24–25. On emotions in the Greek world, see also Chaniotis, *Emotions*; Konstan, *Emotions*.

19 Cf. Altheim/Stiehl, *Sprache*, 195–213.

20 Cf. Boyd-Taylor, *Esther's Great Adventure*, 81–113.

21 Boyd-Taylor, *Esther's Great Adventure*, 99–100.

22 Boyd-Taylor, *Esther's Great Adventure*, 101.

23 Boyd-Taylor, *Esther's Great Adventure*, 104.

construed to serve new purposes. The redaction of LXX-Esther is to be understood in terms of these purposes.”²⁴

In this context, it is also interesting to note the close parallels between the audience scene and the Ninus Romance, brought to our attention by L.M. Wills. That work contains a passage that describes the emotions and fear of a young woman who encounters her aunt Thambe in a fashion that is similar to the dramatic tone in Esther’s audience scene. It states as follows:

The maiden, however, though her feelings were similar, had no eloquence comparable to Ninus as she stood before [her aunt] Thambe. For as a virgin living within the women’s quarters she was unable to fashion her arguments with such finesse. Asking for a chance to speak to her, she burst into tears and had something ready to say; but before she could begin she would cut herself short. For whenever she spontaneously signaled her desire to speak, she would open her lips and look up as if about to say something, but no complete word came out. Tears burst out and a blush spread over her cheeks as she shrunk from what she wanted to say. When of a sudden she began again to try to speak, her cheeks grew pale with fear. For she was between fear and desire and hope and shame; so while her emotions were being strengthened, the conviction to express them was wanting. (Ninus, frag. A. IV, 20–V, 4)²⁵

Apart from the cultural setting of the Septuagint Esther, we should mention the religio-historical context of the description of emotions. This aspect may be ascertained if we address the actual content of Esther’s speech. As U. Mittmann-Richert clearly emphasized in her characterization of the Greek Esther version, the theological editing of the material is more than merely a reaction to the fact that the Hebrew text does not contain an explicit speech by God. The theological key to understanding this narrative lies in the realization that the Greek Esther version can be explained in its specific historical context of religious persecution only during the time of the Maccabees.²⁶ Israel experienced God’s absence from Zion during the Maccabean crisis with the religious persecution under Antioch IV, as well as the desecration of the sanctuary. At the same time, Israel recognized their sin in having exposed themselves to Hellenism. Esther therefore becomes, in her prayer, a representative of her people’s sin, and it seems fairly evident that she has to distance herself from this sin in order to achieve the salvation of her people. The brutal, downright and suggestive comparison between crown and sanitary towel expresses Esther’s impurity and is also an

²⁴ Boyd-Taylor, *Esther’s Great Adventure*, 105.

²⁵ Quoted according to the Ninus translation by Stephens/Winkler, *Novels*, 41–42; the reference to this text is given by Wills, *Novellas*, 161.

²⁶ Cf. Mittmann-Richert, *Erzählungen*, 103.

acknowledgement of her guilt; at the same time, the highly emotional character of her speech expresses her inner distance from the pagan world at the royal house. In this context, it is to be noted, in particular, that Esther at prayer uses terminology that plays an important role in the overall context of the Hellenistic crisis. Her statement that she despises (cf. the term *βδελύσσομαι*) her matrimonial bed and royal crown (C 26, 27) is an intertextual allusion to the abomination of desolation (1 Macc 1:57, 6:7) that was installed on the altar of the Temple in Jerusalem during the Hellenistic reforms.

Assuming that the narrator is reflecting his own world view through his characters, the general text expresses a certain distance from, or even contempt for, Greek culture and religion. The depiction of Esther's feelings clearly reveals the complexity of the portrayal of emotions in the Greek Esther tradition because of the remarkable fact that the narrator of the Septuagint Esther expresses his own dissociation from the Greek world by way of resorting to Hellenistic storytelling and the related anthropology.

To summarize: the author of the Book of Esther demonstrates Esther's fear of the king and her disgust at her royal status. To some extent, Esther's role is rather ambivalent: on the one hand, she is connected to the non-Jewish world through her marriage to the Persian king, which she cannot reconcile with the traditional Jewish religious system as she cannot keep the Jewish purity laws. On the other hand, it becomes apparent that Esther distances herself from the non-Jewish world; she even despises it. In this way, she is excused from blame. Apart from this aspect of content, the presentation of Esther's emotions in her prayer and during her audience with the king has the function of drawing the readers' and listeners' attention to this highly important piece of theology in the Greek version. We can place this feature within the general framework of the Hellenistic-Jewish encounter, demonstrating clearly that we are dealing with a fairly sophisticated structure. By referring to Esther's emotions, the author of the Greek Esther uses Hellenistic anthropology and style as a means of distancing himself from contact with the Hellenistic world.

Abstract

In contrast to the Hebrew Book of Esther, the Greek version in the Septuagint emphasizes the emotions of the characters. This aspect is analyzed in this paper on different levels. Whilst, on the one hand, it will be demonstrated how the characters in the Septuagint version express their emotions, it will also be explained on the other hand how the emotions as expressed through the voice of

the narrator are described. In this context, the figure of Esther and her prayer will play a highly prominent role.

A central feature of the Esther-Septuagint will be exposed, that is, the particular interplay between the voices of the narrator and the figures which underlines the theological impact of the story. Finally, it will be made clear that the description and expression of emotions in the Esther Septuagint may be regarded within the cultural framework of the Hellenistic world that results from the intersection between Greek and Jewish culture. Although the Greek book of Esther reflects the influence of the Greek novel, it also shows its dissociation from the Greek world and its values.

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Michael W. Duggan

1 Maccabees: Emotions of Life and Death in Narrative and Lament

The author of 1 Maccabees was primarily a historian and secondarily a theologian. His extensive quotations of Israel's diplomatic correspondence with Rome, Sparta, and the Seleucid monarchs contrast with his few citations of biblical texts. His preoccupation with events supersedes his attention to interpersonal relationships. His narrative consists of action-oriented episodes with a paramount focus on the uniqueness of each setting in time and place as well as the elaboration of military and diplomatic strategies, movements of armies and peoples, decisions of leaders, and final outcomes. He mentions God sporadically and he references Scripture mostly by allusions.

Given the author's propensity to focus on the external world, his notations of emotions afford rare glimpses of his perceptions into the interior lives of human beings. Moreover, in a sweeping global narrative that surveys the panorama of Israel's landscape and scans the international horizon from Jerusalem to Rome, his references to feelings redirect the reader's attention to the unique experiences of individuals. Furthermore, his affective language usually exhibits a subtle theological texture. An examination of emotions in 1 Maccabees affords insight into the unique way this historian – who was a Jewish nationalist and Hasmonean advocate – profiles the dispositions of friend and foe at the turn of the first century BCE.

I investigate the emotional dynamics of 1 Maccabees by attending to the genres of narrative and lament. I begin with comments on the date, authorship, intention and design of the book as a whole. I then survey the affective contours of the complete narrative by concentrating on the feelings that distinguish the Jewish protagonists from their Jewish and Gentile adversaries. Against this background, I focus on the five laments that punctuate the narrative prior to the opening battle when Judas Maccabeus engages the Seleucid forces at Emmaus (1:24b–28, 36–40; 2:7–13; 3:45, 50b–53; cf. 4:1–25).

1 Authorship, message and design of 1 Maccabees

Internal evidence suggests that 1 Maccabees was composed at the beginning of the first century BCE, certainly before Pompey's siege of Jerusalem in 63 BCE, and

probably very early in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus as high priest (103–76 BCE).¹ The author was a historian (and possibly a diplomat) who wrote 1 Maccabees to describe the transformation of Israel from a territory under foreign occupation into an autonomous nation ruled by Jews.² He profiles this emerging Jewish state as a legitimate participant in international affairs, both in partnerships with Rome and Sparta abroad and also in on-going struggles with Syria and Egypt closer to home. He argues that political and cultural nationalism is the heritage the Hasmoneans bequeathed to the Jewish people. The original text in Hebrew was the author's contribution to the culture of Jewish nationalism. In analogous fashion, the Greek translation fitted nicely into the literary repertoire of Hellenistic Judaism in so far as it reflected the dignity of the Septuagint. This version – which may have been produced under the author's direction – communicated to Jewish and Gentile audiences across the Hellenistic world the message that Israel was a player in global politics.³

The author presents the case that Israel's emergence onto the world stage was due to the courage and acumen of Judas, Jonathan and Simon, who were inspired by their father, Mattathias, to forge an independent Jewish state. In the process, they inaugurated the Hasmonean dynasty.⁴ The story of this family is the story of Jewish nationalism. The narrative consists of two halves (1:1–9:22; 9:23–16:24), each of which ends with a note on the bravery of a deceased Hasmonean, Judas early on and John Hyrcanus in the end (9:22; 16:23–24).⁵ The

1 The thoroughly favourable profile of Roman authorities in 1 Maccabees rules out a date close to Pompey's invasion of Jerusalem in 63 BCE (cf. 1 Macc 8:1–16, 17–32; 12:1–4; 14:16–19, 40; 15:16). First Maccabees ends with a reference to the posthumous annals of the high priest John Hyrcanus (135–104 BCE), the father of Alexander Jannaeus (1 Macc 16:23–24). On the actual relationship between the Hasmoneans and Rome, see Mandell, *Maccabees*, 211–220.

2 Judas, his followers, and Simon speak of “our nation” (τοῦ ἕθους ἡμῶν 3:59; 9:29; 16:3). In official correspondence with Jonathan and Simon, Seleucid kings refer to “your nation” (τὸ ἕθνος σου 10:20; 15:9) and “the nation of the Jews” (τῆ ἕθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων 11:33). The author may have written 1 Maccabees as a polemical defence of the Jewish nation in response to portrayals of Israel as xenophobic and superstitious by contemporary Greek authors. For example, Posidonius of Apamea and Diodorus Siculus, who were contemporaries of Alexander Jannaeus, lauded Antiochus IV Epiphanes for Hellenizing Jerusalem and Judah. See Barbu, *Sacking*, 40–42.

3 On the textual issues about the Hebrew original and the Greek translation, see Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, 16–9; deSilva, *Massage*, 246–247, and Harrington, *Invitation*, 123.

4 Schwartz (Note, 305–309) suggests that the Hasmoneans were originally powerful landowners in Modein. Goldstein (1 Maccabees, 69–78) views 1 Maccabees as “propaganda” in support of the Hasmonean claims to the high priesthood and regency in Judah. For the priestly heritage of the Hasmoneans according to 1 Maccabees, see Schofield/VanderKam, *Hasmoneans*, 74–87.

5 Cf. Williams, *Structure*, 128–137.

first half unfolds in three parts: (1) a brief overview of the world that Alexander the Great bequeathed to his generals (1:1–9); (2) Mattathias’s revolt against Antiochus IV Epiphanes (1:10–2:70); and (3) the campaigns of Judas Maccabeus (3:1–9:22). The second half also consists of three parts: (1) Jonathan’s regency as high priest (9:23–12:53); (2) Simon’s accomplishments as high priest (13:1–16:17); and (3) a brief account of John Hyrcanus’s succession to the high priesthood (16:18–24). Judas is the outstanding protagonist in the first half, whereas Jonathan and Simon share the spotlight in the second half.⁶ The following analysis will indicate that the language of feelings is more concentrated in the first half than in the second half of the narrative.

2 Emotions in narrative: Jews and their adversaries

The author is at pains to distinguish Jews from Gentiles. He identifies “Jews” (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) as the indigenous residents of Judea and Jerusalem who observe Torah and are loyal to Mattathias and his sons. Their adversaries comprise a variety of groups including (a) Antiochus IV Epiphanes and other Seleucid monarchs, their governors and commanders, and their armies in so far as they are inimical to the Hasmoneans; (b) the surrounding nations that make war on Judas and his brothers (5:24–44; 12:53; cf. 13:6); (c) the Gentiles who inhabit the citadel (ἄκρα); (d) the priest Alcimus and his allies (7:5–25);⁷ and (e) Jews who are loyal to the Seleucids.⁸ The author reserves the term “Gentiles” (τὰ ἔθνη) for the non-Jewish adversaries of the Hasmoneans.⁹ He does not deem all non-Jews as

⁶ In summary, the family narrative (1 Macc 2:1–16:22) spans some 33 years from the rebellion of Mattathias (167 BCE) to the campaigns of Judas Maccabeus (166–160 BCE), and subsequently the governance of Judah by his brothers Jonathan (160–142 BCE) and Simon (142–134 BCE), with a final note on the accession of John Hyrcanus to the high priesthood (134 BCE).

⁷ The author apparently concedes that Alcimus had a licit pedigree for his office (1 Macc 7:14). However, he portrays Alcimus and his followers as “ungodly” since they became allies of the Seleucid governor, Bacchides, against Judas (ἄσεβής 7:5, 9; cf. 7:4–25; 9:1, 54–57).

⁸ The author variously describes these Jews as “lawless” (παράνομοι 1:11, 34; 10:61; 11:21), “sinners” (ἁμαρτωλοί 1:34; 2:44, 48, 62), and “ungodly Israelites” (ἄσεβῶν ἐξ Ἰσραηλ 6:21; 7:5, 9; 9:25, 73). For a discussion of Jewish identity in 1 Maccabees, see Scolnic, *Mattathias*, 476–483. Bickerman (*God*, 90–91) views the Maccabean conflict as principally a civil war between observant and unorthodox Jews.

⁹ The first seven chapters of 1 Maccabees contain 40 of the 42 occurrences, which the NRSV translates τὰ ἔθνη as “Gentiles” (1:11, 13, 14, 15, 42; 2:12, 18, 40, 44, 48, 68; 3:10, 25, 26, 45, 48,

enemies. He speaks favourably about the leaders and populaces of Rome, Sparta and other Mediterranean military powers that negotiate pacts of mutual understanding with the Hasmoneans. He never refers to these Hasmonean allies as “Gentiles.”

Jews differ from Gentiles in disposition and feeling. 1 Maccabees is the story of the Jews achieving honour to replace their former shame. The author introduces this theme in the first three laments (1:24b–28, 36–40; 2:7–13).¹⁰ The aim of the Maccabean campaigns is to win honour for God and country. Mattathias establishes adherence to Torah (ὁ νόμος) as the resource that energizes the Jews to attain honour (δοξασθῆναι 2:64; cf. 2:21, 26, 27, 42, 48, 50, 58, 67, 68).¹¹ Previously, he had rejected the temptation of a false honour that the Seleucids had promised (2:18). When restoring the Temple, the priests dismantle the altar of incense, which pagan sacrifices had defiled, in order to free the Jewish memory from disgrace (ὄνειδος 4:45). The ceremony of rededication marks the removal of the shame that the Gentiles had perpetrated on the Jews (ὄνειδισμός ἐθνῶν 4:58).¹² After regaining control of the Temple, Judas and his brothers win the esteem of Jews and Gentiles alike through their victories on the battlefield (δοξάζω 5:63). Eventually, even the Seleucid kings laud the family of Mattathias. Alexander Balas bestows titles upon Jonathan (δοξάζω 10:65, 88). Demetrius follows suit in honouring Jonathan and the Jews (δοξάζω 11:51; cf. 14:38–39). The Jewish people celebrate the glory that Simon has bequeathed to the nation (δόξα μεγάλη 14:29; cf. 14:21).

The bifurcation of emotions that distinguishes the protagonists from the antagonists originates in their distinctive forms of existence in the world. Apparently, only Jews have “lives” since the seven occurrences of the noun ψυχή refer to Jews and no one else (1:48; 2:40, 50; 3:21, 31; 9:44; 13:5). In the category of negative emotions, only Jews experience distress (θλίψις 5:16; 6:11; 9:27; 12:13;

52, 58; 4:7, 11, 14, 45, 54, 58, 60; 5:1, 9, 10, 15, 19, 21, 22, 38, 43, 57, 63; 6:18, 53; 7:23; cf. 13:41; 14:36). Therefore the term mainly designates the non-Jewish adversaries loyal to Antiochus IV Epiphanes during the missions of Mattathias and Judas.

10 The first lament ends with the “shame” that metaphorically clothes the Israelites (αἰσχύνη 1 Macc 1:28). The second lament evaluates the Gentile occupation of the citadel as defacing Jerusalem’s former honour (ἡ τιμή 1:39). In the third lament, Mattathias describes the Jerusalem Temple as “a husband lacking honour” (ἐγένετο ὁ ναὸς αὐτῆς ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄδοξος 2:8).

11 Of the 26 occurrences of “the law” (ὁ νόμος), 19 are in the narrative that culminates in the Temple cleansing (1:49, 52, 56, 57; 2:21, 26, 27, 42, 48, 50, 58, 64, 67, 68; 3:48, 56; 4:42, 47, 53), two relate to the era of Jonathan (10:14, 37) and the remaining five refer to Simon’s implementation of “the law” in Judah (13:3, 48; 14:14, 29; 15:21).

12 In contrast to the Maccabean successes, the Seleucid governor, Apollonius, cannot erase the shame of his defeat at the hands of Jonathan and Simon (ὄνειδισμός 10:70; cf. 10:74–89).

13:5). And Jews are the only people who mourn, as the seven occurrences of the verb “to mourn” and five of six occurrences of the cognate noun refer exclusively to Jewish experiences (πενθέω 1:27; 2:14, 39; 9:20; 12:52 [2x]; 13:26; πένθος 1:25, 39, 40; 3:51; 12:52).¹³

The author legitimates Jewish anger as the appropriate response of the Maccabees to the offences that the Seleucid regime and its allies have perpetrated against the Temple and observant Jews. Mattathias’s rage, which derives from his zeal for the law, propels him to civil disobedience against the desecration of the Temple and the prohibition of Jewish practices, which the foreigners are imposing (2:24, 44).

Furthermore, a cluster of positive emotions distinguishes the Jews from all other people. The author ascribes joy only to Jews, since the ten occurrences of the noun εὐφροσύνη exclusively refer to experiences of the Jewish leaders and populace (3:2; 4:56, 58, 59; 5:23, 54; 7:48; 10:66; 13:52; 14:11). The two occurrences of the noun “gladness” bespeak the delight of Jews on the annual festival of Ḥanukkah and in going up to Mount Zion (χαρά 4:59; 5:54). The joy at the Temple dedication indicates a transformation in the people in so far as they become free of the “disgrace” (ὄνειδισμός), which the observant Jews suffered when the forces of Antiochus had occupied the city, established their Jewish allies as residents of the citadel, and prohibited Sabbath observance (4:58; cf. 1:39, 43). The joyous atmosphere of Ḥanukkah carries over to two other occasions: the annual observance of Judas’s victory over Nicanor and Simon’s reclaiming of the citadel (1 Macc 7:48–49; 13:49–53).¹⁴

Courage is a distinctive virtue of the Jews that is never found among their adversaries. The theme originates in Mattathias’s exhortation that his sons be courageous in confronting their adversaries (ἀνδρίζομαι 2:64). Judas follows his father’s example by exhorting his followers not to fear their adversaries (μὴ φοβηθῆτε 2:62; 4:8; μὴ φοβεῖσθε 3:22; μὴ δειλωθῆτε 4:8; cf. γίνεσθε εἰς υἰοὺς δυνατοῦς 3:58). John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, reflects the fortitude of Judas

¹³ The author mentions the “mourning” of the antagonists only once, in a stock phrase that underlines the heroism of Jonathan and Simon for avenging the death of their brother John by ambushing the Jambri family, thereby turning their wedding into an occasion of “mourning” (πένθος 9:41).

¹⁴ Simon’s seizure of the citadel represents the culmination of the Maccabean campaigns (13:49–53). The narrative recalls the capture and dedication of the Temple by Judas’s forces through these common features: (a) defeat of Gentile occupiers (13:49–50; cf. 4:34); (b) a “cleansing” process (13:50; cf. 4:36, 41); (c) precision in dating (13:51a; cf. 4:52–54a); (d) songs and music (including harps and cymbals: 13:51b; cf. 4:54); and (e) a celebration marked by joy (13:52a; cf. 4:56, 58).

Maccabeus by leading his troops across a brook to engage their foes (16:6 [δειλόομαι]; cf. 5:40–43 [δειλαίνω]). The courage of Eleazar represents a contrast to the melting away of courage on the part of Lysias’s Gentile forces (θράσος 6:45; cf. 4:32), for which Judas prays to God. Fear undermines the courageous Jews only once when it provokes 2,200 troops to abandon Judas prior to the battle of Elasa, the engagement that cost Judas his life (9:5–6).¹⁵

In stark contrast to the Jews, their adversaries exhibit no positive emotions. The differentiation in feelings is manifest in the author’s descriptions of observant Jews as “those who love God” (4:33) and of Gentiles and Jewish renegades as “those who hate us” (9:29). Rage pervades the Gentile heart. The Seleucid regime and its allies bring wrath upon Israel (ὀργή 1:64). Mattathias describes the era as a time of wrath and gains a reputation for successfully fending off this onslaught of wrath (2:29; 3:8). Antiochus IV Epiphanes is infuriated by the Maccabean successes (ὀργίζω 3:27; 5:1; 6:28, 59). The wrath of the Seleucids resurfaces at the end of the narrative in the frustrations of Athenobius and Antiochus VII, who are unable to contend with the wisdom and success of Simon (15:35b–36).

Judas characterizes his adversaries as “insolent” in his first exhortation to his outnumbered troops (ἐν πλήθει ὕβρεως 3:20). According to the narrator, Antiochus and his allies manifest “arrogance” in their desecration of the sanctuary and defiance of the law (ὑπερηφάνια 1:21, 24; 2:47, 49). Fear of the Maccabees dominates the antagonists. Mattathias instills dread in the Jewish traitors, and their descendants are alarmed when Alexander IV Epiphanes bestows authority on Jonathan (φόβος 3:6; 10:8). After the victory of Judas’s small force at Beth-horon, Gentiles fear Judas, and terror descends upon them (φόβος; πτοή 3:25). The Gentile army flees in terror at the sight of Judas’s men burning the camp of Gorgias’s forces (δειλόομαι 4:21). Judas suggests that victory begins with demoralizing the enemy as he prays that Israel’s Saviour will fill his adversaries with shame, cowardice, and timidity (αἰσχύνω; δειλία; σαλεύω 4:31–33).

The Seleucid leaders suffer instability of mind and heart. The textbook case is Antiochus IV Epiphanes in the throes of death.¹⁶ Worry over the depletion of his financial resources prompts Antiochus to journey to Persia, a decision that

¹⁵ The two other occasions in which the author alludes to fear among the Jews reflect a different disposition. Prior to the battle at Emmaus, Judas dismisses the fainthearted in accordance with the deuteronomic law on warfare (4:65; cf. Deut 20:5–8). Subsequently, “fear and dread” describe the revulsion of observant Jews to Alcimus’s killing of 60 Hasideans who were his allies (7:18).

¹⁶ Cf. Williams, Art, 110–117.

would prove fatal for him (ἠπορεύτο τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ 3:31).¹⁷ News that Judas has defeated the Seleucid forces and reclaimed the sanctuary makes the Emperor ill (6:5–7). Literally, it shakes him to death (σαλεύομαι 6:8).¹⁸ His “great disappointment” at failing to take the city of Elymais only serves as a preliminary shock that culminates in his confession of his wrong-doing in plundering Jerusalem and killing its citizens (λύπη μεγάλη 6:4, 9, 13; cf. 6:8). He dies of a psychosomatic illness, a severe depression brought on by remorse over his attacks on Jerusalem, its Temple and its inhabitants. (6:10–13).

3 Emotions in laments: Jewish grief

The laments of the Jews in response to the desecration of the Temple and the prohibition of Torah observance by Antiochus are the first real expressions of emotion in 1 Maccabees (1:24b–28, 36–40; 2:7–13; 3:45, 50b–53). As such, they alert the audience to the contours of affectivity in the story that follows. These plaintive cries express shame at the occupation of Jerusalem, outrage at the Seleucid overlords and their sympathizers, and distress at the damage to Jerusalem and the sanctuary. As poignant intrusions into the flow of the narrative, they afford glimpses into the interior lives of the Jews at the earliest moments when they become determined to initiate the Maccabean revolt and establish an independent Jewish state. In the laments, various people express grief that morphs into decisive action against tyranny. In summary, these laments represent the beginning of the Jewish community’s decision to transform their shame into honour.

The laments comprise about a third of the pieces that may qualify as poetry in 1 Maccabees (cf. 2:49b–68; 3:3–9; 4:24b; 4:30b–33; 7:17, 37–38; 9:21, 41; 14:4–15). It is noteworthy that all except the last two of these lyrical segments are in the first half of the book, which is devoted to the careers of Mattathias and Judas. The only piece that explicitly mentions joy is the last one, the eulogy of Simon,

¹⁷ Lysias, the Seleucid supervisor of the Levant, becomes discouraged at the news of Gorgias’s defeat at Emmaus (ἄθυμέω 4:27).

¹⁸ The verb (σαλεύομαι) occurs three other times, two of which are noteworthy (4:32; 6:41; cf. 9:13). Antiochus’s trembling corresponds with Judas’s prayer regarding the desired fate of the Seleucid army in the battle in the region of Idumea (4:32; cf. 6:8). Judas’s forces tremble at the sound of the Seleucid army advancing on Beth-Zechariah, but Eleazar overcomes this shakiness by dying courageously in battle, again in accord with Judas’s earlier prayer (σαλεύομαι 6:41; θράσος 6:45; cf. 4:32).

which thereby reflects a reversal of fortunes compared to the five laments (14:4–15). Three pieces are scriptural quotations (4:24b [cf. Ps 136:1]; 7:17 [cf. Ps 79:2–3]; 9:21 [cf. 2 Sam 1:25a, 27a; Judg 3:9]). The five laments along with Mattathias’s farewell speech (2:48b–68) and the ode to Judas (3:3–9) represent the highest concentration of poetry in 1 Maccabees as they punctuate the narration from Antiochus’s plundering of the Temple to Judas’s leading of his troops into battle at Emmaus (1:20–3:60).

As interludes within the prose narrative, the laments pause the action by articulating the reactions of Jews to the cultural genocide that is redefining their identity. These grief-stricken utterances are in three voices: the narrator’s musings on three occasions (1:24b–28, 36–40; 3:45), Mattathias’s query into the value of living (2:7–13), and finally the congregation’s questioning of God in prayer (3:50b–53). Each lament accentuates the tragic impact of what takes place in the immediate, narrative context. The first expresses shock at the pilaging of the Temple by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (1:24b–28; cf. 1:20–24a). The second contemplates Jerusalem as a place alien to observant Jews in so far as it is under the control of Gentiles and Jewish traitors who are inhabiting the citadel (1:36–40; cf. 1:29–35). The third is Mattathias’s complaint at the idolatrous sacrifices in the Temple court and the killing of observant Jews (2:7–13; cf. 1:41–61). The fourth describes the effects of Lysias’s mandate to banish the Jews from the Temple, Jerusalem and the land, which compels the Jewish patriots to engage the battle at Emmaus (3:45; cf. 3:32–37). The fifth is the congregation’s prayer, prompted by the liturgical displays of the Torah and the priestly vestments during their penitential rites at Mizpah (3:50–53; cf. 3:46–49).

In terms of literary genre, only the final interlude on the lips of the congregation is a prayer addressed to “Heaven” (3:50, 55).¹⁹ Mattathias does not refer to the Deity (2:7–13). The narrator introduces the fourth interlude by describing the congregation as praying “for mercy and compassion” but gives no indication that the following verse represents the content of that prayer (3:44; cf. 3:45). The first two interludes are the narrator’s meditations on the ruin of Jerusalem and Judah (1:24b–28, 36–40).

In terms of content, concern for the sanctuary is explicit in every lament except the first one, where Israel is the centre of attention (1:37–39; 2:7, 12; 3:45;

19 1 Maccabees speaks of “Heaven” and never “God.” Of the twelve references to Heaven, nine are in Judas’s lifetime and three originate with Jonathan and Simon (3:18, 19, 50; 4:10, 24, 40, 55; 5:31; cf. 9:46; 12:15; 16:3). Judas calls upon the “Saviour of Israel” prior to the battle in Idumea (4:30). The sole occurrence of the noun θεός is a reference to “the images of the gods” of the Philistines (5:68 τὰ γλυπτὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν).

cf. 1:24b–28). Jerusalem is the focal point in three of the five laments (1:38; 2:7 [“holy city”]; 3:45). Read in sequence, the laments exhibit a progressive narrowing of focus: from Israel (1:24b–28), to Jerusalem and its sanctuary (1:36–40; 2:7–12; 3:45), and finally to the sanctuary which belongs to Heaven (3:50–53).

I explore these outpourings of sadness by examining each lament in three steps: (a) locating the poem in its narrative context; (b) noting elements of its literary design; and (c) identifying vocabulary links both to other laments and to the narrative as a whole. Afterwards, I discuss whether or not the laments were late insertions into the story.

3.1 1 Macc 1:24b–28 Israel’s grief

The first lament expresses the Jewish aversion to Antiochus’s pillaging of the Temple in 169 BCE (1 Macc 1:20–24a). The poem adds practically no information to the narrative that is interrupted in 1:24a and continues again in 1:29. Nevertheless, the poem contains vocabulary that links it to the surrounding narrative. The first line is an accusation against imperial power. The “arrogance” with which Antiochus IV Epiphanes speaks echoes the arrogance with which he entered and pillaged the sanctuary (ὑπερηφάνια 1:24b; cf. 1:21).²⁰

Structurally, this interlude has a double focus, first on the offences of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (1:24b) and then on the grief of Israel (1:25–28). In the second part, the author recounts the people’s trauma within the framework of references to “Israel” at the beginning and “the house of Jacob” at the end (1:25, 28b). Within this *inclusio*, the author directs attention first to rulers and elders and then to young men and young women, then women, and bridegroom and bride (1:26–27). Thus, the poem moves through space from the sphere of public administration to the private sphere of the home and, through time, from the present to future generations.

“Israel” is the primary designation for the people as well as the land in 1 Maccabees.²¹ Applied to humans, the term identifies observant Jews, who are

²⁰ The four occurrences of ὑπερηφάνια in 1 Maccabees characterize the era that Antiochus IV Epiphanes inaugurated (1:21, 24; 2:47, 49).

²¹ Israel is mentioned 63 times: 1 Macc 1:11, 20, 25, 30, 36, 43, 53, 58, 62, 64; 2:16, 42, 46, 55, 70; 3:2, 8, 10, 15, 35, 41, 46; 4:11, 25, 27, 30, 31, 59; 5:3, 9, 45, 60, 62, 63; 6:18, 21; 7:5, 9, 13, 22, 23, 26; 8:18; 9:20, 21, 23, 27, 51, 73 [2x]; 10:46, 61; 11:23, 41, 52; 13:4, 26, 41, 51; 14:11, 26; 16:2 [2x]. By contrast, “Israel” is mentioned only five times in 2 Maccabees (1:25, 26; 9:5; 10:38; 11:6). On the preference for “Israel” over “Judah” as the designation of the land in the Dead Sea scrolls, see Bergsma, *Self-Identity*, 176–189.

living in the land during the Hasmonean era, as the legitimate descendants of their biblical ancestors. In the first occurrence of the word, the author excludes from “Israel” all Jews who have collaborated in the Seleucid occupation (1:11). The second occurrence identifies Israel as the opponent of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (1:20). Hence, from the beginning, the author describes the community as divided between the “outlaw” Jews who side with the Seleucid occupiers and the loyal Jews who oppose the Seleucid occupation and maintain Torah observance. “Israel” occurs only in the first two of the five interludes (1:25, 36). “Jacob” occurs in the first and fourth laments, as well as twice elsewhere (1:27; 3:7, 45; and 5:2).

“Mourning,” which occurs for the first time here, is a thematic link among three of the five laments (πένθος 1:25, 27; 1:39–40; 3:51). In the first lament, the Jewish experience begins with “mourning” and ends with “shame” (πένθος 1:25; αἰσχύνη 1:28).²² Mattathias practises mourning rites following his lament and mourns the deaths of the people whom the Seleucids killed on the Sabbath, and later, Israel mourns the deaths of Jonathan and Simon (2:14, 39; 9:20; 12:52; 13:26). Mattathias will also revive the people from their despondency (ἀσθενέω 1:26b; cf. 2:61). This reference to Israel’s mourning is in remarkable contrast to the description of Israel’s rejoicing in the eulogy of Simon (14:11b).

“In every place” expands the scope of the action from the prior narrative focus on Jerusalem and the Temple to all the villages in the land. The mention of “every place” is consistent with the full geographical extension of “Israel,” which is reinforced by the parallelism between “the land” and the “house of Jacob” in the final verse of the interlude. The land here refers to the territory of Israel. Nowhere else does the text describe the land as shaking. However, the metaphor stands in contrast to the land “having rest” (7:50; 9:57; 14:4) or “being at peace” (14:11), in the eulogy of Simon (14:4–15).

Grief suffuses social categories and environs within the Jewish community, and these are unique to this interlude. The sequence of social pairs – rulers and elders, young men and women, bridegroom and bride – expresses a succession of relations from public to private, from the elderly to the youthful, and therefore from Israel’s past to its future. The only other reference to “rulers and elders” relates to the community leaders who authorize the inscription in praise of Simon (14:28). “Young men” are mentioned again only twice (1:26; cf. 2:9; 14:9), while other identification tags of Jews (“young women” [παρθένος], “the beauty” of women [τὸ κάλλος], “bridegroom” [νυμφίος] and “bridal chamber”

²² The final noun “shame” (αἰσχύνη) occurs nowhere else in 1 Maccabees.

[παστός]) do not arise elsewhere in 1 Maccabees.²³ In summary, mention of these age groups and environments may indicate that the Seleucid occupation has cut off Israel's future. Alternatively, the lament may imply that these young people of Jerusalem are prepared to oppose the imperial forces.

3.2 1 Maccabees 1:36–40 Jerusalem's desolation

The context of this interlude is the building of the citadel (ἄκρᾶ) and the fortification of the city of David, projects that Lysias, the delegate of Antiochus, undertook after he had plundered Jerusalem and imprisoned its citizens (1 Macc 1:31–35). The first verse describes the citadel as the enclave of people who would further the desecration of the sanctuary that Antiochus had begun (1:36; cf. 1:21–23). In the narrator's mind, foremost among residents of the citadel are the "outlaws" (παράνομοι), Jews who had joined the Seleucids by renouncing Torah observance, reversing their circumcisions, and supporting the Hellenization of Jerusalem (1:34; cf. 1:11–15; 10:61; 11:20–21).

Structurally, this interlude follows a two-part pattern similar to the first interlude: (a) the offences of the citadel against the sanctuary (1:36–37); and (b) the repercussions for Jerusalem (1:38–40). The threefold reference to the sanctuary in the account of the crimes leads into a three-part description of the impact on Jerusalem's populace, festivals and dignity.

The fourfold mention of the "sanctuary" binds this interlude to the whole narrative (τὸ ἁγίασμα 1:37 [2x], 39). The opening line links the interlude back to Antiochus's invasion of the Temple and forward to the king's offensive edicts to profane the Temple (1:21, 45, 46). Concentration on the sanctuary constitutes the primary link between this interlude and the following three (2:7; 3:45, 51). Both the second and third interludes describe the sanctuary as being "made desolate" (ἐρημώω 1:39; 2:12). These occurrences foreshadow the narrator's description of what Judas and his troops will see when they recapture the Temple (4:38; cf. 15:4, 29).

²³ Allusions to Lamentations shimmer through the vocabulary of the first interlude: mourning (πένθος [1 Macc 1:25; cf. Lam 5:15]); leaders and elders (ἄρχοντες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι [1 Macc 1:26; cf. Lam 5:12]); young woman (παρθένος [1 Macc 1:26; cf. Lam 1:4, 15, 18; 2:10, 13, 21; 5:11]); young woman and men (παρθένοι καὶ νεανίσκοι [1 Macc 1:26; cf. Lam 1:18; 2:21; 5:13]); and lament (θρήνος [1 Macc 1:27; cf. Lam 1:1]). In particular, note the resonances with Lam 2:10 and 5:11–15. The interlude also contains echoes of Amos and Joel (1 Macc 1:26; cf. Amos 8:13; 1 Macc 1:27; cf. Joel 2:16; 1 Macc 1:28; cf. Joel 2:10).

Describing the citadel as an “ambush” (ἔνεδρον) suggests the predatory violence of the Gentiles and Jewish outlaws who live there (1:36; cf. 9:40; 10:80; 11:68–69). They are the “strangers” who take over and make the city a “stranger” to observant Jews (cf. 1:11–15, 34). This word play (ἄλλοτριός [2x in 1:38]) connects this interlude both to the following narrative, which describes Antiochus’s imposition of “customs strange to the land” (1:44), and also to the opening lines of Mattathias’s lament (2:7).²⁴ The shedding of innocent blood foreshadows the deaths of the Hasideans and of John (αἷμα 1:37; cf. 7:17 [Ps 79:3]; 9:38, 42). The foreign occupation of the citadel provokes the Jews “to forsake” Jerusalem. This verb (ἐγκαταλείπω 1:38b) also links the lament to the subsequent account of Antiochus’s edict that the Jews should “forsake” their customs (1:42) and the narrator’s description of those who “forsook the law” (1:52).²⁵ It is particularly noteworthy that foremost among those who leave Jerusalem is Mattathias, from the priestly line of Joarib (2:1; cf. 1 Chr 9:10; 24:7; Neh 11:10).

Mention of the festivals (αἱ ἑορταί 1:39b) also connects the interlude to the subsequent narrative that describes Antiochus’s profanation of “Sabbaths and festivals” (1:45).²⁶ Defilement of the Sabbath (τὸ σάββατον 1:39) is inscribed into the next narrative (1:43). The Jewish pacifists observe the Sabbath and die because of their refusal to fight on that day (2:32, 34, 38). By contrast, Judas instructs his troops to fight if they are attacked on the Sabbath (2:41).²⁷

The second interlude introduces a new element by personifying Jerusalem as a mother who suffers the loss of her children (1:38–40).²⁸ This personification of Jerusalem is taken up again in Mattathias’s lament and in the fourth interlude (2:8–11; 3:45). These interludes contain the only presentations of Jerusalem as mother and its citizens as her children in 1 Maccabees (τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς 1:38b; 3:45; cf. τὰ νήπια αὐτῆς and οἱ νεανίσκοι αὐτῆς 2:9). The term γένημα referring to human offspring occurs only here and in the fourth lament (1:38b; cf. 3:45; cf. 11:34; 14:8) and nowhere else in 1 Maccabees.

²⁴ The term ἄλλοτριός or its cognate occurs only twice more (6:13; 15:33).

²⁵ The verb occurs only once more in 1 Maccabees, in a manner unrelated to these concerns (cf. 2:28).

²⁶ The three other occurrences of the noun “festival” are related to Jonathan’s celebration of the festival of booths and his official diplomatic correspondence (ἑορτή 10:21, 34; 12:11). The nouns “festivals” and “Sabbaths” occur together in 10:34.

²⁷ Following the example of Judas, Jonathan ambushes a wedding party and defeats Bacchides in battle on the Sabbath (9:34, 43).

²⁸ A comparable maternal personification of Jerusalem appears in Bar 4:9–16, which describes the deportation of Jerusalem’s children.

The vocabulary unique to the second interlude includes the description of the citadel as “an adversary” (διάβολος 1:36b) and the crime of its residents as “defiling” (μολύνω 1:37) the sanctuary.²⁹ Furthermore, only here does the text mention “inhabitants” (οἱ κάτοικοι) and “dwelling place” (κατοικία) in reference to Jerusalem or any other locale (1:38). Each noun in the concluding antithesis, “dishonour” (ἡ ἀτιμία 1:40) and “exaltation” (τὸ ὕψος referring to status) is a unique occurrence in the book.³⁰

3.3 1 Maccabees 2:7–13 The lament of Mattathias

Mattathias’s lament is a response to Antiochus’s edict to legislate the Hellenization of Jerusalem and to prohibit Torah observance, which resulted in the killing of women and children (1:41–61). Various lexemes imbed the interlude within the surrounding narrative. In 1 Maccabees, the noun “temple” (ὁ ναός) arises only in narratives about the desecration and rededication of the Temple at the time of Judas Maccabeus (2:8; cf. 1:22; 2:8; 4:49, 50, 57; 7:36). The “vessels” (τὰ σκεύη 2:9) are a concern only in accounts about the desecration of the Temple (1:21, 23; 6:12). The “adornments” (ὁ κόσμος αὐτῆς) are Temple articles in the only other occurrence of the word (1:22; cf. 2:11). The streets where Gentiles made incense offerings become the streets where Jewish children die (πλατεΐαις 2:9; cf. 1:55).

These first words of Mattathias comprise the only interlude that takes the form of a lament voiced by an individual. Three questions, at the beginning, middle and end, punctuate the interlude so that it consists of two halves (2:7, 10, 13). The lament opens with Mattathias questioning his existence and ends with him expanding the question to include all his people (2:7b, 13). A thematic inclusion frames each half. The first half focuses on the inhabitants of Jerusalem, then the Temple, and then the slain young people of Jerusalem 2:7b–9). The second half rhetorically contemplates the degradation of Jerusalem and the Temple, which the Gentiles have wrought (2:10–13).

²⁹ Allusions to Lamentations in this interlude are evident in the mention of blood and defilement (αἷμα ... ἐμόλυνον 1 Macc 1:37; cf. Lam 4:14), in the contemplations of the sanctuary (τὸ ἅγιάσμα 1 Macc 1:37, 39; cf. Lam 1:10; 2:7, 20) and the festivals (αἱ ἑορταί 1 Macc 1:39; cf. Lam 1:4; 2:6, 7, 22), and in the preoccupation with strangers (ἄλλοτρίοι 1 Macc 1:38; cf. Lam 5:2). This interlude echoes Lam 1:10 and 2:6–7 in particular. The references to festivals allude to Amos 8:10, which describe mournful assemblies replacing festal gatherings on the day of YHWH.

³⁰ The noun ὕψος denotes “encouragement” in 10:24 and “height” in 12:36.

Three elements link this lament to the previous interlude: (a) the personification of Jerusalem as a mother bereft of her children (2:8–11; cf. 1:38–40); the “strangers” who are lawless Jews and Gentiles of the citadel (ἀλλότριος 2:7; cf. 1:38 [2x]); and the desolation of the sanctuary (ἐρημώω 2:12; cf. 1:39). The focus on “youths” (νεανίσκοι) recalls the first interlude (2:9; cf. 1:26). The “profaning” of the sanctuary is central to the fifth lament (βεβηλόω 2:12; cf. 3:51). The verb “inherit” or “seize” (κληρονομέω) connects the lament to the surrounding narrative (2:10; cf. 1:32). Furthermore, the penitential rites of Matthias and his sons after the lament correspond with the actions of the congregation in the liturgy prior to their reciting the fifth lament (2:14; cf. 3:47).

A variety of terms describing the plight and dignity of Jerusalem are unique to this interlude. Only here does the text refer to the “ruin” (τὸ σύντριμμα 2:7 [2x]) of city and citizenry, and employ the term “slave” (δούλη 2:11) to describe Jerusalem.³¹ Uniquely here, the Temple is a person “without honour” (ἀνὴρ ἄδοξος 2:8) and its vessels are taken into “exile” (αἰχμάλωτος 2:9). Such monikers contrast to other singular designations such as her being the “holy city” (ἅγια πόλις 2:7) possessing “palaces” (βασίλεια 2:10) and “beauty” (ἡ καλλονή 2:12).

The only other mention of “streets” occurs in the description of idyllic peace in the eulogy of Simon (πλατύς 14:9; cf. 1:55; 2:9). The parallels reflect a contrast between life before, and life after, the Maccabees’ rise to power.

1 Macc 2:9 [H]er glorious vessels have been carried into exile.

*Her infants have been killed in her streets,
her youths by the sword of the foe.*

1 Macc 14:9 *Old men sat in the streets;*

*they all talked together of good things,
and the youths put on splendid military attire.³²*

³¹ “Freedom” is mentioned only three times. Of particular interest is Demetrius’s freeing of Jewish captives and granting the high priest authority over the citadel (10:33; cf. 2:11). However, his son Antiochus VII, reneges on his own promise to grant liberty to Jerusalem (15:7; cf. 15:27).

³² Whereas 1 Macc 2:9 echoes Lam 2:11–12, 1 Macc 14:9 echoes Zech 8:4. The vocabulary in Mattathias’s outcry reflects the language of Lamentations more fully than any of the other four interludes: ruin (σύντριμμα 1 Macc 2:7; cf. Lam 2:1; 3:48; 4:10); enemies (ἐχθροί 1 Macc 2:7; cf. Lam 1:2, 5, 7, 21; 2:16, 22; 3:46, 52; ἐχθρός Lam 1:9, 16; 2:3, 4, 5, 7, 17; 4:12); children (νήπιος 1 Macc 2:9; cf. Lam 1:5; 2:11, 19, 20; 4:4); the sword (ρόμφαια 1 Macc 2:9; cf. Lam 2:21); “laid waste” (ἐρημώω 1 Macc 2:12; cf. Lam 1:1); and “profane” (βεβηλόω 1 Macc 2:12; cf. Lam 2:2). In particular, note the resonances with Lam 2:7, 19–22. The personification of Jerusalem as a mother

3.4 1 Maccabees 3:45 Desolation of Jerusalem

This interlude explains the basis for Judas's determination to confront the Seleucid forces of Ptolemy, son of Dorymenes, Nicanor and Gorgias, which had entered Judah (3:38–41). Judas undertakes the battle in order to “restore the ruins” of Jerusalem and “to fight for ... the sanctuary” (3:42; cf. 3:45c). The interlude is a comment by the narrator following a description of how the congregation prayed for mercy and compassion (3:44; cf. 4:24).

This brief reflection exhibits an envelope structure as it describes the absence of Jewish life in Jerusalem at the beginning and end (3:45a, c), while directing attention to the sanctuary and citadel in the middle (3:45b).

Concern for the sanctuary sustains the connection between the final four interludes (3:45c; cf. 1:36–38; 2:8, 12; 3:51). Four more lexemes variously connect this interlude to others: (a) “like a desert” (ὡς ἔρημος 3:45a), which applies to Jerusalem here, occurred also in 1:39 as the simile for the sanctuary that had been desecrated; (b) “Jacob” as indicative of the whole people also concluded the first interlude (3:45e; cf. 1:28b); (c) “her offspring” (γενήμασιν αὐτῆς) occurs only here and in the second interlude (1:38); and (d) the verb “to trample” with the sanctuary as its object, occurs only here and in the fifth interlude (καταπατέω 3:45c; cf. 3:51a [identical expression]).³³

Repetitions of nomenclature integrate the fourth interlude into the broader narrative setting. Reconstructing the walls of Jerusalem will prevent the Gentiles from “trampling down” Jerusalem as they had the sanctuary (καταπατέω 3:45c; cf. 4:60). The term for the aliens (υἱοὶ ἀλλογενῶν 3:45b) who hold the citadel occurs only here and in the preceding narrative, which describes Lysias settling aliens in the territory of Judah (3:36).³⁴ The citadel is mentioned only three other times from the beginning of the book to the rededication of the Temple (ἄκρα 3:45c; cf. 1:33; 4:2, 41). In 1 Maccabees, references to Jacob (Ἰακωβ) are confined to the material relating to the desecration and rededication of the Temple (3:45e; cf. 1:28 [the first interlude]; 3:7, 45; 5:2). Harps (κινύρα) are instruments used at the rededication of the Temple by Judas and later of the citadel by Simon

who grieves the loss of her children and the devastation of her temple resonates with Lamentations (1 Macc 2:9; cf. Lam 1:5, 16). The devastation of the city and sanctuary at the end of the lament also echoes Third Isaiah (1 Macc 2:12; cf. Isa 64:9–10).

³³ As in the second and final laments, mention of the “sanctuary” recalls Lamentations (ἀγίασμα 1 Macc 3:45; 1:37; 3:51; cf. Lam 1:10; 2:7, 20). The description of the sanctuary being trampled, which is a repeated the fifth lament, reflects Isa 63:18.

³⁴ The situation in 1 Macc 3:45 is reversed in 1 Macc 10:12–13.

(3:45; cf. 4:54; 13:51). Hence these two events represent a reversal of fortunes compared with the description in the final line of the fourth lament.

The fourth lament contains five *hapax legomena* in 1 Maccabees: (a) the adjective “uninhabited” (ἀοίκητος 3:45a); (b) the participial expression “those who come in and go out” (ὁ εἰσπορευόμενος καὶ ἐκπορευόμενος 3:45b); (c) the noun for “lodging place” (κατάλυμα 3:45d); (d) “delight” (τέρψις 3:45e); and (e) the flute (αὐλός 3:45f).

3.5 1 Maccabees 3:50b–53 The congregation’s prayer

This community lament accompanies the penitential rites of fasting, scattering ashes, and the wearing of sackcloth and torn clothes (3:47; cf. 2:14). The congregation, which had voiced its commitment to defend the people and reclaim the sanctuary, now assembles at Mizpah to pray and prepare for the battle at Emmaus (3:43–44; cf. 3:54–4:25). The people express their prayer by “crying out” for the first time and will do so again both when they engage the forces of Gorgias in battle and also when they cleanse the sanctuary (3:50, 54; 4:10, 40; cf. 5:33). The emotional questions that introduce the lament refer to the priestly vestments and the tithes the community has brought with them. Hence this prayer is essential to the narrative flow.

The prayer begins with two questions and ends with another and thereby resembles Mattathias’s lament, which also begins and ends with a question (1:50b, 53; cf. 2:7, 13). However, Mattathias’s question is rhetorical whereas the congregation addresses its questions to Heaven. In each question, the congregation confesses its inabilities, first to use the vestments and offerings, and then to overcome the Gentile adversaries. The intervening lines focus on the sanctuary and the priests, and then on the Gentile threat (3:51–52). In summary, this interlude consists of two halves, the first concerned about the temple and priesthood, and the second preoccupied with the Gentile opponents (3:50–51; cf. 3:52–53).

The verbs that describe the attack on the sanctuary link the lament back to the previous two interludes. The verb “to trample” occurs in the fourth lament (καταπατέω 3:51; cf. 3:45c) while the verb “to profane” is in the lament of Mattathias (βεβηλώω 3:51; cf. 2:12). These same verbs also ground the lament within the surrounding narrative. Judas reconstructs the city walls in a manner that will prevent the Gentiles from trampling them (καταπατέω 4:60). The term “to profane” (βεβηλώω) occurs only in the first four chapters of 1 Maccabees, describing the prohibition of Sabbath observance (1:43, 45; 2:34) and the profaning of the covenant (1:63). It also defines the damages to the altar in the sanctuary, to the altar of incense, and to the sanctuary as a whole, which Judas

repaired prior to the rededication of the Temple (4:38, 44, 54). Furthermore, mention of “mourning” connects this final lament to the first lament (1:39–40).

The two verses at the centre of the lament recall Antiochus’s initial prohibitions of Torah observance and offences against the sanctuary (3:51–52; cf. 1:45–46). This is the first interlude to focus on the “priests,” and thereby links the lament back to the introduction of Mattathias (2:1) and forward to the consecration of good priests when Judas rededicates the Temple (3:51b; cf. 2:1; 4:42).³⁵ The description of the Gentiles gathering (συνάγω or ἐπισυνάγω) to destroy (ἐξαίρω) “us” (i.e., the Jews) recurs in the narrative that follows (3:52; cf. 3:58; 5:9, 10). The wording apparently describes preparation for war as, for instance, it expresses Judas’s decision to attack the citadel (ἄκρα 6:19). The congregation’s ultimate appeal requesting Heaven’s help for them is confirmed in Jonathan’s letter to the Spartans in which he attributes his nation’s victories in war to the help of Heaven (3:53; cf. 12:15).³⁶

The people’s prayerful outcry along with gestures of repentance corresponds with the behaviour of the Jews who purify the Temple (3:47, 50; cf. 4:39–40). Their manner of praying foreshadows the appeals to Heaven by the forces of Judas and Jonathan as they engage in battle (4:10; 5:33; cf. 9:46). Outside of these laments, 1 Maccabees quotes four prayers, all of which are in the first half of the book: (a) the citation of Ps 136:1 that Judas’s army sings to celebrate their victory at Emmaus (4:24); (b) Judas’s invocation before the battle at Beth-Zur (4:30–33); (c) the priests’ outcry at the altar in the face of Nicanor’s threat to destroy the Temple (7:37–38); and (d) Judas’s prayer for the defeat of Nicanor prior to the battle of Beth-Horon (7:41–42).

4 Redaction history of the laments

This detailed examination of each lament against the background of the emotional landscape throughout 1 Maccabees indicates that Mattathias’s psalm (2:7–13) and the community’s prayer (5:50b–53) were essential components in the earliest version of the book whereas the narrator’s three reflections were added later (1:24b–28, 36–40; 3:45). The primary rationale for this proposal stems from

³⁵ The mourning of priests recalls Lam 1:4 and Joel 1:9. Other resonances of Lamentations are in vocabulary that this interlude has in common with previous ones: “sanctuary” (ἁγίασμα 1 Macc 3:45; 1:37; cf. Lam 1:10; 2:7, 20); and “profane” (βεβηλῶ 1 Macc 2:12; cf. Lam 2:2). This lament and the previous one reflect the influence of Lam 1:10; 2:7 (cf. 1 Macc 3:45).

³⁶ The only *hapax legomenon* in the fifth lament is “humiliation” (ταπείνωσις 3:51b).

the role each text plays within its immediate narrative context. Mattathias's lament and the community's address to Heaven are constitutive elements of the story. As the first words of Mattathias, the lament provides a bridge between the introduction of him and his family and the action he takes against the traitorous Jew at Modein (3:7–13; cf. 3:1–6, 15–28). The prayer of the community is essential to the liturgy at Mizpah in preparation for the battle at Emmaus and corresponds with the function of Judas's prayer prior to the subsequent military engagement at Beth-Zur (3:50b–53; cf. 3:46–50a, 54–57; 4:29–34).

By contrast, the other three laments interrupt the surrounding narratives (1:24b–28, 36–40; 3:45). Antiochus's initial plundering of the Temple treasury is a preparation for his subsequent invasion of Jerusalem (1:20–23, 29–32; cf. 1:24–28). The occupation of the citadel by Gentiles and renegade Jews provides the base of operations for the Gentiles while they police the prohibition against Torah observance and desecrate the Temple (1:33–35, 41–61; cf. 1:36–40). The decision of the assembly to confront the Seleucid forces at Emmaus leads into the liturgical rites prior to battle (3:42–43, 46–54). The people's prayer before the battle at Emmaus is integral to the battle preparations (3:50–53; cf. 4:30–33). However, within this context, the narrator's lament prior to the liturgy is redundant in so far as it anticipates the people's prayer and, in so doing, uses almost identical words about the trampling of the sanctuary (3:45c τὸ ἅγιασμα καταπατούμενον; cf. 3:51a τὰ ἅγιά σου καταπεπάτηνται). In summary, the narrator's three comments are intrusions into the story while Mattathias's lament and the community's prayer are integral to its design.

I suggest that the original author inserted the narrator's three dirge-like comments sometime after he had completed 1 Maccabees. He did so in order to further highlight the emotional resilience that distinguishes the Jews from their adversaries throughout the narrative.

Shared vocabulary and similarities in theme and literary genre confirm that these three laments are the work of a single hand (1:24b–28, 36–40; 3:45). The abundant vocabulary, which connects each of the narrator's laments to its immediate narrative context and to the whole book, indicates the hand of the author.³⁷ At the same time, the variety of significant terms that occur in these laments and nowhere else suggest that he composed them as subsequent reflec-

³⁷ Furthermore, all of the interludes contain vocabulary from Lamentations. The words of Mattathias provide the greatest concentration of such allusions (see footnote 32). I suggest that the author composed the narrator's three interludes with an eye on Lamentations, which had served as his foremost scriptural reference point when he wrote 1 Macc 2:7–13.

tions on the impact of Antiochus's occupation of Jerusalem and all Israel (1:20–3:37).

The author inserted the narrator's laments in order to draw attention to the reversal of fortunes that the people of Israel experienced under the Hasmoneans from their early days of affliction, which Mattathias and Judas addressed, to the latter days of harmony under Simon. The eulogy of Simon constitutes the highpoint of the Hasmonean story (14:4–15).³⁸ In the earliest version of 1 Maccabees, Mattathias's description of Jerusalem's streets as littered with the bodies of young Jews served as a counterpoint to the eulogizing portrayal of Israel's streets as populated by elderly citizens and young men wearing military attire (2:9; cf. 14:9). The author subsequently inserted the narrator's laments to expand the contrast to the eulogy of Simon, and thereby enhance Israel's graphic reversal of fortunes. The verbal counterpoise to the eulogy is most apparent in the first lament: Israel's mourning contrasts with its ultimate joy; terrified young men become valiant; sighing gives way to pleasant conversation among the elders; and the land that trembles eventually has rest and becomes peaceful (1:25 [cf. 14:11]; 1:26 [cf. 14:9b]; 1:26 [cf. 14:9]; 1:28 [cf. 14:8, 11]). The contrasts continue in the second lament: the citadel, once an enemy enclave, is cleansed of renegades; the citizens who had fled return home; the desolate sanctuary is restored to glory; and dishonour concedes to honour (1:36 [cf. 14:7]; 1:38 [cf. 14:12]; 1:39 [cf. 14:15]; 1:40 [cf. 14:4]). The narrator's final poem – which describes the desolation of Jerusalem and the sanctuary, the alienation of the citadel, and the despondency of the people – constitutes a dramatic foil for the transformation in Israel that the eulogy of Simon celebrates (3:45a–b [cf. 14:9, 12]; 3:45c–d [cf. 14:7, 15]; 3:45e [cf. 14:11]).

5 Conclusion: Emotional alchemy in Israel

The five laments at the beginning of 1 Maccabees are expressions of grief but not resignation. They ignite the souls of observant Jews to take action against the Seleucid occupation of Jerusalem and Judah and then to establish Israel as an independent Jewish nation. The first four laments give vent to inner turmoil while the fifth is the only one formulated as a prayer. Although the congregation voices this prayer within rites of mourning, its appeal to Heaven contains

³⁸ From a narrative perspective, the details of Simon's accomplishments inscribed on the bronze tablets expand upon the eulogy (14:27b–45). On the Hellenistic style of the inscription, see Gardner, *Leadership*, 332–337.

no confession of sins or profession of faith.³⁹ The prayer is an invocation for God to support the forces of Judas as they enter their first battle against the Seleucid army (3:50b–53; cf. 3:54–60). This petition is consistent with the previous four laments in so far as it calls forth energies of aggression against the adversary. All the interludes are conscious expressions of grief, which gradually mutates into an anger that empowers these observant Jews to change their situation.

First Maccabees is a narration of emotional alchemy among Jews who love Jerusalem, defend the Temple and adhere to the law. Their capacity to transform fear into courage, grief into contentment, and sorrow into joy is evident in the contrasts between the five laments at the beginning, and the eulogy of Simon at the end of the story. Moreover, the survey of emotions throughout the narrative discloses a contrast in temperaments between the Jewish loyalists, who manifest courage and optimism as they turn defeat into victory, and their adversaries, whose rage and fear result in their own deaths and eventual retreat from Israel.

The author of 1 Maccabees was a historian who adapted his theology to the concerns of *realpolitik*. His psychological profile of the Jewish populace under Hasmonean leadership enhanced his argument that, in the world of international politics at the beginning of the first century BCE, the nation of Israel was a force to be reckoned with.

Abstract

1 Maccabees recounts the story of Israel's transformation from a people living under foreign oppression into an independent Jewish state. The author credits the movement of Jewish nationalism to the leadership of the Hasmonean dynasty. An examination of the emotional dynamics in 1 Maccabees uncovers the energies that animated Jewish independence and that distinguish the people of Israel among all nations early in the first century BCE. The narrative presents a contrast in dispositions between the courageous Jewish protagonists and their fearful adversaries. The first expressions of emotion are in five laments that manifest the grief of observant Jews, which subsequently mutates into an anger that compels them to take up the battle for independence against the Seleucid

³⁹ The absence of any confession of sin in the interludes represents a stark contrast to Lamentations (cf. Lam 1:5, 8; 2:14). Moreover, there are no acknowledgements of guilt in the rites of mourning (cf. 1 Macc 2:14; 3:47–49). In 1 Maccabees, the terminology of “sin” pertains exclusively to the enemies of the Jews at the beginning of the story (1:10, 34; 2:44, 48, 62).

overlords. As outpourings of misery on the part of an oppressed people at the beginning of the story, these laments provide counterpoints to the joyous celebration of freedom in the eulogy of Simon at the end. When read in light of the final panegyric to Simon, the laments accentuate the reversal of fortunes experienced by the Jewish people over the course of 1 Maccabees. Literary analysis indicates that the author added three of the laments after he had completed the narrative.

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Friedrich V. Reiterer

Praying to God Passionately: Notes on the Emotions in 2 Maccabees

1 Basic methodological considerations: the personal viewpoint in the text

A method may be assessed by the degree to which it achieves a sound and complete analysis. Questions that are not asked are not answered, because they *cannot be answered* systematically. Important aspects of text analysis are treated with the historical-critical method and other exegetical approaches. But the question is whether this range of methodological analysis is adequate for research in the *broadest* sense of the term in so far as it relates to prayer literature; such criticism may also apply to other literary fields. The answer to this question must certainly be in the negative.

What is the point of these “encrypted” remarks? Before a reply is offered, the *facts* need to be presented. Concerning the Psalms, and (very short or longer) prayers in general, one immediately and often encounters texts that speak of joy, jubilation, threat, fear, grief and distress. But hardly any exegete tries to intensify the investigation of such scenes. On the contrary, most commentators simply identify the facts and try – in the best case – to find an answer in the external historical and social circumstances. Modern readers of such texts – whether scientifically trained or religious “consumers” in a divine service – are mostly surprised and perplexed, when they hear for example, that one should be exultant (before God), break forth into joyous songs, and sing praises. These feelings are not convenient for people who are conditioned by the enlightenment and who have a broadly rational approach to the questions of life. But discussions about feelings should be much more precise. It is not enough to show a simple awareness that there are emotions and feelings. What is required is an acknowledgement of the role that emotions play in human life. It is true that we have learnt to take a holistic view of human beings in the Bible and to appreciate the differences between biblical and modern times. Yet, despite this insight into the value of a holistic concept of mankind, many hold the view that today we no longer need to take account of elements that were once common, and indeed important, for daily life in biblical times. Here we are encountering a strange contradiction: surely, rationally oriented people should include all

important aspects of the human condition in their assessments of ancient literature?

Especially inspired by the very valuable historical-critical method, we have learnt to look first only at the text to be analysed. We have learnt to identify the grammatical, stylistic, poetic and other characteristics in it and in its broader context. Correctly, we examine the historical background for a better understanding of its presuppositions. Nevertheless, when analysing, we should not apply exclusively external criteria and issues to the text. We are guilty of a serious error if we stop at traditionally used methods: it is not only the historical, social, and other such aspects that should concern us but also the “personal” situation and religious significance that are commonly crucial to biblical authors and readers! I would like to explain this matter by way of the following example: Psalm 137/136 reads: “By the rivers of Babylon – there we sat down and there we wept when we remembered Zion ... For there our captors asked us for songs, and our tormentors asked for mirth, saying, ‘Sing us one of the songs of Zion!’ How could we sing the LORD’s song in a foreign land?” (Ps 137:1, 3–4). You show no understanding of the nucleus of grief and despair, if you begin by asking the following, and similar, questions: In which year was that? Where was that? These snippets of information are useful for understanding the context, but they do not help to uncover the Psalmist’s deep intent. Only when you ask what moved the person who is praying, and which heartfelt distress was troubling him, do you then come closer to what the Psalmist wanted to express in his prayer and why the Psalm has been preserved. Similar expressions of despair and misery occur repeatedly in other situations of distress. Each Psalm offers a response in its own way. An exclusively stylistic, geographical or historical analysis misses the core of the Psalm and fails to appreciate its use as a prayer. Only an understanding of the intense feelings that lie behind it will open up for us a gateway to the concerns, message and spirit of such a Psalm. In the following analysis our object will be to search specifically for the “personal situation” of the prayer in order to exemplify our point.

2 Examples of prayers in the second book of Maccabees

In 2 Maccabees, two units precede the description of the events at the time of Judas Maccabeus (starting at 2 Macc 2:19). These are letters written on the occasion of the feast marking the consecration of the Temple. These two pericopes indicate that for the editors of 2 Maccabees prayers are a self-evident matter

within their worldview. Immediately after the introductory greeting (2 Macc 1:1), the authors proceed with a prayer.

2.1 Prayer in 2 Macc 1:2–6

Prayer in 2 Macc 1:1–6 is divided into two parts. In the first part, the writers turn to God for the benefit of the community in distant Egypt. In the second part, the cultic celebrations, which have become possible again, are understood as God’s response to the worshipper’s earlier prayer. What do we have in mind when we talk about prayer? „Wer betet, spricht mit Gott. Im Gebet vollzieht sich ein Kommunikationsakt, der dem zwischenmenschlichen Gespräch darin gleicht, dass zwei Partner einander gegenüber stehen, von dem einer sich dem anderen verbal mitteilt und vom anderen Antwort erhält.“¹ These sentences describe almost classically what is meant when you utter the word “prayer.” But in the late biblical literature it is not only relations between the two partners (God and the people/worshipper) that play an important role. There is the new concept of an additional relationship: the *intercessory* prayer. The Maccabean letter is written in Jerusalem and it would certainly have been appropriate had the prayer commenced with the final sentence: “We are now praying for you here” (2 Macc 1:6). Then it would have been clear from the outset that it is a prayer of intercession:

- 2a May God *verily in truth*² do good (ἀγαθοποιήσαι),
- 2b and may he remember (μνησθεῖη) his covenant (τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ) with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, his faithful servants (τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ τῶν πιστῶν).
- 3a May he give you all a heart to worship him (εἰς τὸ σέβασθαι αὐτόν)
- 3b and to do his will (ποιεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰ θελήματα) with a strong heart and a willing spirit.
- 4a May he open your heart to his law (ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ) and his commandments (ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασιν),
- 4b and may he bring peace (εἰρήνην).
- 5a May he hear (ἐπακούσαι) your prayers (ὑμῶν τῶν δεήσεων)
- 5b and be reconciled to you (καταλλαγείη ὑμῖν),
- 5c and may he not forsake you (μὴ ὑμᾶς ἐγκαταλίποι) in time of evil (ἐν καιρῷ πονηρῷ).
- 6 We are now praying (προσευχόμενοι) for you here (2 Macc 1:2–6).

¹ Schöpflin, Notschrei, 389.

² In the translation of v. 2 one finds “you” (cf. *May God do good to you* in NRSV [1999]; NETS [2007]; *May God bless you* in NAB [1991]). But, there is no equivalent to “[to] you” in the text even if this emendation makes good sense. In Greek ὑμῖν is used but makes no sense. Trying to make only minimal alterations, one could use the two adverbs ἤ, *in truth*, and μὴν *verily* instead of ὑμῖν. This has the effect of a greater accentuation and fits well in the context.

Those who are praying make contact with God in a very reverential manner, as may be deduced from the use of the optative verbal form. The English translation consistently takes account of the “conditional form” by using the auxiliary verb “may.” The prayer has several sections. At the very beginning (1:2a), we find in the first plea to God that he should truly do good. Regarding content, this provides a parenthesis to 1:5c where the request is that God should not forsake the believers in Egypt in bad times: “May he not forsake you in time of evil (ἐν καιρῷ πονηρῷ).” This very general wording shows in an encrypted manner that times are bad. There is no precise information about the cause of concern.

How should one behave at this precarious time? The petitioner recalls the exemplary period of the Patriarchs. The Patriarchs are represented as believers and, at the same time, as trustworthy figures, as demonstrated by the adjective πιστός. You recognize faithful and trustworthy persons by their attitude and their behaviour. However, the authors seem to presuppose that this personal reliability is not simple or obvious. Hence the request, that *God should ensure* that the appreciation and fulfilment of God’s will, and the observance of the commandments “from their heart”, are made possible. From this, it is clear that the correct attitude towards God, that is to say, a reverence for him, and a compliance with his wishes, are essential prerequisites for you to receive good.

The aim is simply peace (εἰρήνη; 1:4b). This short sentence is more than a summing-up; it represents the very gist of all positive realities. Without peace, a community will undoubtedly have difficulty in developing prosperously. What does a community require for successful development? First, we read the entreaty that God *may hear the prayers* (1:5a). This statement shows the importance of prayer. Prayer is clearly the base from which the further development of the people emanates. In prayer, the praying person apparently submits all his wishes, concerns, hopes and plans to God. These individual items need not be listed explicitly, because the participation of the “worshippers” in the prayer of the Jerusalem community shows the importance of prayer. The next verse addresses reconciliation (1:5b). The wording is very general, as it is in the whole letter. The reconciliation that God grants to humans is foremost. It is here implied that the authors of the letter are aware that people have defects and do wrong. But humans cannot forgive themselves and their own trespasses. On the other hand, without the eradication of trespass there is no benevolence from God, not even if you respect his commandments. But if one reads in an undefined form, that God should “give forgiveness,” then the question is, to whom does this reconciliation refer. Of course, firstly to God himself. However, the author also expects the people to live in such a way that the gift of God’s “forgiveness” is effective among them. Then the reconciliation is an instrument of God, intended to assure that the community can develop for the better.

The final sentence (“we are now praying for you here”) implies the Jerusalem writer’s solicitude for believers in Egypt. These words, it turns out, clarify what effect is thought possible as a result of the intercessory prayer for the Egyptian believers. Whoever intercedes with God in Jerusalem on behalf of those in Egypt, is hoping that the prayer will have a direct effect. You might ask what effects are expected. This question is made more urgent and meaningful by the non-enumeration of any specific problems or effects. But the universal importance of prayer consists precisely in the fact that the prayer in itself can produce results: obviously the writers assume that prayer is efficacious wherever there is distress, fear and concern, as well as positive expectations. Prayer always has positive effects, even if the intercessor, who pleads for others, does not exactly know the “situation” that is being requested. Here, a reference to the emotional implications may be made. Since hardly anyone has discussed the topic of emotional effects, many implications have been ignored. It is obvious that those praying in Jerusalem for their fellow believers in Egypt wish to communicate to them the feelings of security, safety and support that are created by the knowledge of the care and affection on the part of those who do not even know their fellows personally. It is not easy for a biblical interpreter to describe the condition of the Egyptians. But whatever their situation was, the authors presuppose that they will appreciate that they are receiving the concern and attention of compassionate persons.

We now return to the text of 2 Macc 1. Given what the inhabitants of Jerusalem had experienced a few decades earlier, it is clear why they are so sure that positive effects will occur. For, adjacent to the reference just treated, we find a flashback to the days of the freethinker Jason and King Demetrius II (145–140 BCE). Jason had bought the High Priesthood during the reign of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV (175–164 BCE) and held this office in 175–172 BCE. The historical Demetrius II did not rule at the same time as Jason. This confusion with Demetrius II is – although historically inaccurate – perhaps made in order to lessen the almost unbelievable and terrible crime of Jason. This mention of the king may indicate that the situation improved under him and that hope began to develop that the tensions might diminish. Nevertheless, the purchase of the office of the High Priest is a scandal. It is also shown in all its absurdity: “Jason and his company revolted from the holy land and the kingdom and burned the gate and shed innocent blood” (2 Macc 1:7b–8a). While the description “holy land” refers to Judea, the term “kingdom,” against which Jason rebelled, remains unclear at first glance. Although in the second book of Maccabees all other references to βασιλεία denote the political reign and the Seleucid state structure, it is the *kingdom of God* that is meant in 2 Macc 1:7.

One may wonder why the author has misleadingly used the significant word “kingdom” and provided no explanatory clarification. The first answer that comes to mind is that such a use of “kingship” in the context was probably not misleading to the contemporaries of the author. That having been said, the difference in the meaning of the word is nevertheless striking. This suggests that 2 Macc 1:7 does not come from the same author as the depictions of history beginning with 2 Macc 2:19. Another reason for such a conclusion is the use of very different terminology in the prayers, as may be seen in the context of 2 Macc 3:15, 20–22.

Jason disavowed the Holy Land, that is, the definition of Judea as the Holy Land, and the kingdom (of God), that is, the acknowledgment of God. The implied consequences are then depicted. He burns the Temple gates so that the Temple is left unprotected and every marauding horde has access to it. The situation deteriorates even further. Jason also lays violent hands on the believers who had opposed this criminal activity. Succinctly, the text reports: “shed innocent blood” (ἐξέχεαν αἷμα ἀθῶον; 2 Macc 1:8). We immediately think of a tradition long revealed, namely, that it is in itself a crime to shed blood. Bloodshed is a destructive intervention in the divine order of creation; cf. Gen 9:6. The crime is even exacerbated by the fact that innocent people are being murdered.

Looking at the next verse in the text, we recognize in the subsequent words the believers’ religious solidarity, even if a long period of time has passed between the individuals’ lifetimes. Believers identify with the previous generation in such a way that they can say: “We prayed to the Lord” (ἐδεήθημεν τοῦ κυρίου; 2 Macc 1:8). In this situation which seemed politically and militarily hopeless, they found a way out by their call to God. Prayer is a way of managing life; it is not an escape from reality. The inner prime mover behind this behaviour is the experience that from time immemorial, God has helped the persecuted, as may be seen from the example of Moses and the rescue from Egypt. So it was even at the time of the authors of the letter, who state, quite unspectacularly and dispassionately: “and we were heard” (καὶ εἰσηκούσθημεν; 2 Macc 1:8). The author does not care how Jason is prevented by the Lord from continuing his dreadful campaign, nor does he report how Jason’s end occurred, and he says nothing about how a new beginning was possible. These “secularly” meaningful things, on which modern authors would have placed the most focus, are for the author unimportant. He is interested in the fact that we are heard by God. Here, the choice of words hints at the importance of being heard by the Lord. Instead of the simple “listen/hear (ἀκούω)”, he chooses the reinforcing term “answer (εἰσακούω)”. Here we can see the emotional dimension. There is no doubt that an experience of confidence produces positive emotions. The author lives with a trust in God and from a trust in God. This confidence gives

him inner security and prevents despair and hatred, as well as rebellion against the enemy or against God.

Such calmness brings about a recognition of the essentials. *Again*, a reader in the modern age will be surprised at what issues the author here cares about and what he considers the most important for life. *Again*, there are no secular values such as “prosecution and punishment of evildoers,” “reparation,” etc. We are amazed when we read: “we offered sacrifice and grain offering, and we lit the lamps and set out the loaves” (2 Macc 1:8). Are the offerings really the most important things, when a criminal regent has recently destroyed the people and the sanctuary? Here, we see the difference between a worldly oriented way of thinking and a religious people. The believer sees God as the protagonist behind all the events. Whatever happens in the world, it is not outside the sphere of divine influence. Therefore, it is natural for a religiously oriented human to turn to God, and he does so through prayer. Then he gives additional indications of his outlook by making individual offerings, thereby showing that he is willing to adhere to God. But he not only acknowledges God through these individual gifts, such as sacrifice and grain offering. These gifts are also in the nature of symbols. The true believer presents God with what he himself urgently needs to live on. For him, God is also the centre “around the clock”: bread is the prime food. The loaves are displayed not only for a short time, as a holocaust is, but for a long time. As a long-term gift, the bread demonstrates that the praying person has offered his life forever. The light from the lamps is used as a symbol of aligning oneself to God, even if the light of the sun is no longer there: this is indicated in the phrase “lit the lamps and set out the loaves” (2 Macc 1:8). Therefore, according to biblical thought, God is the centre “day and night”, both in time and as the arbiter of values. This actually demonstrates that the petitioner does what Psalm 1 presents as the basic programme of each praying person: “they meditate *tôrat adonâi* day and night” (Ps 1:2). Willingness to accept God outwardly in sacrifice is the visible side of an inner attitude. That internal attitude is the driving force of a confident piety that puts God at the centre of every situation.

2.2 Prayer in 2 Macc 1:23–30

Prayer in 2 Macc 1:23–30 is embedded within the description of a miracle. The holy fire had started to burn again miraculously, when they first offered sacrifices on the newly built altar after returning home. “For when our ancestors were being led captive to Persia, the pious priests of that time took some of the

fire of the altar and secretly hid it in the hollow of a dry cistern, where they took such precautions that the place was unknown to anyone” (2 Macc 1:19).

23 And while the sacrifice was being consumed, the priests offered prayer – the priests and everyone. Jonathan led, and the rest responded, as did Nehemiah. 24a The prayer (ἡ προσευχή) was to this effect:

24b Lord, Lord (κύριε κύριε),

24c the God (ὁ θεός),

24d the Creator of all things (ὁ πάντων κτίστης),

24e the awe-inspiring (ὁ φοβερός) and strong (ισχυρός) and just (δίκαιος) and merciful (ἐλεήμων),

24f *the sole* king and kind (ὁ μόνος βασιλεὺς καὶ χρηστός),

25a *the sole* bountiful (ὁ μόνος χορηγός),

25b *the sole* just and almighty and eternal (ὁ μόνος δίκαιος καὶ παντοκράτωρ καὶ αἰώνιος).

25c *the saving* (ὁ διασώζων) of Israel from every evil;

25d *the making* of *chosen* ancestors and *consecrating* them (ὁ ποιήσας τοὺς πατέρας ἐκλεκτοὺς καὶ ἀγιάσας αὐτούς).

26a Accept this sacrifice (πρόσδεξαι τὴν θυσίαν) on behalf of all your people Israel

26b and preserve (διαφύλαξον) your portion

26c and make it holy (καθαγιάσον).

27a Gather (ἐπισυνάγαγε) together our scattered people,

27b set free (ἐλευθέρωσον) those who are slaves among the Gentiles,

27c look (ἔπιδε) on those who are rejected and despised,

27d and let the Gentiles know (γνώτωσαν)

27e that (ὅτι) you are our God (σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν).

28 Punish (βασάνισον) those who oppress (καταδυναστεύοντας) and are insolent (ἐξυβρίζοντας) with pride (ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ).

29a Plant (καταφύτευσον) your people in your holy place (εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἅγιόν σου),

29b as Moses promised (εἶπεν).

30 Then the priests sang the hymns (2 Macc 1:23–30).³

The linguistic signals in this prayer indicate how the author wishes us to understand his poem. It is noteworthy that only nominal formulations are present in

³ The translation above is based on the NRSV, but the words in italics indicate where I have translated on the basis of the Greek original.

1:24–25. The imperative forms follow in 1:26–29, except in the explanatory sentences of 1:27d, e and 29b. The result is seven sections of different lengths:

Section 1: Double address (1:24b).

Section 2: Description of the nature of God. The description is structured by the use of the article. The author groups together three parts: 1:24c, d, e.

Section 3: Epithets, emphasized by the use of the article, which constitute God's oneness (1:24f, 25a, b)

Section 4: Description of how God is working in Israel and for the believers. The use of the article is again striking (1:25c, d). It highlights the structure, as in the preceding sections.

Section 5: The author switches from the enumerative style to a consistent use of the imperative. By the use of six verbs in the imperative the worshippers call upon God to rescue the people (1:26a, 26b, 26c, 27a, 27b, 27c). In the earlier section the focus was on Israel, while now an additional stress is placed on peoples (1:27d, e).

Section 6: The request to God to punish the oppressors also refers to the reprehensible attitude of the opponents. The shortness of this verse, with the use of only one imperative, makes it highly effective. The request interrupts the flow of pleas to God and seems like an alien element (1:28).

Section 7: This verse is also very short and is governed by an imperative. It is very striking that Moses is suddenly mentioned as guarantor. With regard to its content, this verse is a continuation of the fourth section (1:29a, b).

2.2.1 The double address κύριε κύριε in 2 Macc 1:24b

The first section is not only short, but also unusually formulated: κύριε κύριε. The double salutation is striking and it occurs only here in 2 Macc, but the commentaries do not mention this special feature.⁴ In the LXX we find ten other references to κύριε κύριε, namely Deut 3:24; Judg 6:22; 16:28 (A); 1 Kgs 8:53; 1 Chr 17:24; Ps 141/140:8; Amos 7:5; Ezek 21:5; Esth 4:17[2] and in addition 3 Macc 2:2. For the double heading, the Hebrew original is usually יהוה יהוה אֱלֹהֵינוּ (Deut 3:24; Judg 6:22; 16:28 (A); 1 Kgs 8:53; Ps 141/140:8; Amos 7:5; Ezek 21:5). The only exception is: 1 Chr 17:24, יהוה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. In all these references the authors call with a particular intensity on the Lord. In Judg 16:28 (A); Amos 7:5;

⁴ Cf. e.g. Bévenot, *Makkabäerbücher*, 174; Dommershausen, *2 Makkabäer*, 112; Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 154–155.

Esth 4:17[2], a particular threat is additionally mentioned. Even more striking, however, are the hints at the power and greatness of God: “O Lord, Lord (κύριε κύριε), you have begun to show your attendant your strength (τὴν ἰσχύν σου) and your power (τὴν δύναμίν σου) and your strong hand and your high arm. For what god is there in the sky or on the earth that will do as you have done, and according to your strength (κατὰ τὴν ἰσχύν σου)?” (Deut 3:24). “Lord, Lord, King of all powers (πάντων κρατῶν), for the universe is subject to your authority (ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ σου), and there is no one who can oppose you when it is your will to save Israel (σῶσαι τὸν Ἰσραηλ), because you have made (ἐποίησας) heaven and earth and every wonderful thing in it under heaven. You are Lord of all, and there is no one who can withstand you, the Lord. You know all things; you know, o Lord, that it was not in insolence (ἐν ὕβρει) nor pride (ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ) nor for any love of glory that I did this, namely, to refuse to do obeisance to this prideful (ὑπερήφανον) Haman” (Esth 4:17[2–5]).

It may immediately be seen that the themes of the power and strength of God and the rejection of arrogance and pride are key elements in the double title. The long prayer of the High Priest Simon in 3 Macc 2:2–20 is even closer to our prayer of 2 Macc 1:24–30. Although the third book of Maccabees is younger than the second book of Maccabees, they both breathe a similar Hellenistic spirit and belong to this environment of pre-Christian times. There you read: “Lord, Lord, king of the heavens (βασιλεῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν) and sovereign of all creation (δέσποτα πάσης κτίσεως), holy among the holy ones (ἅγιε ἐν ἁγίοις), sole ruler (μόναρχε), almighty (παντοκράτωρ), hearken unto us, who are being oppressed by a vile and unholy man, grown insolent with presumption and power. For you, the creator of all things (ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα) and the governor of all, are a just ruler (δυναστής δίκαιος), and you judge (κρίνεις) those whose deeds are marked by pride (ὑβρει) and arrogance (ἀγερωχίᾳ). You destroyed those who in the past worked iniquity (ἀδικίαν ποιήσαντας) ...” (3 Macc 2:2–4a). The terminological parallels are striking and they show that the same problem exists: oppression by arrogant authorities that act maliciously. The Lord as king, creator, righteous judge and almighty – using the same terminology as in 1 Macc 1:24d – is in opposition to these malicious activities.⁵ Because of *Him*, hope exists. This is reflected in the double address of the title and throughout the prayer. Returning to my statement at the beginning of this article, a double address indicates a special emotional intensity that includes hope and trust.

⁵ According to Arenhoevel, *Theokratie*, 132 (cf. also note 1), shows „schon ein flüchtiger Überblick über die Fülle der Gottesnamen, die ihm aus der Feder fließen, ..., wie er sich Jahwe vorstellt.“

The author shows that you can strongly trust in the Lord and you can justifiably rely on *this* God.

2.2.2 Θεός and κτίστης in 2 Macc 1:24c, d

In the chapter “vocabulaire appliqué à Dieu”, Enermalm-Ogowa starts her first subsection with κύριε ὁ θεός. She correctly observes that “la combination du vocative κύριε et du nominatif θεός ... est très fréquente dans la LXX.” With regard to some references concerning an added objective genitive, she writes: “Il est probable que II M 1,24 et les cas analogues du recueil constituent un modèle d’invocation selon lequel, en s’adressant à Dieu, on le célèbre pur ce qu’il est en lui-même. Le syntagme κύριε ὁ θεός a certainement aussi la valeur d’une déclaration de foi. Il semble que le titre κύριε ὁ θεός ait eu un emploi spécifique dans le culte synagogaal qui doit être considéré comme facteur d’action possible sur le langage de prière.”⁶ Unfortunately, the author has not investigated the biblical references for κύριε κύριε and their Hebrew *Vorlagen*, in so far as one exists. This brings into question the adequacy of her research. The following arguments have to be considered: without an accurate scrutiny one cannot equate κύριε κύριε ὁ θεός with κύριε ὁ θεός. She correctly observes that κύριε ὁ θεός appears often and usually goes back to יהוה יהוה. But a look at all the references to κύριε κύριε makes the difference obvious. None of the above-listed references to κύριε κύριε uses [ὁ] θεός when translating יהוה יהוה. Scholars interested in terminology and syntax should not miss such obvious data. In addition, her investigation has clearly overlooked the fact that in the context of 2 Macc 1:24–25 the article has a structural function. Thus, it should have been immediately clear that the frequent phrase κύριος/κύριε ὁ θεός cannot be equated with κύριε κύριε ὁ θεός. Since we have here a sacrificial worship at the *Temple* – according to Bévenot „das *einzig* liturgische Opfergebet des A.T.“⁷ – her additional comment about the *synagogue liturgy* is incomprehensible.

This has consequences for our investigation. Enermalm-Ogowa does not notice the intimacy of κύριε κύριε and the intensity characterized by the naming of the Lord and therefore does not recognize the emotional content. Her remark that ὁ θεός in 2 Macc 1:24 is qualified and defined as “une apposition” – which is the case in other biblical references – is insufficient. She misses the specific

⁶ Enermalm-Ogawa, *Langage*, 62–63; in addition, Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 154, correctly alludes to Enermalm-Ogawa’s volume, but it seems that he has not read this passage of hers.

⁷ Bévenot, *Makkabäerbücher*, 174.

message and sense of the word. The text emphasizes that the Lord who is intensively addressed is the God of worshippers. At this point, the article \acute{o} has a highlighting and accentuating function: it highlights the “one God” and \acute{o} θεός serves as a *proclamation*. That message must go even beyond Israel. As a result of all of the actions that are described in 2 Macc 1:27a–27c, all the nations should be able to recognize “that you are our God (\acute{o} θεός ἡμῶν)” (2 Macc 1:27e).

As described, the unique position of God is confirmed in 2 Macc 1:24d by the additional reference to the power of creation. The confession of the fifth Maccabean brother \acute{o} πάντων κτίστης is, according to 4 Macc 11:5, – a text from the first century BCE – *the argument of faith*, because of which the seven Maccabean brothers are persecuted and killed. Hereby we learn that in the eyes of the Hellenistic polytheists creative activity had a special meaning for faith. It is almost trite to point out that this assertion in the Old Testament is central: God is considered and known as the creator. There is a huge terminological diversity of words that express various aspects of creative activity; cf. **יצר, פּעַל, עִשָּׂה, בְּרָא**, **קנה, גטה, יסד, כון, סכך, ילד** (Deut 32:18; Ps 90:2). As the concept of creation is of great importance in the Hellenistic context, we should note the selection of a specific terminology. The biblical translators and authors tried very carefully to ensure that the biblical imagination of creation was not confused with propositions originating in the (pagan) surroundings. In the LXX the preferred terms are build from the root $\kappa\tau\iota\sigma/\zeta^*$: $\kappa\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ /create, $\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$ /creator, $\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$, $\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ / creation. A new meaning for $\kappa\tau\iota\sigma/\zeta^*$ was invented and established by the biblical writers.⁸ To return to our prayer: \acute{o} κτίστης is therefore the continuation of the *confession* of 1:24c. In addition, it receives a universal application by the use of the word πάντων, meaning the world and the human being, Israelites and the nations. The relatively oldest testimony for the conviction that God is the God of the universe is found in the prayer of Sir 36:1, **אלהי הכל**. This was translated by his grandson into [ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς] δέσποτα \acute{o} θεός πάντων.⁹ It is interesting that the grandson uses *δεπότης* in his interpretive translation, but not *κτίστης*, which was not yet a regular theological term with the connotation

⁸ „Die LXX aber hat ... eine Wortgruppe gewählt ..., deren Anwendung in diesem Sinne neu ist“; Foerster, $\kappa\tau\iota\zeta\omega$, 1022; cf. 1024: „ $\kappa\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ bei Hom *ein Land bewohnbar machen, es anbauen und bevölkern* ... Dann *ein Stadt erbauen, sie gründen*. ... Auch von der *Errichtung* bzw. *Gründung* von Hainen, Tempeln, Theatern, Bädern, Gräbern, von der *Stiftung* von Festen und Spielen. Dabei bezeichnet das Verb ... *den entscheidenden, grundlegenden Willensakt zur Errichtung, Gründung und Stiftung* ... $\kappa\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ wird auch vom *Erfinden*, dh vom grundlegenden *geistigen* Akte und vom *Gründen* z.B. von *Philosophenschulen* gebraucht“; cf. Oláh, Schöpfungsterminologie, 150–152.

⁹ This observation points to the Hellenistic education received by the grandson of Ben Sira.

of creation. Δεπότης is a typical name of God in the Greek and Hellenistic world.¹⁰ The hint that God has created everything, that is to say, the whole universe, is frequently used in the final centuries BCE; cf. Sir 18:1; Wisd 1:14; 3 Macc 2:3.¹¹ When Israel and the believers speak of their Creator, they express the feeling that their God is incomparable and invincible.

2.2.3 The epithets of God according to 2 Macc 1:24e

An equivalent series of four adjectives as in 1:24c (φοβερός, ισχυρός, δίκαιος, ἐλεήμων) is demonstrable neither in 2 Macc nor in the whole LXX.

2.2.3.1 The Lord and God as φοβερός

The adjectives φοβερός and ισχυρός occur only in 1:24e and are linked with God. Other examples in 2 Macc show how close derivatives of φοβ* are connected with emotions and reveal the huge spectrum of their meanings. The following paragraphs explore the different and sometimes contrary usage of φοβ*:

(a) When the army of Judah murderously passed through the Transjordan,¹² the appearance of soldiers spread panic and the population fled, as described at Karnaim: “But when Judas’s first division appeared, terror (δέους) and fear (φόβου) came over the enemy at the manifestation to them of him who sees all things. In their flight they rushed headlong in every direction ...” (2 Macc 12:22).

(b) The youngest son of the Maccabean mother is naturally afraid of Antiochus, who had already tortured to death his other brothers. His mother comforts and encourages him with these words: “Do not fear (μὴ φοβηθῆς) this butcher, but prove worthy of your brothers. Accept death, so that in God’s mercy (ἐν τῷ ἐλέει) I may get you back again along with your brothers” (2 Macc 7:29). Schmitz rightly speaks in this context of “Seelenstärke” and “Unerschrockenheit” and emphasizes the emotional dimension represented by these keywords.¹³ In any case, we notice that in this important reference the roots of φοβ* and ελε* are used contrastingly.

(c) In the two example above φοβ* is connected with negative experiences. Now we examine examples where φόβος occurs with “the Lord”. In 2 Macc 6:18–31 we read how the Hellenists tried to win the highly respected Eleazar

¹⁰ Cf. Schöpflin, Hellenisierung, 322.

¹¹ Cf. creating heaven and earth, etc. which also implies this dimension; cf. Dan 4:37; 14:5.

¹² Cf. Hofeditz, Unabhängigkeit, 250–252.

¹³ Cf. Schmitz, Antiochus, 256–257; Schmitz, Nichts, 73–76.

with various tricks and deceit. Thereby they wish to have him eat either forbidden pork, or at least to pretend to eat it. The scribe is not willing to participate in this fraud. The feigned friendliness manifests itself as deception. Finally the pent-up hatred bursts out of the deeply religious Eleazar. “When he was about to die under the blows, he groaned aloud and said: ‘It is clear to the Lord in his holy knowledge that, though I might have been saved from death, I am enduring terrible sufferings in my body under this beating, but in my soul I am glad to suffer these things because I fear him (διὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ φόβον)’” (2 Macc 6:30). NAB quite rightly translates the last words in a different way: “Because of my devotion to him.” This passage is clearly not about fear and anxiety, as one might misunderstand the translation in NRSV! I wish to point to the study by Egger-Wenzel of Job and Sira, according to which one should not speak of “fear/fear of God,” but of faith and respect.¹⁴ As is clear, φόβος now receives a positive connotation. Moreover, the word φόβος is emotionally charged in such a strong way that Eleazar’s heart is strengthened and he is able to die for God. This is the oldest testimony of martyrdom.

2.2.3.2 The Lord and God as ἐλεήμων

In 2 Macc 1:24e the first adjective is φοβερός and the last is ἐλεήμων. The meaning of the word ἐλεήμων may be illustrated by the following examples.

(a) Because the Almighty (παντοκράτωρ; 2 Macc 8:24) had supported the Judeans, they won a convincing victory over Nicanor. But they did not pursue the defeated army that evening, because the Sabbath was imminent. After the Sabbath they divided the spoils. The weakest were the first to receive something out of the spoils (“those who had been tortured and to the widows and orphans;” 2 Macc 8:28) and afterwards provision was made for the others. Then they turned to God in a public prayer. The unusual terminology should be noted. This terminology is demonstrable only in Sira and in 2 and 3 Macc.¹⁵ Be that as it may, they “implored the merciful Lord (τὸν ἐλεήμονα κύριον) to be wholly reconciled with his servants” (2 Macc 8:29). The worshippers had followed very strict religious rules. Military logic would have suggested pursuing a fleeing enemy, but believers regarded it as more important to follow the religious orders than to have a swift military success. At the same time, they were aware that they had committed trespasses. But they felt protected by the merciful Lord. Thus, they could entrust him with their failures. They are sure that he will forgive them everything and at the same time protect them from the enemy.

¹⁴ Egger-Wenzel, Faith, passim.

¹⁵ Cf. 2 Macc 3:18; 8:29; 10:25; 12:42; 3 Macc 5:25; Sir 35:14; 51:9.

Trust and security in life are the results of the experience that God is ἐλεήμων. Observing this pericope, one realizes that God is being described by an emotionally replete and positive expression.

(b) Antiochus V Eupator (164–162 BCE) was crowned king in infancy, and his guardian and kinsman Lysias therefore had to lead the army. Being a Hellenist “he intended to make the city [Jerusalem] a home for Greeks” (2 Macc 11:3). The biblical author inserts a comment on this situation, anticipating the punch line of what is to come: “He took no account whatever of the power of God” (2 Macc 11:4a). Before Lysias could occupy Jerusalem, he had to besiege those cities that were intended to function as barriers. One of these cities was Beth Zur. The fortress is located twenty-eight kilometers south of Jerusalem. Judas was obviously in a hopeless situation; he nevertheless wished to protect Jerusalem against its enemies. Together with all the people, he turned to God in order to obtain tangible and visible help in the form of an angel, and “with lamentations and tears (μετὰ ὀδυρμῶν καὶ δακρύων), prayed (ικέτευον) to the Lord to send a good angel to save Israel” (2 Macc 11:6b). The choice of words is remarkable: The noun ὀδυρμός¹⁶ describes a complaint that is often caused by direct physical pain, so the threat was experienced as if it were a physically tangible pain.

This distress was so great that the people even burst into tears. The choice of the verb is also informative and although its translation with “pray” is possible, this constitutes an insufficient designation of the contextual content. The meaning of ἰκέτεύω – a rare verb that is used only in late biblical texts¹⁷ – is “to approach as a suppliant”. Judah and his people are not ordinary worshippers, but helpless supplicants. The situation seems even more dramatic than in the lamentations. Indeed! An angel appeared and accompanied them: 2 Macc 11:8. It is reported that on the way to the hostile army at Bet Zur the Judeans continuously appealed to the Lord and “praised the merciful God (τὸν ἐλεήμονα θεόν)” (2 Macc 11:9). Here, it becomes clear that ἐλεήμων does not describe God as a God who shows his benevolence, as part of his – general compassion, with an appropriately warm affection and cordiality. On the contrary, the experience of God as ἐλεήμων strengthens the resolve of those who have just been terrified.

Having experienced God as a reliable supporter (ἐλεήμων) during their prayers, they “were strengthened in heart, ready to assail not only humans but the wildest animals or walls of iron” (2 Macc 11:9). Paraphrased into contemporary language, one might say: they were intoxicated by the experience of God. Again, it is noted that they courageously threw themselves at an enemy that had

¹⁶ Liddell/Scott, *Lexicon*, 826 [s.v.].

¹⁷ In addition to 2 Macc 11:6, confer also Ps 36/37:7; Job 19:17; Wis 13:18; 19:3.

been formerly perceived as invincible, “for the Lord had ‘mercy’ on them (ἐλεήσαντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ κυρίου)” (2 Macc 11:10b). The author describes the battle as tremendously fierce. He may have chosen his words spontaneously, but the use of λεοντηδός (*like a lion*) is very unexpected here. Λεοντηδός is a *hapax legomenon* in LXX and Liddell/Scott quote our passage as the term’s only occurrence in the Greek language. Moreover, the use of the term shows that the author employs an elite Greek language, with his sophisticated Greek education becoming obvious through his use of a term borrowed by Aristotle from the Iliad. In Hellenistic education, every student became familiar with the simile of Achilles pouncing on Aeneas like a lion: *Rhet.* 1406b [3.4.1].¹⁸ The author of 2 Macc demonstrates with this allusion that the attack was really irresistible, because “they hurled themselves like a lion¹⁹ (λεοντηδόν) against the enemy” (2 Macc 11:11a). Above all, we are interested in the theological content and the position of God in this confrontation. The derivatives of ελεε* (ἐλεήμων in 2 Macc 11:9 and ἐλεέω in 11:10) are central in describing the experience of God: Judeans see that God protects them and that he, by his own initiative, is in solidarity with the threatened. During the threat God not only *speaks* of support, but he *offers* concrete help. No detailed description is given of how God’s energy is transmitted to the endangered people, but the impact on their emotions and attitudes are made clear. One thing is obvious from the very beginning: faith is at the core of the human soul and empowers him to accept whatever God sends. Therefore, even before God changes the attitude of the fearful, he is already

18 Cf. the whole text: “Howbeit the whole plain was filled with men and horses, and aflame with bronze, and the earth resounded beneath their feet as they rushed together; and two warriors best by far of all came one against the other into the space between the two hosts, eager to do battle (μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι), even Aeneas, Anchises’s son, and goodly Achilles. Aeneas first strode forth with threatening mien, his heavy hem nodding above him; his valorous shield he held before his breast, and he brandished a spear of bronze. And on the other side the son of Peleus rushed against him like a lion (λέων ὡς σίντης), a ravening lion that men are fain to slay (ἀποκτάμενα μεμάασιν), even a whole folk that be gathered together; and he at the first recking naught of them goeth his way, but when one of the youths swift in battle hath smitten him with a spear-cast, then he gathereth himself open-mouthed, and foam cometh forth about his teeth, and in his heart his valiant spirit groaneth, and with his tail he lasheth his ribs and his flanks on this side and on that, and rouseth himself to fight (μαχέσασθαι), and with glaring eyes he rusheth straight on in his fury (ἰθύς), whether he slay (φέρεται) some man or himself be slain (φθίεται) in the foremost throng; even so was Achilles driven by his fury, and his lordly spirit (μένος καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ) to go forth to face great-hearted (μεγαλήτορος) Aeneas;” (Il. XX,155–175; translation of Murray, Homer, Iliad).

19 Throughout the translations the interpreters use the plural “like lions” (NRSV, NAB and NETS). This is weird since there is no clue to it in the text.

glorified by the people personally and in public (1 Macc 11:9a). First, the author mentions the fear and the incipient despair: they cry out to God with lamentations and tears. There is no need to describe the wealth of emotions with words other than those erupting from this passage. Such an outburst of emotions also underlines that all stages of life are manifest before the Lord. Soon, an inner calm prevails and the praise of God follows. The Judeans are again aware in the depths of their heart that God is ἐλεήμων, “solidarity” and “ready to support.” Fear fades away, courage and bravery take its place and they are ready to fight like a lion against those who threaten Jerusalem, their life and their faith. They thus defeat the enemy by way of emotional strength.

(c) In the year 163 BCE Lysias and his protégé, the Seleucid king, Antiochus, who was about twelve-years-old, marched against Jerusalem, according to 2 Macc 13:1. The High Priest Menelaus had joined those two in order to preserve his influence, which he was in danger of losing because of the rising power of Judas. The attackers threatened that they wanted to deprive them of “the law and their country and the holy temple” (2 Macc 13:10b). A real sense of panic gripped the nation. “But when Judas heard of this, he ordered the people to call upon the Lord day and night” (ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον; 2 Macc 13:10a). The people followed the advice of Judas. “When they had all joined in the same petition and had implored the merciful Lord (τὸν ἐλεήμονα κύριον) with weeping and fasting and lying prostrate for three days without ceasing, Judas exhorted them and ordered them to stand ready” (2 Macc 13:12). The term “crying” demonstrates that these prayers are highly emotional; this applies, irrespective of whether the reason for their tears is fear or hope. It is certain that the tears and the entire scene indicate an intense description of emotions. The pleas were addressed to the “merciful Lord” and produced an amazing change in the attitude of those who had been desperate. After this prayer they were “suddenly” convinced that the terrible threat would be overcome “by the help of God” (τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείᾳ; 2 Macc 13:13). Why are the Israelites now convinced that God will stand by them? This conviction is obviously the fruit of several days of engaging with God and his work. They have learned afresh the meaning of describing of their God as *the* ἐλεήμων κύριος. The use of κύριος instead of θεός is important at this point. First, *this Lord* is at the centre; it is He who has saved his people from distress since “time immemorial”.

Additionally, the word κύριος points to (a) strength and power according to commonly used language, (b) the regent and his authority in the Hellenistic socio-political world and (c) the Hellenistic conception of God. The outcome of spiritual confidence is the theological conviction that the faithful may rely on their God because he is powerful. Again, the people of Israel become aware of the fact that there is a God to whom the faithful may confidently turn even in

situations that appear to be hopeless. God does not reject his people and, because he is *the* ἐλεήμων, he also supports his followers. It is clear that the translation with “merciful” renders only a part of the meaning of ἐλεήμων in 2 Macc.²⁰ The accent is more on “reliable” and, simultaneously, on “powerful.” This total confidence in the help of God is not to be understood as a human trick: God is not bound by a public confession or the confession of an individual’s weakness nor is he forced to do nothing else but help. Rather, in this context, the nature of God is an essential element: as in 1:24d, knowledge of the creative power of God is part of the basic elements of faith. If the creator wishes to use his power, he can demonstrate the limits of the most powerful enemy, as Judas says. However, it is the Lord who solely decides whether he wishes to use his power. “So, committing the decision to the Creator of the world (δοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν τῷ κτίσῃ τῷ κόσμῳ) and exhorting his troops to fight bravely to the death for the laws, Temple, city, country, and commonwealth, he pitched his camp near Modein” (2 Macc 13:14). And there now appears a new word, which designates the attitude of fighters, namely *bravely*. The effect is that even death has lost its horror. That the fear of death does not play a role becomes clear if you bear in mind the belief in the resurrection, as witnessed in 2 Macc, e.g.: “My brothers, after enduring brief pain, have drunk of never-failing life (ἀνάου ζωῆς), under God’s covenant, ...” (2 Macc 7:36); cf. ἀνάστασις (εἰς ζωὴν) in 2 Macc 7:14 and 12:43.

Reliance on the “solidarity,” the “aid” (“mercy”) of God in a threatening situation provides an inexhaustible elixir of life and a source of strength: the effects manifest themselves at the personal, social and military levels. One who

20 The translation of ἐλεήμων by *merciful* is usually correct. But it needs to be questioned if ἐλεήμων in some central passages should generally be translated as *merciful*. In Ps 85/86:15 one reads: “But you, O Lord God, are compassionate and merciful, slow to anger and abounding in mercy steadfast love and true” (NETS): καὶ σύ κύριε ὁ θεὸς οἰκτιρῶν καὶ ἐλεήμων μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος καὶ ἀληθινός. In the preceding verse one reads: “O God, transgressors of law rose up against me, and a band of strong ones sought my soul” (Ps 85/86:14). This makes it clear that the life of the worshipper is in danger. He pleads: “Make with me a sign for good, and let those who hate me see and be put to shame” (Ps 85/86:17). In this verse “merciful” is not the correct term since the reference is to rescue from death. „Gerade deshalb appelliert er [der Beter] in 15–16 an JHWH, dieser möge sein am Sinai geoffenbartes Gott-Sein ... nun auch an ihm als Individuum erweisen, damit seine Feinde sehen, dass Gott auf *seiner* Seite steht und dass sie dadurch als verbrecherische Menschen öffentlich ‚beschämt‘ 17, d.h. entlarvt und entmacht werden“; Zenger, Psalm, 478–479. This example well illustrates that the meaning of every passage has to be examined. The biblical translators used Greek as a living language and could sense the nuances. Thus, the linear equalization of words in different languages does not properly fathom the intention of the authors and their choice of words.

knows that God is on his side is certain that everything is possible. This is already mentioned in the ancient prayer, “because in you I shall be rescued from a pirate’s nest, and in my God I will scale a wall ... (he is) training my hands for battle, and my arms you made a bronze bow” (Ps 18/17:30, 35). Moreover, I have a comment on the scale of values here. In the eyes of the biblical writers, the terrifying courage to take on a fight is not a desirable ideal in itself and should not be glorified. This stands in contrast to Greek thinking in the *polis*. For the Judeans, the will to fight is merely a means of offering resistance to the superior power of the Greeks.

2.2.3.3 The Lord and God as ἰσχυρός

In the theological context, ἰσχυρός occurs only in 2 Macc 1:24e. As we have seen above, on the one hand the author of 2 Macc reveals an excellent mastery of Greek and is very independent in his word usage, while on the other it is obvious that he knows the LXX since he repeatedly makes cross-references. As there is no other useful reference for ἰσχυρός in 2 Macc – the same also applying to the other derivatives of ἰσχυ(ρ)* – we need to take a closer look at LXX usage. It is noteworthy that ἰσχυρός is mainly used in human or secular contexts. There are only a few references in which ἰσχυρός appears together with φοβερός in a theological context. Moreover, there is a third adjective that occurs with the two previously mentioned: μέγας. They usually appear in a series; cf. Deut 10:17; Neh 1:5; 9:32; Dan 9:4.²¹

Although the internal connections of legal texts in the Bible are not easy to trace, the following text arrangement shows that the compilers were at least aware of such connections. It is clear that the verse preceding Deut 10:17 is characterized by very strong emotions: “And you shall circumcise your hard-heartedness and shall not harden your neck any longer,” (Deut 10:6). That means, „dass alles Denken und Wollen [und man müsste wohl auch hinzufügen: alle Emotionen], das nach atl. Anschauung seinen Sitz im ‚Herzen‘ hat, von Hindernissen befreit und im Gehorsam Gott geöffnet werden soll.“²² There then follows: “For the Lord your God is God of gods and Lord of lords, God, the great (ὁ μέγας) and mighty (ἰσχυρός) and fear-inspiring (ὁ φοβερός), who does not marvel at a person, neither he will take bribe, doing justice (ὑψῶν/κρίσιν) to the guest and orphan and widow ...” (Deut 10:17–18). This series shows that the keywords ὁ μέγας, ἰσχυρός and ὁ φοβερός highlight the immensity, superiority

²¹ It is striking that in Neh 1:5; 9:32; Dan 9:4 φυλάσσω, τηρέω τὴν διαθήκην and τὸ ἔλεος are used in a sequence. This hints at a coined phraseology.

²² Braulik, Deuteronomium, 85.

and potency of God in such a way that the hearts of the people who hear this message are powerfully stimulated. The emotional intensity of these words is indisputable.

We now wish to apply this concept to the context of 2 Macc 10:28, even if there are only points of comparison regarding the intensity and no other terminological connections. When Timothy was approaching with his army, the Judeans turned to God and asked for his help. Maccabeus and his men sprinkled dust on their heads and girt their loins with sackcloth, in supplication before God (πρὸς ἱκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ). Prostrating themselves on the steps before the altar, they implored him to be gracious to them (προσπεόντες ἤξιουν ἕλωσ) and to be an enemy to their enemies and an adversary to their adversaries, as the law declares. “And rising from their prayer (ἀπὸ τῆς δεήσεως) they took up their arms” (2 Macc 10:25–27a). The Judeans know their own deficiencies. Since they are unworthy, they cannot approach God with demands. But they can show respect to God with sacrifices. They can also plead and beg. Strengthened through prayer, they find themselves able to confront their enemies. The nature of their military motivation distinguishes the Judeans from the Seleucids. Their spiritual base, and thus their reason for fighting, is different: “Just as dawn was breaking, the two armies joined battle, the one having as pledge of success and victory (εὐημερίας καὶ νίκης) not only their valor (μετὰ ἀρετῆς)²³ but also their reliance on the Lord τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον καταφυγὴν, while the other made rage (τὸν θυμόν) their leader in the fight” (2 Macc 10:28).

Of course, the Judeans were eager to win in this dangerous situation. We remember the allusion to a fighting lion in Maccabees as well as in the Iliad, as earlier noted. With respect to the linguistic structure and the choice of vocabulary, the following should be noted: the battle between Aeneas and Achilles is filled with emotional hostility. The last noun in the description of that struggle, which describes the invincible fighting greed of Achilles, is θυμός (Il. XX 176). Even if one does not accept the other suggested interconnections between the Greek language and the language of the author of 2 Macc, the equivalent use of θυμός is indisputable. It is the last keyword of the passage cited above and summarizes, like no other word, the militant determination and ferocity. The choice of words demonstrates the emotional intensity, which is already under way, as described in 2 Macc 10:27–28: We remember that the final preparations were made during the night, and that the battle of life and death erupts at the first light of day. It is not stated in the text in what manner the Seleucids pre-

23 The meaning of ἀρετῆ as “martial arts” can be also found 2 Macc 15:17. Here the fighters risked their lives “because the city and the sanctuary and the temple were in danger.”

pared themselves for the battle, but we know their target: always be victorious and prefer to die rather than be defeated.²⁴ In contrast, 2 Macc shows that the prayers and sacrifices led to feelings of internal security because of their trust in God; a trust that assured them that taking refuge in God would give them inner tranquility and thereby also victory.

2.2.3.4 The Lord and God as δίκαιος

In 2 Macc δίκαιος is used only as a derivative from the root δικ*. The keyword δίκαιος is directly connected to God. In addition to 2 Macc 1:24e, 15b, it also occurs with the same connotation in 2 Macc 12:6. The secular use of δίκαιος occurs in 4:34; 7:36; 9:12, 18; 10:12; 11:14; 12:6; 13:23. It is also important to note the antonyms ἀδικία (2 Macc 10:12) and ἄδικος (2 Macc 4:35, 40, 48). In our unit (2 Macc 1:23–30), δίκαιος has a special relevance. Beside the occurrence in the series (2 Macc 1:23e), the ensuing verse 1:25b reads: “you alone ... are [the] just and almighty and eternal (ὁ μόνος δίκαιος καὶ παντοκράτωρ καὶ αἰώνιος).” With the exception of θεός, no other central word is used twice, so that the importance of δίκαιος becomes evident. The statement that God is ὁ μόνος δίκαιος emphasizes his special, unique position, which is complemented by “almighty and eternal.” The power of God enables Him to be μόνος δίκαιος and this epithet is valid forever: God is eternally δίκαιος.

The outstanding role of justice is indisputable, especially in the Greek world. It is one of the cardinal virtues. Such concepts also influenced the Bible. *Justice* is the summary of all the virtues, and is at the same time itself a virtue. “If one loves justice (δικαιοσύνην), the fruits of her works are virtues; for she teaches moderation (σωφροσύνην) and prudence (φρόνησιν), justice (δικαιοσύνην) and fortitude (ἀνδρεία), and nothing in life is more useful for men than these” (Wis 8:7). This Greek conception is found e.g. in *Symp.* 196c.d, where Plato testifies to the relevant notions by listing the words δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, ἀνδρεία, σοφία. This is not the context in which to discuss fully the content of *justice*, but according to Greek thought – confer Dihle – δικαιοσύνη is of incomparable importance, both in the legal field as well as in ethics.

Concerning the legal dimension – as may be seen in the various utterances of Aristotle – justice is to ensure that „innerhalb der Gesellschaft (durch) das Erweisen u. Vergelten von Leistungen immer wieder neu ein ausgewogener Zustand“ and „die angemessene u. gleichmäßige Verteilung von Pflichten u. Vorteilen auf die Glieder der Gesellschaft“ is caused. This condition may be

²⁴ The Hellenistic ideals have their roots in the Iliad; cf. in detail Reiterer, Jerusalem, 272–273.

correctly brought about „durch einen Rechtstitel gedeckte Ansprüche“.²⁵ Concerning the area of ethics, justice ensures the „Erfüllung geltender Normen“ and the „Gedeihen der Gesellschaft“. The aim is to reach „individuelle Vollkommenheit“.²⁶ Further, the Stoa explains the nature and origin of justice. The quest of each rational human being for self-realization is primarily concerned with his inherent intellectual capacity. This proposition leads to the doctrine that „das δίκαιον ... von Natur gegeben (sei), ebenso wie der νόμος ..., die Richtschnur (κανών) der G[erechtigkeit], die Götter u. Menschen gleicherweise umfasst. Jedes sittliche Gut ist ein δίκαιον, insofern es der göttlichen Weltordnung entspricht. Der Ursprung der G[erechtigkeit] ist demnach in der κοινὴ φύσις, d.h. in der allem gemeinsamen Natur, zu suchen. Darum gibt es auch keinen Gegensatz zwischen wohlverstandenen Eigeninteresse u. G[erechtigkeit]“.²⁷

This meaning of δίκαιον occurs in 2 Macc; see 2 Macc 10:12. But the political and social realities often contradict this philosophical ideal. It is reported that the legitimate High Priest Onias had to give up his position because Menelaus had bribed the royal authorities, as a result of which he took up the position of High Priest as a usurper. Menelaus sold vessels, previously stolen from the Temple. He was almost betrayed by his own sacrilege because Onias, acting out of a safe asylum, accused him of this misdemeanour. At the last moment Menelaus succeeded in winning over the royal official Andronicus and inciting him to murder Onias. Preparatory actions were required in order to execute this assassination. With a cunning ploy, Andronicus persuaded Onias, “to come out from the place of sanctuary.” He then gave instructions for the murder of Onias without regard to δίκαιον: that is, justice, simultaneously meaning legal conformity (2 Macc 4:34). But this transgression was just too much. “For this reason not only Jews, but many also of other nations, were grieved and displeased at the unjust murder (ἐπὶ τῷ ... ἀδίκῳ φόνῳ) of the man” (2 Macc 4:35). The objection was a powerful one and is formulated by way of unusual²⁸ vocabulary. The choice of words is not only an indication of the mastery of Greek language; it also serves as a means of increasing the attention of readers.

²⁵ Dihle, *Gerechtigkeit* 234; cf. Dihle, *Kanon*, 11: „Der distributive Teil des aristotelischen Gerechtigkeitsbegriffs darf jedenfalls als Errungenschaft des griechischen Denkens angesehen werden, die in den Gedichten Solons das erste Mal greifbar und in der Philosophie des 4. Jh. v. C. umfassend gesichert wird“.

²⁶ Dihle, *Gerechtigkeit*, 235.

²⁷ Dihle, *Gerechtigkeit*, 266–267.

²⁸ Liddell/Scott offer 2 Macc 4:35; 13:25 as references for δεινάζω (“to be in straits”).

Antiochus IV had to intervene and he ordered the execution of Andronicus. The author does not interpret this execution as an essential response of the king, rather as an act of God. Thus, the author can write: “the Lord thus repaid him with the punishment he deserved” (2 Macc 4:38b). This example clearly demonstrates that, in addition to legal aspects, emotional ones are included with an exceptional intensity, with δίκαιον as well as with ἄδικος. Emotions are universal, taking hold of the people of Israel, as well as other nations.

God is the guarantor of the existence of righteous judgement (κρίσις δικαία); cf. 2 Macc 7:36; 9:18. When the people of Joppa wanted to get rid of its Jewish citizens, they employed a dastardly device. They offered to bring them by boat to a quiet place, but they then sank the ships, with 200 Jewish citizens on them. Thereupon Judas responded, “and, calling upon God, the righteous judge (τὸν δίκαιον κριτὴν θεόν), attacked the murderers of his kindred” (2 Macc 12:6). The example is again woven into an emotionally charged situation. Again, Judas turns in prayer to God, who is also judge. The righteous judge – κριτὴς δίκαιος occurs only in Ps 7:12 – applies his justice, bringing about atonement for the cowardly mass murder. The righteous judge is like a tonic, so that Judas then rushes into battle.

It becomes clear, against the background of previous observations, that *just* (δίκαιος) was carefully applied in 1:24e to those adjectives that describe the emotional dimensions of god. Furthermore, we may refer to 1:25b, where it is stated that God is “alone just.” This statement is a clear response to Hellenistic ideas: neither righteousness, as defined by Greeks, nor righteousness as defined on the basis of a neutral idea of God, are satisfactory or accurate for the biblical believer. Only God alone may be described as *just* – and no one else. The ability to enforce justice arises out of the fact that God is *almighty* (παντοκράτωρ). No power can successfully oppose him and expect to be victorious. In addition, these statements are timelessly valid because God is *eternal* (αἰώνιος).

2.3 The panic of the High Priest Onias (2 Macc 3:14b–23)

The following example is not highly informative concerning the depiction of God or the use of prayer with emotionally laden words. But it does demonstrate in a dramatic way the situation of emotional stress that underlies prayers that are being addressed to God.²⁹ The chancellor under Seleucus IV (187–175 BCE)

²⁹ Lichtenberger (Gebet, 209) writes: „Die vielfältigen Gottesbezeichnungen verdeutlichen in diesem Kapitel die Macht Gottes.“

was assigned by the king to confiscate the important Temple treasure from Jerusalem. On his way to Jerusalem, we read:

14b There was no little distress throughout the whole city.

15 The priests prostrated themselves before the altar in their priestly vestments and called toward heaven upon him who had given the law about deposits, that he should keep them safe for those who had deposited them.

16–17 To see the appearance of the high priest was to be wounded at heart, for his face and the change in his color disclosed the anguish of his soul (τὴν κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀγωνίαν). For terror (δέος τι) and bodily trembling (φρικασμός σώματος) had come over the man, which plainly showed to those who looked at him the pain lodged in his heart (τὸ κατὰ καρδίαν ἐνεστός ἄλλος).

18–20 People also hurried out of their houses in crowds to make a general supplication (ἐπὶ πάνδημον ἱκετείαν) because the holy place was about to be brought into dishonor. Women, girded with sackcloth under their breasts, thronged the streets. Some of the young women who were kept indoors ran together to the gates, and some to the walls, while others peered out of the windows. And holding up their hands to heaven, they all made supplication (ἐπιούνητο τὴν λιτανείαν).

21 There was something pitiable in the prostration of the whole populace and the anxiety of the high priest in his great anguish (2 Macc 3:14–21).

There were only a few solidly built houses and palaces where you could store your valuables safely. That is why the Temple in Jerusalem enjoyed a special role as a “safe house and bank.” An able-bodied protection force was in the temple district. However, such a small “police force” would not have the capacity to repulse an army. Earlier in our analysis it was already observed several times that the people prayed regularly, even without being in distress. They knew that their lives were under God’s control. But they prayed especially intensively when in danger. The fervour of prayer, not prayer *per se*, intensifies in a situation of distress.

The choice of words again testifies to an excellent mastery of the Greek language in the description of the desperate High Priest Onias, as the LXX *hapax legomenon* demonstrates: καταφρόνησις (*dishonour*; 3:18), or δέος as documented in 2 Macc (*terror*; 2 Macc 3:17, 30; 12:22; 13:16; 15:23). But in the matter of the religious vocabulary, the author partially differs from other biblical translators and writers or is in parallel with those authors who are characterized by the use of an elitist Greek language, such as the grandson of Ben Sira.

The terms used for the word *prayer* in the LXX are προσευχή, δέησις and εὐχή. Of course, such an excellently educated author knows those words and also uses them; see δέησις in 2 Macc 1:5; 10:27; προσευχή in 1:23–24; εὐχή in 3:35; 15:26. Depending on the context, all these words may be understood differently with regard to their intensity. But it is sure that the effect of certain

other words is highly intensive. (a) One word with such an effect is ἐπίκλησις which is used only in 2 Macc 15:26 (cf. 8:15). In addition to meaning invocations and supplication, this word has also the aspect of an *appeal*. Its use as an *appellation* demonstrates the intensity of the affection of one who prays to God. (b) Another word for intense prayer is ἰκετεία. According to Liddell/Scott the meaning of the noun ἰκετεία is “supplication” – with the exception of 2 Macc the word ἰκετεία occurs only in Sira (2 Macc 3:18; 8:29; 10:25; 12:42; Sir 35:14; 51:9) – and they show how difficult it is to find the right words for translation. The biblical author does not refer merely to a general supplication, but ἰκετεία includes a request for assistance by one who is particularly vulnerable. (c) A third word is λιτανεία. It is used only in 2 Macc (3:20; 10:16). We find *supplication* as the translation (NRSV, NAB, NETS), but Liddell/Scott – who cite the passages of 2 Macc as the only Greek reference – correctly render *entreaty* here. The lexicographers show with such translation that λιτανεία is a more intense activity than simply a supplication.

3 Review

This final review of the topic does not repeat what has been noted in detail in the study. Rather, we wish to make some basic points. The prayers in 2 Macc are almost always formulated in such a way as to include significant, emotional dimensions. This affects the worshippers; it also relates to the names used of God. The author chooses the names and designations in such a way that he can describe the emotionally intense side of God with the relevant epithets. These terms describe the nature of God and demonstrate what God is and how he works. This image of God has an impact on the worshippers.

It is to be regretted that a sensitivity concerning the intensity of emotional implications is mostly missing from the translations. With regard to the dissatisfaction noted at the beginning of this paper, the result confirms my criticism. The views of the exegetes are directed to other aspects of the texts that do not include the emotional one. Thus, they miss many important dimensions in the texts. – At the same time, I have to acknowledge that I myself only slowly realized the importance of this area. There are understandable reasons for the development of the prevalent theory of interpretation. First, grammatical, text-traditional, historical, stylistic, poetic, and theological analyses (among others) are tremendously extensive. Moreover, these analyses are easier to complete by the use of formal criteria and secondary literature. A colleague recently made a correct observation in a discussion by specialists: “The emotional dimensions

are much more difficult to capture and are also more complicated to describe.” But the effort is worthwhile for a better understanding of the text. A valid and objective analysis of the emotional implications of a text is an important contribution to its scientific appreciation.

I hope that this article opens a doorway to a more intense form of interpretation, and one that recognizes how the sacred author wishes us to understand his words, his formulations and his message. The treatment of the emotional dimension has to be a crucial element of interpretation in its totality and remains a *desideratum* of exegetical science. A failure to treat this area neglects or suppresses a central dimension of interpretation.³⁰

Abstract

The historical-critical and other well-recognized exegetical approaches are undoubtedly important. When, however, dealing with prayers, or descriptions of the process of praying, in the Jewish texts of the Second Temple period, there is a need for a more holistic analysis. Such an analysis needs to include an adequate acknowledgement of emotions and feelings and the role that they play in human life: The author of the second book of Maccabees chooses God’s names and designations in such a way that he can depict the emotionally dense side of God with epithets or adjectives. These terms describe the image of God and show how God is and how he works. In turn this image of God has an impact on the worshippers. Thus, as with Psalms, the second book of Maccabees contains texts that presuppose intense emotions and this paper offers examples of how productive the more holistic approach can be in the exegesis of such texts.

³⁰ My thanks are due to Professor Stefan Reif for improving the English version of my article.

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Núria Calduch-Benages

Emotions in the Prayer of Sir 22:27–23:6

Ben Sira is more interested in prayer than any other wisdom writer. In his book of wisdom, we find several instances of advice on how to pray and some real prayers too, both individual and communal. Sir 22:27–23:6 is a good example of individual prayer. The person who recites the prayer (a disciple, or perhaps Ben Sira himself) asks God for help in avoiding sins of the tongue and unruly passions. After giving a short survey of research and an annotated translation of the Greek text, we will focus on the close relationship between the language of the prayer and the emotions it reveals. We intend to show that Ben Sira uses the emotions expressed in 23:4–6 with a pedagogical intent. In other words, emotions in prayer may also lead to wisdom.¹

1 Survey of research on Sir 22:27–23:6

The prayer of Sir 22:27–23:6 had been virtually unexplored until 1978. In that year a programmatic article by Pancratius C. Beentjes appeared in the Dutch journal *Bijdragen*.² According to him, this prayer is not an isolated corpus in the book. On the contrary, it is closely related to its context. The prayer consists of two stanzas (22:27–23:1 and 23:2–6) structured in parallel, the themes of which are developed and elucidated in the subsequent verses. The theme of the first stanza (the sins of the tongue) reappears in 23:7–15, and the theme of the second stanza (the sins of passion) continues in 23:16–26. The last verse (23:27) functions as a conclusion not only to the prayer but also to the entire unit (22:27–23:27).³

After a long pause of twenty-six years, two well-known scholars again focused their attention on our text. I am referring to Maurice Gilbert and Friedrich V. Reiterer. Their contributions in the first volume of the *Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook* series (2004) are worthy of our attention.⁴ Gilbert

¹ The subject of emotions has recently attracted significant attention from Old Testament scholars. See for instance: Smith, Heart, 427–436; Krüger, Emotions, 213–228; Schroer/Staubli, Emotionswelten, 44–49; Wagner, Emotionen; Wagner, Aufbrüche; van Wolde, Sentiments, 1–24; Gillmayr-Bucher, Emotion, 279–290; Egger-Wenzel/Corley, Emotions.

² Beentjes, Sir 22:27–23:6, 144–151.

³ See Calduch-Benages, Ben Sira 23:27, 186–200.

⁴ Gilbert, Prayer, 117–135; Reiterer, Gott, 137–170.

deals with the prayers in Sir 22:27–23:6; 36:1–13a, 16b–22; 51:1–12, and with some other related texts seeking to emphasize the function and the relevance of prayer according to the sage. For Ben Sira, “prayer is first of all a matter of teaching” and “even the three explicit prayers we read in his book are strictly related to the context in which he teaches.”⁵ The same idea was expressed in 1995 by James L. Crenshaw, namely, “prayer and instruction go hand by hand”,⁶ and proposed again by Werner Urbanz in 2009.⁷ As far as Sir 22:27–23:6 is concerned, Gilbert highlights its universal value and states that because of it “Ben Sira can invite the reader to assume its truth, before hearing his teaching about faults in speaking and misdeeds of uncontrolled sexuality. In any case, the link between prayer and teaching is the main point.”⁸

Reiterer concentrates on Sir 22:27–23:6, both in the Greek and the Syriac version. His in-depth poetic and stylistic analysis is used as an instrument to shed light on the content of the prayer. In Reiterer’s view, the two parallel stanzas of the prayer deal with human instincts, i.e. the impulses or powerful motivations coming from a subconscious source. The powerful impulses to which Ben Sira refers belong to different human domains such as speech (*die Fertigkeiten der Redeanlage*), thought (*die Fähigkeiten des Denkens*) and desire (*die Triebebene*), in particular the desire for food, the sexual drive and the desire for power. Even if the three domains just mentioned are – when not properly controlled – all considered sources of danger for the disciple/human being, they are not equivalent. Reiterer glimpses, in the way they are presented, a crescendo of intensity: starting from the power of the tongue, it passes at a second stage to self-control through fixed ideas and, finally, it concludes with the autonomous force of desire.⁹

Furthermore, we should note two contributions by Werner Urbanz. The first is his doctoral dissertation on prayer in the book of Ben Sira (2009).¹⁰ In chapter 6, on the interaction between praise and lament in Ben Sira’s prayer texts, he devotes three pages to Sir 22:27–23:6. In his analysis, he highlights two relevant characteristics of this prayer for self-control, i.e. the absence of traditional prayer vocabulary and the various formal and thematic links it shares with other texts related to prayer (that is, explicit prayers and teachings on prayer).

5 Gilbert, *Prayer*, 117.

6 Crenshaw, *Restraint*, 216.

7 Cf. Urbanz, *Gebet*, 247.

8 Gilbert, *Prayer*, 118.

9 Cf. Reiterer, *Gott*, 158–159.

10 See footnote 7.

Urbanz's second contribution, published in DCLY 2011, explores human emotions toward God in prayer, as evidenced in Ben Sira's work.¹¹ In the last part of his study, the author considers Sir 22:27–23:6, especially vv. 4–6, from an anthropological perspective, focusing on emotions and their relevance in the search for wisdom.

Lastly, these verses have also been the subject of careful analysis in Ibolya Balla's doctoral dissertation on family, gender and sexuality in Ben Sira (2011). In her analysis she is mainly concerned with Ben Sira's attitude toward unruly passions and self-control. This is her conclusion: "Sir 23:4–6 does not condemn sexual desire *per se*; on the one hand it implies that desires should not be excessive [in] controlling one's life, on the other, it warns against having illicit desires."¹²

2 Text, translation and textual notes

Since the Hebrew text of Sir 22:27–23:6 has not survived,¹³ we shall go on to record the Greek version according to the edition of Ziegler¹⁴ together with our translation accompanied by some textual notes.

- 22:27 Τίς δώσει ἐπὶ στόμα μου φυλακὴν
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χειλέων μου σφραγιδα πανοῦργον,
ἵνα μὴ πέσω ἀπ' αὐτῶν¹⁵
καὶ ἡ γλῶσσά μου ἀπολέσῃ με;
- 23:1 κύριε πάτερ καὶ δέσποτα ζωῆς μου,
μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς με ἐν βουλήν αὐτῶν,¹⁶

¹¹ Cf. Urbanz, *Emotionen*, 150–151.

¹² Balla, *Ben Sira*, 164–167, esp. 167.

¹³ A medieval Hebrew rhymed poem based on Sir 22:22cd–23:9b survives in a Cairo Genizah manuscript (MS Adler 3053) housed at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York. It was first published together with Genizah MS E. See Marcus, *Hebrew*, 223–240.

¹⁴ Ziegler, *Sapientia*, 230–231. The blank space used to indicate the two main stanzas of the text is ours. For a comparison with the Syriac version, see Reiterer, *Gott*.

¹⁵ With codex V, min. 46, Lat. and Syr. All the other witnesses read ἀπ' αὐτῆς, referring to "my tongue" in v. 27c (cf. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, 415).

¹⁶ With Lat. and Syr. some authors (Peters, Alonso Schökel, Skehan/Di Lella, Gilbert, Kaiser, Schreiner) read v. 1b after 4a, the result being that all the verses are distiches; cf. esp. Gilbert, *Livres*, 190, and Gilbert, *Vetus Latina*, 5–6. Others (Smend, Sauer, Minissale, Reiterer), conversely, read the text as it is; cf. spec. Reiterer, *Gott*, 155.

- καὶ μὴ ἀφῆς με πεσεῖν ἐν αὐτοῖς,
 2 τὶς ἐπιστήσει ἐπὶ τοῦ διανοήματός μου μάστιγας
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς καρδίας μου παιδείαν σοφίας,
 ἵνα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγνοήμασίν μου μὴ φείσονται
 καὶ οὐ μὴ παρῆ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα αὐτῶν,
 3 ὅπως μὴ πληθυνθῶσιν αἱ ἄγνοιαί μου
 καὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι μου πλεονάσωσιν
 καὶ πεσοῦμαι ἔναντι τῶν ὑπεναντίων
 καὶ ἐπιχαρεῖται μοι ὁ ἐχθρός μου,
 GII ὧν μακρὰν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλπίς τοῦ ἐλέους σου;¹⁷
 4 κύριε πάτερ καὶ θεὸς ζωῆς μου,
 μετεωρισμὸν ὀφθαλμῶν μὴ δῶς μοι
 5 καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπόστρεψον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ·
 6 κοιλίας ὄρεξις καὶ συνουσιασμός μὴ καταλαβέτωσάν με,
 καὶ ψυχῆ ἀναιδεῖ μὴ παραδῶς με.

22:27 Who will set a guard over my mouth
 and upon my lips a seal of prudence,¹⁸
 so that I may not fall through them
 and my tongue may not destroy me?

23:1 Lord, Father and Ruler of my life,
 do not abandon me to their whim
 and let me not fall because of them.

- 2 Who will apply lashes to my thoughts
 and to my heart the discipline of discipline,
 so that my errors may not be spared,
 nor my¹⁹ sins overlooked;
 3 lest my errors be increased
 and my sins multiply;
 and I fall before my adversaries
 and my enemy rejoice over me?

¹⁷ Besides this colon, Ms 248 and the Lucianic Recension have other expansions. See Ziegler's edition, *Sapientia*, 230–231; Marböck, *Jesús Sirach*, 264–265.

¹⁸ Lit.: “a seal suited to all necessities”. Skehan/Di Lella translate “an all-purpose seal” (*Wisdom*, 318).

¹⁹ With some authors (Alonso Schökel, Morla Asensio, Gilbert) we change “their” into “my” to fit in the context. See the reading given by Skehan/Di Lella: “the sins of my heart” (*Wisdom*, 318).

- GII *For them, the hope of your mercy is distant.*²⁰
 4 Lord, Father and God of my life,
 do not give me a brazen look²¹
 5 and remove from me passion.
 6 Let neither sensuality nor lust²² overcome me
 and do not surrender me to shameless appetite.

3 A prayer for self-control

Sir 22:27–23:6 is the only individual prayer of petition in the book of Ben Sira (cf. the collective plea for the deliverance of Israel in 36:1–22). Apart from the parallel structure of the stanzas, the most striking formal feature of the prayer is the use of the first person singular (cf. the verbal forms and the occurrences of $\mu\omicron\nu$ 11x, $\mu\epsilon$ 5x, $\mu\omicron\iota$ 2x and $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ 1x). As in the Psalms, the literary “I” helps the reader to identify him/herself with the person who recites the prayer, or at least to feel a strong empathy with that person.

But about whom are we speaking? Who is this person? Who is hiding behind this literary “I”? The fact is that we do not have enough information to give a satisfactory answer. Georg Sauer, for instance, in his commentary defends the autobiographical character of the prayer. To put it in his words, „Es ist dabei hervorzuheben, daß dieses Gebet ein sehr persönliches Gebet ist, das Ben Sira ganz in der Haltung der Psalmenbeter zeigt, die ihre Klagen und Bitten in persönlicher Weise und in singularischer Form vortragen.“²³ Conversely, Gilbert argues that the content of the prayer, which applies to everyone, “does not allow us to see any autobiographical note relevant to Ben Sira.”²⁴ Thus the prayer could have been recited by Ben Sira himself or by one of his disciples. Another possibility, and this is the one we prefer, is to go beyond the discussion on the real identity of the literary “I”, focusing instead on the universal dimension of the prayer.

As far as the content of the prayer is concerned, there are two ideas that deserve special attention. First, the idea of self-control or self-discipline in the use of the tongue and in the sexual domain. To illustrate this idea the author makes

²⁰ On this addition, cf. Bussino, Additions, 356–360.

²¹ Lit.: “a lifting up of the eyes”.

²² Lit.: “longing of the belly” or “cohabitation”.

²³ Sauer, Jesus Sirach, 171.

²⁴ Gilbert, Prayer, 118.

use of such images as “guard”, “seal”, “lash” and “rod”.²⁵ Applied to the mouth, the lips, the mind and the heart, they would prevent the person in trouble from abuses of the tongue and excessive sexual appetite. Second, the idea of sin and the sinner’s downfall. The reader notices the variety of terms the author uses to refer to sin: τὰ ἀγνοήματα, αἱ ἀγνοιαί (deviations, errors, mistakes), and τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, αἱ ἁμαρτίαι (sins, faults, errors) – all concentrated in vv. 2–3.²⁶ Allusion is made to the sins of the tongue and the sins of the flesh through the metaphor of falling.²⁷ The threefold repetition of the verb πίπτω (to fall) in 22:27; 23:1 and 23:3 should be noted. On all the three occasions, “falling” is to be understood in a metaphorical sense. According to Minissale, in 22:27 and 23:1 “falling” concerns the misuse of the tongue, i.e. the action of speaking unguardedly, not its consequences.²⁸ Indeed, these are never mentioned in the prayer. In 23:3 “falling” – associated here with disorderly passions – becomes extremely dangerous since it happens in front of the supplicant’s enemies who see his downfall and rejoice over it.

In Crenshaw’s words, “The prayer’s motivation arises from fear of being abandoned to merciless foes or to one’s own base inclination.”²⁹ Having lost the capacity to control both one’s tongue and sensual desire, the supplicant decides to turn to God and ask for help. Although the addressee of the prayer is not at first explicitly mentioned, his identity will be soon revealed in 23:1 (“Lord, Father and ruler of my life”) and confirmed in 23:4 (“Lord, Father and God of my life”). Did God hear the prayer? Did God answer the afflicted supplicant? Our text does not speak about God’s reaction but we know from many passages in the book that Ben Sira considers prayer as a true dialogue between individuals and God.³⁰ One example will suffice. Ben Sira’s prayer of 51:1–12 records his urgent appeal to God for help – he was most probably at the point of death – and the immediate reaction of the only one who could rescue him from such a distressing situation: “I raised my voice from the dust, my plea from the gates of the netherworld. I extolled the Lord, You are my Father! My mighty savior, only you! Do not leave me in this time of crisis, on a day of ruin and desolation! [...].

²⁵ Some of the imagery here derives from Ps 141:3. Compare also 4Q Instruction (4Q412 1.5).

²⁶ Reiterer observes the balanced combination of neuter nouns (ἀγνοήματα, ἁμαρτήματα) and feminine nouns (ἀγνοιαί, ἁμαρτίαι) in 23:2 (cf. Gott, 154).

²⁷ See Minissale, *Metaphor*, 253–275, esp. 255–256.

²⁸ Cf. Minissale, *Metaphor*, 256.

²⁹ Crenshaw, *Restraint*, 219.

³⁰ Cf. Urbanz, *Emotionen*, 153.

Then the Lord heard my voice; listened to my plea! He redeemed me from evil of every kind and kept me safe in time of crisis” (vv. 9–10, 11cd, 12ab).³¹

4 The language of emotion

As do many other Old Testament prayers and Psalms, Sir 22:27–23:6 describes the supplicant’s inner experience with the language of emotion. Such a language, as W. Urbanz has rightly noted,³² is concentrated in the last verses of the second stanza, i.e. vv. 4–6. In these verses, the author depicts unruly passions and some of their symptoms by way of the following expressions: μετεωρισμὸν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἐπιθυμίαν, κοιλίας ὄρεξις, συνουσιασμός and ψυχῆ ἀναιδεΐ. This is not the first time that Ben Sira warns against uncontrolled passions. He has done so in 6:1–3H (6:2–4G) in a rather general way and, more specifically, in 18:30–19:3. Let us now consider the five expressions mentioned in 23:4–6.

4.1 Μετεωρισμὸν ὀφθαλμῶν

That the eyes reflect the feelings of the heart is well illustrated in the expression μετεωρισμὸν ὀφθαλμῶν (lit.: “a raising up of the eyes”), usually translated as “haughty eyes”. Although arrogance, pride or haughtiness is its usual meaning (cf. Isa 2:11; 5:15; Ps 131:1 and Prov 21:4), in our text μετεωρισμὸν ὀφθαλμῶν should be interpreted differently, i.e. with a sexual connotation.³³ This is supported by the context of the prayer (23:2–6 and 23:16–26) and the vocabulary of the last verses. Hence “haughty eyes” refers to the brazen eyes that fuel the fire of lust in the heart.³⁴ For instance, in 26:9 the same expression concerns the sensual woman who arouses men’s desire with her enticing eyes and (probably decorated) eyelids.³⁵ The connection between eyes and desire is also attested, among others, in Prov 6:25 and in 4Q184/4QWiles.³⁶ In Prov 6:25 the youth is warned to avoid being seduced by the beauty and by the staring look of the

³¹ The translation is taken from Skehan/Di Lella, *Wisdom*, 561.

³² Cf. Urbanz, *Emotionen*, 150.

³³ Cf. Smend, *Weisheit*, 204: „Der Uebermut ist der Anfang aller Sünde (Ps. 18,28. Pr. 6,17), namentlich auch der Unzucht“.

³⁴ Cf. Skehan/Di Lella, *Wisdom*, 322.

³⁵ Cf. Balla, Ben Sira, 52 and 222.

³⁶ Cf. Balla, Ben Sira, 52.

adulteress: “Do not desire her beauty in your heart, or let her take you in with her glances (lit. “eyelids”).” In 4Q184/4QWiles, the wicked woman, just by looking at him with a seductive gaze, captivates her victim: “Her eyes glance keenly hither and thither, and she wantonly raises her eyelids to seek out a righteous man and lead him astray and ... to make him stumble” (1:13–14).³⁷

4.2 Ἐπιθυμίαν

In the Septuagint ἐπιθυμία (and also ἐπιθυμέω) usually has a neutral meaning, i.e. desire, passion, or appetite. Only in certain cases does it acquire moral or sexual overtones as, for instance, in Num 11:34; Prov 6:25 or in the story of Susanna.³⁸ In the book of Ben Sira ἐπιθυμία occurs nine times, most of them in the first part of the book (3:29; 5:2; 6:37; 14:14; 18:30, 31; 20:4 and 23:5). In our view, only on four occasions (5:2 and 36:27 are not clear enough) is the term used with a sexual meaning: in 18:30, 31 (warnings against lustful appetites), in 20:4 (the example of a eunuch longing for intimacy with a maiden) and in 23:5. As far as our text is concerned, the addition by Clement of Alexandria confirms what we have just said: “Remove always from your servant vain hopes (ἐλπίδας κενάς), and indecent desires (ἐπιθυμίας ἀπρεπεῖς) turn aside from me, and sustain always him who wishes to serve you.”³⁹ Perhaps the Alexandrian author considered that ἐπιθυμία denoted a notion too general and decided to add the adjective ἀπρεπής (improper, indecent, unseemly) to render it more specific and thus unequivocal. The short annotation by Rudolf Smend in his commentary seems to take the same line: „[ἐπιθυμίαν] ist ungenügend“.

4.3 Κοιλίας ὄρεξις

The expression κοιλίας ὄρεξις, which literally means “longing of the belly”, is generally interpreted in two different ways. Some authors understand it as gluttony, i.e. either the habit of eating or drinking to excess, or the inordinate desire that moves somebody to behave in such a way⁴⁰ (cf. the warning in Prov 23:20). Many others, following Syr. (“lasciviousness of the flesh”) and Lat. (*ventris*

³⁷ On 4Q184/4QWiles; cf. the recent study by Lesley, Wiles, 107–142.

³⁸ Cf. Dan (LXX) 13:32, 56 and Danth 13:8, 11, 14, 20, 56.

³⁹ See Hart, Text, 341. The addition is also found in GII, but here ἀπρεπεῖς is lacking. See Ziegler, Sapientia, 231.

⁴⁰ Alonso Schökel, Sauer, Reiterer, Balla.

concupiscentias), interpret the expression as referring to lustful or carnal desires, and translate accordingly.⁴¹ See, for example, the translation by Skehan/Di Lella: “the lustful cravings of the flesh”. In the light of the context, the second interpretation is in our view to be preferred.⁴² Most illuminating is Fox’s observation on drunkenness and gluttony when commenting on Prov 23:20: “These two vices may represent dissolute behaviour generally and include sexual wantonness.”⁴³

4.4 Συνουσιασμός

The noun συνουσιασμός is a *hapax* not only in Ben Sira but also in the Septuagint. Like συνουσία, it derives from the verb σύνειμι (to be/live with), its first meaning being “cohabitation”. This is, however, a neutral meaning that does not fit in the context of Sir 23:4–6. Should we perhaps consider καὶ συνουσιασμός as a later addition to the text?⁴⁴ From a stylistic point of view, it introduces an irregularity in the sentence pattern, i.e. 6a is the only colon in which the verb has two objects. Further, the second object makes the colon excessively long compared with the others. In any case, what must be decided is the meaning of the hapax in our text. For most authors συνουσιασμός has sexual connotations and, according to Gilbert, it is a euphemism for coitus (cf. the use of ὕπνος in Wis 4:6 and 7:2).⁴⁵ Such an interpretation is supported by the context of the prayer.

Apart from Sir 23:6, συνουσιασμός is also attested in two later pseudepigrapha.⁴⁶ In both writings it refers to sexual intercourse. The first attestation is found in 4 Maccabees, a philosophical book on the primacy of reason over the emotions (gluttony, lust, malice, anger, fear and pain). In chap. 2, the author praises the temperate Joseph because through mental effort he overcame sexual desire: “For when he was young and in his prime for intercourse (πρὸς συνουσιασμόν), by his reason he nullified the frenzy of the passions” (2:3). The

⁴¹ Peters, Minissale, Skehan/Di Lella, Morla Asensio, Gilbert, Kaiser, Schreiner, Marböck, Urbanz.

⁴² Cf. also Sir 18:30: “Do not follow your lusts (τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν σου), but restrain your desires (τῶν ὀρέξεών σου)”.

⁴³ Fox, Proverbs, 735.

⁴⁴ So Smend, Weisheit, 205.

⁴⁵ Gilbert, Sexualité, 1031.

⁴⁶ Cf. Balla, Ben Sira, 166.

second attestation belongs to the Aramaic Levi Document,⁴⁷ traditionally known as the Aramaic Testament of Levi or Aramaic Levi. In chap. 6, devoted to priestly teaching on purity, Levi teaches his son with these words: “First of all, beware my son of all fornication (ἀπὸ παντὸς συνουσιασμοῦ/זנה כל מן) and impurity and of all harlotry”.

4.5 Ψυχῆ ἀναιδεῖ

In this expression the noun ψυχῆ acquires a negative connotation due to the adjective ἀναιδής⁴⁸ which means “wanting in self-respect and restraint”.⁴⁹ This connotation is made evident in the translations. Instead of soul, mind or spirit, scholars tend to use terms such as appetite, passion or desire. In the book of Ben Sira, ἀναιδής occurs 3 times (23:6; 26:11 and 40:30), two of which are in a sexual context. We are referring to 23:6 and 26:11 (cf. Prov 7:13). The latter verse belongs to 26:5–12, a passage where the sage combines his instruction on the evil wife with fervent warnings addressed to the young disciple. This is an example: “Be on guard against her bold eye (ἀναιδοῦς ὀφθαλμοῦ), and do not wonder if she betrays you” (v. 11). The bold eye stands for seduction. As far as 23:6 is concerned, it is our contention that, like the terms previously examined, ψυχῆ ἀναιδεῖ also refers to the sexual domain and can be rendered with impudent or shameless appetite. Once more the context of the prayer has proved to be decisive.

5 The function of emotions

Two articles on emotions in the Old Testament have proved to be very illuminating in our study of the emotional dimension of Sir 23:4–6. Their authors are well-known OT scholars: Mark S. Smith and Paul A. Krüger.⁵⁰ Thanks to them, we become acquainted with different social-scientific approaches to emotions and their respective theories, mainly the physiological and cognitive approach-

⁴⁷ Cf. Greenfield/Stone/Eshel, Levi Document, 74.

⁴⁸ Cf. ἀναιδεια, “effrontery, impudence, shamelessness” (Sir 25:22): *hapax* in Ben Sira and LXX; see Wagner, Septuaginta-Hapaxlegomena, 149–150.

⁴⁹ Muraoka, Lexicon, 39.

⁵⁰ Smith, Heart, 427–436; Krüger, Emotions, 213–228.

es. Some of their insights have been very useful in exploring the role that emotions play in Ben Sira's prayer.

Emotions have a wide range of functions, both in the physiological and the psychological domain. Needless to say, we do not claim to deal with the whole variety of functions. Our attention will be directed at only three of them, that is, those significant for our purpose.

5.1 Emotions and the physical body

In recent years psychologists have become increasingly interested in embodiment based on the assumption that thoughts, feelings and behaviour are grounded in bodily interaction with the environment. The embodiment of feelings has been deeply explored by anthropologist Michelle Z. Rosaldo,⁵¹ who placed her study of emotions in the context of cultural analysis. In her view, emotions are not involuntary or irrational reactions that escape our control but are the result of a deliberate and engaged body. Emotions can be explained as “embodied thoughts”⁵² in which the thought/affect dichotomy dissolves. In other words, emotions/body goes as an inseparable unit.

This inseparable unit is essential to Israelite anthropology in which there is no difference between the mental and the physical functions since both depend on the body organs. In fact, many texts of the Old Testament attest a close connection between body parts, especially the heart and liver/innards, and the experiencing of emotions.

In Sir 23:4–6⁵³ the person who recites the prayer mentions the eye (raising of the eyes), the belly (longing of the belly) and the soul (shameless appetite). According to our reading of the text, the three body parts are related to the sphere of emotions, and specifically to sexual drive. In the first expression, sexual desire is connected to sight (the gleam of passion), in the second expression it is placed in the interior of the human body, where emotions are strongly felt (the seat of passion), and in the third, it is considered from a moral perspective.

⁵¹ Rosaldo, *Anthropology*, 137–157.

⁵² Rosaldo, *Anthropology*, 143.

⁵³ In Sir 22:27: mouth (στόμα), lips (χειλέων), and tongue (γλώσσα), and in 23:2: heart (καρδίας).

5.2 Emotions and communication

Emotions are highly important in interpersonal communication. According to psychologists, “every human interaction, drawing near as well as drawing apart, is emotionally determined.”⁵⁴ Recent studies in the field investigate the functions that emotions play in communication. Emotions are not isolated feelings that humans experience in the interior of the heart totally separated from external communication with others. On the contrary, emotions “serve a communicative purpose by conveying specific emotional intentions to others.”⁵⁵ In other words, we communicate with others also through our emotions. In addition, emotions may help people to adapt to a new situation, to cope with environmental challenges and to be ready for an effective response in the face of unexpected changes.

M.S. Smith applies this new view on emotions to Israelite prayer (esp. the Psalms), reaching the conclusion: “Applied to ancient Israelite cult, emotions expressed in prayer convey the speaker’s pain and joy to the community and God. The emotions expressed in the Psalms help those who pray to move to appropriate action. Prayer ultimately enables people who undertake it to move beyond the emotions which they feel and express.”⁵⁶

The emotions expressed in Ben Sira’s prayer do not communicate pain or joy to the community (the group of disciples) and God, but the fear of falling, i.e. falling into the grip of desire. The supplicant feels in his heart a consuming passion that not only puts at risk his moral integrity but makes him the sport of his enemies as well. Aware of these dangers and not being strong enough to control his impulses alone, he puts all his confidence in God, the ruler of his life, the only one who can prevent him from downfall. Anyone who listens to this prayer will be encouraged to look for a similar solution.

5.3 Emotions and pedagogy

The articles by Smith and Krüger deal with anthropological, psychological and psychobiological concepts. This reflects the choice of their authors. Thus it is not surprising that they do not speak of pedagogy at all. Yet we argue that in Israelite prayers, especially in wisdom books, besides the functions above

54 Aichhorn/Kronberger, *Nature*, 515.

55 Krüger, *Emotions*, 216.

56 Smith, *Heart*, 436. See also Gillmayr-Bucher, *Emotion*, 279–290.

mentioned, emotions serve a pedagogical purpose as well. This concerns in particular the book of Ben Sira, a compendium of wisdom teachings addressed to all who seek to become wise, specially the young disciples who attended his school.

Any disciple can learn a lot from Ben Sira's prayer and from the person who recites it, especially from his emotions, the way in which he expresses them, the way he handles them and the message they convey. When listening to this prayer, the disciple understands that the fear of falling and succumbing to his enemies has determined the supplicant's decision and action. Emotions are thus very powerful; they cannot be ignored nor underestimated. At the same time, he realizes the fatal consequences of uncontrolled desires (they may lead the person to sin), and – what is still more important – of the incompatibility between sin and wisdom. As Gilbert puts it, “the one who wishes to be wise, either the master or his disciple, will ask the Lord for his help to avoid sin.”⁵⁷

In conclusion, emotions in Sir 23:4–6 are a source of teaching. They have an impact on the relation between the supplicant and God, on the relation between the supplicant and the community/disciples, and on the relation of the supplicant with himself. The supplicant learns from his emotional experience and so do the ones who listen to his prayer. It does not matter in which direction the communication goes; it is always emotional. In our text, to be attentive to the emotions, to recognize them and to learn from them is a way to reach wisdom.

Abstract

Ben Sira is very interested in prayer, more than any other wisdom writer. In his book of wisdom we find several instances of advice on how to pray and some real prayers as well, both individual and communal. Sir 22:27–23:6 is a good example of individual prayer. The person who recites the prayer (a disciple or perhaps Ben Sira himself) asks God for help in avoiding sins of the tongue and unruly passions. After a short survey of research and an annotated translation of the Greek text, we focus on the close relationship between the language of the prayer and the emotions it reveals. We intend to show that Ben Sira uses the emotions expressed in 23:4–6 with a pedagogical aim. In other words, emotions in prayer may also lead to wisdom.

⁵⁷ Gilbert, *Prayer*, 132.

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Markus Witte

Emotions in the Prayers of the Wisdom of Solomon*

1 Preliminary notes

The book of the Wisdom of Solomon, written in the late-first century BCE or in the early-first century CE, arguably in Alexandria, presents a unique mixture of sapiential instructions in the tradition of Proverbs and Ben Sira, and a specific form of exegesis of the exodus narrative in the Pentateuch. Also mentioned – as is typical of sapiential scriptures which aim for comprehensive human formation (παιδεία)¹ – are emotions, together with their essence, function and handling.

A basis for understanding the portrayal of *emotions in the prayers* of the Wisdom of Solomon may be found in two lectures given in the context of an ISDCL conference. At the inaugural ISDCL conference in 2003, Helmut Engel gave a programmatic lecture on “Prayer in the Book of Wisdom.” In this lecture, Engel sets out the immense compositional and text-pragmatic significance of prayer for the whole book of Wisdom. In his analysis, he orients his treatment by using the phenomenon of second-person descriptions of God’s actions found in the third part of the Wisdom of Solomon (11:2–19:22). These descriptions of the workings of wisdom and of God are continually interrupted by short doxological addresses to God as “You.” At the 2010 ISDCL conference, which was devoted to the theme “Emotions from Ben Sira to Paul,” Friedrich Reiterer provided an inventory of the “Emotions, Feelings and Affects in the Book of Wisdom.” Reiterer made two essential observations. First, emotions are culturally determined and play a significant role in the construction of social and religious identities. Second, a methodological focus on the emotions articulated in a text can contribute to a deeper understanding of that text, with regard to both its original authors and its later recipients. In the following, I would like to attempt a synthesis of the approaches found in Engel and Reiterer. The synthesis will proceed in two stages. First, I shall give a short review of the terms and forms of prayer in the book of Wisdom. I shall then analyse selected prayers with reference

* I warmly thank Tobias Tan (Oxford) for correcting the English version of this article.

1 Compare recently Brown, *Wisdom’s Wonder*, 10–11.

to the divine and human emotions that they articulate. In considering emotions, we should also take into account how emotions are based on certain values, how they reveal religious value judgements, and how they determine religious behaviour and action.²

2 Terminology and forms of prayer in the Wisdom of Solomon

The book of Wisdom is distinctive on account of the manifold terminology it uses for prayer. The terms for prayer, which are found exclusively in the second and third part of the book (Wis 6:22–11:1; 11:2–19:22), include:

ἀξιόω (13:18);³ αἰνέω (10:20; 19:9)/(προαναμέλω *cum*)⁴ αἶνος (18:9);⁵ αἰτέω (13:19; [19:11]); δέομαι (8:21; 16:25; 18:2)/(δέησις [16:20]);⁶ δίδωμι (imperative/3. per. sg. optative/subjunctive, 7:15; 8:21; 9:4);⁷ ἐντυγχάνω (8:21; 16:28); ἐπιβοάω (14:1); ἐπικαλέομαι (7:7; 11:4; 13:17); εὐχαριστία (16:28); εὐχομαι (7:7)/προσεύχομαι (13:17)/προσευχή ([12:20];⁸ 18:21); ἵκετεύω (13:18; [19:3]); προσλαλέω (13:17); ὑμνέω (10:20).⁹

With respect to *form*, these terms for prayer are distributed among three groups of texts. A first group are the *performed prayers*. Here the prayer's "I" addresses God as "You" to make an explicit request. This includes, first and foremost, the great prayer of Solomon in 9:1–18,¹⁰ which has its own narrative prayer-headline with two different terms for "praying" (8:21).¹¹ On a narrow definition of prayer, 9:1–18 would be the only real prayer in the book of Wisdom.

² The value-reference of emotions is already present in the classical definitions of πάθη/ *perturbationes* by Aristotle, *Rhet.* II.1; cf. Diog. Laert., *Vit.* IV.111; Cicero, *Tusc.* IV.7, and recently Brown, *Wisdom's Wonder*, 10–11.

³ Cf. Jer (LXX) 11:14; Dan (LXX) 6:6, 8–9; 1 Clem. 51:1; 53:5; 55:6; 59:4; Herm. 22:3.

⁴ According to Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, in Old Greek Literature the term προαναμέλω only appears in Wis 18:9 and could be a neologism.

⁵ Cf. Jdt 16:1 (*par.* ψαλμός).

⁶ Only in B, O, and the minuscule 637; cf. Syr.; Arab.

⁷ On δίδωμι as a term for answer to prayers compare 7:7; 11:7. In 7:15 read possibly δέδωκεν (Georgi, *Weisheit*, 425 n. 1, following the minuscule 68; Lat.^v; Arab.).

⁸ Only in the minuscule 637.

⁹ The general terms for religious veneration, such as σέβομαι (15:6, 18; cf. εὐσέβεια, 10:12) and θρησκεύω (11:15; 14:16; cf. θρησκεία, 14:18, 27), remain unconsidered here.

¹⁰ On this prayer, see primarily Gilbert, *Structure*.

¹¹ See ἐντυγχάνω, δέομαι and indirectly δίδωμι.

Alongside this prayer, one might also classify the prayer in 7:15–22a which is introduced by the call ἐμοὶ δὲ δῶν, within this category, if one allows for a broader definition of prayer.

A second group are *reported prayers*, be they the *prayers* of an individual, or those of a group. These pericopes illustrate the particular understanding of prayer in the book of Wisdom. They fulfil the function of guiding readers to correct praying. To this group belongs, first, the report of Solomon about the occasion when he asks God for wisdom (7:7, with the introduction in 7:1–6 and the execution in 7:8–14); second, the reports of praise to God and the lament of the Exodus generation in 10:20; 11:4; 16:25; 18:9 and 19:8–10(11–12); third, the descriptions of the inappropriate prayer of the “idolaters” in 13:17–14:1; and fourth, the appreciation of intercession exemplified by the intercession of Aaron in 18:20–25. We may also add to this group meeting God with thanks in prayer (16:28) as a consequence of the manna-miracle in Exod 16, even if what we find here is less a prayer and more an invitation for the reader to pray. The majority of the reported prayers characteristically speak of God in the second person singular. There are two reasons for this. On the one hand, the basic structure of the book of Wisdom, which – although continually interrupted by excursions¹² – runs through from 9:1 to 19:22, is addressed directly to God as the speech of Solomon.¹³ On the other hand, past events are thereby vividly recalled and the reader is integrated into the community of his or her praying ancestors.

The *hymnic addresses to God* in the second person singular form a third group of prayers, in which God is praised for his nature and works. These texts have neither their own prayer terminology nor elements of a supplication, lament, or thanksgiving. Instead, they focus on a general praise of God. I call these forms of prayer a *general doxology*. Such doxologies repeatedly interrupt the description and interpretation of the actions of God and his wisdom from 10:1 to 19:22. Through these hymns the particular events of the Exodus and the survival of Israel in the desert are generalized. The remembered history in the exemplary prayer in Solomon’s address to God becomes prayed history and subsequently causes the reader of the book of Wisdom to address God. The following texts may be assigned to this group: 11:20–12:2; 12:15–18; 15:1–3(4–6); 16:13; 17:1a; 19:22.

¹² Cf. 13:1–14:2; 14:7–31; 17:3–21.

¹³ According to a broad definition of prayer, the whole passage from 9:1 to 19:22 could be described as a prayer. However, from the perspective of the history of literature it is a scribal reflection of history with doxological elements.

Passages that *describe God's action in the second person singular* are closely related to this third group and not clearly separable from it. They occur in the context of remarks on the Exodus and on Israel's wanderings in the wilderness. These passages do not contain actual request, thanksgiving, lament or general praise. In terms of form, they stand side-by-side with the so-called historical psalms or historical summaries of the Old Testament (cf. Pss 78; 105; 106; Neh 9; Jdt 16 and many others). They form a particular poetological form of exegesis in a mode of speech directed toward both God and a human audience, and represent a mixture of doxology and reflection. I shall call these passages *doxological reflections*.

3 Emotions in the prayers

3.1 Divine emotions

The essential emotions of God found in the prayers of the book of Wisdom are ἔλεος and ὄργη.

Solomon's great prayer for wisdom in **9:1–18**¹⁴ is addressed to the θεὸς πατέρων and to the κύριος τοῦ ἐλέους (9:1), and extended by a hymnic explication of the creation of the cosmos and man (9:2). The combination of the epithets θεὸς πατέρων and κύριος τοῦ ἐλέους is unique in the Septuagint. It might be a deliberate creation of the author of Wisdom 9 (cf. 1 Kgs (LXX) 3:6–7).¹⁵

In the background we find on the one hand the title “God of the fathers,”¹⁵ known from the Pentateuch, and on the other hand the idea of the mercy of God, embedded especially in the so-called formula of grace in Exod 34:6–7.¹⁶ By employing this address to God in prayer, Solomon places himself in the same category as the exemplary prayers of Israel, beginning with Abraham, and con-

¹⁴ V. 18 is often viewed as an introduction to the explanation about wisdom's work in history (cf. Schmitt, Weisheit, 49; Hübner, Weisheit, 131). The verse is, however, still a part of Solomon's direct prayer (cf. Engel, Buch, 147; Neher, Wesen, 121; Vignolo, Wisdom, 256). On the literary background of Wis 9:1–18, see 1 Kgs (LXX) 3:6–9 // 2 Chr (LXX) 1:8–10.

¹⁵ Cf. Gen 43:23; 46:3; Exod 3:13, 15–16; 4:5; Deut 4:1; 6:3; 12:1; 27:3; 1 Chr 5:25; 29:18; 2 Chr 30:7; 34:32–33; Ezra 8:28; Pr. Man. 1 et al.

¹⁶ Cf. Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Pss 86:15; 103:8; 145:8; Neh 9:17. Additionally there are more than twenty Old Testament allusions in which single elements of the formula of grace are quoted, and various extra-canonical quotations (CD-A II:4; 1QH^a VIII:24; 4Q511 frag. 52; 54–55; 57–59:1 [col. III:1]); cf. Spieckermann, Herr, 1–18; Scoralick, Gottes Güte; Franz, Gott; Witte, Barmherzigkeit.

tinuing with Moses. Both epithets underline the special character of the God of Israel as a God of relationship. Both ἔλεος, as well as its standard Hebrew equivalents יְיָ and יְיָיָ, stand for the salvific care of God, here developed in the creation of the world and humankind by the λόγος and σοφία.¹⁷ By understanding ἔλεος as a divine emotion, we can derive the λόγος and the σοφία from the ἔλεος of God. The creation of the world and humankind in its relation to God arises from the mercy of God. In other words, at the beginning of the creation there is divine emotion, God's stepping out of himself. This emotion is – contrary to common psychological definitions of emotions¹⁸ – not a reaction to an external stimulus, but arises from the very nature of God.¹⁹

This emotional characterization of God permeates the whole prayer of Solomon in chapter 9. The plea of Solomon for wisdom seeks to ascertain what is well-pleasing to God (εὐάρεστος 9:10),²⁰ performing that which is acceptable to God (προσδεκτός 9:12),²¹ and being well informed about that which pleases God (ἀρεστά 9:9, 18).²² Corresponding to the address to God as the “Lord of mercy” at the beginning of the prayer – which is an appeal to God to prove his ἔλεος again and again – the prayer ends with the word ἐσώθησαν in the emphasized final position (they, that is, the people of God, were saved, 9:18). This is at the same time a confirmation to the reader of the book of Wisdom that God will continue to save his people time and again.²³ The unique usage of the epithet σωτήρ πάντων in the LXX, within the context of a doxological reflection in Wis 16:7, occurs precisely in this line.²⁴

At the heart of the fundamental praise of God's universal power in **11:20–12:2** lies the recognition of God's mercy and love for his creation. God's mercy (ἐλέω) and love (ἀγαπάω) are consequences of his all-encompassing power. The idea that God as creator is a friend of life is summarized by the LXX *hapax legomenon* φιλόψυχος (“loving human beings”, 11:26)²⁵. God loves everything that

¹⁷ On the identity of λόγος and σοφία; cf. Neher, Wesen, 123.

¹⁸ Cf. McIntosh, Emotionen, 1258–1259.

¹⁹ Cf. Vignolo, Wisdom, 263.

²⁰ Cf. 4:10; in LXX, the term εὐάρεστος appears only in Wis 4:10 and 9:10, cf. however. T. Dan 1:3; Philo, *Spec.* 1.201; *Virt.* 67; Rom 12:1–2; 14:18; 2 Cor 5:9; Phil 4:18 et al.

²¹ Cf. Prov (LXX) 11:20; 16:15.

²² Cf. Wis 4:14; τὰ ἀρεστά does not mean the “best” (so Georgi, Weisheit, 436), but “that which is pleasing to God” (cf. Sir 48:22; Isa [LXX] 38:3; Tob 4:21; Dan [LXX] 4:37; Fichtner, Weisheit, 36; Winston, Wisdom, 206; Engel, Buch, 158).

²³ Cf. 10:4; 14:4; 16:7; 18:5 (16:6; 18:7).

²⁴ Cf. 1 Kgs (LXX) 10:19; *Pss. Sol.* 16:4; Philo, *Fug.* 162.3; *Deus* 156,6; 1 Tim 4:10.

²⁵ In pagan literature, the term φιλόψυχος has the negative connotation “cowardly” (cf. Euripides, *Hec.* 348; *Phoen.* 597; Marc Aurel 10:8).

lives (11:24; cf. 1:13), since he himself has given life to everything by means of his πνεῦμα (12:1); being the creator and hating creation (μισέω, βδελύσσω) are mutually exclusive (11:24b). In particular, this love of the “Master of All” (ὁ πάντων δεσπότης) applies first, to wisdom (8:3), second, to Israel as his children (16:26), and third, to the sage (7:28) and the just one (4:10). The close connection between God’s love and the desire for life becomes evident, especially in overcoming the fate of death (4:10–11)²⁶, which is revealed to the just one by means of rapture. The book of Wisdom, accordingly, does not understand death as the result of an emotion of the creator, but rather as stemming from a negative emotion, namely the envy (φθόνος)²⁷ of the Devil (διάβολος 2:24).

The “friendship of God” (φιλία θεοῦ 7:14; cf. 7:27) stands in sharp contrast to this. This motif has its biblical roots in the designation of Abraham as a “friend/beloved of God”²⁸ and in the notion of a friendship between God and Moses.²⁹ It connects the book of Wisdom with the remarks about the relationship between God and humankind by Plato, the Cynics, and the Stoics.³⁰ Within the scope of Solomon’s prayer for wisdom in **7:1–14**, this motif explains the petition for wisdom, since wisdom effects God’s friendship. It is exemplified in Solomon’s prayer for wisdom (cf. 7:7)³¹, but it is fundamentally accessible to every wise person. In Solomon’s prayer – as in Prov 8:30–31 – the σοφία fulfils a special emotional function by provoking the joy of God and causing God to establish friendship.

Furthermore, the detailed doxology in **15:1–3** refers back to the ἔλεος of God. It possibly derives from an originally independent hymn that was expanded by redaction in verses 4–6.³² In continuity with Exod 34:6–7, Wis 15:1–3 witnesses to God’s gracious, true and patient guidance of the universe. Again, both a universal (τὰ πάντα) and a particular dimension are assigned to the ἔλεος of God (cf. 11:23). Thus the ἔλεος manifests itself as belonging to God³³ and in the

²⁶ Cf. Gen 5:22–24.

²⁷ Cf. *L.A.E.* 9–17; Kaiser, *Anthropologie*, 350–351; 359; von Nordheim-Diehl, *Neid*.

²⁸ Cf. Isa 41:8; 2 Chr 20:7; Jas 2:23; Jub 30:20–21; Sib. Or. II.245; T. Ab. A 1:6; Apoc. Sedr. 9:1; CD-A III:2; 4Q252 frag. 1 II, 8; Isa (LXX) 51:2; Dan (LXX) 3:35.

²⁹ Exod 33:11; cf. Sir 45:1. On Solomon as “beloved of God” see also 2 Sam 12:24; Neh 13:26; on David see 2 Sam 7:18/1 Chr (LXX) 17:16.

³⁰ Cf. Plato, *Leg.* 716cd; *Tim.* 53D; *Symp.* 193b; *Resp.* 621c; cf. Winston, *Wisdom*, 189.

³¹ Cf. 2 Kgs (LXX) 12:24; Neh 13:26.

³² Cf. Georgi, *Weisheit*, 455.

³³ Cf., outside of prayer, in 3:9 and in 4:15 (here in each case parallel to χάρις) and in 6:6.

forgiveness of sins (15:2).³⁴ The target point of the small hymn is the mediation of justice and immortality (ἀθανασία),³⁵ which both result from the knowledge of God (15:3). If, however, God is merciful by his very nature, then justice and immortality are founded in this mercy. The mercy of God is the basis of both communion with God and the overcoming of death.

Finally the ἔλεος of God appears in the *doxological reflections*, on the one hand, in **12:22** as an object of the hope of Israel in judgement,³⁶ and, on the other, in **16:10** as a reason for the preservation of Israel, especially looking back to the salvation of Israel from the fiery snakes in the desert (with regard to Num 21:9; cf. Mark 16:17–18). Here the ἔλεος serves as a means of healing (ἰάωμα). Thus the ἔλεος thereby takes over the role of the healing God himself.³⁷ In this way an emotion of God becomes a function. This functional aspect of the divine ἔλεος, shown in different types of prayer and, moreover, in genres of the book of Wisdom, also applies to its important emotional counterpart, the ὀργή.³⁸

Analogously to the use of ὀργή elsewhere in the Septuagint or its Hebrew equivalents אַף, זַעַם, זַעַף, חֲמָה, חֲרוֹן, בַּעַס / בַּעַשׂ, עֲבָרָה, קִצְף, רָגַז the book of Wisdom uses the term ὀργή for God's judgement and as a cipher for his punitive justice.³⁹ The report of the intercession of Aaron in **18:20–25** is particularly instructive for the connection between prayer and emotion in the matter of the divine wrath.⁴⁰ The passage refers to the murmuring story in Num 16:41–50: (LXX = Num 17:6–15 MT). At the same time, Wis 18 concentrates upon God turning away from his wrath, which flared up against the Israelites who rebelled against Moses and Aaron, on account of Aaron's intercession (προσευχή) and incense (θυμίαμα) (18:21). In keeping with the stylistic device of *antonomasia* employed elsewhere in the book of Wisdom, the text abstains from naming the heroes.⁴¹ For the addressees of the book of Wisdom, formed in the biblical tradition, the identification of the particular heroes is unambiguous because of the

34 Cf. 10:13; 11:23. On the interrelation between “sins”, that is to say, “forgiveness of sin” and “emotions”, see Urbanz, Emotionen, 138–140.

35 Cf. 3:4; 4:1; 8:13, 17.

36 Compare the motif of the fairness (ἐπιείκεια) and forbearance (φειδώ) of the divine judge in 12:18.

37 Cf. Exod 15:26; Pss 6:3; 102(103):3.

38 Cf. terminologically concentrated in 19:1 (ἀνελεήμων θυμός).

39 Cf. Witte, Barmherzigkeit, 199–202.

40 The form of a report is only interrupted by addressing God as “You” in v. 20.

41 Compare the Solomon-fiction, which is found throughout the whole book of Wisdom (cf. 6:25; 7:1; 8:10–11; 9:7–8, 12), and the naming of the figures in 10:1–11:1. On the rhetorical device of *antonomasia*, see 1 En. 93:1–10 and 91:12–17.

associated motifs. Given the omission of the names, the example of the just also highlights the possibility of application and identification (perhaps even for pagan readers).

In contrast to the template in the book of Numbers, Wis 18 particularly emphasizes divine wrath. Thus, the whole pericope is framed by the term ὀργή (18:20/25). The words θυμός (18:21)⁴² and χόλος (18:22) appear as synonyms for the threefold usage of the term ὀργή. The power based on this divine emotion is underlined, as well as the character of the God of Israel, reacting as ἕξ Νᾶϳ/θεὸς ζηλωτής to the behaviour of the people of Israel.⁴³ The divine ὀργή is, equally, an expression of the holiness of God and a function of his justice. The violence of the ὀργή is relativized in Wis 18 in so far as the ἔλεος of God is always stronger than his ὀργή, thus creating an asymmetry between the divine ἔλεος and the divine ὀργή in the formula of grace. Hence, the wrath in the pericope is referred to twice as a “test” (πειρα 18:20, 25) and is limited temporally (18:20). Furthermore, the wrath of God loses its dynamism in so far as its “remaining” (μένω) appears primarily in a nominal form and only once as a verb.⁴⁴ The example of Aaron shows that the divine ὀργή can be both caused and influenced by humankind. The means of preventing and ending the divine ὀργή are human blamelessness (ἄμεμπτος) – an epithet in the Septuagint predicated by name only to Abraham (Gen 17:1; cf. Wis 10:5), Job (Job 1:1, 8; 2:3) and Esther (Esth 16:13/Add Esth E 13)⁴⁵ – intercession, sacrifice and, additionally, God’s remembrance of the covenants made with the patriarchs of Israel (18:22). Here, the λόγος of the suffering servant (θεράπων)⁴⁶ has power over the divine emotion of wrath (18:22).

In the context of *doxological reflections*, the divine ὀργή appears in **11:9–10** (in relation to Deut 8:2–5) as an example of the punishment of the Egyptians as opposed to the testing of Israel. It is expressed metaphorically in the contrast between the judging of a king and the parenting of a father (cf. 2:16; 14:3), as in **16:5** (with reference to Num 21:4–9).

⁴² Cf. 19:1 and, outside of prayer, in 5:22; on θυμός as a negative human emotion, see Wis 10:3 (with reference to Cain).

⁴³ Cf. Exod 20:5; 34:14; Deut 6:15; and Wis 5:17 (cf. Deut [LXX] 29:19; 2 Kgs [LXX] 19:31; Isa [LXX] 37:32; 63:15).

⁴⁴ No part of the book of Wisdom employs verbs like ὀργίζω, θυμώω or ἐκκαίω; normally used in the LXX for the burning of the wrath of God (cf. also ἐκχέω in Sir 16:11; 36:6, or ἐλλαίω in Deut 29:19).

⁴⁵ Compare 10:15, referring to the people of God saved from Egypt (cf. Engel, Gebet, 305).

⁴⁶ Cf. 10:16: Moses.

3.2 Human emotions

In the prayers of the book of Wisdom human emotions play a smaller role than the divine emotions discussed in the previous section. In contrast to prayers in other books of the Hebrew Bible and Septuagint, especially those of the Psalms, only a few emotions are mentioned in the prayers of the book of Wisdom. Human emotions in the prayers are restricted to the performed prayers, to their contexts and to the reports about prayer. At the same time, human emotions are present in the historical flashbacks in the second and third parts of the book, which are interrupted by simple or reflective doxologies. These do not, however, relate to prayers in either their direct form or in their contents.⁴⁷

In the introduction to the great prayer in **9:1–18** presented above, the author allows the fictitious Solomon to say that he prayed to God “with his whole heart” (ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας, **8:21**). The formulation ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας is a typical Old Testament expression of piety and occurs throughout the Old Testament, not only in prayers.⁴⁸ It stands for the orientation of the whole person towards God and includes the human being with his or her rationality, morality and affectivity. In so far as Solomon prays here “with his whole heart,” he is rooted in the tradition of prayer and confession which, according to Deuteronomy, Moses taught Israel (cf. Deut 4:29; 6:5). Solomon appears as a faithful student of the *Shema’ Yisrael*.

We may detect a more subtle emotional aspect to the reflection upon human insight in Wis 9:13–16, which is embedded into the prayer of chapter 9.⁴⁹ In this passage, the praying Solomon poses the rhetorical question of who can comprehend (ἐνθυμέομαι) God’s will (9:16b). This term ἐνθυμέομαι always resonates with an emotional aspect.⁵⁰ We also find this aspect in a second shorter prayer by Solomon in **7:15** in which Solomon asks God for the ability to adjust things appropriately in his θυμός, i.e. to engage in contemplation (ἐνθυμέομαι). Finally, a reflection upon the limits of human cognitive abilities ends with an indication of negative connotations, namely, that humans can perceive things,

⁴⁷ To a certain degree the reference to Jacob (10:10–12) is an exception, in so far as Jacob, fleeing the wrath of his brother, learns that piety (εὐσέβεια), which includes praying, is more powerful than everything else (cf. Witte, Jakob).

⁴⁸ Cf. LXX: Deut 4:29; 6:5; 10:12; 11:13; 13:4; 26:16; 30:2, 6, 10; 2 Chr 15:12; Joel 2:12; Zeph 3:14; Jer 3:10; 24:7; 4 Macc 7:18; 13:13.

⁴⁹ Cf. 1 Kgs 3:9; Prov 30:1–4; Job 11:7–8; 40:3–5; 42:1–6; Eccl 8:16–17; Sir 18:4–7; 24:28–29; 43:27–33; Bar 3:29–31; Isa 40:13–14; 55:8–9; 1 En. 93:11–14.

⁵⁰ Cf. Gen 6:6; Deut 21:11; Josh 6:18; 7:21; 1 Macc 6:8; Sir 16:20 et al.

even those in plain sight, only with effort (πόνος, 9:16).⁵¹ In the reports about prayers, and in particular the act of praying, we can find human emotions in six passages (7:7; 10:20; 11:4; 18:9; 19:8–10[11] and in 13:17–19 with 14:1).

In **7:7** Solomon reports his prayers (εὐχομαι, ἐπικαλέομαι) for insight and wisdom. The context of his request is the recognition of his common creatureliness and mortality (7:1, cf. 9:5). As a consequence of the prayer, Solomon receives the spirit of wisdom, leading to the *passionate love* of wisdom (7:10),⁵² the *joy* of the goods bestowed by wisdom (7:12),⁵³ the transmission of wisdom without *envy* (7:13) and *friendship* with God (7:14). The description of the *conditio humana* in the prologue of Solomon's prayer (7:1–6) mentions only one emotion with an obviously negative connotation: nocturnal *lust* (ἡδονή 7:2)⁵⁴. Nevertheless, the epilogue (7:8–14) mentions a whole set of positive emotions: love, joy, the absence of envy and friendship with God. The wisdom granted as a consequence of prayer not only concerns humans in their reason and ethics, but also releases positive emotions. Incidentally, this emotional aspect of the nature and work of wisdom characterizes the picture of σοφία in the whole book, especially in the hymnic descriptions of wisdom (cf. 7:22–8:9).⁵⁵

In **10:20**, pseudo-Solomon reports the praise of God by the Israelites who have left Egypt and are called the “just”.⁵⁶ At the same time, the Reed Sea song from Exodus 15 is prosaically summed up as a praising (ὕμνέω) and singing (αἰνέω) with regard to the *name* (cf. Exod 15:3)⁵⁷ and the *hand* of God (cf. Exod 15:6).⁵⁸ The prayer's point of departure is the experience of salvation that expresses itself in the solidarity (ὁμοθυμαδόν) in prayer demonstrated by the rescued. The prayer is made possible by the workings of wisdom, which even opens the mouth of the dumb.⁵⁹ With respect to our present concerns, the emphasis on the fact that this prayer took place ὁμοθυμαδόν is noteworthy: it stresses the contrast between the community of the just (δίκαιοι), represented

⁵¹ On the classification of πόνος (cf. Wis 3:15; 5:1; 8:7, 18; 10:9–10; 15:4; 19:16) as a negative emotion, see Reiterer, *Emotionen*, 283–284.

⁵² Cf. 6:12; 8:2 (φιλέω); Priotto, *Temple*, 268.

⁵³ On “joy” (εὐφραίνομαι/εὐφροσύνη; τέρψις) based on wisdom, see 8:16, 18.

⁵⁴ For a positive use of the term ἡδονή, see 16:20 (in the sense of “pleasant taste”; cf. Herm. 42:3; 48:3). In the background are Exod 16:31 and Num 11:8; cf. Ps (LXX) 77:24.

⁵⁵ In Ben Sira, σοφία appears to be more emotionally charged (cf. Sir 24:1–13; 51:13–30; Ellis, *Gender*, 173–175 passim).

⁵⁶ Compare, as background of this note, Exod 11:2; 12:35.

⁵⁷ Cf. Isa (LXX) 12:4–5; 25:1; Sir (G) 51:10; Esth 13:17 (Add Esth C 10).

⁵⁸ Cf. 3:1; 5:16; 7:16; 10:20; 11:17; 14:6; 16:15; 19:8.

⁵⁹ Cf. Exod 4:10–12; Ps 8:3; Isa 35:6.

by the Israelites at the time of the Exodus on the one hand, and the evil-doers (ἄσεβεῖς), here represented by the Egyptians on the other.⁶⁰ Moreover, the addressees of the book of Wisdom (the “community”) are exhorted to laud and praise God with *one mind*.⁶¹ A similar exhortation may be found in the obligation placed upon the Exodus generation to sing “the praises (αἴνωνς) of the fathers” on the night of the first Passover in one accord (ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ)⁶², as stipulated by the law (νόμος) (18:9). Against this background, the praise of God appears as a prayer causing and requiring unanimity and solidarity.

A polar opposite to the report of the praise of God by the Exodus generation in 10:20 is to be found in the note of complaint (ἐπικαλέομαι) of the people of God in 11:4, on account of the lack of water in the desert. Here again, the author changes from a report about praying in the third person singular to a direct address of God in the second person singular. In contrast to the template in Exod 17:1–7 and Num 20:7–13, the murmuring story becomes a story of prayer by Israel. While, in Exodus 17, Moses, and in Numbers 20 Moses and Aaron, pray, in Wis 11:4 it is the people who pray (cf. Ps 107:4–6). In contrast to Exodus 17 and Numbers 20, there is no mention of any emotions expressed by the Israelites in Wisdom 11. Thus, the book of Wisdom exhibits a double ideal in this report of prayer: first, the prayer of the group and, second, the ideal of the self-controlled sage.⁶³ By the change of address to “You” (11:4b) the Wisdom of Solomon motivates its readers to pray themselves in situations of existential emergency. Moreover, it holds out the prospect of an answer from God, who always finds the appropriate remedy (ἴαμα).

In 19:8–10, the author again refers back to the salvation and to the praise of God at the Reed Sea (cf. Exod 14:30–31; 15:1–21). Here, the praise (αἰνέω) is explicitly accompanied by emotions of joy, described by the metaphors of grazing horses and leaping lambs. The images come very close to the description of the Exodus in Isa 63:13–14 (and in Ps 77:21). Wisdom 19 shares, together with numerous Psalms, the depiction of corporeal jubilation in response to rescue.⁶⁴ The Wisdom of Solomon also generalizes the template in Exod 15:20, by applying the dance of Miriam and the women to the whole people.⁶⁵ The close connection between the experience of rescue – here especially qualified as a “miracle”

⁶⁰ Cf. 18:5, 12.

⁶¹ Cf. Jdt 4:12; 15:9; Acts 4:24; Rom 15:6; 2 En. 19:6; Ascen. Isa. 7:15; 9:28.

⁶² Compare, in contrast to this: 10:5.

⁶³ Contrast the unjust “Cain” (10:3–5) and “Esau” (10:10) who are moved by wrath.

⁶⁴ Compare in detail Abart, Herz. On the image of the “leaping lambs”, see also Ps 114:4, 6; Mal 3:20.

⁶⁵ So with Engel, Buch, 298.

(θαυμασὰ τέρατα, cf. Exod 15:11)⁶⁶ – the praise of God, and the remembrance of God’s action is characteristic for an understanding of prayer in the book of Wisdom. Θεωρέω, αἰνέω and μμνήσκω unite the book of Wisdom as a whole. At the same time, the joy of the Exodus generation is an encouragement and a reminder of joy for the contemporary reader, and functions as a mirror of the eschatological joy of the redeemed people in the future (cf. Mal 3:20). By contrast, the remembrance of Israel’s supplication or, more precisely, demand (αἰτέω) for more and different varieties of food in the wilderness in 19:11 is negatively qualified as ἐπιθυμία (“desire”)⁶⁷ in line with Num 11:4, 33–34 (cf. Exod 16,13; Ps 78:18–31).

That the most extensive reflection about prayer in the Wisdom of Solomon is found in the second excursus on the nonsense of idolatry (13:1–15:17[19]) is significant. With a total of seven different terms for prayer⁶⁸ in **13:17–14:1**, the absent prayers of the ones who lack correct knowledge of God are described ironically (14:1). The objects of their requests include possessions, marriage, children, health, protection when travelling, and economical success. These petitions are not criticized by pseudo-Solomon on account of what is requested, but rather because they are addressed to the wrong addressee; they do not petition the living God but self-made idols. The book of Wisdom continues the polemic against idols familiar from Deutero-Isaiah,⁶⁹ yet emphasizes vitality⁷⁰ as a criterion for the one and true God (12:13, 27)⁷¹. The image of God as the creator of the universe and the Old Testament prohibition against worshipping God by means of a cultic image are further elaborations of a monotheistic perspective. Since the book of Wisdom has a strong emphasis on the vitality of God as “being” (13:1, cf. Exod [LXX] 3:14–15), it retains the traditional Israelite-Jewish image of the God as a person. Precisely on account of this personalism, the book of Wisdom can speak about the emotions of God.

A lack of knowledge of the true God becomes evident when people are not ashamed (οὐκ αἰσχύνεται) to worship idols (13:17). Shame or, better, the absence of shame is the only emotional reference that arises within the framework of the

⁶⁶ On the relevance of wonder in the sapiential books of the Hebrew Bible, see Brown, *Wisdom’s Wonder*.

⁶⁷ Cf. Wis 4:12; 6:17, 20; 16:2, 21 and, relatedly, 6:11, 13; 16:3. On the role of the ἐπιθυμία/*libido* in the classical theory of emotions, see Aristotle, *Rhet.* II.12; Cicero, *Tusc.* IV.6.

⁶⁸ See ἀξιόω, (13:18); αἰτέω (13:19); ἐπιβοάω (14:1); ἐπικαλέομαι (13:17); ἱκετεύω (13:18); προσεύχομαι (13:17); προσλαλέω (13:17).

⁶⁹ Isa 40:18–25; 44:9–21.

⁷⁰ Cf. 15:17; 16:13.

⁷¹ Cf. Deut 4:35, 39; 32:39; Isa 44:6; 45:5–8; 46:9.

discussion of misguided prayer.⁷² As a natural human emotion, shame can prevent one from worshipping idols. Once again, the close connection between human rationality, affectivity and morality envisaged by the book of Wisdom can be seen⁷³. Knowledge, feeling and ethical behaviour all pertain to humanity. *True humanity* distinguishes itself by knowledge and worship of the *true God*.

4 Conclusions

For the book of Wisdom, prayer belongs to the human as a creature, created by the living God and in relationship with this God (2:23; 9:2–3). The *prerequisites* of prayer are the awareness of one's own status as creature and the acceptance of one's own finitude (7:1–6), as well as an experience of divine action (10:20–21; 11:4; 19:8–10). Prayer *enabled* by true knowledge of God is wisdom (10:20–21). The *addressee* of prayer may only be the one, true and living God. Prayers not addressed to him are ultimately not prayers at all, but self-deception (13:17–14:1). The *aim* of prayer is communion with God realized through friendship with God, justice and immortality (7:14; 15:3). As a *reaction* to the works of God, prayer – be it petition, thanksgiving, lament or praise – is a response to God himself (18:20–25).

Emotions play only a minor role in the prayers of the Wisdom of Solomon. Where divine emotions such as ἀγάπη, ἔλεος and ὀργή/θυμός/χόλος are mentioned, they are deeply rooted in the Israelite-Jewish tradition of a personal God and in the metaphorical language of religion. Thus, the book of Wisdom preserves the image of a personal God, who is active in his creation and responds to it, in a context in which pagan philosophers emphasize that the gods are unemotional and indifferent.

The human emotions mentioned in the prayers include *love* of wisdom (7:10), *unanimity* and *solidarity* in prayer (10:20), *joy* at the experience of divine rescue (19:8–10) and *shame* as a natural feeling of difference between the creator⁷⁴ and the creature, between the living and the dead (13:18).

As is true of prayers elsewhere, the explicit mention of emotion in the prayers of the book of Wisdom serves, first, to provide self-assurance to the one

⁷² In contrast to Ben Sira, where the debate about shame plays an important role (4:20–21; 5:14–15; 13:7; 20:22–23; 20:26; 21:22; 22:25; 25:22; 29:14; 41:16–17; 42:1; 51:18, 29; cf. Ellis, Gender, 64–69; 134–137 passim), the book of Wisdom deals with shame only in 13:17.

⁷³ Compare the continuation of the excursus in 14:22–31.

⁷⁴ Cf. 2:23; 9:1; 13:3, 5; 11:17; 16:24.

praying; second, to determine his or her relationship to God; third, to articulate the particular circumstances of his or her life; and, fourth, to attempt to persuade God to act. As *emotions refracted through literature*,⁷⁵ they characterize the particular protagonists of the text. At the same time, this four-fold function of the emotions is directed towards the addressees of the Wisdom of Solomon. The degree to which the readers participate in the emotions mentioned, and identify with them, depends upon the degree to which they are affected by the consciousness of existence („Daseinsverständnis“)⁷⁶ articulated in the prayers of the book. There are two reasons why only a few human emotions are mentioned in the Wisdom of Solomon: a form-critical one and a traditio-historical one. With respect to the former, the book of Wisdom contains no laments or prayers of praise, in which emotions are an important element of the genre. With respect to the latter, Wisdom shares with Egyptian sapiential instructions and pagan philosophical images, primarily Platonic, Cynic and Stoic ones, the ideal of the sage who exercises self-control, who is less characterized by emotions than by insight and an attitude grounded in love.⁷⁷

Abstract

This article provides an overview of terms for prayer in the Wisdom of Solomon, classifies the prayers in Wisdom according to form, function and contents, and evaluates the names of God and the divine epithets in these prayers. It traces the essential elements of Wisdom's theory of prayer and identifies the divine and human emotions expressed in the prayers within their literary and traditio-historical contexts. Special attention is devoted to a) the divine emotions of “wrath” and “mercy”; b) an anthropological and theological interpretation of the prayer of Solomon in Wis 8:21–9:18; and c) the text-pragmatic function of selected human affects and emotions mentioned in the book of Wisdom such as “love”, “joy”, “envy”, “desire” and “shame”.

⁷⁵ See Gillmayer-Bucher, *Emotion*, 283–285, who speaks here of „Manifestation in der verbalen Thematisierung“.

⁷⁶ Cf. Stock, *Emotionen*.

⁷⁷ Cf. 6:18; 10:5, 10–12 (see Witte, Jakob).

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Barbara Schmitz

Judith and Holofernes: An Analysis of the Emotions in the Killing Scene (Jdt 12:10–13:9)

1 Introduction

What is an emotion? This question is not easily answered. Which physical, mental, facial, and vocal expressions do we interpret as emotions? The *Encyclopædia Britannica* defines the generic term “emotion” as “a complex experience of consciousness, bodily sensation, and behaviour that reflects the personal significance of a thing, an event, or a state of affairs.”¹

Compared to the English language and most modern (European) languages which have, in their respective linguistic forms, the generic term “emotions” under which they subsume different kinds of feelings, there is no equivalent term in Ancient Greek.² Speaking of “emotions” in Classical or Koine Greek we usually refer to the term πάθος *pathos*. But πάθος according to Liddell-Scott means “*that which happens* to a person or thing” and “*what one has experienced*”.³ Derived from the verb πάσχω “to suffer, to experience”, πάθος in the plural means a broad variety of sentiments, which are often rendered by such words as “anger, fear, love, pity, indignation, envy” and which are sometimes called “emotions”, but – and this is important – πάθος is not actually identical to what we call emotions. David Konstan writes in his book *The Emotions of the Ancient Greek. Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature* (2007): “The specific

1 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines emotion as “a. originally: an agitation of mind; an excited mental state. Subsequently: any strong mental or instinctive feeling, as pleasure, grief, hope, fear, etc., deriving esp. from one’s circumstances, mood, or relationship with others. b. As a mass noun: strong feelings, passion; (more generally) instinctive feeling as distinguished from reasoning or knowledge”; the expression “emotion” comes from “mid 16th century (denoting a public disturbance): from French *émotion*, from *émouvoir* ‘excite’, based on Latin *emovere*, from *e-* (variant of *ex-*) ‘out’ + *movere* ‘move’. The current sense dates from the early 19th century.”

2 See Morton Braund/Gill, *Passions*.

3 Liddell/Scott, *Lexicon*, 1285: “In classical Greek, *pathos* may refer more generally to what befalls a person, often in the negative sense of an accident or misfortune, although it may also bear the neutral significance of a condition or state of affairs”; Konstan, *Emotions*, 3–4.

sense of ‘emotion’ is in part conditioned by this penumbra of connotations: in so far as a *pathos* is a reaction to an impinging event or circumstance, it looks to the outside stimulus to which it responds.”⁴ Obviously, there is an essential, semantical incongruity between our term “emotion” and the Greek term πάθος.⁵

The question regarding “emotions” is made even more complex by focusing on emotions in texts. What do we perceive as emotions in texts? Or more precisely, which text signals do we perceive as “emotions”? How are emotions constructed and described in fictional texts?

These are the questions I wish to ask regarding the book of Judith. Since Renate Egger-Wenzel has already described emotions in the book of Judith,⁶ my intention here is to focus on the killing scene in the book of Judith and any potential emotions in this scene. Before doing this, I want to utilize the phenomenological approach of Aaron Ben-Ze’ev in order to describe and categorize the emotions in the killing scene of the book of Judith.

2 A phenomenological approach: what is an emotion?

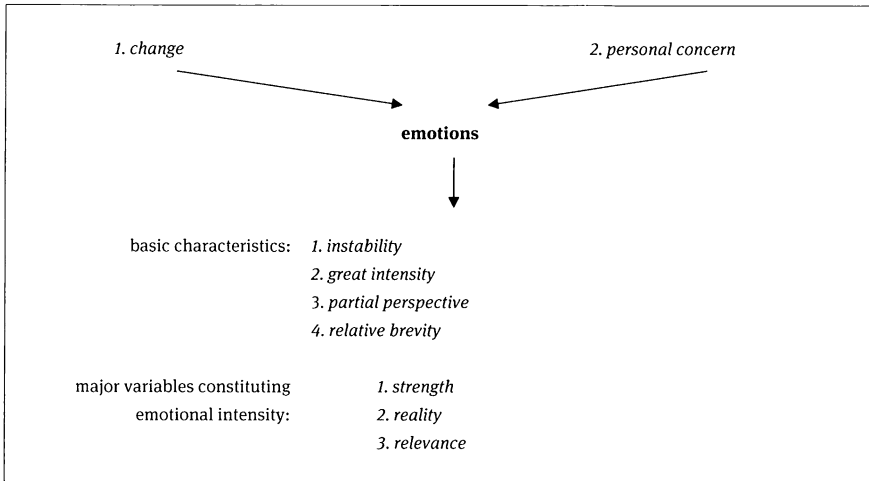
Aaron Ben-Ze’ev answers the question “What is an emotion?” in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Emotion*, 2010 by defining categories for emotions.⁷ In the light of his definitions, I have summarized the main aspects of the emotions described in the book of Judith in the following diagram:

4 Konstan, *Emotions*, 4.

5 In the LXX, πάθος is used 58 times in the Greek text of 4 Maccabees. A topic in Maccabees is the philosophical question of πάθος: εἰ αὐτοδέσποτός ἐστιν τῶν παθῶν ὁ εὐσεβῆς λογισμός “whether pious reason is absolute master of passions” (4 Macc 1:1). Besides 4 Maccabees, πάθος is used elsewhere only twice: πάθος as “misfortune” for ἔλεος “mourning” in Job 30:31 and in Prov 25:20, a verse, which was radically changed in comparison with the Hebrew text. In other words: beside 4 Macc, the LXX only rarely uses the word πάθος.

6 Egger-Wenzel, *Judith’s Path*, 189–223.

7 See also Deigh, *Concepts*, 17–40; Landweer/Renz, *Emotionstheorien*; Goldie, *Oxford Handbook*.



In emotions as complex mental phenomena, *change* and *personal concern* are typical elements.

1. First: The typical cause of emotions is change: “Emotions typically occur when we perceive positive or negative *significant changes in our personal situation*, or in the situation of those related to us. A major positive or negative change significantly improves or interrupts a stable situation relevant to our concern.”⁸
2. Second: The typical emotional concern is a comparatively personal one: “Emotions occur when a change is evaluated as relevant to our personal concerns. Concerns are our short- or long-term disposition towards a preference for particular states of the world or of the self. Emotions serve to monitor and safeguard our personal concerns; they give the eliciting event its significance. An important difference between general and emotional changes is that the latter are of great personal significance. [...] An emotional change is always related to a certain personal frame of reference against which its significance is evaluated. Emotional meaning is mainly comparative. The emotional environment contains not only what is and what will be experienced but also all that could be or that one wishes will be experienced. For the emotional system, all such possibilities are posited as simultaneously available and are compared with each other. [...] The comparison underlying emotional significance encompasses the mental

⁸ Ben-Ze'ev, Thing, 42.

construction of the availability of an alternative situation. The more available the alternative [...] the more intensive the emotion.”⁹

Furthermore, emotions may be described by four basic characteristics: *instability*, *great intensity*, *partial perspective*, and *relative brevity*.

1. “Instability of the mental (as well as the psychological) system is a basic characteristic of emotions. Emotions indicate a transition in which the preceding context has changed but no new context has yet stabilized. Emotions are like storm and fire – they are unstable states that signify some agitation; they are intense, occasional, and limited in duration.”¹⁰
2. Great intensity is the second, typical characteristic: “Emotions are intense reactions. In emotions, the mental system has not yet adapted to the given change, and, due to its significance, the change requires the mobilization of many resources. No wonder that emotions are associated with urgency and heat.”¹¹
3. Emotions are partial because “they are focused on a *narrow* target, such as one person or very few people, and they express a *personal* and interested perspective. Emotions direct and colour our attention by selecting what attracts and holds it; in this sense, emotions are similar to heat-seeking missiles, having no other concern but to find the heat-generating target. Emotions address practical concerns from a personal perspective. [...] Focusing upon fewer objects increases the resources available for each and hence increases emotional intensity.”¹²
4. The fourth characteristic of a typical emotion is brevity: “The mobilization of all resources to focus on one event cannot last forever. A system cannot be unstable for a long period and still function normally. [...] The exact duration of an emotion is a matter for dispute: depending on the type of emotion and the circumstances, it can last from a few seconds to a few hours and sometimes even longer.”¹³

9 Ben-Ze’ev, Thing, 44.

10 Ben-Ze’ev, Thing, 45.

11 Ben-Ze’ev, Thing, 45.

12 Ben-Ze’ev, Thing, 45.

13 Ben-Ze’ev, Thing, 46. Beside these four basic characteristics, there are four basic components (*cognition*, *evaluation*, *motivation*, and *feelings*): Ben-Ze’ev, Thing, 47–50: “The difference between typical characteristics and basic components is that characteristics are properties of the whole emotional experience, whereas components express a conceptual division of the elements of this experience” (47).

There are three major variables constituting emotional intensity: *strength*, *reality*, and *relevance*.

1. “The event’s *strength* is a major factor determining the intensity of an emotional experience.”¹⁴
2. The second variable is the degree of *reality*: “the more we believe a situation to be real, the more intense the emotion.”¹⁵
3. The third variable is *relevance*: “the more relevant the event, the greater the emotional significance of an emotional experience. [...] Emotional relevance typically refers either (a) to the achievement of our goal, or (b) to our self-esteem.”¹⁶

Taking into account this description of emotions, we should now approach the question of emotions in the book of Judith by asking about its typical emotional elements and basic characteristics, as well as its variables that constitute emotional intensity, and its background circumstances.

3 Emotions in the book of Judith

In the art history of the Renaissance era, especially in the Christian art of Western Europe, there are two scenes from the book of Judith. The first scene describes the moment when Judith kills Holofernes.¹⁷ In the second scene, which is

¹⁴ Ben-Ze’ev, Thing, 50.

¹⁵ Ben-Ze’ev, Thing, 51.

¹⁶ Ben-Ze’ev, Thing, 51. Furthermore, there are three major variables constituting the background circumstances: *accountability*, *readiness*, and *deservingness*. The first is *accountability*: “*Accountability* (or *responsibility*), [...] refers to the nature of the agency generating the emotional encounter. Major issues relevant here are: (a) degree of *controllability*, (b) invested *efforts*, and (c) *intent*. The greater the degree of controllability there was, the more effort we invested, and the more intended the result was, the more significant the event usually is and the greater the emotional intensity it generates. [...] The variable of *readiness* measures the cognitive change in our mind; major factors in this variable are unexpectedness (or anticipation) and uncertainty. Unexpectedness, which may be measured by how surprised one is by the situation, is widely recognized as central emotions. [...] The perceived *deservingness* (equity, fairness) of our situation or that of others is of great importance in determining the nature and intensity of emotions. No one wants to be unjustly treated, or receive what is contrary to one’s wish”; Ben-Ze’ev, Thing, 52–53.

¹⁷ Donatello (1396–1466), *Judith and Holofernes* (1459); Mattia Preti, *Judith and Holofernes* (1656–1661); Sandro Botticelli, *Judith Leaving the Tent of Holofernes* (1497–1500); Artemisia Gentileschi (1593–1653), *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (1612–13) and *Judith Beheading Holofernes*

often portrayed in art, Judith holds the severed head of Holofernes in her hand.¹⁸ Other scenes, however, as, for example, when Judith leaves the Assyrian camp, or Judith is in Bethulia, are rarely portrayed.¹⁹ Obviously, throughout the history of reception, artists perceived the killing scene and the severed head of Holofernes as the most exciting, or maybe the most scandalous, scene for themselves and for the viewers of their art objects. One may reasonably conclude that these scenes caused the most intense and perhaps the most diverse emotions. That is why I wish to focus on the two main protagonists, Holofernes and Judith. Which emotions are presented by Holofernes and Judith?²⁰ How may these emotions be phenomenologically described? How are the pragmatics of the texts to be evaluated?

3.1 Emotions of Holofernes

In Judith 12, Holofernes sends invitations to a private feast. Given the identity of the invited guests, who are limited to “his slaves alone” (τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ μόνοις), i.e. the closest confidants of Holofernes, it becomes apparent that this social activity of Holofernes, arranged by his servant Bagoas, is a private drinking feast (Jdt 12:10; 13:1). Those who are associated with Holofernes only through their official duties, i.e. his officers, are excluded from the invitation (οὐδένα τῶν πρὸς ταῖς χρεῖαις). The invitation is exclusively extended to his closest friends, with the exception of the special guest, Judith, the main actual protagonist of the evening.

The most emotional reactions in the whole of the book of Judith are described when Judith enters the tent of Holofernes: καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα ἀνέπεσεν Ἰουδιθ καὶ ἐξέστη ἡ καρδία Ολοφέρνηου ἐπ’ αὐτήν καὶ ἐσαλεύθη ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἦν κατεπίθυμος σφόδρα τοῦ συγγενέσθαι μετ’ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐτήρει καιρὸν τοῦ ἀπατήσθαι αὐτὴν ἀφ’ ἧς ἡμέρας εἶδεν αὐτήν “And Judith entered and reclined,

(1620); Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *Judith and Holofernes* (1598/99); Jacopo Tintoretto, *Judith and Holofernes* (1578); Johann Liss, *Judith and Holofernes* (1628); Franz von Stuck, *Judith and Holofernes* (1926); Cindy Sherman, *Untitled # 228* (1990); Judith Samen, *Judith and Holofernes* (1995).

18 Mantegna, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (1495); Christofano Allori, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (1613); Hans Baldung Grien, *Judith* (1480–1545); Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (1531); Gustav Klimt, *Judith I* (1901) and *Judith II* (1909).

19 For example, Sandro Botticelli, *The Return of Judith to Bethulia* (1470–1472); Francesco Solimena, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (1728–1733); Artemisia Gentileschi, *Judith and her Maidservant* (1613–1614) and numerous others.

20 Schmitz/Engel, *Buch*.

and Holofernes's heart was beside itself for her, and his spirit reeled, and he was filled with a violent lust to lie with her. And he had been watching for a time to seduce her from the day he saw her" (Jdt 12:16; translation according to NETS).

The effect Judith has on Holofernes while she reclines on the fleece, drinking and eating before him, is described in a fourfold way:

First: καὶ ἐξέστη ἡ καρδία Ολοφέρνηου ἐπ' αὐτήν "and Holofernes's heart was beside itself for her". Four times in the book of Judith people are beside themselves: three times with horror (Jdt 11:16; 13:17; 15:1), but this time with sexual ecstasy. In the LXX the phrase "the heart is beside itself" (ἐξίστημι + καρδία) is mostly used in the context of fear or horror (Gen 42:28; Josh 2:11; 1 Sam 4:13; 28:5; Jer 4:9), and only in Isa 60:5 does it describe elated feelings in reference to Jerusalem.

Second: καὶ ἐσαλεύθη ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ "and his spirit reeled". The verb σαλεύομαι "to shake" is used a second time in Jdt 16:15 against the background of a theophany in Mic 1:4 which describes an intense shaking that can even influence the foundations of mountains.

Third: καὶ ἦν κατεπίθυμος σφόδρα τοῦ συγγενέσθαι μετ' αὐτῆς "and he was filled with a violent lust to lie with her": The verb "to be with/to come together with" (συγγίνομαι) has a sexual sense (as in Gen 19:5; 39:10; Sus 11th, 39th).

Fourth: καὶ ἐτήρει καιρὸν τοῦ ἀπατήσαι αὐτήν ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας εἶδεν αὐτήν "And he had been watching for a time to seduce her from the day he saw her": Because of this intention, Holofernes was waiting for the right time (καιρός, q.v. Jdt 13:5; 16:21) in which to carry out his seduction of Judith. The verb "seduce" (ἀπατάω, q.v. Jdt 9:3; 13:16) is, in combination with the nouns "beguilement, allurements, charm" ἀπάτη Jdt 9:3, 10, 13; 16:8 and ἀπάτησις Jdt 10:4), an important word in the narrative. The meaning of the word, ranging from "beguilement, deception" to "seduction", is modelled after the language used in connection with the rape of Dinah in Gen 34, specifically in the reaction of Dina's brother Simeon when he learns about the rape of his sister (Jdt 9:3). In Jdt 12:16 the lexeme ἀπατ- is used to describe the intention of Holofernes, thereby making explicit what may have been clear from the start, but was not reported directly, that is to say, that Holofernes, from the first day that he saw Judith (Jdt 10:23), was planning nothing other than sexual intercourse with her. Judith's deception, on the other hand, feigning willingness to have sexual intercourse, serves the purpose of saving her city and ending the threat to Israel.

What is interesting about this fourfold description of Holofernes's reaction at seeing Judith is that only a few words are used that clearly describe emotions, and these descriptions are *intense*, according to Aaron Ben-Ze'ev's categories:

The first aspect is chance. Although Israel's refusal to submit to Holofernes resulted in an intense emotional reaction by Holofernes in Jdt 5:1, 3, Holofer-

nes's reaction to Judith is more intensely emotional. This is due to the fact that the second strand of typical causes of emotions comes into play: personal concern. While Israel's refusal affects Holofernes only in his role as a soldier and general, the encounter with Judith deeply effects his masculinity, and himself as a person. Here, the aspects of change and personal concern are the strongest.

Holofernes's situation is characterized by great intensity, and his intense sexual desire for Judith limits him to a partial perspective. Holofernes only perceives what serves to fulfil his sexual wishes. He completely dismisses everything that could interfere with his plan, or make him change his mind. Led by his sexual emotions, he reacts in a highly unprofessional manner, and is not able to see the potential danger that could arise for himself, his army and the order that he had received from Nabuchodonosor.

This leads to a situation of high instability. This instability is intensified by Holofernes's heavy drinking. He drinks more wine than he has ever drunk before in his whole life (Jdt 12:20; regarding the motif of drunkenness as a preliminary phase of death and defeat, cf. Jer 28:57 LXX // 51:57 MT). Because of this excessive drinking Holofernes loses all control over the situation. As a result of his voluntary incapacity, his army, his royal instruction, and he himself, are all in danger. That this emotional situation is of relative brevity, and will soon change, is a fact not realized by Holofernes, but surely by the readers of the book of Judith.

An emotional intensity is created by the powerful description of the event and the atmosphere of reality, since everything is arranged in a way that should lead to Holofernes and Judith spending the night together – something he (thinks he) will achieve. Although it is a private drinking bout, Holofernes is under great peer pressure, a pressure described by himself in his conversation with Bagoas: ἰδοὺ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν τῷ προσώπῳ ἡμῶν εἰ γυναῖκα τοιαύτην παρήσομεν οὐχ ὀμιλήσαντες²¹ αὐτῇ ὅτι ἐὰν ταύτην μὴ ἐπισπασώμεθα²² καταγέλασται ἡμῶν “For behold, if we allow such a woman to pass by without having intercourse with her, it will be a source of shame for our face, for if we fail to gain this one, she will mock us” (Jdt 12:12). The verb καταγέλασται (verb indicative future third person singular) may be understood as a feminine form “she will mock”, or as a neuter form “one would mock”. On the one hand, Holofernes wants to leave no doubt about his masculinity in the matter of his

²¹ The verb ὀμιλέω encompasses a wide semantical spectrum, ranging from conversation and talk to being together and having intercourse (cf. Sus 37 LXX, 54th, 57, 58).

²² The verb ἐπισπάομαι can acquire a more specific sexual overtone through its context (cf. Gen 39:12), then conveying a sense of seduction, or even sexual violence.

guest, Judith. On the other hand, he is anxious not to lose the respect of his men and his authority in this (masculine) environment, since a missed opportunity would leave him open to mockery. For this reason, Holofernes considers it disgraceful (αἰσχρός), if he fails to enjoy a sexual encounter with Judith. It should, however, be acknowledged that the idea that Judith would mock him if he did not sleep with her, represents a very masculine way of thinking. Holofernes's plan to sleep with Judith gains relevance not only because of his sexual wishes, but also in order to prove his masculinity to himself and his army. It is not only a matter of personal desire, but also of proving the military and political power of Assyria against its subordinates.

3.2 Emotions of Judith

Turning to Judith's emotions, the description could hardly be more different. Since Holofernes, as he looks forward to spending the night with the beautiful Judith, is highly emotional, he encourages her to adopt a similar attitude: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὴν Ολοφέρνης πίε δὴ καὶ γενήθητι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰς εὐφροσύνην "Now drink, and be merry with us" (Jdt 12:17). The word εὐφροσύνη is ambiguous (cf. Jdt 10:3) but clearly has a sexual undertone in Jdt 12:13, 17: Judith, the only woman in this men's world, is prompted to be merry with them. This euphemistic request indicates the danger that she is in. Although Judith in her answer to Holofernes's request seems to be filled with "delight" (Jdt 12:18), and even drinks (Jdt 12:18, 19), she does not drink of Holofernes's wine, as he intended her to do, but only drinks what her slave had prepared for her (Jdt 12:19 cf. 12:15). Unlike Holofernes, she therefore still has control over the situation.

In the evening, all the other men depart, leaving Judith alone with Holofernes in his tent, drunk and lying in an incapable state on his bed. Holofernes has collapsed forward onto his bed and is covered in wine (καὶ Ολοφέρνης προπεπτωκῶς ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην αὐτοῦ ἦν γὰρ περικεχυμένος αὐτῷ ὁ οἶνος, Jdt 13:2). By lying in this state on his bed, Holofernes has made himself completely defenceless. At the same time, it explains why Judith later is able to strike twice at his neck (Jdt 13:8). Without any involvement by Judith, Holofernes has made himself defenceless and useless for military purposes. A drunken, sleeping Holofernes, who is covered in spilled wine, is the exact opposite of the picture of an energetic and successful general drawn in the earlier chapters.

To increase the tension of the killing scene in Judith 13, the narrative offers two descriptions of Judith approaching the bed (Jdt 13:4b, 7), both times combined with a prayer. The first prayer is Jdt 13:4–5: "κύριε ὁ θεὸς πάσης δυνάμεως ἐπίβλεψον ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν μου εἰς ὑψωμα Ἱερουσαλημ

ᾧτι νῦν καιρὸς ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῆς κληρονομίας σου καὶ ποιῆσαι τὸ ἐπιτήδευμά μου εἰς θραῦσμα ἐχθρῶν οἱ ἐπανέστησαν ἡμῖν “Lord, God of all power, in this hour look upon the works of my hands for the exaltation of Jerusalem, ⁵ for now is the time to defend your inheritance and to accomplish my mission for the wreck of the enemies who rose up against us” (Jdt 13:4–5). Judith speaks “within her heart”, i.e. inwardly (ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς).

Her first prayer begins with an invocation of God using the appellation “Lord, God of all power” (κύριε ὁ θεὸς πάσης δυνάμεως). In the middle of the Assyrian camp, surrounded by an incredibly powerful army (δύναμις), and alone in the tent of its mightiest “lord” (κύριος), Holofernes, Judith prays to *her* “lord” (κύριος), the God of all power. But she does not request something for herself, but asks God to look (cf. [ἐπι]βλέπω in the prayer Jdt 6:19; 9:9) upon her deed (ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν μου “upon the works of my hands”). The phrase “works of my hands” (τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν μου) is found only once in the whole narrative of Judith. Usually she announces her future action by way of the words πρᾶγμα “deed” (Jdt 8:32; 11:6, 16), or ἐπιτήδευμα “mission” (Jdt 10:8; 11:6; 13:5). The readers know it; the time has *now* come, the announced deed is imminent.

That this is not an end in itself is made clear by Judith’s prayer for the exaltation of Jerusalem. “Exaltation” in the narrative of Judith is used only regarding “Jerusalem” (ὑψωμα Ἱερουσαλημ Jdt 10:8; 13:4; 15:9). Judith is not asking to be rescued herself from this dangerous situation, but is focused on Jerusalem, and thereby on the Temple (cf. Jdt 8:21, 24; 9:8, 13).

Now is the right time (καιρὸς) for God to defend his inheritance (ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῆς κληρονομίας σου), i.e. Israel (cf. Isa 19:25; Jdt 9:12). But this defence of his people does not happen by means of a direct *intervention* by God. The conception of the author of Judith differs, like other late narratives of the Old Testament,²³ from the early biblical narratives, such as that of the Exodus, in which God himself takes part, intervenes and acts. Her aim is “the wreck of the enemies” (εἰς θραῦσμα ἐχθρῶν). Judith uses a word that the other leaders used to describe the danger (cf. Jdt 7:9). The verb “to break” (θραύω) is later used for the destruction of the enemies by the hand of Judith (Jdt 9:10; 13:14). The fact that Judith is the killer is not kept secret; she is responsible for killing Holofernes and her responsibility is not attributed to anyone else.

After the first prayer, Judith again approaches the bedpost at the headboard of Holofernes’s bed and she takes down his sword (ἀκινάκης) from it. Instead of striking immediately, Judith draws even closer to the bed, takes hold of his hair and speaks a second, shorter prayer: “Strengthen me, Lord, God of Israel, in this

²³ Schmitz, Gott (forthcoming).

day” (Jdt 13:7), which delays the deed narratively and increases the tension. While grabbing his hair and holding his scimitar, she immediately begins her prayer with the plea: “Strengthen me!” (κραταίωσόν με). She is asking God for the necessary strength, but it is a strength needed for *her* deed (cf. Jdt 9:9, 14).

Strengthened by these two prayers, the killing takes place: καὶ ἐπάταξεν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ δις ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι αὐτῆς καὶ ἀφείλεν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ “and she struck at his neck twice with her strength and took his head from him” (Jdt 13:8).

To sum up:

One does not learn much about the emotions of the protagonist Judith. In the key scene, the killing scene, there are hardly any descriptions of her emotions. The whole event is narrated from an external perspective, leaving the reader without any knowledge of the protagonist’s inner world.

That this is a specific feature of the LXX version is demonstrated by a comparison with the Vulgate version of the book of Judith. Here Jdt 13:6 Vulg. reads: *stetitque Judith ante lectum orans cum lacrimis et labiorum motu in silentio* “And Judith stood before the bed praying with tears, and the motion of her lips in silence”. Whereas the Vulgate adds a deeply emotional involvement to Judith, the LXX describes her without emotions, the only exception being her two prayers. Only by means of these two prayers is the reader able to gain some knowledge of Judith’s inner world.

The first important discovery, then, is that there are no descriptions of Judith’s emotions in the killing scene, with only the two prayers giving access to her inner world. The prayers are the only emotional expression. While the prayers beseech God, requesting the necessary strength for the deed, there is no word of fear, emotion or concern on the part of Judith in this delicate and dangerous situation.

This conveys a mixed picture. Whereas Holofernes is described in a highly emotional situation, no emotions are attributed to Judith. Access to her inner world is only by means of her two prayers. Why are there no descriptions of Judith’s emotions? In the history of the book’s reception, this question led to many speculations, ranging from coldness to frigidity, and to killing with pleasure.²⁴

Why there is no mention of any emotions on the part of the protagonist at the climax of the narrative is an important question. Not only should those passages that specifically describe emotions be the subject of emotional analysis but this should also be done for those passages that *do not* make any mention of

24 Hebbel, *Judith*; Freud, *Tabu*, 211–228; see also Freud, *Sexualität*, 273–292.

emotions. Obviously, this leads to a few methodological difficulties. We have no way of knowing why something was *not* described. But, in the killing scene, there is, firstly, a sharp contrast between the two protagonists and, secondly, a significant difference in a later version of the text. That is why I would repeat my question: Why do we not find any emotions attributed to Judith in the killing scene? From my point of view, there could be several ways of explaining these results:

First: the killing of Holofernes recalls a series of other biblical narratives, in which killings are described. I will mention three of them. The first is the account of the battle between David and Goliath. Like David, Judith kills Holofernes with his own sword. David took the sword of the Philistine Goliath and cut off his head with it (1 Sam 17:51 – Jdt 13:6, 8). The second narrative is the one of Jael and Sisera. The narrative of Judith recalls this narrative in detail, especially the lexeme “to beat/to strike” (πατάσσω), which is found in the killing scene as well, describing how Jael kills Sisera (Judg 5:26). In this narrative a woman from Israel kills the opposing general in a tent by smiting his head and thereby saving Israel (Judg 5:26 – Jdt 13:6, 8). In the third account, the head and arm of the Seleucid general Nikanor were shown after the battle of Adasa in Jerusalem as a sign of victory (1 Macc 7:47 // 2 Macc 15:30). What is interesting is that none of these narratives make any mention of emotions. In other words, the narratives that apparently underlie the killing scene in the book of Judith are devoid of any reported emotions.

Second: another interesting reason for the omission of emotions could be found in the pagan philosophical discussion of the classical and Hellenistic age. Without going too deeply into a discussion about the function of emotions in the different philosophical schools,²⁵ I would note that a text like Plato’s descriptions of Socrates’s death might provide indications: Socrates, as described in Plato’s *Phaedrus*, shows nearly no emotions in the face of certain death, but is distinguished by heroic self-control. Calmly and in self-controlled fashion, he drinks the poison hemlock (*Phaidr.* 116b–117c). He displays total control over his emotions and lives up to the standard that a genuine philosopher should control his emotions and bow to the logos; it is a behaviour free of emotions and the tragic.²⁶ Plato’s Socrates elsewhere demands a control over emotions (*Resp.* 387–388) and calls a person who has such control “*aner epieikes*”. Elsewhere, Socrates concedes some emotion, i.e. grief (*Resp.* 603a), to an “*aner epieikes*”,

²⁵ Cf. Gill, *Stoicism*, 143–166; Gill, *Emotions*, 5–15; Buddensiek, *Stoa*, 71–93; Rapp, *Aristoteles*, 45–68; Price, *Emotions*, 121–142.

²⁶ Cf. Erler, *Platon*, 26–27.

but still demands overall control over these emotions (*Resp.* 387–388).²⁷ Maybe the fact that an “*aner epieikes*” was characterized by absolute control over his emotions and that this was widely appreciated in the Hellenistic world, led to a composition of a killing scene that is devoid of any reference to Judith’s emotions.

Third: seen through the prism of Aaron Ben-Ze’ev’s categories, there may be a third possibility. If change and personal concern are the characteristic triggers of emotions, then these factors are absent in the protagonist Judith. At first sight, this may not seem plausible, considering that the subject is the killing of a person but it may at the same time point to an important aspect of the narrative. For Judith, change and personal concern do not arise from the circumstances in Holofernes’s tent, but from the danger of the city’s surrender. The five-day ultimatum, negotiated by the elders of the city, was the reason for Judith to become involved. The fact that they turned to God and threatened to surrender the city if he did not help them within five days is what makes Judith see the need to make this situation (change) happen. She feels personally and deeply moved, as well as challenged (personal concern), as can be deduced from her speech in Judith 8 (8:12–14). It therefore comes as no surprise that she is characterized as a very emotional person in the argument with the elders in Judith 8 and in her prayer in Judith 9. Here Judith argues with great intensity. By giving higher priority to the rescue of Israel than to the danger of sexual violence that personally threatens her in the Assyrian camp, she accepts a situation of great instability and adopts a partial perspective.

These three considerations, namely, the traditio-historical guidelines of the received biblical texts, the cultural-historical background of a Hellenistic appreciation of unemotional *habitus*, and the narratological treatment of emotions already noted in regard to the theological questions in Judith 8, represent three possible ways of explaining the difference between the emotional Holofernes and the unemotional Judith.

4 Conclusion

Because of the semantical incongruity of the term “emotion”, the analysis of the killing scene in the book of Judith has benefited from Aaron Ben-Ze’ev’s phenomenological description of emotions: Holofernes’s emotions were stirred up by

²⁷ Cf. Erler, Platon, 32.

change and personal concern and characterized by instability, great intensity, a partial perspective and relative brevity. The climax of his emotions is found in the killing scene.

Regarding Judith, the situation is reversed. Unlike the situation regarding Holofernes's emotions, there is no description of her emotions. Only by means of her prayers is the reader able to gain some knowledge about her and her emotions in the killing scene. In this scene, the climax of the built-up tension, there is at the same a highly emotional Holofernes and a wholly unemotional Judith: since Holofernes has already been made "headless" by his own emotions, the unemotional Judith is able to behead the "headless" Holofernes.

Abstract

Starting with a terminological and phenomenological perspective on the question "What is an emotion?", particularly as developed by Aaron Ben Ze'ev, the killing scene in the book of Judith (Jdt 12:10–13:9) is analysed. This crucial scene in the book's plot reports the intense emotions of Holofernes but nothing is said about any emotions on the part of Judith. The only emotional glimpse occurs in Judith's short prayers in the killing scene. The highly emotional Holofernes and the unemotional Judith together reveal that Holofernes is already made "headless" by his own emotions, whereas the unemotional Judith, unencumbered by emotions, is able to behead the "headless" Holofernes.

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Renate Egger-Wenzel

Sarah's Grief to Death (Tob 3:7–17)

1 Introduction

The fictional story¹ presented in the book of Tobit is obviously accessible to us only via the textual medium. That means that over 2000 years of intervening cultural and linguistic developments separate us from the relevant descriptions. A further observation makes things more complicated. Several Hebraisms reveal the author's background to be a Semitic one, indicating that he translated his text from Hebrew/Aramaic into Greek. That means that two original, cultural backgrounds are to be taken into account. Consequently, there is no possibility of an immediate access to the emotions of the fictional characters.

In addition – as I have argued elsewhere² – it needs also to be noted that our current understanding of emotions is essentially a modern one and cannot simply be imposed upon ancient texts without further reflection. Within historical psychology there have been various theories which have claimed that, throughout the ages, human beings and their feelings have remained ever constant.³ On the other hand, since the beginning of the twentieth century, there have been other positions within the interdisciplinary debate, which claim that changes in the human psyche are an incontrovertible fact.⁴ According to this latter view, most people can become aware of an emotional development, at best a maturing, within themselves. I would like, in this case, to take an intermediate position. The expression of emotions is dependent on one's present culture and, therefore, subject to change. The feelings themselves, however, are

1 Cf. Moore, Tobit, 9–10; Nicklas, Tobit, 2.6; Engel, Buch, 283: „fiktive Diaspora-Erzählung mit jüdisch-jerusalemischer Orientierung“; Gertz, Tobitbuch, 554: „Die zahlreichen historischen und geographischen Ungenauigkeiten ...“

2 Cf. Egger-Wenzel, Judith's Path, 190–191; Egger-Wenzel, Relationship, 41. The approach of Levy, Method, 160, shows recent interest in this topic: “Combining a sophisticated (5 component) model of emotion with computer assisted data-mining techniques provides us with a new tool for analyzing Jewish texts”.

3 Von Gemünden, Affekt, 14: „Die Annahme universaler anthropologischer Konstanten ist weit verbreitet“.

4 Von Gemünden, Affekt, 14: „Veränderung der Grundstruktur des Menschen ... bis in die Anthropologie hinein ... bis in die *conditio humana* hinein“; cf. there, also, the discussion with bibliographical notes about the different positions (13–16).

constant throughout the millennia and within various cultures. They are, for example, similar in the cases of great misfortune or outstanding happiness.

Since this article deals with emotions in the context of Sarah's prayer in Tob 3:7–17, another aspect has to be taken into account, that is to say, the cultic background in the broadest sense of the term, namely, the language of prayers and their corresponding physical gestures.

The personal circumstance that leads to Sarah's desperate plight is the loss of no less than seven husbands during their wedding nights, caused by the wicked demon Asmodeus, who killed the grooms out of his love for her (Tob 6:15 GI: ὄτι δαμόνιον φιλεῖ αὐτήν). This situation and the unfair reproach⁵ offered by her father's female servants – and let us bear in mind the imagined situation, as well as the supposed gossip about her in town – lead to a desire on Sarah's part to commit suicide. We should therefore also touch on this topic, even if Sarah does not herself finally carry out her plan, but beseeches God to take her life.

2 The text of Tob 3:7–17

Sarah's prayer (Tob 3:11a–15k) within Tob 3:7–17 is often treated as parallel to Tobit's prayer⁶ in chap. 3:2–6 and they are therefore dealt with together. As Di Lella writes in his article about the topic: "It too is a lament, but quite different from Tobit's" and he mentions the different behaviour after their confrontations with females: Tobit falls into "uncontrollable weeping ... deep depression ..." and prays "for death ... even with a certain amount of self-pity". On the other hand, although Sarah has "a good cry when at first she contemplated suicide (3:10), she quickly regains her composure and is self-controlled when she prays".⁷ Di Lella also states: "A major contrast between the two 'prayers' is that Sarah does not own up to or confess any personal sin, as does Tobit at the be-

⁵ Portier-Young, *Alleviation*, 45, stresses a contrary view relating to Tob 3:9: "... she is nonetheless a hard mistress who flogs her female servants. Hurt and confused by her repeated loss, Sarah has literally lashed out at those nearest her, responding to her sorrow with violent anger."

⁶ Cf. Moore, *Tobit*, 143; Ego, *Buch*, 938; Schüngel-Straumann, *Tobit*, 80; Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 149; Van Den Eynde, *Prayers*, 527–536; Owens, *Asmodeus*, 280; Fieger, *Dialog*.

⁷ Di Lella, *Prayers*, 113. As Bow/Nickelsburg, *Patriarchy*, 130, note it, "Sarah is the more admirable character ... Tobit ... his prayer is self-centered and whining".

ginning of his prayer (3:3b–5d)”.⁸ But Tobit mentions not only his own sins and his unintended misbehaviour but also those of his forefathers,⁹ for all of which he asks God to spare him punishment (3:3 με ἐκδικήσης ταῖς ἀμαρτίας μου καὶ τοῖς ἀγνοήμασίν μου καὶ τῶν πατέρων μου ἃ ἤμαρτον). As Sarah's prayer is a totally personal¹⁰ one, without any connection to her people, but takes into account the consequences of her deeds for others,¹¹ this article will take Sarah's own plight into special focus. Other aspects of the analysis will be developed at a later point in this article.

My research is based mainly on two text traditions: GI (short version) and GII (long version)¹², which, presumably, is the more original.¹³ I shall also present the fragmentary text of Qumran for a comparison with Fitzmyer's translation.¹⁴ An examination of the medieval Hebrew texts may also prove useful but this is not possible in the present limited context and will have to await later attention.

Tob 3:7–17

		v.	LXX (cod. B, A) GI	(cod. S) GII
			Exposition: 3:7a–8c	
		7a	Ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνέβη τῇ θυγατρὶ Παγουηλ Σαρρα ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τῆς Μηδίας	ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ συνέβη Σαρρα τῇ θυγατρὶ Παγουηλ τοῦ ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τῆς Μηδίας
מן ג[יד]ח . . .]	4Q197 ^A	7b	καὶ ταύτην	καὶ αὐτὴν ἀκοῦσαι

⁸ Di Lella, Prayers, 110; cf. Moore, Tobit, 153–154, who summarizes various views about the two prayers.

⁹ See Reif, Judaism, 38–39.

¹⁰ Cf. Bow/Nickelsburg, Patriarchy, 129; Fitzmyer, Tobit, 148; Di Lella, Prayers, 110.

¹¹ Cf. Schüngel-Straumann, Tobit, 89–90; Fitzmyer, Tobit, 152.

¹² GI is based on Codex Vaticanus (B; 4th century) and on Codex Alexandrinus (A; 5th century) and GII on Codex Sinaiticus (S; 4th century). The single oldest Greek traditions will be cited when there are major differences between them. Generally, no account is here taken of the GIII of the fourteenth century, nor of the Hebrew and Aramaic fragments (4Q196–200) from Qumran, on which see Hallermayer, Text.

¹³ See Ego, Buch, 875–876, and Macatangay, Wisdom, 14–16, with a short summary of this topic.

¹⁴ Fitzmyer, Tobit 149–162.

[..] תדה	1.2		όνειδισθῆναι ὑπὸ παιδισκῶν πατρὸς αὐτῆς	όνειδισμούς ὑπὸ μιᾶς τῶν παιδισκῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἑαυτῆς
		8a	ὅτι ἦν δεδομένη ἀνδράσιν ἑπτὰ	διότι ἦν ἐκδεδομένη ἀνδράσιν ἑπτὰ
אש[באי ..] [.. אנון] קטל	4Q197 ^A 1.3	8b	καὶ Ασμοδαυς τὸ πονηρὸν δαιμόνιον ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς	καὶ Ασμοδαῖος τὸ δαιμόνιον τὸ πονηρὸν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς
		8c	πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι αὐτούς μετ' αὐτῆς ὡς ἐν γυναιξίν	πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι αὐτούς μετ' αὐτῆς καθάπερ ἀποδεδειγμένον ἐστὶν ταῖς γυναιξίν
			The maids' reproach: 3:8d–9d	
		8d	καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῇ	καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ἡ παιδίσκη
		8e	οὐ συνίεις ἀποπνίγουσά σου τοὺς ἄνδρας	σὺ εἶ ἡ ἀποκτένουσα τοὺς ἄνδρας σου
		8f		ἰδοὺ
		8g	ἤδη ἑπτὰ ἔσχες	ἤδη ἀπεκδέδοσαι ἑπτὰ ἀνδράσιν
		8h	καὶ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν οὐκ ὠνάσθης	καὶ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν οὐκ ὠνομάσθης
		9a	τί ἡμᾶς μαστιγοῖς	τί ἡμᾶς μαστιγοῖς περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν σου
		9b	εἰ ἀπέθαναν	ὅτι ἀπέθανον
ןן בתרה[אזלי ..]	4Q196 ^A 6.1a	9c	βάδιζε μετ' αὐτῶν	βάδιζε μετ' αὐτῶν
ול[א] נחזי לכי בר [או ברה לכל עלמין]	4Q196 ^A 6.1b	9d	μὴ ἴδοιμέν σου υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	καὶ μὴ ἴδοιμεν υἱὸν σου μηδὲ θυγατέρα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
			Sara's reaction 3:10a–15k	
		10a	ταῦτα ἀκούσασα	
		10b	ἐλυπήθη σφόδρα	ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐλυπήθη ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ

[... ובכת	4Q196 ^A 6.2a	10c		καὶ ἔκλαυσεν
וסלק]ת לעלית בית [אבוה ...]	4Q196 ^A 6.2b	10d		καὶ ἀναβᾶσα εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς
		10e	ὥστε ἀπάγξασθαι	ἠθέλησεν ἀπάγξασθαι
		10f		καὶ πάλιν ἐλογίσαστο
		10g	καὶ εἶπεν	καὶ λέγει
יחרפו א]ת אבי ..]	4Q200 ^H 1ii.1	10h		μήποτε ὄνειδίσωσιν τὸν πατέρα μου
		10i		καὶ ἐροῦσιν αὐτῷ
]חיה לכה בת] [יחידה ..]	4Q200 ^H 1ii.2	10j	μία μὲν εἰμι τῷ πατρί μου	μία σοι ὑπῆρχεν θυγάτηρ ἀγαπητῆ
		10k	ἐὰν ποιήσω τοῦτο	καὶ αὐτῆ ἀπήγγαστο ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν
		10l	ὄνειδος αὐτῷ ἐστιν	
		10m	καὶ τὸ γῆρας αὐτοῦ κατάξω μετ' ὀδύνης εἰς ἔξδου	καὶ κατάξω τὸ γῆρας τοῦ πατρὸς μου μετὰ λύπης εἰς ἔξδου
עלי אין כשר	4Q200 ^H 1ii.3a	10n		χρησιμώτερόν μοί ἐστιν
לה[תלות .. לוא [עוד]	4Q200 ^H 1ii.3b	10o		μὴ ἀπάγξασθαι
		10p		ἀλλὰ δεηθῆναι τοῦ κυρίου
		10q		ὅπως ἀποθάνω
[... ולא אשמע [ח]סד עוד בהי ו[...]	4Q196 ^A 6.5	10r		καὶ μηκέτι ὄνειδισμούς ἀκούσω ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου
אשמע ולוא ישמע [אבי ..]	4Q200 ^H 1ii.4	10s		
[...]לק[ב]ל[...] [הח]לון ות[ת]חגג [...]	4Q196 ^A 6.6 4Q200 ^H 1ii.5	11a	καὶ ἐδεήθη πρὸς τῆ θυρίδι	ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ διαπετάσασα τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τὴν θυρίδα ἐδεήθη
		11b	καὶ εἶπεν	καὶ εἶπεν
		11c	εὐλογητὸς εἶ κύριε ὁ θεός μου	εὐλογητὸς εἶ θεε ἐλεήμων

[.. וברוך] שמך קדישא [וי] קירא לכל ע[למין]	4Q196 ^A 6.7a	11d	καὶ εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἔντιμον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας	καὶ εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας
[ו] יברכ[ו] ונד כל עובדיך ..]	4Q196 ^A 6.7b	11e	εὐλογήσαισάν σε πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	καὶ εὐλογησάτωσάν σε πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
[וכען פנית ע] לידך אנפי ועיני [י] טלת	4Q196 ^A 6.8a	12a	καὶ νῦν κύριε τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου εἰς σέ δέδωκα	καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ σέ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ἀνέβλεψα
אמר	4Q196 ^A 6.8b	13a	εἶπόν	εἶπόν
לאפטרותני מן ע[ל] [ארעא]	4Q196 ^A 6.8c	13b	ἀπολύσαι με ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς	ἀπολυθῆναι με ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
		13c	καὶ μὴ ἀκούσαι με μηκέτι ὄνειδισμόν	καὶ μὴ ἀκούειν με μηκέτι ὄνειδισμούς
		14a	σύ γινώσκεις κύριε	σύ γινώσκεις δέσποτα
[.. אנתה יי] [ידע ד [י] דכיה אנה בגמי מן [כ]ל סמאת] גבר .]	4Q196 ^A 6.9	14b	ὅτι καθαρὰ εἰμι ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας ἀνδρός	ὅτι καθαρὰ εἰμι ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας ἀνδρός
[ולא ג] עלת ש[מי] ושם אב[י] בכל ארעת שבינא] כאזכר ובעצמא גבר	4Q196 ^A 6.10a	15a	καὶ οὐκ ἐμόλυνα τὸ ὄνομά μου οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρός μου ἐν τῇ γῆ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας μου	καὶ οὐχὶ ἐμόλυνά μου τὸ ὄνομα καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρός μου ἐν τῇ γῆ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας μου
[יחי] דא אנה [לאבי]	4Q196 ^A 6.10b	15b	μονογενῆς εἰμι τῷ πατρί μου	μονογενῆς εἰμι τῷ πατρί μου
[ולא] בר לה אחרן די ירתנ[ה]	4Q196 ^A 6.11a	15c	καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ παιδίον ὃ κληρονομήσει αὐτόν	καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ ἕτερον τέκνον ἵνα κληρονομήσει αὐτόν
ואח לה וקריב ל[א] איתי[ל]ה	4Q196 ^A 6.11b	15d	οὐδὲ ἀδελφὸς ἐγγύς οὐδὲ ὑπάρχων αὐτῷ υἱός	οὐδὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ ἐγγύς οὕτε συγγενῆς αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει
[די] [אנטר נ] פשי לבר ד[י] אהו[ה] לה אנתה כבר	4Q196 ^A 6.11c, d, 12a	15e	ἵνα συντηρήσω ἐμαυτὴν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα	ἵνα συντηρήσω ἐμαυτὴν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα

ת]מני שב]ע[אב]דו[גברין]	4Q196 ^A 6.12b	15f	ἤδη ἀπώλοντό μοι ἐπτὰ	ἤδη ἀπώλοντό μοι ἐπτὰ
		15g	ἵνα τί μοι ζῆν	καὶ ἵνα τί μοί ἐστιν ἔτι ζῆν
		15h	καὶ εἰ μὴ δοκεῖ σοι ἀποκτεῖναί με	καὶ εἰ μὴ σοι δοκεῖ ἀποκτεῖναί με
		15i	ἐπίταξον ἐπιβλέψαι ἐπ' ἐμέ	
		15j	καὶ ἐλεῆσαι με	
		15k	καὶ μηκέτι ἀκοῦσαί με ὄνειδισμόν	<i>κύριε</i> νῦν εἰσάκουσον ὄνειδισμόν μου
			Devine answer to the prayers: 3:16a–17f	
		16a	καὶ εἰσηκούσθη ἡ προσευχὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου Ραφαηλ	ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ εἰσηκούσθη ἡ προσευχὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ
		17a	καὶ ἀπεστάλη ἰάσασθαι τοὺς δύο τοῦ	καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ραφαηλ ἰάσασθαι τοὺς δύο
אי]ל[..] [.. אררי]ח	4Q196 ^A 7.1	17b	Τωβιτ λεπίσαι τὰ λευκώματα	Τωβιν ἀπολύσαι τὰ λευκώματα ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ
אי]ש[ת]רהנ[[..]	4Q196 ^A 7.2	17c		ἵνα ἴδῃ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ φῶς τοῦ θεοῦ
		17d	καὶ Σαρραν τὴν τοῦ Ραγουηλ δοῦναι Τωβια τῷ υἱῷ Τωβιτ γυναῖκα	καὶ Σαρραν τὴν Ραγουηλ δοῦναι αὐτὴν Τωβια τῷ υἱῷ Τωβιθ γυναῖκα
		17e	καὶ δῆσαι Ασμοδαυ τὸ πονηρὸν δαιμόνιον	καὶ λῦσαι Ασμοδαιον τὸ δαιμόνιον τὸ πονηρὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς
		17f	διότι Τωβια ἐπιβάλλει κληρονομήσαι αὐτήν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ ἐπιστρέψας	διότι Τωβια ἐπιβάλλει κληρονομήσαι αὐτήν παρὰ πάντας τοὺς θέλοντας λαβεῖν αὐτήν

			Back from loneliness to company: 3:17g–h	
		17g	Τωβιτ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ	ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐπέστρεψεν Τωβιθ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλύτης εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ
		17h	καὶ Σαρρα ἡ τοῦ Ραγουηλ κατέβη ἐκ τοῦ ὑπερώου αὐτῆς	καὶ Σαρρα ἡ τοῦ Ραγουηλ καὶ αὐτὴ κατέβη ἐκ τοῦ ὑπερώου

3 Sarah's story

As Sarah is much loved by the wicked demon Asmodeus (GI 6:15 δαιμόνιον φιλεῖ αὐτήν), by her father¹⁵ (GII 3:10j: θυγάτηρ ἀγαπητή; GI 10:12 ... ἐφίλησεν αὐτήν) and by her future (final) husband (GI 6:19 GI: Τωβιας ... ἐφίλησεν αὐτήν; GII: λίαν ἠγάπησεν αὐτήν), she should be happy and grateful. But Asmodeus's love causes her many troubles before her story reaches its happy end.¹⁶

3.1 Reproach: the reason for her extremely emotional state

It is at the very beginning of this paragraph in chapter 3 that Sarah is mentioned for the first time within the book of Tobit. The author introduces her and connects her to a male by describing her as Raguel's daughter, who lives with his family "at Ecbatana in Media" (Tob 3:7a).

On the same day (GI: ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ; GII: ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ), Sarah at Ecbatana and Tobit at Nineveh are each reproached¹⁷ by a woman. In Tobit's case, it was his wife Hannah – it seems to me to be singularly inequitable for the author to call it a "reproach" after Tobit has insulted his wife by accusing her of

¹⁵ Interestingly, for Sarah's mother this phrasing is not used, even if Edna in the course of the story tries to prevent any harm coming to her daughter, telling Tobias not to hurt her (Tob 10:13/12; cf. Egger-Wenzel, Relationship, 51). The mother's affection for her daughter, however, is not reciprocated, as Miller (Father's Only Daughter, 87–104) stresses. "... she refuses to respond to her mother's love in any tangible way" (103).

¹⁶ By the way, these are the only occurrences of the verb φιλέω, which appear only in GI (cf. in addition 14:9 φιλελεήμων; GII 5:17).

¹⁷ Ego, Buch, 938 (940, 942), parallels the reproach as follows: „Der Angriff der Magd auf Sarra kann als Parallele zum Verhalten der Frau Tobits gesehen werden“.

breaking at least six commandments out of ten¹⁸ – while Sarah experienced a reproach (GI: ὀνειδίζω;¹⁹ GII: ὀνειδισμός)²⁰ from her father's maids (v. 7b GI). GII actually specifies that this reproach was made by “one of her father's maids”, acting as a speaker for the group. So in both cases we have an “insult” perpetrated by a female.

Both the noun and the verb used to describe this “reproach” appear only in chapter 3 within the book of Tobit, so that one is justified in calling it a keyword for this section, and obviously the trigger for both prayers.

There is in fact an additional occurrence of the expression in Tob GII 8:10, where Raguel fears that the recent groom, Tobias, might also not have survived the wedding night. So he digs a grave at night so as not to attract attention and not to become again a subject of mockery and reproach (γενώμεθα κατάγελως καὶ ὀνειδισμός). The term actually means, according to BDAG, an “act of disparagement that results in disgrace, *reproach, reviling ... insult*”²¹ and is here combined with the adverb κατάγελως. Raguel does not wish to be disgraced in public and to become the laughing stock of his society in Ecbatana, as Tobit had been for his neighbours when he buried his assassinated people in Nineveh (Tob 2:8).

Let us now return to chapter 3. In v. 4, having praised God's righteous judgement, Tobit prompts God not to punish either himself or his ancestors for their sins. Because his forefathers disobeyed the divine commandments, the Israelites were given “*over to plunder and exile and death and for an illustration of reproach* (GI: παραβολὴν ὀνειδισμού; GII: ὀνειδισμόν) *to all the nations among which we have been scattered*”. In this way, Tobit speaks of the humiliation of his people before other nations as God removes his protection from them. Further on in v. 6e Tobit complains that he has heard “false reproaches” (GI/II:

18 Cf. Egger-Wenzel, *Relationship*, 63; see in addition Tob 1:19 (GI: πορευθεὶς δὲ εἰς τῶν ἐν Νινευῆ ὑπέδειξε τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ; GII: καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τις τῶν ἐκ τῆς Νινευῆ καὶ ὑπέδειξεν τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ) and 2:8 (GI: καὶ οἱ πλησίον **ἐπεγέλων**; GII: καὶ οἱ πλησίον μου **κατεγέλων**). Tobit was reported to the king for burying the murdered Jews by an inhabitant of Nineveh and heard his – probably Jewish – neighbours' mockery when he did the same after he had just come home from his escape. Of course, Tobit's inability as bread-winner for the family will also have affected his self-concept as a respected male (see the attitude to this topic according to Ben Sira in Egger-Wenzel, *Knechtschaft*, 23–49).

19 Cf. the only other occurrence of the verb Tob 3:10.

20 Cf. the noun which appears with one exception only in chapter 3: Tob GI 3:4, 6, 13, 15; GII 3:4, 6–7, 10, 13, 15; 8:10.

21 See the explanation of the verb: “1. to find fault in a way that demeans the other, *reproach, revile, mock, heap insults upon* as a way of shaming; ... 2. to find justifiable fault with someone, *reproach, reprimand*”. – Italics replace bold formatting according to the BDAG (BibleWorks 9).

όνειδισμούς ψευδεῖς) which have caused him great grief (GI: λύπη ἐστὶν πολλή ἐν ἐμοί; GII: λύπη πολλή μετ' ἐμοῦ). GII adds more text to tell the reader about Tobit's distress (v6g: ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ταύτης), including the greatest distress in his life, which he does not wish ever to experience again (v. 6k GII: ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ βλέπειν ἀνάγκην πολλήν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου). Tobit then prays that he should not hear any more reproaches (v. 6l GII: μὴ ἀκούειν ὀνειδισμούς). He seeks to flee from his physical experiences by closing his eyes (only GII) and ears. But does a blind man need to ask for blindness? Here the text plays on irony. Tobit is already isolated through his blindness, but he wants further to increase this isolation and in a final plea he asks God to release him from life. Obviously the reproaches and the distressing situations are what have driven Tobit into an emotionally unbearable state of grief. His tears as well his prayer demonstrate a kind of emotional relief (v. 1 GI: *λυπηθεὶς ἔκλαυσα* καὶ προσευξάμην μετ' *ὀδύνης* λέγων; GII: *περίλυπος γενόμενος τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ στενάξας ἔκλαυσα* καὶ ἠρξάμην προσεύχεσθαι μετὰ *στεναγμῶν*).

We find further occurrences of the term ὀνειδίω/ὀνειδισμός within Sarah's prayer, which takes place at the same time as Tobit's and provides an outlet for her extreme, emotional state. At the very beginning of the unit about Sarah (Tob 3:7–17), within the exposition (vv. 7a–8c), it is reported – as already mentioned above – that Sarah was insulted by her father's maid/maids²² (v. 7b GI: ὀνειδίω; GII: ὀνειδισμός; **ΤΩΠ**²³). Although she had been already given (GI: ἦν δεδομένη; GII: ἦν ἐκδεδομένη) to seven men, the wicked demon Asmodeus (GI: Ασμοδαυς τὸ πονηρὸν δαιμόνιον; GII: Ασμοδαῖος τὸ δαιμόνιον τὸ πονηρὸν) had killed them all (v. 8b) before they had been with her “as with women” (literally expressed in GI: γενέσθαι αὐτοὺς μετ' αὐτῆς ὡς ἐν γυναιξίν), or as in GII, before they had been with her as is the customary procedure with women (γενέσθαι αὐτοὺς μετ' αὐτῆς καθάπερ ἀποδεδειγμένον ἐστὶν ταῖς γυναιξίν). The author thus describes a process of cohabitation that could not be consummated (v. 8c).

The female reproach in Tob 3:8d–9d follows some introductory remarks (v. 8d) with an accusation in direct speech in v. 8e. GI formulates a question: “Do you not know that you strangle your husbands?” (Οὐ συνίεις *ἀποπνίγουσά* σου τοὺς ἄνδρας). With this question the author indicates that Sarah might not be

²² Zimmermann, Book, 62, citing I. Lévi, indicates that a maidservant would have never criticized her mistress, and proposes a misreading of *'amah* with *'immah* which would imply further text changes. Moore, Tobit, 145, takes into account that Edna reproached her daughter and therefore Sarah mentions only her father four times within her prayers, but not her mother. This seems to me as very realistic description of a suspense-packed relationship between mother and daughter.

²³ Alcalay, Dictionary, 796: **ΤΩΠ** “disgrace, shame, abomination”.

aware of what she is doing during the wedding night. Possibly she chokes her husbands while she is asleep. But in GII the maid makes a more categorical accusation against Sarah: “*You are the one who kills your husbands!*” (σὺ εἶ ἡ **ἀποκτένουσα** τοὺς ἄνδρας σου).²⁴

The maid argues further in v. 8g, h that Sarah had already had seven (GI: ἤδη ἑπτὰ ἔσχες), that is to say, had already been given to seven men (GII: ἰδοὺ ἤδη ἀπεκδέδοσαι ἑπτὰ ἀνδράσιν), but that she had not benefited from any of them or received the name of even one of them (GI: καὶ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν οὐκ ὠνάσθης/GII: ὠνομάσθης).²⁵ “In any event, the maid’s accusations are horrific, for she is accusing Sarah of being, in effect, a failure, first, as a wife; second, as a mother; and, finally, as a daughter.”²⁶

In v. 9a the servant begins another accusation, which is formulated as a question: “Why do you beat us?” (GI: τί ἡμᾶς μαστιγοῖς), with GII adding a possible reason: “concerning your husbands” (περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν σου). The men are in any case dead (v. 9b).

In a final statement the maid commands Sarah to join her dead husbands and wishes never to see any son or daughter from her (v. 9d). “Sarah is now, in effect, cursed with permanent childlessness”²⁷. So her existence would disappear from the earth forever. That is surely the worst thing one can wish another person within a society that may not yet recognize any afterlife.²⁸

Sarah’s emotional reaction will be described below in detail, but when she had to listen to the insults of her father’s maid, she reacted similarly to her future father-in-law Tobit. She does not wish to *hear* any more reproaches (v. 10r GII: μηκέτι ὀνειδισμοὺς ἀκούσω ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου/ῬῬΠ; v. 13c GI: μὴ ἀκούσαί με μηκέτι ὀνειδισμόν; GII: μὴ ἀκούειν με μηκέτι ὀνειδισμοὺς; v. 15k GI: μηκέτι ἀκούσαί με ὀνειδισμόν) nor for her father to hear any about her (v. 10h GII: μήποτε ὀνειδίωσιν τὸν πατέρα μου/ῆῆΠ²⁹). She desires to protect him.

²⁴ Cf. the discussion in *b. Yeb.* 64b which rules that a woman should not remarry a third or fourth time. Zimmermann, Book, 62–63, refers to the fact that in “later rabbinic thought, a woman who had buried three husbands was called a *qatlanit* as if there were something in her that was man-killing”.

²⁵ Moore, Tobit, 148, rightly mentions that women are usually cited in relation to a male relative: if they are not married they are related to their father and if married they are related to their husband. Sarah never reached the stage of carrying a husband’s name during any of her seven marriages.

²⁶ Moore, Tobit, 148.

²⁷ Moore, Tobit, 148; cf. Fitzmyer, Tobit 152.

²⁸ See Beyerle’s article “Everlasting Home”.

²⁹ Alcalay, Dictionary, 828: “to insult, abuse, reproach”.

At the end of her prayer, Sarah pleads to God that he might finally listen to her complaint (v. 15k GII: κύριε νῦν εἰσάκουσον ὄνειδισμὸν μου).

Of course nobody is delighted to hear insults, especially a person such as Sarah, who is an innocent victim of the wicked demon Asmodeus and has to listen to the servants' accusations. Everybody would prefer to close their ears and eyes to avoid such a situation. According to what is presupposed in the narrative, Sarah, because of the loss of her seven dead husbands,³⁰ is presumably already being commonly bad-mouthed.

3.2 Sarah's emotional reaction: her grief to death

What clues are there for establishing Sarah's emotional reaction after she has heard all the insults from her father's servant(s), which have left a major impact on her? First, the *termini technici* have to be taken into account. Grief is Sarah's most obvious reaction. But emotions are also expressed through reported actions, as well as at the textual level through imperatives, questions and such structural hints as punctuation, interjections, length or shortness of sentences etc.

3.2.1 The terms of emotion

Usually λυπέω or λύπη (cf. Tob 3:6, 10) is translated by "grief, sorrow or pain". As is reported in Tob 3:10, Sarah, on the same day as she was reproached by the servants, feels a deep grief, that is to say, a grief in her ψυχή (v. 10b GI: **ἐλυπήθη** σφοδρά; GII: **ἐλυπήθη** ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ). – Later on in v. 10m GII we also find the noun λύπη. Sarah states that she has to abstain from her intention to commit suicide because she wishes to avoid causing grief to her father (κατάξω τὸ γῆρας τοῦ πατρός μου μετὰ **λύπης** εἰς ᾄδου). Such an act on her part would bring him into Hades. On this occasion GI uses a different word, ὀδύνη, which usually places more stress on the physical side.

Grief is one of the seven basic emotions defined by Paul Ekman.³¹ "Basically, we can distinguish primary emotions from structural affects. On the one

³⁰ Moore, Tobit 145, points out the "tradition of seven bridegrooms", which goes back "at least as far ... as ancient Sumer, where the great goddess Inanna also had seven". Further on, he mentions the symbolic "seven" in detail (146).

³¹ Ekman, Emotions: fear, anger, happiness, disgust, contempt, sadness, and surprise.

hand there are primary emotions such as happiness, surprise, grief, anger, disgust, and fear, and on the other hand there are structural affects such as shame, guilt, pride, envy, and jealousy.”³² According to Aichhorn and Kronberger “Grief is a response to abandonment. The intensity depends on the degree of dependence on the object or person by whom we are abandoned ... Grief is an omnipresent emotion in life because separation, loss, and parting follow us during our entire life.”³³

The only positive emotions that are mentioned within chapter 3 are very rare. In GII it is Raguel's love (v. 10j: ἀγαπητός) for his daughter that prevents Sarah from hanging herself, while, on the other hand, it is her image of God as a merciful one (GI v. 11c: ἐλεήμων) and her hope for his mercy (GII v. 15j: ἐλεέω), that ought to prevent her from listening to further reproaches by putting an end to her life.

3.2.2 Expressions of emotions by actions

3.2.2.1 Weeping

It is through weeping (κλαίω) that Sarah expresses her emotions about the loss of her husbands and the reproaches made by the servants (v. 10c only in GII: καὶ ἔκλαυσεν). Her tears are probably connected with her shame about not fulfilling her role as the only child of her father by providing an heir for his property, and not preserving the family's name into the next generation.³⁴

3.2.2.2 Isolation and soliloquizing about suicide

Further on – this is again reported only in GII – Sarah goes upstairs to her father's room (v. 10d ἀναβάσα εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς) which is contradicted at the end of chapter 3 in GI by the claim that Sarah came downstairs “from *her* upper room” (v. 17h κατέβη ἐκ τοῦ ὑπερώου αὐτῆς). Sarah does not retort to the maid's reproaches, she does not talk to others,³⁵ but she isolates herself in order to commit suicide by hanging herself in the room upstairs, where she is not likely to be disturbed by anybody. “Although there is in the

³² Aichhorn/Kronberger, *Nature*, 520.

³³ Aichhorn/Kronberger, *Nature*, 522.

³⁴ Cf. the essence of the levirate marriage in Deut 25:5–7 and the more basic commandment of Gen 1:28: פָּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמְלֵאוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ (αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν).

³⁵ Moore, *Tobit*, 152–153, calls it “a lack of communication. She ... is mute at her wedding ceremony; fails to address her mother's words of comfort on her wedding night ... and does not react to Tobit's effusive welcome”. See already similarly, Levine, *Diaspora*, 110.

Bible no specific prohibition against killing oneself ..., successful suicide is relatively rare.”³⁶

The verb “hanging” appears only once in the Tanakh, once in the LXX and once in the New Testament. According to 2 Sam 17:23, Ahithophel hangs himself and dies (אֶחִיתוֹפֶל הָאֵלָהּ וּמָתָהּ;³⁷ ἀπήγατο καὶ ἀπέθανεν) after he learns that Absalom has ignored his advice about assassinating King David during the latter’s attempted escape, but has attended to that of Hushai. Ahithophel goes home to the town where he lives, arranges his household and commits suicide. In the New Testament this kind of suicide is, according to Matt 27:5 (ἀνεχώρησεν, καὶ ἀπεθῶν ἀπήγατο) mentioned only for Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Jesus for thirty silver coins. In the book of Tobit the situation is different. Sarah only thinks about committing suicide by hanging herself, but she does not do so. She makes her preparations, like Ahithophel and Judas, by separating herself from the company of others, but she also starts logically to reconsider her idea and finally decides differently.

Sarah’s plan to hang herself is first mentioned in Tob 3:10e, but is reported differently in GI and II. The shorter version mentions only once that she, after hearing the servant’s *reproach*, became very sad so that she wanted to *hang herself* (ὥστε ἀπάγασθαι). The longer version says it differently. Sarah became *very sad* ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ (v. 10b; usually translated from the Hebrew שָׁדַד),³⁸ then started to *weep* (v. 10c: ἔκλαυσεν), went upstairs to her father’s room (v. 10d), where she wished to *hang herself* (v. 10e: ἠθέλησεν ἀπάγασθαι; infinitive aorist medium). This way, the plot is developed more logically. Sarah first leaves the maids’ company, and presumably that of her parents, before she seeks to commit suicide. Once alone, she seems to calm down, rethinks her plan (v. 10f: πάλιν ἐλόγισατο) and speaks to herself (v. 10g: GI εἶπεν; GII: λέγει) in an attempt to reach a conviction that for her father’s sake she cannot perform such an act. Her father should never be *reproached* by them (v. 10h: μήποτε ὀνειδίωσιν τὸν πατέρα μου). The author does not clarify who “they” are. “They” could be the people of his own household or the inhabitants of the town but presumably “they” are other Jews who know according to the Torah (for example, in the matter of the levirate marriage) that Sarah as the only child of her father has to provide him, through marriage to a relative, with an heir. On the other hand, Raguel might be reproached for not having taken better care of

³⁶ Moore, Tobit, 149. – Cf. Judg 9:54; 16:28–31; 1 Sam 31:4–5 // 1 Chr 10:4–5; 2 Sam 17:23; 1 Kgs 16:18; 1 Macc 6:43–46; 2 Macc 10:13; 14:37–46; Matt 27:5.

³⁷ Cf. the same verb in Nah 2:13. The Hebrew root has the basic sense of “strangle”.

³⁸ In the O.T. 974 occurrences of ψυχή are 667x translated from שָׁדַד.

his only daughter.³⁹ Later on in her prayer, Sarah argues in this connection as if she is unaware that there is still an heir left, namely Tobias (Tob 3:15c–d). Elsewhere, in Tob 6:(11–)12, the angelic company tells Tobias that he is the only relative who is entitled to inherit Raguel's property through the marriage to his cousin's only daughter Sarah, since he is the closest relative (GI: σοὶ ἐπιβάλλει ἡ κληρονομία αὐτῆς καὶ σὺ μόνος εἶ ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτῆς; GII: σὺ ἔγγιστα αὐτῆς εἶ παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους κληρονομήσαι αὐτήν καὶ τὰ ὄντα τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς σοὶ δικαιοῦται κληρονομήσαι).

Now GI and GII argue differently. In the short version, Sarah speaks in the first person saying to herself: “I am the only one of my father (v. 10j: μία μὲν εἰμι τῷ πατρὶ μου; cf. v. 15b–c), and if I do this (v. 10k), it will be a *reproach* to him (v. 10l: **ὄνειδος** αὐτῷ ἔστιν)”. So Sarah is concerned that by bringing an end to her own life she, as his *only child*, will *herself be* the cause of reproaches towards her father, since he might then become the subject of gossip by others.

GI is more detailed and stresses the positive emotional relationship between Sarah and her father,⁴⁰ when she mentions others talking to her father: “You had only one beloved daughter (v. 10j: μία σοι ὑπῆρχεν θυγάτηρ **ἀγαπητή**), but she hanged herself because of *evil [things]*” (v. 10l: αὐτὴ **ἀπήγατο** ἀπὸ τῶν **κακῶν**). GII is therefore suggesting that her father would become the object of reproach by others but would not feel directly insulted by her.

In this respect the two Greek versions differ. GI makes clear that the reproach towards Raguel would come from within the family, because of his own daughter's deed, and GII supposes that the reproach would come from others, outside the family. The Hebrew version of Qumran supports GII. Then both Greek traditions match each other by having Sarah mention the consequences of her projected suicide in v. 10m: “I shall bring his old age with *sorrow* down into Hades” (GI: τὸ γῆρας αὐτοῦ κατάξω μετ' **ὀδύνης** εἰς ᾄδου). GII offers a slight variation and intensifies the content: “I shall bring my father's old age *in grief* down into Hades” (κατάξω τὸ γῆρας τοῦ πατρός μου μετὰ **λύπης** εἰς ᾄδου).⁴¹ Like Sarah herself (v. 10b), her father would also experience grief. She would be responsible for his early death, in GI through the reproach she would bring on him by committing suicide, and in GII indirectly through the grief she

³⁹ Cf. Moore, Tobit, 149.

⁴⁰ Cf. Egger-Wenzel, Relationship, 47–49, 52.

⁴¹ Also Tobias as only child is afraid that if he dies during the wedding night his parents might die out of grief (Tob 6:15 GI: νῦν ἐγὼ φοβοῦμαι μὴ ἀποθάνω καὶ κατάξω τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ τῆς μητρός μου μετ' ὀδύνης ἐπ' ἔμοι εἰς τὸν τάφον αὐτῶν; GII: εἰμι τῷ πατρὶ μου μὴ ἀποθάνω καὶ κατάξω τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ τῆς μητρός μου μετ' ὀδύνης ἐπ' ἔμοι εἰς τὸν τάφον αὐτῶν).

would cause him. We find a similar wording in Gen 42:38 and 44:29, 31 when Jacob's nine sons come back from their first journey to Egypt where they bought grain during a famine and were commanded to bring Jacob's youngest son Benjamin to free the arrested Simon. Jacob has already "lost" Joseph, so he tries to avoid losing his *only child* (רַחֵם אֶת-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל/αὐτὸς μόνος καταλείπεται) from his beloved wife Rachel. First Jacob complains about the prospective loss of Benjamin (Gen 42:38: κατὰξετέ μου τὸ γῆρας μετὰ λύπης εἰς ἄδου), then in a similar expression Judah does the same (Gen 44:31: κατὰξουσιν οἱ παῖδες σου τὸ γῆρας τοῦ παιδός σου πατὴρ δὲ ἡμῶν μετ' ὀδύνης εἰς ἄδου) when he wishes to rescue the hostage Simeon. In both cases the "only child" is the main reason that the father is still alive because (s)he is the apple of his eye.

Let us now return to the book of Tobit. Only in GII does Sarah convince herself that it is better for her not to commit suicide (v. 10o: μὴ ἀπάγξασθαι), but to pray to the Lord (v. 10p: δεηθῆναι τοῦ κυρίου) for her death (v. 10q: ὅπως ἀποθάνω) so that she is no longer alive and forced to listen to any more reproaches (v. 10r: μηκέτι ὀνειδισμοὺς ἀκούσω ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου).

3.2.2.3 Sarah's preparation for prayer

Usually, more official prayers within the cult have a certain place (*locus*), as well as a specific time (*tempus*), and detailed rituals are conducted by liturgical figures. In this case, since it is a highly personal prayer, no specific time is mentioned, although we do have a location. Sarah makes her preparations. She goes upstairs (v. 10d) to be in privacy and is now positioned next to a window (v. 11a GI: ἐδεήθη πρὸς τῆ θυρίδι; GII: πρὸς τὴν θυρίδα ἐδεήθη). GII is, however, more specific by noting that it was at the same time (ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ), presumably the same time as Tobit prayed in Nineveh (cf. v. 7a GI: ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ; GII: ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ). But no specific time of day is mentioned, such as the morning or the evening. By way of contrast, Judith's prayer is timed to connect with the official evening service of the Temple in Jerusalem (cf. Jdt 9:1 ἦν ἄρτι προσφερόμενον ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ θυμίαμα τῆς ἑσπέρας ἐκείνης; according to the time of the תְּחִלָּה offering).

3.2.2.4 Sarah's prayer (Tob 3:11c–15k)

Sarah's prayer⁴² in direct speech starts with three blessings. The first one in v. 11c addresses God in person, the second his name (v. 11d), and the third one

42 For detailed analysis, see Di Lella, Prayers, 110–113.

invites the whole creation to praise God (v. 11e). But Sarah's prayer cannot be considered in isolation. Similar versions of her three blessings⁴³ are repeated on other occasions by Tobias when he invites Sarah to pray with him at the beginning of their wedding night in Tob 8:5, and by Tobit after his son heals him in Tob 11:14. A partial similarity is also found in Tobit's song of praise in chapter 13:18, but this is placed, like most doxologies, at its end (see tables below).

First blessing:

	GI	GII	
3:11c	εὐλογητὸς εἶ κύριε ὁ θεός μου	εὐλογητὸς εἶ θεὸς ἐλεήμων	
8:5c	εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν	εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν	5e
11:14a	εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὁ θεός	εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός	14b
13:18d	εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός	εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ	

Second blessing:

	GI	GII	
3:11d	εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἔντιμον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας	εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας	
8:5d	εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἔνδοξον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας	εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας τῆς γενεᾶς	5f
11:14b	εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας	εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ μέγα αὐτοῦ	14c
		γένοιτο τὸ ὄνομα τὸ μέγα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς	14e
13:18e		εὐλογητοὶ εὐλογήσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	

Third blessing:

	GI	GII	
3:11e	εὐλογῆσαισάν σε πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	εὐλογησάτωσάν σε πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	
8:5e	εὐλογησάτωσάν σε οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ κτίσεις σου	εὐλογησάτωσάν σε οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις σου εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας	5g
11:14c	εὐλογημένοι πάντες οἱ ἅγιοί σου ἄγγελοι	εὐλογημένοι πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἅγιοι αὐτοῦ	14d
		εὐλογητοὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας	14f

43 Cf. Schüngel-Straumann, Tobit, 88.

Sarah, Tobias and Tobit first praise God, then his name, and thirdly all his works, namely, his creations such as the heavens, the holy ones and the angels who will eulogize him. In this respect, Sarah's prayer is connected with the other two figures of the book, who devote major prayer to God.

Let us return to Sarah, who may be described as "theologically skilled".⁴⁴ The first blessing has its closest templates⁴⁵ within the Tanakh, in Ps 119/118:12 (εὐλογητὸς εἶ κύριε) and in 1 Chr 29:10 (εὐλογητὸς εἶ κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος) which have their equivalent in the Hebrew formula being used and extended up to present time in the בְּרַכּוֹת within Jewish prayers on different occasions⁴⁶: הַהוּא הַתְּהֵא הַרְרָה. If we compare those occurrences mentioned above to our text in the book of Tobit, Sarah adds in GI after "Blessed are you, o Lord" only ὁ θεός μου ("my God"),⁴⁷ so she makes the address more personal as she speaks to her God. GII varies with εὐλογητὸς εἶ θεὸ ἐλεήμων ("Blessed are you, merciful God!"). This way Sarah addresses God as a "com-passionate" one.⁴⁸ With this phrase she expresses her positive attitude towards God, who sympathizes with needy people and on whom she sets her hope. And Sarah is right because ἐλεήμων and its Hebrew equivalent רַחֲמִים are used only for God. He in this respect shows a positive attitude to human beings, demonstrating equivalent emotions.

With the second blessing in Tob 3:11d Sarah praises the name of God. This time GI adds attributes: God's name may be "blessed holy and honoured forev-

⁴⁴ Van den Eynde, Prayers, 532.

⁴⁵ Cf. also similar phrases like εὐλογητὸς κύριος/הוּא הַרְרָה in Gen 9:26; εὐλογητὸς ἐστὶν τῷ κυρίῳ/הוּא הַרְרָה (Ruth 2:20); εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ζῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (13:2 GI); εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ζῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (GII); εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν (Jdt 13:17); εὐλογητὸς εἶ κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν (Dan 3:26, 52); and in addition Odes 7:26; 8:52; 14:34, 36–38; Rom 1:25; 9:5; 2 Cor 11:31. – Cf. Fitzmyer, Tobit, 154.

⁴⁶ Here may be mentioned for example: putting on *fillin*; blessings during *qiddush* for the wine and the bread; grace after a meal; the long and short blessings before the *amidah*. There are, according to the Babylonian Talmud (Menaḥot 43b), a hundred blessings to be recited each day by observant Jews. – Zimmermann, Book, 64, calls it "a late phrase"; Fitzmyer, Tobit, 154: "Sarah opens her prayer by using the traditional beginning of Jewish prayers, lauding God and His exalted name ..."

⁴⁷ Moore, Tobit, 150: This expression in GI "does nicely emphasize Sarah's sense of a close, personal relationship to the Deity. The phrase is also characteristic of individual prayers of the postexilic period".

⁴⁸ Usually רַחֲמִים ("gracious, friendly") is the base for the Greek ἐλεήμων ("pitiful, merciful, compassionate"; 12x: Exod 22:26; 34:6; 2 Chr 30:9; Neh 9:17, 31; Ps 86:15; 103:8; 111:4; 112:4; 116:5; Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2), 3x רַחֲמִים (Prov 11:17; 20:6; 28:22) and only once רַחֲמִים (Jer 3:12) or רַחֲמִים (Ps 145:8).

er” (εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἔνδοξον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας). GII simply states: “Blessed is your name forever” (εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας). The closest equivalent in the Tanakh is to be found in Ps 72:19: εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. The Hebrew origin is a fairly common phrase ([לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד] שֶׁ בְּרַחֵם) which is also part of rabbinic liturgy.⁴⁹

In GI the third blessing invites (optative) the creation to praise (εὐλογήσασιν) God for setting it into existence, literally “may all your works praise you forever”. GII in contrast gives the order (imperative) to God’s works always to praise (εὐλογησάτωσαν) him. The closest text in the Tanakh is to be found in Ps 103:22, which also uses an imperative: εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. The Hebrew reads: כָּל־מַעֲשֵׂי יְהוָה בְּרַכּוּ יְהוָה.⁵⁰

After this threefold doxology at the beginning of Sarah’s prayer, she then, from v. 12 on, sets herself into focus, only twice briefly interrupting this with a sort of address in vv. 13a (εἰπόν) and in 14a (GI: σὺ γινώσκεις κύριε; GII: σὺ γινώσκεις δέσποτα), before she finishes her prayer by again addressing God in v. 15h–k. This closes the circle: Sarah starts and ends by addressing God.

She tells the Lord (only in GI), that she is now turning her eyes and her face towards him (εἰς σὲ δέδωκα). In GII the word order is changed and the verb differs to match the attached noun. Sarah looks up (ἀνέβλεψα) to God with her face and eyes. That means she concentrates her physical attention totally towards God. She looks at him and expects his reaction to her distress.

If one looks at the combination of the Greek ὀφθαλμός and ἀναβλέπω it is interesting that the occurrences are mostly to be found within narratives of the patriarchs and in connection with God or his messengers.⁵¹ But the combination of πρόσωπον and δίδωμι within a prayer bringing God into focus is rare. Besides Tob 3:12 GI we find parallels only in Dan 9:3 (καὶ ἔδωκα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ κύριον τὸν θεόν/ים־הָאֱלֹהִים אֲלֵאֲדֹנָי אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת־הַנְּהַלְתֵּנוּ וְהַתְּעַנּוּנוּ), where Daniel in the first year of Darius addresses his prayer in despair to God, and in Dan 10:12 (ἦς ἔδωκας τὸ πρόσωπόν σου διανοηθῆναι/ וְלִהְיוֹתִי לְבָבִי לְבָבֶךָ אֶת־לִבִּי לְבָבֶךָ אֶת־לִבִּי לְבָבֶךָ) during a revelation in Cyrus’s third year when it is stated that Daniel was desperate to achieve insight from God. Otherwise only the priestly blessing in Num 6:26 has a similar wording, although the direction has changed:

⁴⁹ Cf. the similar phrasing in Dan 3:26/Odes 7:26 (δεδοξαμένον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας); Dan 3:52/Odes 8:52 (εὐλογημένον τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης σου τὸ ἅγιον).

⁵⁰ Cf. also Dan 3:57/Odes 8:57 (εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ κυρίου τὸν κύριον); Sir 39:14d (εὐλογήσατε κύριον ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔργοις).

⁵¹ Cf. Gen 13:14; 18:2; 22:4, 13; 24:63–64; 31:12; 37:25; 43:29; Exod 14:10; Deut 3:27; Josh 5:13; Judg 19:17; 1 Sam 14:27; Tob (GII) 3:12; 11:8; 14:2; Zach 5:5; Isa 40:26; Ezek 8:5. – Cf. further Fitzmyer, Tobit, 154.

ἐπάρατι κύριος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ δόξη σοι εἰρήνην/ פְּנִי הַיְהוָה אִשָּׁרִי תִּלְאָ. There it is not a human being who focuses on God, but He who should focus on man.

In v. 13 Sarah requests God to set her free (GI: ἀπολῦσαι; GII: ἀπολυθῆναι) from the earth, which is a euphemism for “let somebody die” so that she will not have to hear reproaches anymore (GI: μὴ ἀκούσαι με μηκέτι ὄνειδισμόν; GII: μὴ ἀκούειν με μηκέτι ὄνειδισμούς).

In v. 14 this desperate woman addresses God again stating that he knows exactly (GI: σὺ γινώσκεις κύριε; GII: σὺ γινώσκεις *δέσποτα* ^{””}) that she is innocent of any defilement (GI: ἀμαρτίας;⁵² GII: ἀκαθαρσίας) with a man (v. 14b). As a matter of honour Sarah then claims that she had not defiled (μολύνω) her own name⁵³ or her father’s name (v. 15a). And she mentions a location: “in the land of my captivity” (GI/II ἐν τῇ γῆ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας μου // בכל ארעת שבינא // כתיבא געבליגא // Vetus latina and Nova vulgata: in terra captiuitatis meae). It is interesting that all text versions testify to the same wording: “my captivity”, with one exception. The Aramaic speaks of “our captivity”. Zimmermann in his commentary, for example, says that the possessive pronoun in the first person singular “is obviously inappropriate in the mouth of Sarah.”⁵⁴ If Sarah was referring to the exile of her people she should have said “our captivity”. It seems that the Aramaic text of this paragraph follows a different tradition in reflecting the fate of the whole community of Jewish people who were exiled. However the other text traditions, like the main Greek versions, the Syriac tradition and the Latin versions, have a different interest.

But what do they want to communicate? We have to take into account that also Tobit, according only to GI, uses the same possessive pronoun in 13:8/6: (ἐγὼ ἐν τῇ γῆ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας μου (cf. ⁵⁵שביא [בארעת] // כתיבא געבליגא // Ego in terra captiuitatis meae ...). He has the right to say so because he himself, together with his people, has, according to the plot, been brought into exile by the Assyrians (1:3; 3:4). Sarah was already born in the exile so it is hardly appropriate for her to talk about “her captivity”.

52 Fitzmyer, Tobit, 155, rightly hints that “Sarah now declares her innocence, which stands in contrast to Tobit’s confession of sins”.

53 That means that “Sarah defends her virginity” (Fitzmyer, Tobit, 155); cf. Kellerman, Eheschließungen, 159–165.

54 Zimmermann, Book, 64: the author speculates about a misunderstanding of the Hebrew “shebti/shibti”, but Fitzmyer, Tobit, 155, rightly points out that the “Qumran Aramaic clearly has ‘our captivity’”.

55 = 4Q196 17ii 3. Again the Aramaic text avoids this problem by not using any possessive pronoun.

What does that mean? Sarah is probably talking about being taken over, being captured by the evil demon⁵⁶ Asmodeus⁵⁷ who jealously controls her life and her sexuality by killing all the prospective husbands.⁵⁸ If one takes into account the meaning and occurrences of the word *αἰχμαλωσία/אִימָוָה*, then this leads to a key-story in the Tanakh, namely the paragraph about the female captive in Deut 21:10–14. The man who falls in love with her and wants to marry her has to give her the opportunity of mourning the loss of her parents, but after a month in his house he is allowed to sleep with her and take her as a wife. If he wants to separate from her he must not sell her as a slave. He has to free her. Coming back to Sarah, she will finally be freed by Tobias. When Tobit speaks about “his” captivity in GI, he is probably talking about his blindness which takes away from him the freedom to deal with his life the way he wants. Both Sarah and Tobit are captives of fixed physical circumstances. Sarah's enforced virginity and Tobit's blindness separate them from a normal life and from their societies. They are both in grief and loneliness. Therefore “the land of my captivity” is not a geographical location but a metaphor for Tobit's and Sarah's physical and mental status.

In v. 15b–f Sarah then partly repeats the actual reproaches of her father's servant and summons up her previous life to remind God of her fate: She is the only child of her father (v. 15b: *μονογενής εἰμι τῷ πατρὶ μου*) and he has no other heir (v. 15c GI: *οὐχ ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ παιδίον ὃ κληρονομήσει αὐτόν*; GII: *οὐχ ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ ἕτερον τέκνον ἵνα κληρονομήσῃ αὐτόν*). There are no other close relatives or kindred (v. 15d GI: *οὐδὲ ἀδελφὸς ἐγγὺς οὐδὲ ὑπάρχων αὐτῷ υἱός*; GII: *οὐδὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ ἐγγὺς οὔτε συγγενὴς αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει*) whom Sarah could marry (v. 15e: *ἵνα συντηρήσω ἑμαυτὴν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα*) in order to provide her father with an heir, after all her seven husbands have already died (v. 15f: *ἤδη ἀπώλοντό μοι ἑπτὰ*). Seven as a symbolic number tells us, “it's enough!”⁵⁹ Driven by grief and despair Sarah therefore asks why should she live any longer (v. 15g GI: *ἵνα τί μοι ζῆν*; GII: *ἵνα τί μοί ἐστιν ἔτι ζῆν*). This way she expresses her hopelessness. Life is completely meaningless for her. Of course she cannot know that soon Tobias will be on his way to marry her.

⁵⁶ There is further research to be done of the concept of *δαμόνιον* in classical Greek literature, but this is beyond the scope of this article; cf. Ego, Rolle, 309–317; Owens, Asmodeus, 277–290.

⁵⁷ Cf. the demon's name Asmodeus within a broad rabbinic tradition: b. Pes. 110: king of demons; b. Git. 68a–b; Num. Rab. 11.3: adversary of Solomon.

⁵⁸ On the other hand, according to GI Moore, Tobit, 151, says that “Sarah evidently does not know who kills her bridegrooms”.

⁵⁹ Cf. Fieger, Dialog 3: „Die eine Ganzheit anzeigende Zahl sieben bringt die Abgeschlossenheit der Leiderfahrungen von Sara zum Ausdruck“.

But then she calls a halt when in her emotional despair she rethinks matters and concludes that her previous idea to kill herself might not please God (v. 15h GI: εἰ μὴ δοκεῖ σοι ἀποκτεῖνάί με; GII: ... κύριε). Only GI adds in this place “Command that some regard be shown to me and mercy be given to me” (v. 15i–j: ἐπίταξον ἐπιβλέψαι ἐπ’ ἐμὲ καὶ ἐλεῆσαί με). Sarah therefore insists that God should have “compassion” for her. Again she does not expect his direct action but his initiative. The final sentence explains the reason for the whole situation. Sarah does not want to listen to any more reproaches (μηκέτι ἀκοῦσαί με ὀνειδισμὸν), but in GII she addresses God directly: νῦν εἰσάκουσον ὀνειδισμὸν μου (v. 15k).

The divine answer to Tobit’s and Sarah’s desperate prayers follows immediately in Tob 3:16a–17f. Raphael is sent by God to heal Tobit’s blindness through Tobias and to free Sarah from the evil demon. At the very end of this chapter it is reported that Tobit and Sarah leave their isolation. Tobit goes from the courtyard into his house, or in other words, from outside to inside, and Sarah walks downstairs to take part in family life again.

4 Summary

4.1. Reasons for Sarah’s grief to death

Sarah was seven times married but the marriages could not be consummated because of the jealous demon Asmodeus, who killed all of her husbands. Therefore she cannot have children and thereby provide her father with an heir. Actually her life is a failure. In addition, Sarah has to listen to the insults of her father’s servants who accuse her of unjustly beating them and herself carrying out the murder of her husbands. Their lower social status makes things even worse.

4.2. The ramifications

This situation causes Sarah black despair. She bursts into tears and cannot maintain her composure but goes into isolation. In a threefold soliloquy Sarah first spontaneously intends to hang herself. Calming down somewhat, she formulates in her prayer a euphemism that God might release her from the earth, that is to say, let her die. And if this does not match God’s will, then he at least might relieve her from scandalmongers’ reproaches.

4.3. The prayer

Sarah's prayer starts with a threefold doxology that may be regarded as a forerunner of later formulas in Jewish liturgy (בְּרִיךְ אֱתָהּ יְהוָה). The desperate woman has two pleas: She seeks death and does not want to hear any more reproaches. Then she assures God that she has not been defiled by a man, which is for her and her father a matter of honour.⁶⁰ Afterwards Sarah describes her distress with the geographical metaphor of "the land of *her* captivity". The wicked demon Asmodeus is the reason why she is cut off from life and her body is sentenced to virginity. It sounds quite paradoxical that, on one hand, Sarah is proud of her virginity even if she has already been married seven times, and, on the other hand, she wants to be rid of it in a marriage. After having described the recent situation in her prayer, Sarah asks what this all means for her existence (in German "Sinnfrage"): ἵνα τί μοί ἐστιν ἔτι ζῆν ("So why should I still live?"). In conclusion, she expresses a sort of hope that her prayer is destined to reach a merciful God who will listen to her plea. The accusations made by the servant(s) constitute the final impetus for Sarah's plea that precipitates the crisis. Her emotions then take control and lead to a contemplation of suicide. In contrast to those spontaneous emotions, her prayer is well thought out and meaningfully constructed, addressing God at beginning and end, and contains within its framework the details of her predicament.

A: Threefold Doxology (v. 11c–11e)

Blessed be the merciful God (v. 11c)

Blessed be his name (v. 11d)

Creation shall praise God (v. 11d)

B: Sarah's distress (v. 12):

- Her focus on God (v.12)
 - o God (v. 13a)
- Two pleas:
 - Death wish (v. 13b)
 - No more reproaches (v. 13c)
- o God (v. 14a)

⁶⁰ Cf. Sir 42:9 cited according to Brenton ("A daughter is a wakeful care to a father; and the care for her taketh away sleep: when she is young, lest she pass away the flower of her age; and being married, lest she should be hated"), 11 ("Keep a sure watch over a shameless daughter, lest she make thee a laughingstock to thine enemies, and a byword in the city, and a reproach among the people, and make thee ashamed before the multitude").

- Matter of honour:
 - No defilement/virginity (v. 14b)
 - No disgrace in the “land of my captivity”/body (v. 15a)
 - Situation:
 - Only child (v. 15b)
 - No other heir (v. 15c)
 - No close relative (v. 15d)
 - No candidate to marry (v. 15e)
 - Seven dead husbands (v. 15f)
 - Meaningful life? (v. 15g)
- C: What pleases God? (v. 15h)
- o God may listen (v. 15k)

4.4. Emotion and their expression within the story of Sarah in Tob 3:7–17

Clearly in this part of the book of Tobit the negative terms predominate in comparison with the positive ones: in GI 3:1 and in GII 4:1. Sarah especially experiences only negative emotions, while her father counters it with his love; she places her hope on a merciful God and will not be disappointed; because God will send Raphael, who is going to free and heal her.

	Sarah	Raguel		God
to grieve	v. 10b GI+II: λυπέω			
grief		v. 10m GII: λύπη		
to weep	v. 10c GII: κλαίω			
to hang	v. 10e GI+II: ἀπάγχω v. 10k GII v. 10o GII			
to die	v. 10q GII: ἀποθνήσκω			
to depart	v. 13b GI+II: ἀπολύω			
beloved		v. 10j GII: ἀγαπητός		
merciful				v. 11c GII: ἐλεήμων
to have mercy				v. 15j GI: ἐλεέω
<i>total</i>	GI: 3x – GII: 7x	GII: 1x	GII: 1x	GI: 1x – GII: 1x
<i>proportion</i>	GI: 3 negative : 1 positive		GII: 8 negative : 2 positive	

Abstract

Sarah, Raguel's daughter is in total despair, because each time she gets married, the demon Asmodeus kills her groom on the wedding night. After this has already happened seven times – a symbolic number, that tells us, “it's enough!”⁶¹ – her father's maids blame Sarah for strangling her bridegrooms. Despair and this accusation cause “Sarah's grief to death”. She wants to commit suicide but as the only child of her father she hesitates to cause him such disgrace and sorrow. In a later prayer, however, she changes her mind and expresses her wish to die before God. This paper deals with the emotional implication of the behaviour of all those actively involved in the narrative, especially as it relates to Sarah's prayer and the social background, as well as to the view of suicide in ancient literature.*⁶²

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61 Cf. Fieger, *Dialog 3*: „Die eine Ganzheit anzeigende Zahl sieben bringt die Abgeschlossenheit der Leiderfahrungen von Sara zum Ausdruck“.

62* I would like to thank Professor Stefan C. Reif for improving the English style of this article.

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Dalia Marx

The Prayer of Susanna (Daniel 13)

The story of Susanna relates to a “brief but terrifying experience”¹ in the life of a faithful and beautiful Jewish woman, the wife of Joachim, a wealthy and respected member of the Jewish community in Babylonia. God-fearing and well versed in the laws of Moses, Susanna falls victim to a false accusation by two Jewish elders who attempt to force her to have sexual relations with them. She stands firm and chooses certain death rather than submit to their lust. In her despair, she prays to God, who hears her supplication, and is subsequently saved by Daniel, a youth who interrogates and condemns the elders, saving Susanna from a disgraceful death.²

Of the four scrolls named after women – Ruth, Esther, Judith, and Susanna – the story of Susanna is the least known to Jews.³ While the books of Ruth and Esther were incorporated into the Hebrew Bible and the apocryphal story of Judith is occasionally mentioned in Jewish texts, Susanna is barely mentioned. Her story is not mentioned in early Jewish sources,⁴ nor does it have a significant presence in later Jewish texts.⁵

The story of Susanna is one of the three Greek additions to the book of Daniel, along with the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Children and the story of Bel and the Dragon, which are not found in Semitic languages and have not become part of the Hebrew canon. Like the rest of Daniel, it has been preserved

1 Moore, Daniel, 77.

2 The story of Susanna seems to make use of many biblical stories. It has been suggested that it represents a feminine equivalent of the story of Joseph and Potiphar’s wife (Ilan, Women, and the references there). For other biblical stories with intertextual connections to the story of Susanna, see: Levine, Side; Loader, Pseudepigrapha, 231–234. See also note 8 below.

3 Cf. Gera, Shoshanah; Ilan, Women, 138–139.

4 A reference to *megillat Shoshan* (Shoshan’s Scroll) is found in Nahmanides’s commentary on Deut 21:12. A translated version of Susanna is printed in Jellinek, Beit Hamidrash, 126–128. It has been suggested that a variation of this story can be found in as early a source as the Talmud (b. Sanh. 93a). See McDowell, Prayers, 67; Moore, Daniel, 80–81. The story appears also in the additions to the book of Josippon, Flusser, Sefer Yosipon, 442–444.

5 One possible reason for the absence of the story in most Jewish sources is that it contradicts Jewish law (and common sense), since a mere accusation by two witnesses could not have led to the reported conviction without the accused being permitted to bring other witnesses to prove his or her innocence. Another hypothesis is that the story was rejected due to its depiction of the elders of Israel as sinners and adulterers who are defeated by a mere lad and a woman. In any case, the figure of Daniel the Detective that appears in Susanna is inconsistent with Daniel’s character throughout the biblical book that bears his name.

in two versions, known as the Old Septuagint and the Theodotion. The old Greek has come to us in only two manuscripts (MS 88 and Papyrus 967), while the Theodotion is preserved in numerous manuscripts,⁶ and has replaced the old Septuagint in the Christian Bibles.⁷

My perspective is primarily literary and I am interested in the reception of Susanna's prayer and story; accordingly, this article will focus mainly on the Theodotion version, which is more developed in literary terms and is the text that readers of Susanna have encountered throughout the generations.⁸ I will refer to the Old Greek version of Susanna's prayer scene[s] in order to discuss the different phenomenology in both versions. I will also draw on the work of feminist theoreticians in order to elaborate on Susanna's character and prayer.

1 Susanna as a religious story

The story of Susanna is replete with emotional expressions of reverence for God. It begins with a description of Susanna's piety and ends with thanksgiving to the Divine. It is "a narrative about God raising up a champion of the faith who triumphs over adversity."⁹ It teaches that chastity and piety prevail over arrogance and wickedness, even if the wrongdoers are respectable members of the community – elders and judges – while the righteous are merely a woman and a youth. The story received a great deal of attention from artists in the Christian world and is a familiar theme in Western culture (see below).

With the exception of the two villains, all the characters in the book of Susanna pray to God. The prayer of Susanna herself is the singular act that causes what seems to be the inevitable plot to be reversed, and averts the terrible decree.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the story essentially appears to be based on a secular folk

⁶ Regarding the antiquity of the Old Greek version, see: Segal, *Zion*, 30–31, and for references to previous works on the topic, see there, note 2.

⁷ Cf. Moore, *Daniel*, 78–80.

⁸ The Theodotion version may have been preferred for the following reasons: a) It is longer (64 verses as opposed to 48 in the Septuagint) and more picturesque; the Septuagint version does not contain the bathing scene, which became the iconic feature of the story; b) Daniel plays a more significant role in it; and c) It has also been suggested that the theology reflected in the Theodotion text was more plausible, since in the Septuagint it seems as if Daniel speaks against the reliability of elders in general, and religious leaders sought to avoid this (v. 35). See: Moore, *Daniel*, 92; Segal, *Zion*, 30–31.

⁹ Craven, *Help*, 104.

¹⁰ Cf. Moore, *Daniel*, 89.

story conveying the moral that there are consequences to human conduct: the good are eventually rewarded and evildoers are punished.¹¹

The story stresses Susanna's religiosity and how she was well-versed in the word of God, yet it also seems to convey a tacit tone of condemnation for her desire to anoint herself and take sensuous pleasure in a garden bath. Of course she does not commit a transgression by enjoying these worldly delights, but the story could be interpreted as warning the reader that such self-indulgence may lead to life-threatening situations, even for a God-fearing person such as Susanna, who did not leave her husband's garden. Although the story does not overtly criticize Susanna for her self-pampering, it reflects uneasiness about a woman out in the garden who utilizes the day, the garden and her body for her own pleasure, and who fails to serve as an object of pleasure for others, namely men.¹²

2 What's in a name? That which we call a *Shoshanah*

As is often the case in folk tales, the names in our story carry symbolic meaning. The name of Susanna's husband Joachim means "may God establish" (*Yehoyaqim*); her father's name Hilkiyah means "God's lot"; and Daniel's name has associations with God's judgement (*din, El*) – and he indeed plays the role of the judge (*dayyan*) in the story.¹³ The richest symbolism, however, is to be found in the name of the story's protagonist, Susanna (*Shoshanah*).

Shoshanah in Hebrew is usually identified as a lily,¹⁴ but is sometimes used as a generic name for flowers.¹⁵ In Jewish culture, as in many others, flowers in

11 Our story is constructed around two popular themes in folk literature: the wise youth who corrects the wrongs of respectable elders; and the modest woman who is unjustly persecuted before ultimately prevailing over her persecutors. Thompson places the story of Susanna in the category of a "chaste wife falsely accused and repudiated, generally on the word of a rejected suitor" (Thompson, Motif-Index 4, 471). See also Bach, *Women*, 66.

12 Regarding the accusation of Susanna, see: Levine, *Side*.

13 The names of the elders are not given in the text, but when Origen inquired about it he was told by the Jews that they were Ahab and Zedekiah, two false prophets who are mentioned in the book of Jeremiah (29:21).

14 Cf. Ben-Yehuda, *Dictionary* 14, 7002–7004.

15 Cf. Ben-Yehuda, *Dictionary* 14, 7003.

general and lilies in particular serve as a metaphor for young women.¹⁶ In the Song of Songs, the male singer identifies his beloved one as: **כְּשׁוֹשַׁנָּה בֵּין הַבְּנוֹת בֵּין רַעֲיֵתֵי בֵּין הַחוֹחִים כֵּן רַעֲיֵתִי בֵּין הַבְּנוֹת** (“as a lily [*shoshanah*] among thorns, so is my beloved among the daughters”; Song 2:2). *Shoshanah* is mentioned in the description of the beloved woman five times in the Song of Songs (2:2; 16; 4:5; 6:3; 7:3).

A flower is a beautiful thing that is meant to gratify those who see it and smell it but its life is short, in contrast to trees, which are long lasting (cf. Psalm 92:13–14) and often symbolize men. Even in our story, the two trees that Daniel uses to reveal the elders’ plot (Dan 13:51–59) are synecdochic to them.¹⁷ Susanna is planted in her husband’s[!] garden, although the garden itself, as well as its fence, are synecdochic to Susanna, for the male singer in Song of Songs describes his beloved as a sealed garden, a typical metaphor for a young woman: **גָּן סָגוּר מְעוּן חָתוּם נְעוּלָה אָחָתִי כְּלָה גֵּל נְעוּלָה מְעוּן חָתוּם סוּגָה בְּשׁוֹשַׁנִּים** (a sealed garden is my sister, my bride; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed, Song 4:12).¹⁸ The metaphor **סוּגָה בְּשׁוֹשַׁנִּים** (“hedge of *shoshanim*”, Song 7:3) refers to a fence that is not impenetrable, and that everyone can pass through; the tenderness and beauty of the fence are its strength and at the same time its vulnerability.

The Jewish metaphorical reading of the Song of Songs identifies the *shoshanah* as the embodiment of Israel whose beloved is God.¹⁹ Whatever the later polemical and interreligious context of the metaphorical reading of Song of Songs, the analogy between the *shoshanah* and Israel is found already in the Bible, where the prophet Hosea compares the future flourishing of Israel to the *shoshanah*: **אֶהְיֶה כְּטֵל לְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִפְרַח כְּשׁוֹשַׁנָּה** (“I will be as the dew unto Israel; it shall blossom as the *shoshanah*”, Hos 14:6).

This identification is made explicit in the Midrash: **אמר ר' אבון: מה שושנה זו, יצא טל והיא מפרחת - כך ישראל** (“Rabbi Avun said: Just as the *shoshanah* flourishes when the dew comes forth – so Israel!” Song Rab. 2.9). And while this midrash is but a short commentary on the Hosea verse, an entire section is dedicated to a comparison between the various traits of the flower and

¹⁶ Cf. Nacht, *Symbolism*, 202–204. The fact that women are considered flowers is also reflected in the custom of naming Israeli girls after flowers, such as *Rakefet* (cyclamen), *Vered* (rose) or *Nurit* (ranunculus). This practice is also common in other languages, such as the English names Rose, Daisy, Rosemary, etc.

¹⁷ Interestingly, it is a custom in Israel to give boys the names of trees such as *Oren* (pine), *Alon* (oak) or *Dekel* (palm tree). Clearly the names reflect the different hopes and aspirations parents have for children of both genders.

¹⁸ Cf. Nacht, *Symbolism*, 76–78; Reinhartz, *Homes*.

¹⁹ Cf. Cohen, *Song*; Kimelman, *Rabbi*, 567–595; Urbach, *Interpretations*, 247–275.

the people of Israel (Song Rab. 2.2). In many *piyyuṭim* (Jewish liturgical hymns), the terms *shoshanim* or *shoshan* typically refer to Israel;²⁰ the same usage is found in kabbalistic literature.²¹

I am not suggesting a direct or even indirect connection between the book of Susanna and any of these later literary depictions of the *shoshanah*, but I do seek to note a consistent correlation between the *shoshanah* and the Jewish people. Amy-Jill Levine writes: “Susanna is a projection of the threatened covenant community”,²² and refers to her as a “metaphor for the community”.²³ In other words, not unlike Judith, who, according to some commentators serves as the embodiment of Israel,²⁴ so *shoshanah*. Like Israel, the *shoshanah* is beautiful, fragile, and subject to great danger (surrounded by thorns). In our story, the *Shoshanah* is indeed surrounded by thorns, namely, the elders who plot to harm her.

There is another important, symbolic meaning of *shoshanah*. Flowers are often used in different cultures as a euphemism for female sexuality.²⁵ In rabbinic literature, the phrase “red *shoshanah*” specifically refers to menstruation. For example:

”סוּגָה בְּשׁוֹשָׁנִים” (שיה”ש ז, 3) אלה דברי תורה, שהן רכין כשושנים [...] בנוהג שבעולם, אדם נושא אשה [...] בא לזקק לה, והיא אומרת לו: כשושנה אדומה ראיתי ופורש ממנה מיד. מי גרם לו שלא יקרב לה? איזה כותל ברזל יש ביניהם? ואיזה עמוד ברזל ביניהם? אי זה נחש נשכו? איזה עקרב עקצו שלא יקרב לה? דברי תורה, שרכין כשושנה, שנאמר בה: “וְאֵל-אִשָּׁה בְּנִדַת טְמֵאָתָהּ לֹא תִקְרַב לְגִלּוֹת עֲרוֹתָהּ” (ויקרא יח, 19) (שיר השירים רבה ז, ג)

“Hedged²⁶ by *shoshanim*” (Song 7:3) It is the way of the world, that when a man who marries a woman wants to be intimate with her, but she says to him: I saw a red *shoshanah*, he immediately retires from her. Who caused him not to approach her? Is there an iron wall between them? Is there an iron barrier between them? Has a snake bitten him? Has a scorpion

20 For example, the Medieval German *piyyuṭ* (liturgical hymn) *ma’oz šur*, traditionally sung on Hanukka, declares: וּמִנּוֹתֵר קִנְקִינִים נִעְשָׂה נֶס לְשׁוֹשָׁנִים (“But from the last remaining container a miracle was wrought for the Shoshanim [Jews]”). Regarding *shoshanah* as a symbol in later Jewish liturgical hymns, see: Almekayem, *Shoshanah*.

21 The introduction to the seminal Jewish mystical book, the *Zohar* (dated to late thirteenth-century Spain), begins by comparing the qualities of the *shoshanah* to those of Israel.

22 Levine, Side, 311.

23 Levine, Side, 319, and see Reinhartz, Homes, 335–337.

24 Cf. Levine, Sacrifice, 209–212.

25 Cf. Nacht, Symbolism, 202–204.

26 The word סוּגָה can have various meaning; here the midrash evidently understood it as derived from the root סוּג, meaning a fence or a barrier.

stung him? [No,] These are the words of the Torah, which are tender as a *shoshanah*, for it says: “And you shall not approach a woman to uncover her nakedness, as long as she is impure by her impurity” (Lev 18:19; cf. Song Rab. 7.3).²⁷

Interestingly, this midrash makes a threefold use of *shoshanah* as a symbol: not only for the words of Torah, “which are tender” like the *shoshanah*, but also for menstruation (the “red *shoshanah*”) and for the restriction concerning menstruation (the hedge of *shoshanim*).²⁸ The pure, the impure, and the fence between them are all woven together here in the rich symbolism of the *shoshanah*. As mentioned above, there is no need to assume that the author of the story of Susanna knew this midrash, which comes to us from a much later time (or vice versa, that the author of the midrash knew the story of Susanna), but the typological similarity is telling.

Susanna in our story is also described as prominent among her peers (“or should one say “as a lily among thorns”, Song 2:2), and as a flower planted in her husband’s garden. Like the *shoshanah* that is protected by its thorns, she is supposedly protected in the garden. Still, it seems that, although Susanna was scrupulous about keeping her bath private, she is nevertheless indirectly accused of self-indulgence, and of wallowing in her own pleasure. Although it may fall within the expected framework of feminine behaviour, Susanna’s act of self-assertion contradicts what is expected from a *shoshanah*. A flower is a beautiful thing that is meant to provide pleasure to those who see it and inhale its scent, and if it neglects its role, terrible consequences may ensue. The threat to Susanna comes about, in a way, as a direct response to her desire for pleasure, albeit legitimate and modest. But more than this, as a result of her physical exposure, Susanna is indirectly blamed by the author for seducing the elders. Even Daniel, the wise youth who saves her, indirectly accuses her of corrupting the elders, when he says to one of them “beauty has seduced you, and lust has corrupted your heart” (Dan 13:56).²⁹ Blaming a woman for a sexual assault she has undergone was common practice in antiquity, and all too often continues even today.³⁰

²⁷ See also: Lev. Rab. 12.1; 19.6; Tanḥ. Tisa 2.

²⁸ Elsewhere it is stated explicitly, when comparing the Sanhedrin to the *shoshanah*: שאפילו כסוגה בשושנים לא יפרצו בהן פרצות (“hedged by *shoshanim*” – even through a [a minor barrier] as a hedge of lilies, they make no breach, b. Sanh. 37a).

²⁹ While the old Septuagint version specifically maintains that she did not know about their lust for her (Dan 13:10), this statement is conspicuously missing from the Theodotion version, where a lavish bath scene is depicted (Gera, *Shoshanah*).

³⁰ Another example from the Second Temple literature of a condemnation of a bathing woman is Reuven’s accusation that Bilhah attempted to seduce him (Jub. 33:2–8; T. Reu. 3:10–14).

It was the body that Susanna pampered that became the object of the elders' lust and intended violence, in a kind of literary *middah keneged middah* ("measure for measure"), or perhaps "pleasure for pleasure". It is only through her prayer that she averts the severe punishment she has incurred, and not through her righteous abstention from sin.

3 Prayers in Susanna

The concept that God hearkens to prayer stands at the core of monotheistic religions. Apart from Susanna's prayer, there are two other praying occurrences in our story: when Susanna's innocence is revealed, and the whole community blesses God (Dan 13:60), and when, at the end, thanksgiving is offered by Susanna's family members (v. 63).³¹ Both are prayers of praise or thanksgiving.

We will now concentrate on Susanna's prayer (or prayers). Unlike other instances of prayer in Second Temple literature, Susanna's prayer is essential to the story and constitutes the turning point in the plot. In other instances, such as the prayers in the Esther traditions,³² the supplications embellish the story with expressions of piety but have no actual role in the plot and do not appear in the Hebrew text. In our story, as in other contemporary narratives, such as the prayer of Manasseh, it is prayer that reverses what appears to be the inevitable doom of the protagonist. After uttering her painful confessional prayer, the text says that God hears, and sends Daniel to save her (Dan 13:44–45). The prayer is the axis around which the plot turns: it is not her refusal to the elders but her prayer that causes God's intervention. Susanna's heartfelt words do not impress her community but do persuade God to save her.

The content of Susanna's prayer differs from some other confessional, apocryphal prayers, such as the prayer of Azaria, the first addition to the book of Daniel. His prayer contains a long confession of sins, a petition for salvation, as well as a promise to follow God wholeheartedly and to seek God's presence. Susanna's prayer, on the other hand, does not contain overt petition or promises for the future.³³ While we are informed immediately that God hearkened to Susanna's

³¹ Cf. McDowell, *Prayers*, 69–70. Both instances are missing in the Old Greek version, where the story instead ends with praise for the virtues of youths.

³² Cf. McDowell, *Prayers*, 34–41, and the references there.

³³ Compare this to the longer version of Susanna's prayer in the Additions to Josippon, 443–444, where she specifically calls upon God to do justice: "And Your works, Eternal, are perfect, and all Your ways are true, perform this day a judgement of truth!"

prayer, we only hear that Azaria's prayer has been accepted at a later stage, when Azaria and his companions are saved from the fire. Another confessional prayer that yields an immediate response is that of Sarah in Tobit 3 but here too, along with a confession, the prayer contains a petition. Susanna's prayer contains no uttered petition or request to be saved, and yet it yields such results.

Both versions of the story, the Old Greek and Theodotion, provide the text of Susanna's prayer. In the Theodotion text the prayer is divided into two episodes. The first takes place after the elders lay their hands on her head, as in the case of the *Soḡah* (the suspected adulterous wife),³⁴ when Susanna cries and lifts her eyes toward the heavens "for her heart trusted the Eternal"³⁵ (Dan 13:35). The second incidence of prayer occurs when the elders give their false testimony, the community believes the accusations, and Susanna is condemned to death. Here the text reads:

Then Susanna cried out with a loud voice, and said:

Everlasting God, You know all secrets, and are aware of all things before they come to be; You know that they have given false evidence against me. And now I am to die, though I have done none of the wicked things that they have falsely charged against me (Dan 13:42–43).

This short prayer, extending over just two verses,³⁶ averts the severe decree, as the text makes clear: "And the Eternal hearkened to her voice" and saves her, while the evildoers are put to death in her place. Let us now look at this prayer, the emotions expressed in it, and its liturgical genre and phenomenology, including a comparison between the two Greek versions.

Susanna's heartfelt and spontaneous prayer takes place in the public domain. Although its content is personal, she recites it in a loud voice. Its first part (Dan 13:42) is an allusion to Divine powers, which are especially relevant to our case ("You know all the secrets, and are aware of all things before they come to be"). The second part contains a statement that is specific to the actual event ("You know that they have given false evidence against me ..."). Next comes an acknowledgment of what is about to happen ("And now I am to die"). Finally

34 The act of laying-on of hands is found in many contexts in the Hebrew Bible. Its aim is usually to confer a blessing (Gen 47:17–19), or to transfer guilt (Lev 16: 20–21) or authority (Num 11:11–15; 27:15–23). Most of the individual animal offerings require the offerer to lay hands on the head of the sacrificial beast (Num 8:10–11).

35 I translate the term κύριος as "the Eternal", as a common translation of the ineffable name of God.

36 Compare this to the much longer liturgical texts in Judith and the additions to Esther and Tobit; see: Craven, Help.

comes a confession of her innocence (“though I have done none of the wicked things ...”).

The formal genre of Susanna’s prayer is a confession³⁷, although, unlike other confessional prayers (such as Daniel’s prayer in chap. 9, or Azaria’s prayer), which are penitential and acknowledge sinfulness, Susanna declares her innocence.³⁸ The obligation incumbent on a person who is condemned to death to confess before his execution appears as early as the book of Joshua. Joshua says to Akhan, who stole from the *herem*: **בְּנֵי שָׁיִם נָא כְּבוֹד לֵהּ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְתֵן לוֹ** ‘אלהי ישראל ותן לו’ (“My son, give glory to the Eternal, the God of Israel, and make confession unto Him; and tell me now what thou hast done; hide nothing from me”, Josh 7:19). The Mishnah cites this event and uses it as the basis for a general rule.

רחוק מבית הסקילה עשר אמות, אומרין לו: התוודה! שכן דרך כל המומתים מתוודים, שכל המתוודה, יש לו חלק לעולם הבא; שכן מצינו בעכן [...] אם אינו יודע להתוודות, אומרין לו: אמור – “תהא מיתתי כפרה על כל עוונותיי”. רבי יהודה אומר: אם יודע שהוא מזומם, יאמר – “תהא מיתתי כפרה על כל עוונותיי, חוץ מהעוון הזה” (משנה, סנהדרין ו, ב).

About ten cubits from the place of stoning they used to say to him [the one condemned to death]: “Make your confession”, for such it is with those that have been condemned to death to make confession, for every one that makes confession has a share in the world to come. For so have we found with Akhan [...] If he knows not how to make his confession they say to him: Say – “May my death be an atonement for all my sins”. Rabbi Judah says: If he knew that he was condemned because of false testimony he should say – “Let my death be atonement for all my sins excepting this sin.” (m. Sanh. 6:2)

Rabbi Judah acknowledges the possibility that a person may be falsely condemned and supplies him with an alternative text: **רבי יהודה אומר: אם יודע שהוא מזומם, יאמר – “תהא מיתתי כפרה על כל עוונותיי, חוץ מהעוון הזה”** (Rabbi Judah says: If he knew that he was condemned because of false testimony

³⁷ The opening of Susanna’s prayer is also known in the rabbinic literature as the opening formula of a confession. The Talmudic sage, Rav, suggests beginning a confession by saying: **אתה יודע רזי עולם** (“You know the secrets of the world”, b. Yoma 87b). This formula has entered the formal Jewish confession texts for the Day of Atonement.

³⁸ Some translators, such as Moore (Daniel, 106), read this sentence as a rhetorical question in a subjunctive form (“and now I am to die?”). However I prefer to read it in the indicative, not only because this fits better with the character of Susanna but also because it fits the liturgical genre of a confession to be recited by a person who is condemned to execution (see below). Prof. Deborah Gera of the Hebrew University confirmed my understanding, saying that it is a more natural reading of the Greek.

he should say – “Let my death be an atonement for all my sins excepting this sin”). The teaching of Rabbi Judah, a tannaitic authority, acknowledges the fact that the court’s judgement may be wrong, and instructs that the condemned person must confess before being executed, while specifically mentioning his innocence of the actual crime in the confession.³⁹

Susanna’s trial protocol is a far cry from the rabbinic instructions: the elders are not examined at all, while the Mishnah’s discussion of capital punishment is designed so that it makes it hard ever to condemn a person to death.⁴⁰ In our case, the condemnation of Susanna is done without any questioning or any verifying process. Justice takes place only as a response to her confessional prayer, with the appearance of Daniel, and yet Susanna still uses the format of the confession to announce publicly her innocence. One may consider her prayer a lament, a passionate cry toward Heaven without a request (at least not an explicit one).

Now the text reads: “And God hearkened to her voice”. If we examine the prayer through the tools of the John Austin Speech Act theory, her confession was successful, or in Austin’s terms, felicitous.⁴¹ It is not overtly a petition but a confession, or even a lament. It does, however, contain an unspoken plea for help from the One who hears prayers and would never let evil prevail.

Another important feature of this prayer is that it is performed publically: Susanna addresses not only God, but indirectly also her community. She fails to stand up and declare her innocence during the staged trial and she does not directly protest her death sentence, but as a pious woman she uses the language she knows – that of prayer. Its success testifies to its efficacy.

4 The two versions of Susanna’s prayer

As mentioned above, the Septuagint version includes a single prayer episode that appears after Susanna is exposed before the wailing community and the

³⁹ The Mishnah then disapproves of his proposal, saying: יהו כל אדם אומרין כן כדי אם כן, יהו כל אדם אומרין כן כדי לנקות את עצמן (“If so, everyone would speak after this fashion to show his innocence”). See a related tale in b. Sanh. 44b.

⁴⁰ See m. Sanh., chapter four. For example, it requires many questions that fall into three categories: *haqirah* (investigation about the time and the place of the alleged crime), *derishah* (questions about the actual nature of the crime and the identity of the perpetrator) and *bediqah* (the verification of the testimonies).

⁴¹ Cf. Austin, Things, 14–45.

elders lay their hands on her head. In the Theodotion version, there are two instances of praying, and it seems that the Septuagint prayer text was divided into two.⁴² The first case is comprised of physical gestures only, while the second includes a record of the prayer's text. Both appear after the elders expose Susanna⁴³ and lay their hands on her head. Let us now compare the versions:

<i>Septuagint</i>	<i>Theodotion</i>
<p>²⁴ But her heart trusted the Eternal, her God, she lifted her head and cried in her heart</p> <p>and said:</p> <p>²⁵ Everlasting one, the God of the universe, who knows all things before they happen,</p> <p>You know that I did not do what these villains have falsely charged against me.</p> <p>²⁶ And the Eternal hearkened to her prayer.</p>	<p>³⁵ She cried but looked to the heavens, for her heart trusted the Eternal.</p> <p>⁴² Then Susanna cried out with a loud voice, and said:</p> <p>Everlasting God, You know all the secrets, and are aware of all things before they come to be.</p> <p>⁴³ You know that they have given a false evidence against me. And now I am to die, though I have done none of the wicked things that they have falsely charged against me.</p> <p>⁴⁴ And the Eternal hearkened to her voice.</p>

In both versions it is stressed that Susanna “trusted the Eternal” and looked toward heavens, and that God hearkened to her prayer. The wording of the prayers in both versions is also similar. However, the two versions differ in their phenomenology and performative aspects. In the Septuagint version, Susanna’s prayer is recited silently: she “*cried in her heart* and said ...” In Theodotion, on the other hand, she “*cried out with a loud voice*”. While in both versions God is the addressee (as in every classical prayer), Theodotion makes Susanna’s household and community secondary addressees: she cries out her innocence, not just to the Divine, but also to her own people, those who were so easily led to believe that she had committed a capital crime.⁴⁴

⁴² Cf. McDowell, Prayers, 70–71; Moore, Daniel, 108.

⁴³ Compare the ritual of the Soṭah, the suspected adulteress, in Num 5:18, and the further development of the ritual in m. Soṭah 1:5–7. See Bach, Women, 68.

⁴⁴ Regarding liturgy as a conversation and the various possible addressees of prayer, see: Hoffman, Liturgy; Hoffman, Text; Tabor, Piety.

I believe that verse 35 should be considered a prayer even though it has no verbal aspects, especially when women are those who are praying. Some argue that the first prayer in the Hebrew Bible is that of Hagar, who in her distress “lifted up her voice, and wept” (Gen 21:16). Her wordless, yet vocal, prayer is immediately answered. When describing different ways to refer to prayer, in the tannaitic Midrash Sifre on Deuteronomy, Rabbi Johanan provides ten expressions of prayer which reflect the rich nature of this human behaviour:

וְאֶתְחַנֵּן אֶל ה' (דברים ג, כג) – לְשׁוֹנוֹת נִקְרְאוֹת תְּפִילָה: זַעֲקָה, שׁוֹעָה, נֹאֲקָה, צְרָה, רָגָה וּפְגִיעָה, נִפּוֹל וּפְלוּל, עֵתִירָה, עֲמִידָה, חִילוּל, חֲנוּן (ספרי דברים ואתחנן ג, כו).

“And I besought the Eternal” (Deut 2:23) – Prayer has ten names: cry, yearn for help, groan, trouble, sing, plea, fall down, wish, petition, stand, wish, beseech (Sifre Deut. 26).

Many of these ten expressions, or attributes of prayer, contain nonverbal gestures. In our case, these gestures take the form of crying and lifting the eyes to heaven.⁴⁵

It seems that Jewish tradition considered nonverbal devotion valid and efficacious. It is said in the name of Rabbi Eleazar: מִיּוֹם שֶׁחָרַב בֵּית הַמִּקְדָּשׁ נִנְעְלוּ שְׁעָרֵי תְּפִלָּה וְאֵף עַל פִּי שֶׁשְׁעָרֵי תְּפִלָּה נִנְעְלוּ שְׁעָרֵי דַמְעָה לֹא נִנְעְלוּ – (“Since destruction of the Temple, the gates of prayer were locked, but even though the gates of prayer were locked, the gates of tears were not locked”, b. B. Meṣ. 32b).⁴⁶ In the Theodotion version, Susanna begins with wordless prayer and concludes with a loud cry toward God and mortals alike.

5 The perception of Susanna in western culture

We now turn to discussing Susanna’s story as it has been received and perceived in western culture. Although brief, the story includes picturesque and dramatic scenes and several of its images have been engraved in collective memory. It might be assumed that one of these images would be the prayer scene namely, Susanna crying to the heavens, declaring her innocence, and remaining faithful even in the face of death. Another memorable moment is that of the youth Daniel condemning the elders and proving their wickedness. The fact is, however, that the scene most identified with the story of Susanna and

⁴⁵ Cf. Ehrlich, *Language*, 99–109.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of this passage, see: Bokser, *Wall*.

engraved in the cultural memory is the attempted rape scene – the two elders approaching the astonished Susanna and making their immortal proposition.

However, many Renaissance artists, including Veronese, Allori, Badalocchio, and Tintoretto, as well as later artists such as Rubens, Rembrandt, Vien, Guercino, and Cagnacci, depict Susanna less as a victim, and more as a seductive woman. Some of them painted this theme repeatedly. In many of the paintings, the artist ensures that, while Susanna hides her body from the elders, she exposes it to the viewer.⁴⁷

In a way, Susanna has been, and remains, exposed to voyeurism on no less than three levels: the elders gawp at her; the judges and the community hear the story while beholding the exposed Susanna in her trial; and countless observers of the artistic works have gazed upon the naked body of Susanna. Just as the “kosher” biblical theme allowed artists to paint naked women, so it permitted spectators throughout the ages to behold artistic depictions of the scene.⁴⁸

Some feminist theoreticians have suggested that, under the guise of observing a legitimate biblical scene, spectators have even been able to participate passively in the violation of Susanna.⁴⁹

We see here a clear shift in the perceived crux of the plot from Susanna’s prayer to a different part of the story that has incited the imagination of so many artists, and consequently of those who observed their art.⁵⁰ One of the few pictures that clearly depict Susanna as a terrified victim, rather than a temptress, was painted by Artemisia Gentileschi, an Italian seventeenth-century artist, one of the only female painters of her time, who was herself the victim of a sexual assault at the age of seventeen.⁵¹

It is not only artists who tend to neglect Susanna’s prayer as the defining moment of the story, that is, the act that changed an otherwise predictable end. Many scholars also seem deny it due attention, focusing instead on the role of

47 See Bal, Rembrandt, 138–176; Glancy, *Accused*, 293–294.

48 Cf. Glancy, *Accused*; Levine, *Side*.

49 Cf. Levine, *Side*.

50 Griselda Pollock writes: “The story is a complex narrative of sexual desire and visual temptation, female chastity and masculine law. During the Renaissance the dramatic focus on the moment of the woman’s nakedness while bathing exposed to a lecherous conspiracy emphasized the sexual, voyeuristic and visually violating aspects of the theme, while providing a Biblical and even theological justification for the painting of an erotic female nude, a genre that was emerging in this period, shifting the connotations of the female nude from its traditional iconographic association with Truth towards its modern signification of (masculine) desire and its privileged visibility” (*Canon*, 105).

51 Cf. Garrard, Artemisia Gentileschi.

Daniel, the youth who functioned as an experienced judge. Others dwell on the implicit social criticism embedded in the story,⁵² and still others devote their discussion to feminist criticism.⁵³ Yet Susanna's prayer, which determines the plot since it causes her to be saved, and, on a theological level, emphasizes the saving power of her heartfelt supplication, is frequently absent.⁵⁴

6 Feminist criticism of Susanna's prayer

Susanna's ordeal is a personal story, but beneath it lies a larger community crisis.⁵⁵ Has this not been a standard message to Jews throughout the ages: reality can be harsh and trying, but those who remain faithful will be rewarded? Is it not also the case that Israel, that uncontrollable people, may indulge in less than desirable affairs even when enclosed in a fenced garden, just as Susanna spends her time pampering and anointing her body? If we adopt this line, then Susanna is not an individual woman, but, as suggested above, is emblematic of her community, an embodiment of the people of Israel.

This is what Daniel Boyarin called "women to think with". The author of the book used Susanna not so much as an individual character but as a literary device, or rhetorical trope, to make his more general point.⁵⁶ Even if we read her as a real woman, she is still an object rather than a subject.⁵⁷ Be this as it may, the use of a woman as a righteous figure who trusted God and resisted the corrupt and unworthy, and as the embodiment of the people of Israel, is telling. Our story portrays a woman as God-fearing and virtuous: a person of faith who did not succumb to evildoers even in the face of death.

52 Cf. Ilan, *Women*, 149–151.

53 See, for example Craven, *Help; Glancy, Accused; Levine, Side*.

54 An exception to this rule is McDowell's book *Prayers*, which concentrates on the prayers of Second Temple figures.

55 Cf. McDowell, *Prayers*, 71.

56 Boyarin, *God*, 67–92. For an overview of this approach, see Clark, *Lady*. See also Lehman, *Rhetoric*.

57 Glancy writes: "[T]he text represents femininity in terms of passivity and 'to-be-looked-at-ness'" (*Glancy, Accused*, 289).

Abstract

This article deals with the prayer of Susanna, whose story appears in an apocryphal addition to the book of Daniel. It begins with the religious sentiments expressed in the story and the symbolism of Susanna and her Hebrew name *Shoshanah*, as representing the people of Israel. Albeit short and simple, her prayer proved efficacious and led to the reversal of a misguided verdict that threatened the execution of a wrongly accused woman of valour.

The formal genre of the prayer of Susanna is confession, and the article deals with this liturgical genre and its manifestation in the story. Yet it seems that Susanna's prayer also contains a subtle element of defiance and maybe even accusation, the weapon of the disempowered. Comparison between the two versions of the prayer found in the old Septuagint and in Theodotion enables us to refer to the prayer as a test case for the phenomenology of prayer.

The second part of the article examines representations of the story of Susanna, especially her character, in western culture. Although the story emphasizes her righteousness and innocence, most artistic depictions of Susanna present her as a seductive and frivolous woman. The article deals with this phenomenon and provides a feminist critic of the story and its cultural reception.

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Jonathan Ben-Dov

Language, Prayer and Prophecy: 1 Enoch, the Dead Sea Scrolls and 1 Corinthians

This is a study of the phenomenology of prayer and prophecy in early Jewish literature. Particular attention will be paid to reflections on the role of language as a medium in prophecy and prayer. The sources attest to a steady tradition dealing with these matters, arising from the Hebrew Bible and finding much reinforcement during the Hellenistic period. This tradition was part of the backdrop for Paul's statements about glossolalia in 1 Corinthians 14.

Communication with the divine is a central religious act, perhaps the most important of all religious acts. While in some cultures communication was achieved by means of direct media such as letters to gods or the reception of oracles by direct speech, elsewhere these direct channels gave way to more oblique paths. Diviners in the Ancient Near East deciphered "heavenly writing" encoded in the stars or in the liver of a sacrificed lamb. Ancient Mesopotamians believed that gods only rarely speak in a direct way to human beings, and when they do their message is concise rather than a full oration, as for example the prophetic statement to Assurbanipal "Do not be afraid" (*lā tapallaḥ*). When in contrast, mankind sought to address a god, Mesopotamian kings are known to have written full and direct "letters to gods". Communication thus works both ways: a god can address a human conversant by way of prophecy or divination, while a human being can address his god in prayer, by means of a written or oral medium.¹

How is it that gods can transmit messages to human beings or receive messages from them? Do they speak human language? Is human or divine intermediation required? These questions gained some attention in the Hebrew Bible, in a series of proof texts that will have served as cornerstones for later reflections on the matter. Several of the main characteristics of apocalyptic religion involved an intensification of this interest. The immense importance accorded to revelation and the transmission of knowledge to mankind in apocalyptic literature required a more explicit discussion of the nature of revelation. In addition, communication with the divine gained prominence because the basic scene of apocalyptic literature is that of the angels, or minor divinities, residing in the

1 Cf. Pongratz-Leisten, *Herrschaftswissen*; Crouch/Stökl/Zerneck, *Heaven*.

heavenly court, fulfilling their central duty – to praise the Lord, the chief of the assembly.² The apocalyptic seer – or at Qumran, the community of the elect – participate in this song of praise, and in the Yahad this duty has become one of the definitive traits of the community.³ Thus it is only to be expected that we should find some reflection on the *modus operandi* of the communication in that milieu.

In the present article both directions of communication are discussed: prophecy and prayer. These two realms were already classified under the same phenomenological matrix in Antiquity, with ancient authors freely drawing analogies between the two in order to explain their efficacy. This two-way connection will also serve as a central hermeneutic principle in the present article.

1 Isaiah 6 and later interpretations

In the year that King Uzziah died, I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lofty; and the hem of his robe filled the temple. Seraphs were in attendance above him; each had six wings: with two they covered their faces, and with two they covered their feet, and with two they flew. And one called to another and said: “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory.” The pivots on the thresholds shook at the voices of those who called, and the house filled with smoke. And I said: “Woe is me! I am lost, for I am a man of unclean lips, and I live among a people of unclean lips; yet my eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts!” Then one of the seraphs flew to me, holding a live coal that had been taken from the altar with a pair of tongs. The seraph touched my mouth with it and said: “Now that this has touched your lips, your guilt has departed and your sin is blotted out.” Then I heard the voice of the Lord saying, “Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?” And I said, “Here am I; send me!” (Isa 6:1–8; NRSV).

This scene is often considered as Isaiah’s call to office.⁴ It begins with the classical scene of a throne vision in the earthly Temple. The Lord, however, does not dwell alone but is rather surrounded by seraphim, who protect the deity with their wings, while at the same time declaring his supremacy and transcendence by means of the triply recurrent word *qadoš*. Praising the chief of the assembly is a most characteristic role of divine beings, as mentioned for example in Ps 29:1–2 and in Job 38:7 “when the morning stars sang together/and all the divine beings shouted for joy” ברוז יחד כוכבי בוקר ויריעו כל בני אלהים. Isaiah,

² See for example Job 38:7; Dan 7:9–14; 1 En. 14; 4Q530 II, 16–20; 1QM XII, 1–5; 1QH^a XI, 20–23. See Collins, *Imagination*, 53–55.

³ Cf. Chazon, *Communion*.

⁴ See the survey of opinions in Childs, *Isaiah*, 49–54.

being unable to praise God with the seraphim due to his impurity, reacts with despair (Isa 6:4). Impurity is his lot due to his human nature, and because of the human nature of his environment. A seraph then cleanses Isaiah's lips with burning coal, and the way is then open for Isaiah to start a dialogue with the Divine, and ultimately to assume his office as a prophet. Why does Isaiah feel he is doomed? And how does cleansing the lips help?

The impurity here is explicitly connected with the lips, not with the hands or with the person in general. Neither is this impurity removed by ablution in water, as in normal practice. The focus on the mouth teaches that Isaiah's frustration arose because he could not participate in the liturgy performed by the seraphim, and more generally because he could not utter anything in front of the Godhead.⁵ In the mental conception of biblical prophecy, the prophet is in some way joining the divine cabinet, overhearing the discussion and thus learning about the divine plans.⁶ Being part of the cabinet, Isaiah felt the need to participate in the praise. Furthermore, the scene conveys a sense of *mysterium tremendum*: viewing the divine face to face is a devastating experience, and the creative way to ease this awe is by uttering his praise. After his lips were cleansed, Isaiah's channels of communication with the Divine had been established in both ways, and it was open to him to assume his office.⁷

While Isaiah 6 stresses the prophet's ability to speak before the Lord or praise him, other prophetic verses depict the opposite direction of traffic, i.e. a placement of the divine word in the mouth of the prophet, as in Jer 1:9; Isa 51:16, and in expanded and figurative form in Ezek 2:8–3:9.⁸ Later readers of Isaiah 6 merged the two directions into one, interpreting the seraph's act of touching Isaiah's lips not only as enabling the prophet's participation in prayer but also as an act of delivering the word to him (thus the Aramaic Targum *ad* Isa 6:6).

A similar interpretation merging prayer and prophecy with regard to Isaiah 6 appears in Lev. Rabbah.⁹ This midrash builds on the occurrence of the Hebrew root קרא in three different verses, dealing with prophecy and angelic liturgy respectively: Lev 1:1; Num 23:4; Isa 6:3. The homilist extrapolates from these three verses a programmatic statement on language as a medium for the transmission of both liturgy and prophecy, as follows:

⁵ See already the medieval commentary by R. David Qimḥi, as well as Hurowitz, *Isaiah's Impure Lips*, 73–79. Further Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah*, 226; Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 251–252.

⁶ Cf. Holladay, *Statecraft*.

⁷ The reader may consult a similar scene in later biblical literature; cf. Dan 10:15–19.

⁸ See Glazov, *Bridgling*; Rochester, *Ministry*.

⁹ Lev. Rab. 1.13 (ed. Margalioth, p. כח). Cf. Gen. Rab. Vayese 74.7 (ed. Theodor/Albeck, *Bereschit*, 864).

What is the difference between the prophets of Israel and the prophets of the nations? ... R. Ḥamma son of Ḥanina says: The Holy one Blessed be he appears to the prophets of the nations in half a word (Num 23:8) ... but to the prophets of Israel (he appears) in a complete word (Lev 1:1) ... R. Issachar of Kfar Manda says ... to the prophets of Israel (he appears) in a holy tongue, in a pure tongue, in a well-sorted tongue, the tongue that the officiating angels use to glorify Him (Isa 6:3).

This rabbinic statement contrasts the perfect language of angelic liturgy and Israelite prophecy, on the one hand, and the blemished language of gentile prophets, on the other. It builds on the prophecy of Zeph 3:9: “For then I will make the peoples pure of speech”, which in post-biblical sources was seen as a declaration about purifying the speech of mankind in the days to come.¹⁰ At the end of the midrashic statement, the demand for a clear prophetic language is anchored in the ideal model of the lucid angelic language. The rabbis thus emphasize the analogy between prayer and prophecy, being phenomenologically equivalent media for communication with the Divine. The praises offered by the angels constitute a prime example of prayer, uttered in a clear and faultless language.

Indeed, traditional Jewish prayer commemorated this notion in various liturgical pieces, as for example in the liturgy *Yošer Or*, where the angelic prayer is depicted as being performed “in a clear and pleasant language” (בשפה ברורה ובנעימה).¹¹ The lucid language of the angels is also known from a famous statement by R. Yoḥanan (b. Soṭah 33a; b. Šabb. 12a), that “the Serving Angels do not know Aramaic”.¹²

2 Isaiah 28

Prophets in the Hebrew Bible consider pure speech a necessary requirement for true prophecy. Thus Moses, the first and ideal prophet, was initially denied the right to officiate as *nabi*’ because of his speech impairment (Exod 4:10; 6:12),

¹⁰ On the use of this verse in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Stone/Eshel, Exposition; Poirier, 4Q464; Feldman, Story, 162.

¹¹ While I have quoted only one common attestation of the motif from present-day Jewish liturgy, it is abundantly attested in *Hekhalot* literature and related *piyyuṭim*. For the clarity and flow of *human* liturgical language see Naeh, Fruit.

¹² See Yahalom, Angels. Biblical sources like Ezek 3:5 imply that true prophecy can only be delivered in the language of Israel, while other nations are of “obscure speech and difficult language” (עמקי שפה וכבדי לשון).

and Aaron replaced him in that office (Exod 4:16; 7:1).¹³ Hosea (7:16) accuses foreigners of speaking in unclear language, one that cannot be understood and thus necessarily conveys nothing more than nonsense.¹⁴ Isaiah (8:19) mocks those diviners who “moan and chirp” while delivering their message, promoting his own lucid prophecy. A proof text in Isa 28:9–13 expresses this claim most clearly,¹⁵ and has received wide circulation in post-biblical quotations and allusions. Since the full treatment of this pericope lies outside the present study, I shall concentrate only on the message of these verses as reflected on the clarity of speech.

9 To whom would he give instruction? To whom expound a message? To those newly weaned from milk, just taken away from the breast? 10 That same mutter upon mutter, murmur upon murmur, Now here, now there. 11 Truly, as one who speaks to that people in a stammering jargon and an alien tongue he shall speak to that people. 12 To them the word of the Lord is: Mutter upon mutter, Murmur upon murmur, Now here, now there. (trans. NJPS)

Isaiah scorns the leaders of Judah, who, excessively drunk, roll in their filth under the tables. They are like little children whose language is not sufficient to understand serious talk. V. 9 conveys the words of the prophet as he rails against the people of Israel.¹⁶ Isaiah coined for this purpose a long stretch (v. 10) of incomprehensible syllables that has become a trademark of gibberish in the Hebrew Bible: צו לצו קו לקו זעיר שם זעיר שם.

This stretch resembles baby talk, or elementary school education, just like the infants that the leaders let themselves become. This sound-byte is used again by the prophet in v. 12, where he predicts to the Judean leaders how the same kind of talk will be turned against them soon, when a foreign-speaking nation will rule the land.¹⁷ This effect is also achieved by means of the word זעיר, “little”, clearly an Aramaic word which appears here out of context to designate a foreignness of speech.

¹³ See Tigay, Mouth.

¹⁴ See Paul, Hosea.

¹⁵ On this prophetic pericope, see Childs, Isaiah, 199–200; van Beuken, Isaiah, 1–19.

¹⁶ I follow the interpretation of Qimḥi and Ibn Ezra, as well as Exum, Approach, 121. Contrast the NJPS translation quoted here (note the uncapitalized “he” in v. 9), as well as Childs, van Beuken and others, who see these verses as the words of the people against the prophet. In this latter interpretation, the people accuse Isaiah of speaking to them in unknown and thus incomprehensible words. I prefer the former interpretation not only because of Exum’s arguments but also because Isaiah elsewhere (8:19) scorns the unclear speech of various diviners, praising instead his own pure speech.

¹⁷ Cf. Blenkinsopp, Isaiah, 389.

Various phrases from Isaiah 28, especially those dealing with blemished speech – לעגי שפה ולשון אחרת – but also verses from elsewhere in Isaiah like דבר חלקות (30:10) – are used recurrently in the Hodayot from Qumran. In these long poetic compositions, a thick fabric of allusions to biblical verses powerfully represents the sectarian ideology, alongside the personality of the author or authors of the Hodayot.¹⁸ The scriptural fabric includes not only explicit quotations or allusions, but also implicit references to a net of verses and their sectarian interpretations, mainly from the prophets, together constituting the foundation of the sectarian worldview. From this net are derived phrases such as מורה הצדק, דורש הכוב, דורשי חלקות and many others.¹⁹ The reflection on language, especially in columns X and XII of the Hodayot, continues the rhetoric of biblical psalms of individual lament, which often emphasize not only the malicious acts by the psalmist's adversaries but also their talk. Thus for example Ps 10:7 (cf. Pss 12:5; 34:15; 41:10, and 1QH^a XIII, 25–27; XV, 14).²⁰

The Hodaya in Column X depicts the personality of the speaker – perhaps the Teacher of Righteousness – and his linguistic abilities. While originally he had uncircumcised lips (ערול שפה, Exod 6:12, but also Isa 28:11),²¹ God had then granted him the ability to speak (X, 9). In contrast, his adversaries attempt to eradicate his reliable speech with their tarnished words:

You placed it in his heart to open up the source of knowledge to all who understand. But they have changed them, through uncircumcised lips and a strange message (ערול שפה) (ולשון אחרת), into a people with no understanding, that they might be ruined in their delusion (X, 20–21).²²

18 On the use of biblical allusions in the Hodayot, see Hughes, Allusions. On the compositional strategies employed to reinforce the community identity using biblical quotations in the Hodayot, see Newsom, Self.

19 See Kister, Phrases; Goldman, Exegesis.

20 For the motif of terrifying language by the adversaries, see Gelandner, Language.

21 The root לעג here does not carry the usual meaning “scorn”, but is rather a variation on לעז and עלג, verbs relating to speech disabilities; on the interchange of the roots ערל and לעג see Paul, Hosea. For the image of gaining new speech abilities: cf. 1 Cor 13:11: “When I was a child, I spoke like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child; when I became an adult, I put an end to childish ways”.

22 Line numbers in 1QH^a follow those in Stegemann/Schuller (DJD 40).

In column XII this imagery is carried even further:²³

They are pretenders; they hatch the plots of Belial, they seek You with a double heart, and are not founded in Your truth...., and they come to seek You through the words of lying prophets corrupted by error. With mo[c]king lips and a strange tongue (ב[ב]ל[ו] עֵג שפּה) (ולשון אחרת) they speak to Your people so as make a mockery of all their works by deceit. ...

As demonstrated by Alex Jassen, the polemic against the adversaries – most probably the Pharisees – is conducted using phrases from Isaiah 28, functioning here as a polemic against false prophets.²⁴ While the central debate between the Yahad and its enemies was really about the true interpretation of the Torah, this debate follows the lines of the biblical debate on the true language of prophecy.²⁵

The late Chaim Rabin once argued that the use of Isaiah 28 in the Hodayot reflects a genuine reflection on language and linguistic ideology among the Yahad. He interpreted the polemics against blemished language in the Hodayot as a direct argument against the use of vernacular Hebrew – what would later be known as rabbinic Hebrew – by the Pharisees.²⁶ However, a reading of the Hodayot shows that the motif of language is used as a metaphor for the *content* of the opponent's views, rather than as a reference to the very nature of their language. Isaiah 28 is thus part of a long list of biblical verses which are used to assemble the fabric of sectarian ideology. A more direct use of Isaiah 28, with explicit reference to language ideology, is apparent in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, discussed below.

²³ For column XII, see Jassen, *Divine*, 80–83, 280–290; Newsom, *Self*, 311–325, who also points out the relation with col. X.

²⁴ For an earlier analysis of the relation between the Hodayot and Isa 28, now dated, see Betz, *Zungenrede*.

²⁵ Cf. also the word זָא in CD IV, 19–20, probably following Isa 28:10; see Wacholder, *Damascus Document*, 188–189; Blenkinsopp, *Book*, 112.

²⁶ Cf. Rabin, *Qumran*, 68–69. Carmignac (apud Betz, *Zungenrede*, 23 n. 11) claimed that the Hodaya scorns the use of Aramaic by the Pharisees. Rabin's idea was followed more recently by Schniedewind, *Qumran*, 240, and Weitzman, *Qumran*, 37, as part of their demonstration of a comprehensive Qumranic language ideology. Neither of them, however, examined the Hodayot of col. X and XII in any detail.

3 1 Enoch

Let us now return to the basic scene of the divine assembly, encountered in Isaiah 6. In the *Book of Watchers*, Enoch the seer is called into the divine assembly and functions as an intermediary between it and the mundane world. Several statements across the Enochic *corpus* reflect on the phenomenology of these interconnections, with explicit messages about the nature of the language used for that purpose. We consider first 1 En. 91:1:²⁷

And now, my son Methuselah, Call to me all your brothers, and gather to me all the children of your mother. For a voice is calling me, and a spirit is poured out upon me, so that I may show you everything that will happen to you forever.

This verse sounds like the beginning of a testament, echoing the beginning of Jacob's testament in Genesis 49. Rather untypically, Enoch plays here the part of the prophet, and the author takes pains to provide some words about the mode in which prophecy came to him.²⁸ Clear prophetic language is used, as in Joel 3:1 "I shall pour my spirit upon all Flesh", or Isa 61:1 "the Spirit of the Lord is within me", and in a similar way to the echo of these verses in the Book of Acts (2:16–21). Similar phrases appear in 1 En. 83:5 "Speech fell into my mouth", as well as in Dan 4:28 קל מן שמיא נפל "a voice fell from Heaven".²⁹

The statement of 91:1 stands in a pivotal place in 1 Enoch. While the textual evidence for the placement of this section is problematic, it is clear that the section was part of an (editorial?) introduction to the Epistle.³⁰ 91:1 belongs to what Nickelsburg calls "the narrative framework of 1 Enoch", comprising short statements at key points in the various booklets, with the aim of creating a unified plot and a sense of coherence.³¹ The verses discussed below are also part of this framework, which seems to have found particular interest in the phenomenology of communication.

²⁷ Translation follows Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 409.

²⁸ On the prophetic character of the *Epistle of Enoch*, see Stuckenbruck, Epistle, 417.

²⁹ Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 410–411; Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch 91–108, 161; Stuckenbruck, Epistle, 398.

³⁰ See Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch 91–108, 154–155. In Stuckenbruck, Epistle, 400, a strong case is made for the originality of these verses rather than their being a later addition.

³¹ Cf. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 25–26, 411.

In 1 En. 14:2, possibly the Call Narrative of Enoch (14:1–3), the seer reports how he converted his vision to tangible words in human language:³²

In this vision I saw in my dream what I will now speak with a tongue of flesh and with the breath of my mouth, which the Great One has given to the sons of men, to speak with them and to understand with the heart.³³

בחלמא די אנה [חלמת ובחזיתא דא חזית אנה בחלמי די כען אמר בלשן בשרא בנשמת
פומי ד]יה [ב] רבא לבני [אנשא] למללה בהון ולא תבוננה בלבב

These verses introduce the grand scene of revelation in chap. 14–15, in which Enoch enters the heavenly temple and is commissioned by God as a messenger. It is a throne scene, equivalent to the one in Isaiah 6.

Enoch finds it appropriate to explain how it is possible for him to recount in human language the heavenly image which he has seen. His rhetoric underscores the contrast between the heavenly scene and the “tongue of flesh” and “breath of mouth”. This last term, in Hebrew **פה הבל**, carries the negative whiff of a smelly mouth (cf. Job 19:17). In addition, it carries a notion of transience, something which immediately evaporates (Job 35:16). How can this medium be used to convey the words of God? The answer is that language was a gift from God to mankind, in order that they might achieve wisdom. Using this medium, Enoch is even able to reprimand the watchers, despite the fact that they are spiritual beings, more elevated than he is.

Let us now consider 1 En. 84:1:

And I lifted up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Great Holy One, and I spoke with the breath of my mouth and with a tongue of flesh, which God has made for men, the sons of flesh,³⁴ that they might speak with it.³⁵

³² English translation follows Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 251. Aramaic text from 4Q204 1 VI, 10–11 follows DSSEL.

³³ The reconstruction given here follows mostly the Greek of Codex Panoplitanus, taking in account also other witnesses: Aramaic (fragmentary: 4Q204 1 VI, 10–11) and the Geez tradition (itself rather variegated). The shift between vv. 1–2 includes several duplications of vision/dream as well as the phrase “I saw”, which are all dubious (Black, Book, 145; Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 251). The term “breath of my mouth” is reconstructed after the Greek, while several prominent Ethiopic mss read “my spirit/breath”.

³⁴ Literally: “sons of the flesh of man”.

³⁵ Trans. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 345. At the end of the verse several Geez mss add “and he gave them spirit and tongue and mouth to speak with them”, but Nickelsburg (346) deletes these words as a duplication.

Note that the phrases “tongue of flesh” and “breath of mouth” appear in both 14:2 and 84:1. The latter is also placed at a key point, just after the first dream in the *Book of Dreams* and before the large block of the *Animal Apocalypse*.³⁶ This time it refers specifically to a scene of blessing, since in the next verse Enoch starts a long and elaborate prayer, ending with a petition to spare parts of humanity from the destruction of the flood. The author justifies how Enoch was able to address the Lord directly.³⁷ Despite the obvious inadequacies of human language, it remains a legitimate medium for prayer because God endowed the sons of flesh with it as a special grace.

Curiously, 1 Enoch does not specify any further qualities of the particular language required in prayer, but rather only raises the principal considerations for and against this kind of medium. For more specification, one should turn to later sources, which I believe continue the same line of tradition. Some of these sources delineate the *problem* with communication while others supply the *solution* to it.

The early rabbinic prayer “if our mouth” (אֵילוּ פִינוּ) is now embedded into a longer prayer known as נִשְׁמַת כָּל חַי.³⁸ This prayer dwells in elegant verse on the inadequacy of human speech to serve as a medium for uttering God’s prayer:

Though our mouths were full of song as the sea,
 and our tongues of exultation as the multitude of its waves,
 and our lips of praise as the wide-extended firmament;
 though our eyes shone with light like the sun and the moon,
 and our hands were spread forth like the eagles of heaven,
 and our feet were swift as hinds,
 we should still be unable to thank thee and to bless thy name, O Lord our God and God of
 our fathers, for one thousandth or one ten thousandth part of the bounties which thou
 hast bestowed upon our fathers and upon us ...
 Therefore the limbs which thou hast spread forth upon us,

³⁶ Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 24, sees chapters 83–84 as editorial material aimed at framing the *Book of Dreams* in a larger Enochic narrative. In contrast, it has been claimed (Knibb, Book, 1, 10, 193–195; Stuckenbruck, Epistle, 392 n. 10) that the fragments 4Q203 9–10 represent the Aramaic text of 84:2–4. Even if this idea is correct, note that the prologue to the prayer in 84:1 is not represented in the extant fragments, and thus may still be seen as editorial.

³⁷ Note that the blessing is directed towards “the Great Holy One” קְדִישָׁא רַבָּא, emphasizing the scene of the assembly, as in chap. 14, while the narrative simply refers to ʿagziʿabəher, “Lord”. Since blessing God is an essential role of the assembly, it was appropriate to quote an epithet that invokes the assembly.

³⁸ On the history of אֵילוּ פִינוּ and its embeddedness into the constituents of the prayer נִשְׁמַת כָּל חַי, see Kister, Prayers, and earlier bibliography cited there.

and the spirit and breath which thou hast breathed into our nostrils,
 and the tongue which thou hast set in our mouths,
 lo, they shall thank, bless, praise, glorify, extol, reverence, hallow and assign kingship to
 thy name, O Our King. (Prayer Book, trans. S. Singer, 1915)

The prayer brings to mind the Enochic formulation. As much as human beings are anxious to bless the Lord for his past deeds, they are unable to do so due to the inadequacy of their human means of expression. This piece is one of the peaks of rabbinic liturgy, with the effect of repetition squarely emphasizing the point. Despite the inadequacies of speech, the prayer does, nevertheless, eventually end with mankind deciding to praise God. All the limbs – previously deemed ineffective – are now recruited to praise the Lord.

The correspondence between this early Jewish prayer and the Greek prayer preserved in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (7.38.4) has been demonstrated in previous studies:³⁹

... we give thanks to you, who have given us an articulate voice to give thanks to you, and have endowed upon us a harmonious tongue as an instrument, in the manner of a plectrum [, and a useful (sense of) taste, an appropriate touch, vision for seeing, hearing for sounds, smelling for vapours,] hands for working, and feet for traveling.

In this prayer, the audience thanks the Lord for having endowed them with a voice, tongue, taste, touch, sight and other senses, which are all perfectly suitable for prayer. While the details of the various senses in the prayer are probably Hellenistic, the main motif has earlier Jewish roots. Initially attested in 1 Enoch as part of the apocalyptic discourse on the seer's participation in the divine council, the motif developed in later Jewish and Christian liturgy.

4 1QH^a column IX

The earliest trajectory of the language discourse from 1 Enoch appears in the Hodaya of 1QH^a IX. The dependency of this psalm on the above quoted passages from 1 Enoch was already acknowledged by Licht.⁴⁰ While Enoch briefly

³⁹ Translation here follows van der Horst, *Prayers*, 88. The sentences in brackets are, according to van der Horst, less clearly Jewish than the other parts of the prayer. For a discussion of the Jewish character of these prayers see van der Horst, *Prayer*, 88–93; Kister, *Prayers*, 230–238, and bibliography cited there.

⁴⁰ See Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 62; Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 252. For a detailed analysis of this Hodaya, see Newsom, *Self*, 222–229; Arnon, *Creation*, 59–71. Since there is insufficient

legitimizes language by claiming that it was a gift from God to mankind, the argument gains more depth in the Hodayat.

The poetic sequence of the Hodaya begins with a powerful account of various phases of creation: the spirits, the heaven and all that is in them, the earth, and finally human beings. They were all perfectly planned and meticulously carried out, all determined in advance. The divine agency in creation is underscored, as each new phase commences with the anaphoric **אתה**, “you”: “you created every spirit/heaven/earth” (lines 10–22). In contrast, the following stanza (line 23–29) commences with “I” **אני**, amplifying the contrast between God’s creative power and the psalmist’s humility. The same basic contrast, attested in 1 Enoch, is portrayed here in a more dramatic way (lines 25–29). God’s endless wisdom and unfathomable scheme are contrasted with human sinfulness. How then may a human being be expected to praise the Lord? What does he have to say which can please him?

The Hodaya’s answer is rather similar to that of 1 Enoch, since the anaphora “you” is employed again (lines 29–33):⁴¹

You yourself created breath for the tongue (רוח בלשון).
 You know its words
 and You determine the fruit of the lips before they exist.
 You set the words according to a measuring line and the utterance of the breath of the lips
 by measure.
 And You bring forth the lines according to their mysteries, and the utterances of the
 breath according to their calculus
 in order to make known Your glory and to recount Your wonders in all Your faithful deeds
 and Your righteous j[ud]gem[ents]
 and to praise Your name in the mouth of all (people),
 They shall know you according to their insight and shall bless you for etern[ity].

The psalm’s message is twofold. The weaknesses of mankind can be cured only by exclaiming God’s praise, which is really the most meaningful path mankind can follow.⁴² Furthermore, legitimacy for the liturgical act can be secured only if the right kind of language is used for praise. In the same way that God’s creation is well-planned, so too praise should be performed in a well-planned language.

space here for a full analysis of the Hodaya, I shall dwell only on the parts directly relevant to the present discussion.

⁴¹ Translation follows Newsom in Stegeman/Schuller, 1QHodayot^a, 131, except for the last line (1QH^a IX, 33), which follows Qimron’s reading rather than that of Schuller and is translated accordingly.

⁴² Cf. similar ideas in Hekhalot literature: *Lesses, Practices*.

It should be measured and quantified, engineered and carefully designed, just as God did in his creative acts.⁴³

The last line of this stanza indicates not only the language that should be used, but also the identity of those authorized to use it: / וידעוכם לפי שכלם / וברוכה לעולמים “they shall know you according to their insight / and will bless you for eternity”. This is a typical concept of the Yahad: it is only members of the Yahad, in their special prayer services, who can achieve communication with the angels; the latter are capable of an ideal performance of prayer and praise.⁴⁴

The “tongue of flesh” from 1 Enoch now receives “spirit in the tongue”. Despite mankind’s inadequacy, God has provided them with a spirit (רוח) that facilitates the proper use of language (cf. 1QH^a IV, 29; 1QM XIV, 6). The unique contribution of the present Hodaya is in constructing the literary scene of the creation of language. In fact 1QH^a IX, 23–29 is a hymn on the creation of language, a unique specimen of its kind in Jewish literature.⁴⁵ While the kernel of the idea comes from Isa 57:19 “(who) created the fruit of lips”, the Hodaya casts this theme in full poetic form.⁴⁶ The need for a hymn on the creation of language arose specifically in the liturgical-apocalyptic milieu of the Yahad, where reflection on language was particularly vibrant. Language was a vital means to achieve communication with the Divine, via prayer and prophecy, both of them central domains of the Yahad theology.⁴⁷ The pinnacle of this reflection on language comes in the elaborate linguistic artistry of the “Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice”, as analyzed by Noam Mizrahi:⁴⁸

43 Cf. 4Q434 Barekhi Nafshi^a 1 I, 9–10 (Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls* 2, 37). On the matter in general, see Kister, *Measurements*.

44 For the idea that angels possess the ideal ability for praise, see Chazon, *Communion*. Several places in Yahad literature seem to imply that even the angels’ ability to praise is flawed (Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 221: 1QH^a XXII, 5–8 (ed. Qimron), cp. 1QH^a frgs 10, 34, 42 (according to Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls* 1, 105, who connects these fragments with 4QH^a 8 I; in contrast, Stegemann/ Schuller, 1QHodayot^a, 99, connect them with col. VII of 1QH^a). For the basic idea of the angels’ incapacity, see Job 4:18; 15:15; 25:5; Sir 42:17, and 11QPs^a XXVI, 12.

45 This hymn was first noted by Bergmeier/Pabst, *Lied*. These authors, however, did not interpret the hymn in its wider context within column IX, but rather as an independent composition. For creation as a theme in early Jewish hymnody, see Gordley, *Creation*.

46 For the post-biblical use of Isa 57:19, see Naeh, *Fruit*; 195; Kister, *Phrases*, 33–34; Arnon, *Creation*, 71–72.

47 Dimant, *David’s Youth*, has recently investigated further this aspect of Yahad theology, claiming that the so-called Psalm 151 is itself a sectarian composition which reflects on the efficacious power of liturgy, based on the principles of 1QH^a IX.

48 Mizrahi, *Cycle*.

In this respect, the Cycle of Summons takes to the extreme the notion of poetic language, to the point that it becomes a self-reflection on the nature of linguistic usage as opposed to its ontological referents. Admittedly, the poem contemplates on the nature of angelic and divine use of language, and makes no explicit observation on its human counterpart. By necessity, however, a certain understanding of human use of language is implied, and the speaker is well-aware what human language can and cannot do.

5 1 Corinthians 14

A final discussion is still due to yet another source which continues the reflection on language. While this source clearly quotes Isa 28:10–12, it also incorporates the sort of reflection on the intelligibility of language encountered above and thus continues the Jewish apocalyptic discourse.⁴⁹

The last section of Paul's first epistle to the Christian community in Corinth discusses the right ways for divine service. In chap. 14 Paul addresses the tension between various modes of communication with the Divine: while there were those who used prophecy, i.e., they conveyed clear words from God to the public, others were "speaking in tongues", i.e., uttering stretches of unknown words, obtained by means of ecstasy.⁵⁰ Paul opposes the practice of "speaking in tongues" within the community, but his message is not simply put:

² For those who speak in a tongue do not speak to other people but to God; for nobody understands them, since they are speaking mysteries in the Spirit. ³ On the other hand, those who prophesy speak to other people for their building up and encouragement and consolation ...

¹⁸ I thank God that I speak in tongues more than all of you; ¹⁹ nevertheless, in church I would rather speak five words with my mind, in order to instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a tongue. (1 Cor 14; NRSV)

Speaking in tongues is not vain. Those who practise it do indeed experience communication with the Divine, perhaps even more than those who prophesy. Paul himself speaks in tongues. However, the product of this communication is unintelligible to the community and is thus senseless and should not be used in public.

⁴⁹ On the continuity of apocalyptic thought in Paul's writings, see *inter al.* Kuhn, Qumran; Frey, Flesh; Rey, Family.

⁵⁰ Cf. Esler, Glossolalia, who proved that this phenomenon involved unclear utterances rather than speech in unknown languages.

Elsewhere, Paul explains the gaps in human cognition in terms of growth and adolescence (1 Cor 3:1–3⁵¹; cf. 13:11):

And so, brothers, I could not speak to you as spiritual people (ὡς πνευματικοίς), but rather as people of the flesh (ὡς σαρκίνοις), as infants in Christ (ὡς νηπίους ἐν Χριστῷ). I fed you with milk, not solid food, for you were not ready for solid food. Even now you are still not ready, for you are still of the flesh.

The imagery of infants is applied again, this time to the proper kind of prophecy, in 1 Cor 14:20–22. This section quotes Isa 28:9–12, and relies on the mention of infants in 28:9:

²⁰ Brothers, do not be children in your thinking; rather, be infants in evil, but in thinking be adults. ²¹ In the law it is written, “By people of strange tongues and by the lips of foreigners I will speak to this people; yet even then they will not listen to me,” says the Lord. ²² Tongues, then, are a sign not for believers but for unbelievers, while prophecy is not for unbelievers but for believers. (NRSV slightly altered)

V. 20 alludes to Isa 28:9b, mentioning the infants and their relation to prophecy. V. 21 uses a quotation formula to quote Isa 28:11 and the last words of 28:12.⁵² As noted in the commentaries, Paul uses neither the MT nor the LXX version of the verses, nor does his reading correspond to the interpretation of Isa 28 in the Hodayot.⁵³ Not surprisingly, the message of the entire, obscure chap. 28 is transformed in the Pauline quotation, as indeed in other ancient versions which similarly deviate from the original message of Isaiah.

In v. 20, the mention of infants must be understood as relying on Isa 28:9b, mainly because of the immediately following quotation of the next verse from Isaiah. However, it also relies on Paul’s general attitude towards adolescence and language encountered above (cf. also 13:11). Isa 28:9b is read by Paul – or at least he assumes that it is read by his audience – as if it were an imperative to act as infants, possibly in the wake of Matt 18:2–4. Paul specifies the demand, however: do not be children in thinking (ταῖς φρεσίν) but only in evil (τῇ κακίᾳ). Note that the LXX of Isa 28:19 renders the Hebrew word **יָדַעַת** “knowledge” with

⁵¹ The division of humanity into spiritual and physical types is attested, in addition to Paul, also in 4QInstruction (4Q417 1 i, 15–17) and in Philo; see Goff, *Genesis*; Tigchelaar, *People*.

⁵² Other quotation formulas in the NT use the phrase “as is written in the Law (*nomos*)” to refer to texts outside the Pentateuch; e.g. Rom 3:19; John 10:34.

⁵³ Cf. Conzelmann, *Brief*, 294; Betz, *Zungenrede*, 25. Betz overstates the similarity between the Hodayot and 1 Corinthians, as he tries to make the case that Paul relies on a pre-Christian tradition of interpreting the chapter. While such an interpretative tradition may have existed, it is important to note the unique traits of each source alongside the elements of similarity.

the Greek κακά, probably reflecting the reading רעה “evil”, interchanging *dalet* with *reš*. Thus it seems that Paul reflects both variant readings of the Hebrew word – דעה/רעה – in his free paraphrase of the Isaianic verse.⁵⁴

The person of the speaker in the verb ידבר “he will speak” in Isa 28:11 has shifted. While MT uses the third person singular (referring to God or the prophet), and the LXX uses the plural (λαλήσουσιν “they will speak”), Paul uses the first person (λαλήσω “I [God] will speak”). This reading supports Paul’s message in an intricate way. It does not reject the value of speaking in tongues, as one would expect, considering the aim of the discourse, but rather indicates the opposite: God does manifest himself to human beings by means of “blemished speech”. The twist lies in the quotation of Isa 28:12b “they will not listen to me”, quoted here immediately following 28:11 with a conspicuous omission of the words in the middle: although tongues are a reliable medium for revelation, they cannot be understood by the audience and should thus be avoided.

Paul’s epistle may thus be seen as encompassing many of the various aspects of the linguistic discourse presented above. It explicitly quotes Isa 28:9–12, and thus addresses the question of blemished language and of the role of children in prophecy. NT scholars naturally seek the background of Paul’s discourse in Hellenistic-Roman thought, with the enigmatic utterances of the Delphic oracle in mind. However, one should take in account that there is a stable Jewish tradition of dealing with the same problems.⁵⁵

1 Corinthians 14 also addresses – albeit implicitly – the human capacity to communicate with the Divine, and the role of language as a medium for this communication, questions which lie at the centre of the rabbinic statement from Lev. Rabbah quoted above. Thus, when the rabbis declare that the prophets of Israel speak in a clear and lucid language, as opposed to gentile prophets who speak in “half-words”, something like Paul’s speaking in tongues must have been within the scope of their thoughts. They are not only interpreting the biblical verses “from within”, but also addressing contemporary problems regarding the nature of prophecy.

⁵⁴ Another difference in Paul’s reading is that the word ἑτέροι “others” is more prominent in 1 Cor 14:21 than in Isa 28:11 MT and LXX. While these two versions use “others” only as an adjective in the phrase “a different tongue”, Paul uses the same word also in the first component: MT לעני שפה “stammering jargon”; LXX διὰ φαυλισμὸν χειλέων “by contemptible lips”; 1 Cor 14:21 Ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις “in another tongue”.

⁵⁵ Some of this material is discussed by Poirier, Languages, which was, however, not available to me.

6 Conclusion

Is clear speech an advantage or a barrier to communicating with the Divine? While prophets in the Hebrew Bible endorsed an extremely optimistic attitude with regard to the ability of language to represent the Divine, others underscored the power of meaningless utterances and ecstasy as better means for penetrating the divine mystery. In the intellectual milieu of Apocalypticism, this question constituted a central theme of the religious worldview, due to two dominant apocalyptic themes: the function of the seer as a prophet and the function of the human community in liturgy, side-by-side with the divine assembly.

We have surveyed a variety of sources about the phenomenology of communicating with the Divine. The sources show how prophecy and prayer are two sides of the same coin, with the same phraseology and the same problematic operating in both.

The above noted topics began in biblical literature, but were given special attention in the various booklets of 1 Enoch. Several incipits – possibly the narrative framework – of that corpus raise the question of the human capacity to converse with the Divine despite its being a creature of the flesh. The Enochic literature basically adopts typical biblical optimism toward language, without having recourse to other, less direct or mantic techniques of communication. The themes of 1 Enoch gave rise to further discussion of both prophecy and prayer in the literature of the Yahad, primarily in the *Hodayot*. Later Jewish and early Christian texts address the same problems and display a variety of opinions. Much of this vibrant discussion is due to the force of the apocalyptic imagination and its unique contribution to central religious themes, both Jewish and Christian.

Abstract

This is a study of the phenomenology of prayer and prophecy in early Jewish literature. Particular attention is paid to reflections on the role of language as a medium in prophecy and prayer. The sources attest to a steady tradition dealing with these matters, arising from the Hebrew Bible and finding much reinforcement during the Hellenistic period. This tradition was part of the backdrop for Paul's statements about glossolalia in 1 Corinthians 14.

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Moshe Lavee

From Emotions to Legislation: Asenath's Prayer and Rabbinic Literature

1 Introduction

Many papers in this volume focus on identifying specific emotions expressed through prayer in the Second Temple literature. This article takes a slightly different tack by arguing that a prayer itself may be an expression of the inner self, and of one's emotions, especially when compared to institutionalized prayer. I first discuss a form of self-perception expressed in the prayer ascribed to Asenath in the Hellenistic novel *Joseph and Asenath*.¹ In her journey towards God, Asenath declares her detachment from family and property. I show that these declarations are internalizations of a social model corresponding to the renunciation of property and kinship upon conversion² that was frequent in the late Second Temple period, as well as in the narrative materials of early rabbinic literature. I then cite a legal concept that conveys the same model in later rabbinic material and suggest that the individual, personal, emotional and devotional perspective expressed by Asenath was later subject to legalization, and was incorporated into the normative rabbinic system.

¹ The dating of this work has been the topic of recent debate. Kraemer, *Asenath*, 245–274, raised doubts about the affiliation of the author, suggesting that it was not written by a Jew, but rather by a Christian or a god-fearer. Cf. Chesnutt, *Death*, 71–85; Bohak, *Joseph*, 83–94. In this paper, I use Asenath's prayer to exemplify a model of conversion that was present in the rabbis' cultural surroundings. Cf. Chestnutt, *Asenath*, 257–268; Bohak, *Joseph*; as I show, this model is also found in Second Temple texts and in early rabbinic narratives, so even if the work is a product of a later period, it may appropriately portray the processes I describe here.

² I use the term conversion, although the kind of conversion portrayed in the text departs considerably from the one finally consolidated by the rabbis. Chestnutt emphasized that the conversion portrayed in the book differs: "The process of admission seems to have been less rigidly structured and more loosely conceived than many have supposed in their alleged analogies with the ritual formalities of other paradigms of conversion and initiation" (Chestnutt, *Asenath*, 255). See below section 5.

2 Renouncing family and property in Asenath's prayer

In the climax of the Hellenistic novel *Joseph and Asenath* that includes Asenath's conversion narrative, she turns to prayer, stating:

For my father and my mother have renounced me and have said "Aseneth in not our daughter" (Jos. Asen. 12:12).³

Asenath feels ostracized and rejected by her family, which she, for her part, also rejects.⁴ She turns to God, withdrawing not only from family relations but also from her family property:

For behold, all the gifts my father Pentephres gave to me as an inheritance, are temporary and ephemeral, but the gifts of your inheritance, Lord, are imperishable and eternal (Jos. Asen. 12:15).⁵

This passage reflects an emotional and devotional moment in which there is a renunciation of family and property in the form of an individual prayer. Asenath's decision in her prayer does not, however, stand alone and is part of a wider picture portrayed in the story. Earlier in the text, Aseneth is described as throwing her "choice robes and golden girdle [...] the gods of gold and of silver" to the poor.⁶ Finery and the idols are viewed as one and the same, such that the renunciation of property takes on the same religious weight as the rejection of idols.

3 Renouncing family and property in early rabbinic narratives

A few early rabbinic narratives hint at the same model by combining the motifs of the renunciation of property, family ties and idolatry. The first example is the Adiebene royalty. Various traditions describe donations to the Jerusalem Temple

³ Translated by Chesnutt, Death, 115. See also Chesnutt, Prayer.

⁴ See also Chesnutt, Death, 115–118.

⁵ Translation by Chesnutt, Death, 115.

⁶ Jos. Asen. 10, translated by Brooks, Joseph, 36.

made by members of this family.⁷ These donations are not depicted as part of a conversion narrative, but their possible relationship with devotional acts of renunciation emerges when one reads King Monbaz's response to family members who disapproved of his donations to the poor:

My forefathers deposited treasures below, and I deposited treasures above [...]; My Forefathers [deposited treasures] in a place that is under the dominion of the hand [i.e., where they can be lost], and I [deposited treasures in a place] over which the hand has no dominion. (t. Pe'ah 4.18)

This series of statements suggests that the convert perceives himself as someone who has rejected the beliefs of his forefathers to follow a different path.⁸ Asenath's statements have much in common with those attributed in rabbinic literature to Monbaz. Both contain the rejection of family capital, the "treasures below", the father's gifts, and, by contrast, associate eternal fortune, the "treasures above", with the gifts of the Lord.⁹ Rabbinic traditions concerning the circumcision of Monbaz indicate family tensions. According to a midrash, his mother, Queen Helena, justified his circumcision as a medical act, perhaps in an effort to avoid family opposition.¹⁰

One rabbinic conversion narrative that includes the renunciation of property tells the story of a harlot who converted. After making her decision:

She stood and "spent" (בזבזה) all her fortune. She gave one third to the kingdom [probably as bribery], one third to the poor, and one third she took with her, and went to the house of study of Rabbi Ḥiyya. She said to him: Rabbi, convert me. (Sifre Num. 115, ed. Horowitz, 129)¹¹

⁷ Cf. m. Yoma 3.10; t. Yoma 2.3. See also Josephus, *Ant.* 20.2. It is worth mentioning that most rabbinic sources do not refer to him as a convert, including the tradition concerning his circumcision and that of his brother Izates in Gen. Rab. 46.10 (467–468), also known in Josephus, *Ant.* 20:2. Urbach claimed that the origin of the legal concept of *hefker* (abandoned property) is an older concept that referred to voluntary renunciation of property as an act of devotion. Urbach suggested that the concept evolved as a response to the inability to donate property to the Temple. See Urbach, *Hefker*.

⁸ Monbaz is not presented here as a convert, but other rabbinic sources and Josephus consider him as such, and thus I read this incident as a record of a relevant social phenomenon.

⁹ Cf. t. Pe'ah 4.18; y. Pe'ah 1.1 15b; b. B. Bat. 11a. See Urbach, *Treasures*; Gafni, *Conversion*; Kalmin, *Adiabeanian*.

¹⁰ Gen. Rab. 46.10 (467). Note that in Josephus, the mother is against circumcision, although she also adopted some Jewish practices. See *Ant.* 20.2.4 § 38–48.

¹¹ In the parallel in b. Menah. 44a the term בזבזה is replaced by כל נכסיה ("and she dispersed all her properties"). See Cohen, *Beginnings*, 162–164.

The verb “to spend”, **בזבזה**, is the same verb used to describe Monbaz’s deeds. This underscores the affinity between the two narratives and implies that the disappropriation of treasures by Monbaz was related to his growing orientation towards Judaism. In other contexts, the verb refers to exaggerated acts of charity that might lead to a complete loss of property.¹² Another allusion to the renunciation of property in the context of tension between a convert and his family may be found in a legal discussion about the ban on deriving financial benefits from idols. According to the Tosefta, Aquila threw the idols he inherited from his father into the Dead Sea (t. Demai 6.12). Rabbinic sources consider this incident to be a precedent supporting the law that a convert may inherit his father; but at the same time may not derive benefit or profit from an idol that he has inherited it (y. Demai 6.7, 25d; b. ’Abod. Zar. 64a). However, a reading of the narrative itself may go beyond the specific legal meaning attached to it in the rabbinic corpus and may also help identify his relationship with other social factors. Aquila’s gesture may be seen as a dramatization of his rejection of his father, as well as his renunciation of his family property. He rid himself of his family idols in the same way that Asenath abandoned her robes and idols. In the rabbinic legal setting, the reference to inheritance is not an essential part of the story and the circumstances involving the idols are stressed. The context of inheritance may, however, be much more significant.

The stories of the harlot, Asenath, Monbaz and Aquila may all be regarded as part of a nexus of texts that reflect the same perception of conversion, namely, as an act that involves the renunciation of both family and property. Converts renounce their property as an expression of their devotion to their new orientation and their separation from their former affinities. Their property is either donated to a higher cause, or left ownerless.

4 Renouncing family and property in non-rabbinic circles

The fact that Aquila threw the idols into the Dead Sea implies that he derived no value from renouncing them. This is related to the conduct of other groups who lived near the Dead Sea, namely the sects. Thus, a detail in a legal narrative may have implications for the broader social setting. Taking idols to the desert is a

¹² Midr. Tannaim, Deut 15:10. See also the ruling by Usha in y. Pe’ah 1.1 15b and Pesiq. Rabb. 25, 156b compared to b. Ketub. 50a; Exod. Rab. 30.24.

sign of rejecting their relevance to society; it is not only a practical way to avoid using them. It is phenomenologically similar to the retreat of the Qumran sect into the desert.¹³ Elements of renunciation of both family and property were clearly part of the initiation rite of the sect. The social severing of family ties, intermingled with the abandonment of property upon initiation into the group, is described in Philo's presentation of the Therapeutae:

When, therefore, men abandon their property without being influenced by any predominant attraction, they flee without even turning their heads back again, deserting their brethren, their children, their wives, their parents, their numerous families, their affectionate bands of companions, their native lands in which they have been born and brought up, though long familiarity is a most attractive bond, and one very well able to allure any one. (*Contempl.* 18)

Even if Philo portrayed a utopia that may not be a faithful representation of an existing social group, the conceptual model is highly important.¹⁴ It echoes Josephus's account of the Essenes as forming a "brethren", a kind of alternative family:

[T]hose who come to them must let what they have be common to the whole order, insomuch that among them all there is no appearance of poverty, or excess of riches, but everyone's possessions are intermingled with every other's possessions; and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren. (*J.W.* 2.8.3)

Both Philo and Josephus describe the sharing of property among the Essenes,¹⁵ a practice that was also found in the Judean desert sect,¹⁶ and was part of the initiation as described in the scrolls.¹⁷ The commonality of property also has a parallel in terms of the group's self-perception. The newcomer enters a group

13 On the symbolic weight of turning to the desert, see Schwartz, *Studies*, 29–43. On the affinities of conversion and desert motifs in rabbinic literature, see Lavee, *Convert*, 190–192.

14 For a recent assessment of the identity of the Therapeutae, see Taylor/Davies, *Therapeutae*.

15 Cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 2.122; *Ant.* 18.1.5 § 20; Philo, *Hypoth.* 11.1; 11.4.

16 For recent accounts of the question, see Schwartz, *Conversion*, 602, n. 3; 607, n. 37. Betz, *Essenes*; Atkinson, *Josephus*. See also Baumgarten, *Flourishing*, 47. These affinities may be another example of the relationship between procedures and membership rites in the sects and in conversion to Judaism. See Urbach, *Sages*, 584, n. 68, on the affinity of initiation to the sects on the status of *haber*. See also Lieberman, *Discipline*; Cohen, *Beginnings*, 203, n. 4; Lavee, *Noahide*, 103–104. This sectarian practice of renouncing property may be seen as a model for the conversion of non-Jews.

17 1QS 1:11–12 (Charlesworth, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 6–7); 1QS 5:1–2 (Charlesworth, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 18–19); 1QS 6:3 (Charlesworth, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 26–27); 1QS 6:19 (Charlesworth, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 28–29); KhQ2 (ed. Cross/Eshel, *Ostraca*).

that is perceived as an alternative family. This is the mirror image of the renunciation of former family ties¹⁸ since the initiate has left his family and found an alternative family in the sect. This kind of imagery strengthens the likelihood that such behaviour represents a model of intra-Jewish conversion in the late Second Temple period.¹⁹

Needless to say, renunciation of both family and property is clearly found in the early phases of Christianity. Breaking with the family is also found in portrayals of Jesus's relations with his family and in the descriptions of his first followers of the Christian religion.²⁰ The vocabulary of fraternity also implies an alternative family.²¹ Portrayals of John the Baptist, in traditions about Jesus's first disciples,²² as well as in later Christian conversion narratives after Constantine, also suggest the renunciation of property. For example Melania the Younger (c. 342–410) gave her property to the impoverished.²³ It is worth noting that in many other cases, rabbinic sources seem to avoid the social model of the severance of family ties, at times evidently in response to the intensification of this model in Christian traditions.²⁴

If this phenomenon is linked to conversions, both into and within Jewish affiliations, a slightly different perspective than that of Tacitus emerges. He describes

18 See also Betz, *Essenes*, 449.

19 Cf. Kister, *Divorce*, 222, n. 201; Baumgarten, *Flourishing*, 61–62. Arguing against claims that the novel reflects a sectarian initiation rite, Chesnutt pointed out the following differences: neither Joseph nor Asenath reflect anything of the sectarian outlook and monastic way of life represented in the Qumran Scrolls (Chesnutt, *Death*, 189); the dissimilarity between the process described above and the conversion of Asenath ... is so marked as to overshadow the minor similarities which some have noted (Chesnutt, *Death*, 192). The therapeutic ideal of poverty is also unlike what we find in *Jos. Asen.* (Chesnutt, *Death*, 197). I do not refute these differences between the conversion of Asenath and initiation into the sects, but elements of the renouncing of family and property are found in both. For the sake of my argument here, which is to identify a common background for later rabbinic developments, it suffices to point out the existence of similarities.

20 As in Luke 1:21 or Matt 10:37–39. See Theissen, *Followers*, 10–13; Goody, *Development*, 87; Kister, *Dead*; Aus, *Luke*; Stegemann/Stegemann, *Movement*, 197.

21 Cf. Meeks, *Christians*, 86–88; Goody, *Development*, 93; Stegemann/Stegemann, *Movement*, 277–278; Remus, *Persecution*, 439–440.

22 For John the Baptist see Luke 3:11; Schwartz, *Studies*; Taylor, *Immerser*, 21–22. For early followers of Jesus, see Acts 2:44–45; 4:34–5:11. See Theissen, *Followers*, 12–13.

23 Cf. Miles, *Knowing*, 32. See also Goody, *Development*, 98.

24 Note for example the metaphorical interpretations of verses that describe biblical archetypal converts as leaving their family: they do not leave their family, but rather the idol worship of the family, etc. See Tanḥ. *Lekh Lekha* 3 (ed. Buber 3a, 30a); *Ruth Rab.* 2.13 (ed. Lerner 66–68); *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.*, *Naḥamu*, (ed. Mandelbaum 9, 1:263).

those who accept the ways of the Jews as being taught to reject their family: “[T]he earliest lesson they receive is to despise the gods, to disown their country, and to regard their parents, children, and brothers as of little account” (*Hist.* 5.5.2).²⁵ In addition to the rejection of family ties, Tacitus includes their denial of their country of origin. This implies a relationship between emigration and the rejection of the family, a feature that leads back to Philo. He presents converts “who have left their country, and their friends, and their relations for the sake of virtue and holiness” (*Spec.* 1.52); those who came into the group “have forsaken their natural relations by blood” (*Virt.* 102).²⁶ The same imagery is found in Philo’s portrayal of Abraham, in one of the earliest depictions of the Patriarch as an archetypal convert:

Therefore giving no consideration to anything whatever, neither to the men of his tribe, nor to those of his borough, nor to his fellow disciples, nor to his companions, nor those of his blood as sprung from the same father or the same mother. (*Abr.* 67)

5 The rabbinic legal incarnation of renouncing family and property

These sources all suggest that there was a broad social and devotional phenomenon of renouncing property and family ties upon conversion. People performed acts that reflected the rejection of their past and marked their new affiliation with the Jewish group, sub-groups within Judaism, or with groups in their proximal cultural surroundings. They cut off their daily contacts with their families and renounced their family; they gave up their own property or the future inheritance of their family property; they left their property to the poor, donated it to the Temple, their new group, or disowned it and made it *hefker*, ownerless. In some cases the severing of family relations and converts’ abandonment of their property could have been the result of a negative reaction on the part of the convert’s family, or even a practical consequence of the actual severing of family ties caused by the emigration that accompanied conversion. The function of this model both in internal and external conversion (into and within Judaism) is also suggestive of the rejection of family or property by individuals who chose, according to their portrayals in rabbinic narratives, to follow the rabbinic

²⁵ Stern, *Authors*, 2:26.

²⁶ See also Chesnutt, *Death*, 166–168.

model of Torah study, such as Rabbi Eliezer, and Rabbi Akiva and his wife.²⁷ The prayer of Asenath should thus be seen as an internalization of a much wider phenomenon that is typical of the Judaism reflected in non-rabbinic sources as well as being echoed in early rabbinic narratives. In Asenath's prayer, the model of renouncing property and family relations is of a personal nature; it is a reflection and expression of her emotions.

In later rabbinic literature, however, there is an interesting twist. Cohen emphasizes the significant change in the concept of conversion to Judaism in rabbinic literature towards a structured ritual that is statutory in nature. As I show elsewhere, this change took place through a gradual and continuous process that constituted the rabbinization, legislation and institutionalization of the conversion procedure. Nevertheless, the practices of renouncing family and property were not subject to this process and did not become an obligatory component of the rabbinic procedure of conversion.²⁸ Surprisingly, the cultural memory of these practices found its way into rabbinic legal concepts that deal with the status of converts after conversion. I discuss these novel rabbinic concepts in detail elsewhere.²⁹ In brief, the end-product of the process is the relatively formalized and stabilized legal system portrayed in the Babylonian Talmud. The Talmud states that "a convert is like a newborn infant", thus conveying the idea that converts no longer have legal kinship ties with their former relatives. Conversion severs these relations, so that they are no longer subject to any law based on kinship. For instance, a convert may testify in court in a case involving his brother, because his brother is no longer considered his brother; a convert may not bequeath or inherit because his father and sons are not considered his father or sons: he is a different person. To take an extreme example, a convert could in theory even have intimate relations with his mother, but this was in practice prohibited by the rabbis.

This legal system may be seen as the product of the legalization of the devotional model reflected in Asenath's prayer. The early practice of renouncing property and family relations upon conversion has something in common with the Babylonian Talmudic concept of severing family ties upon conversion. Both deal with a certain kind of familial separation upon conversion and define a situation in which the property of converts is removed from the family line of inheritance.

²⁷ See also Aus, Luke; Gen. Rab. 41.1 (397), and parallels; b. Ketub. 62b, and parallels.

²⁸ See Cohen, *Beginnings*; cf. Schwartz, *Conversion*; Lavee, *Tractate*; Lavee, *Boundaries*.

²⁹ See Lavee, *Convert*, chap. 1.

Rabbis were familiar with the model of renouncing one's family and property upon conversion. It points to the reservoir of cultural elements available to the rabbis when they shaped their model of conversion to Judaism. These elements were used for the Babylonian construction of an innovative conceptual framework of conversion so that the idea of severing family ties upon conversion became a crucial feature in the legal definition of converts.

An examination of the gradual evolution of the model within rabbinic literature reveals a significant shift. The earlier layers of rabbinic literature suggest a social setting that was much closer to the one internalized in the prayer of Asenath. In the tannaitic literature of the first centuries, inheritance laws form a substantial part of the rabbinic rulings concerning the kinship of converts. These sources state, for instance, that after the death of a convert, his property is considered ownerless, and may be confiscated by anyone who takes possession of it. Subsequently, the texts refer to converts' property as a symbol of ownerless property.³⁰ One possible explanation for such rabbinic reasoning is that since converts have no valid kin, they cannot make any bequest to their relatives, and thus their property is ownerless. However, these early rabbinic laws may also echo the model found in Asenath's prayer and the other sources surveyed above; namely that converts' property becomes ownerless after their death since they are emotionally, conceptually and perhaps even practically and geographically, separated from their former families. It is not the law that defines their property as ownerless, but rather that the property becomes ownerless because the converts are no longer in an active relationship with their relatives, or even because they intentionally "spent it" (בזבזו), or declared it ownerless.

In fact, only a few rabbinic sources refer explicitly to the status of property after the death of a convert. In most cases, the rabbis simply refer to a convert's property as ownerless. Usually these sources are harmonized with others, and it is assumed that the issue is the status of the property after the death of the convert. However, the rabbinic notion of "converts' property" encapsulates a shift in stance. During the Second Temple and early tannaitic periods, conversion to Judaism and initiation into groups or sects within Judaism involved acts of renouncing property. This practice produced social circumstances in which the convert's property was left ownerless for the reasons we saw above. In the later rabbinic conceptualization, however, converts' property was declared ownerless only when they died, because there were no valid heirs. Thus the concept of converts' property as ownerless could later function as part of the concept of

³⁰ See Lavee, *Convert*, 28–30.

severing the convert's legal ties to his kinsfolk upon conversion, which is the model that prevails in the Babylonian Talmud. Here the term is seen as an integral part of the idea that the convert as a "newborn" is not the same person he used to be, and his former relatives are no longer considered to be his relatives. Since he has no relatives, there are no heirs, and his property is declared ownerless. Hence, the use of the notion of a convert's property as legal shorthand for ownerless property may have its origins in the intentional renunciation of property or the actual loss of contact with former relations. Acts of devotion were transformed and were echoed in a symbol that appears in a new context. Here it serves as part of the legal definition of a lack of kinship.

6 Rabbinic legalization as a social expression of emotions

Equating a convert's possessions with ownerless property is emblematic of the evolution of the rabbinic model of conversion to Judaism. It reflects a legalization of earlier social and religious trends and approaches, and perhaps even of feelings, emotions and sentiments. It may also have relevance to the recent debate on the gradual rabbinization of Jewish culture in Late Antiquity. This is not to say that legalization brought an end to the depth of feelings and emotions on the part of the convert, but rather that it was a process through which these feelings were expressed through legal discourse.

This process has implications for the role of the individual versus that of society. Emotions are no longer expressed by the individual, but are ritualized by society. Whereas, in Asenath's prayer, the renunciation of family and property is a powerful and deliberate act on the part of the individual, and a reflection of her mental state and emotions, in later rabbinic legalizations the relations of the convert to his family and property are dependent on stipulations. In the conversion narratives from the Second Temple and early rabbinic literature, the convert has the power to make an act of personal devotion. He or she decides to abandon family or renounce property. As a devotional act, renouncing property and family relations is part of the sphere of private conversion, a sphere in which the convert has authority over his property, and the power to renounce it. The ownership of property and familial relations are defined by the individual and his/her decision constitutes a voluntary act of religious devotion. By way of contrast, in the later rabbinic model, the status of a convert's family ties and property is subject to legal definition. The group defines the legal status of the convert's family ties and his property after his death. The conversion narratives

present the convert or the initiate as someone who made his choice and decides to leave his family. When the motif of severing family ties reappears as part of the Babylonian talmudic conceptualization and legalization, the laws of the convert's new group define his kinship. The reconceptualization of the renouncement of family and property as part of the later rabbinic and Babylonian legal concepts thus decreases the role of the convert in his conversion.

As I have shown elsewhere, the same is true with regards to the theological question of punishing converts for their former sins. In the model found in earlier rabbinic sources the emphasis is on divine forgiveness of the convert's sin. In one case, rabbinic sources assume a confession on the part of the convert, Rahab,³¹ and her confession brings her forgiveness. However, in the later rabbinic conceptualization, converts are not punishable even in the absence of confession and forgiveness. This stance is emphasized and dominant in the Babylonian Talmud. There, the convert is required to ensure the fulfilment of his procedural conversion. This procedure will make him into a newborn, and thus he will not be punished for the sins of the person who existed prior to the procedure. The legal procedure will make him new, and hence erase his former sins. Again, power is removed from the convert.³²

This goes hand in hand with another development: the rise of the concept – and later on the actual institution – of a rabbinic conversion court, which endowed the sages with authority over the conversion procedure. This is one of the most significant features of the rabbinic institutionalization of conversion. It is no longer in the hands of the individual; he must be accepted by the rabbis in a legally constructed and approved procedure.³³ In sum, Asenath's prayer is typical of both early rabbinic and Second Temple non-rabbinic sources that depict the renunciation of family ties along with family property. These depictions are found in the stories of Aquila, Monbaz, Asenath and in the portrayals of conversion or initiations in Philo, Josephus, Tacitus and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Devotional renouncing of property was an important part of conversion in the rabbinic cultural milieu. In later stages of rabbinic Judaism, however, the emotions of the individual were placed in the public arena and transformed into legal concepts. Hence, power was shifted from the individual to the community and rabbinic legalization transformed the emotions of Asenath into social expression.

³¹ See see Mekhilta de-Rabbi Yishmael, Yitro, 1 (ed. Horowitz, 188–189).

³² See Lavee, *Convert*, chap. 2.

³³ See Lavee, *Tractate*.

Abstract

The article discusses the self-perception of a convert as expressed in the prayer ascribed to Asenath in the Hellenistic novel *Joseph and Asenath*. In her journey towards God, Asenath declares her detachment from family and property. The article demonstrates that these declarations are internalizations of a social model corresponding to the renunciation of property and kinship upon conversion that was common in late Second Temple period literature as well as in narrative materials in early rabbinic literature. This emotional perspective was later subject to rabbinic reconfiguration. The rabbis developed a legal concept that uses the same model. The individual, personal, emotional and devotional perspective expressed by Asenath became a component of the normative, rabbinic system.

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Ursula Schattner-Rieser

Emotions and Expressions of Emotion as a Didactic Guide as to How to Pray: *B^erakhot* in the Aramaic Prayers of Qumran*

1 Introduction

More than 900 Dead Sea scrolls are our richest source of Jewish thought and prayers from the Second Temple period. The latter include numerous blessings, hymns and a collection of liturgies for special occasions, as well as individual prayers. These prayers, or prayer formulations, testify to a well-established liturgical practice that served the Yahad community as a pillar of their non-sacrificial worship. Before the Qumran discoveries, we had few Jewish prayer texts that could be definitively dated in the pre-medieval period.

2 Studies about prayers at Qumran

Now that 300 prayers, hymns and psalms in Hebrew are at our disposal,¹ it is not surprising that numerous studies have been devoted to this genre of literature.² Most of these have focussed on the communal Hebrew prayers and there are far fewer studies dedicated to individual prayers in Hebrew or Aramaic. Although studies have been done on some specific personal prayers in Aramaic, such as the prayers in the book of Tobit, the prayer of Levi in the Aramaic Levi Document and in Nabonidus, I believe that there is no general study about this particular Aramaic corpus in its entirety. Yet these prayers are very interesting in many respects. First, they are, on the whole, testimonies to private, individual expressions of supplications or thanksgiving, and secondly, they confirm the trend towards the standardization of private Aramaic prayers and their

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1 Mostly published in DJD 11 + 19; see further an overview in Schuller, *Prayer* (2000), 29–31.

2 Various comparative analyses of the *Hodayot*, *Berakhot* and *Shirat Ha-Olam* have been done by E.G. Chazon, D.K. Falk, R.Z.D. Arnold, B. Nitzan, E. Schuller, S.C. Reif and others.

formulas. Last, but not least, they are authentic testimonies to the linguistic situation before, around and shortly after Jesus's lifetime.

3 Cult and prayers in the First and Second Temple periods

While in the First Temple period the cult was organized mainly by priests, the destruction of the common cult centre in 586 BCE brought about a reconsideration of the cult during the Second Temple period, focusing more on the responsibility of the individual believer, when communal and individual prayers came to serve the exiled Israelites as a substitute for the Temple sacrifice.

With regard to Jewish traditions and the Temple worship other than sacrifices, it is possible that that hymns and psalms accompanied the cultic ritual from ancient times; communal liturgy certainly brought the religious community to areas around the Temple, but we have no knowledge about how "communal" that liturgy was, and how much the common people were involved in the public ceremonies, and we certainly cannot speak about formally recited prayer in the First Temple period.

The Babylonian Exile and the Second Temple period constitute a watershed for the reorganization and survival of Israelite worship with a shift from regular and institutional Temple worship, to a long time period without a Temple (Hos 3:4), later followed by its replacement with regular prayers – both communal and private – in study centres and prayer-houses.

Deprived of their Temple, the priestly circles enforced the idea that the presence of God, which came to be known as the *Shekhinah*, was not restricted to the cult centre in Jerusalem but that the divine presence emanated from the spiritual temple that was created through the community of faith. Thus, the Babylonian Exile brought about an intellectualization of the cultic ritual whereby liturgy and prayer came to serve as a substitute for bloody Temple sacrifices and, as result, gathered the community around "the sacrifices of the lips" (Hos 14:3).³ Thus, verbal worship fulfilled two roles: first, it made possible a discrete communication with Israel's God YHWH in a polytheist environment and, secondly, it reinforced the social and ideological structure of the exiled Hebrews as

³ The use of prayer as a substitute for sacrifice follows the message of "the offerings of our lips instead of bulls", as stated in Hos 6:6 and confirmed in Hos 3:4; 14:3; Ps 50:5, 14; Prov 21:3; Isa 1:11–13, 17; Jer 7:22; Ps 51:17–19.

a strong and special ethnic group. The prayers were seen as equivalent to the sacrifices and temple offerings, while the community itself, without the Temple, became Temple-like.⁴ Indeed, according to the Talmud, communal prayer served as a substitute for sacrifice from the time of the Babylonian exile (b. Ber. 26a–b).⁵

This equation (temple = community) allowed the Jewish community from that period onwards to survive each challenging situation. The value of prayer is well documented in the writings from Qumran where the Yahad offers: “without the flesh] of burnt offerings and without the fats of sacrifice – the offerings and the free-will offering of the lips in compliance with the decree will be like the pleasant aroma [of justice and the perfection ...]” (4Q258 frag. 2 II, 4–5).⁶ The equation of the Yahad as the “Temple of Men” (*mqdš ʾdm*)⁷ is comparable to Paul’s NT-Temple metaphor (1 Cor 3:16–17) and to sentiments in John (2:19–21)⁸.

4 Individual prayer

Besides communal prayers, private prayers became a substantial constituent of Jewish religious life. As against biblical precedents, individual prayers at Qumran are more common and the blessings and prayers observe a structured pattern. The function of an individual prayer is not primarily to substitute for sacrifice but to allow a direct appeal to God for intercession or mediation.⁹ Through prayer, people enter into communication with God. While communal prayers promote the religious identity of a group, the individual, private prayer serves to satisfy the personal needs of a particular person. Already from pre-exilic times, we are familiar with reports of individual prayers, sometimes with spontaneous outpourings in times of suffering or joy, or with formulations of supplication, praise and thanksgiving. Of course, the characteristics of those prayers are also

4 Cf. Schattner-Rieser, Foundation; for a critical analysis of the spiritual interpretation that the Qumran-Community as a temple consisted of men, see Dimant, 4QFlorilegium, 269–288.

5 Cf. Idelson, Liturgy, XVIII.

6 The translation is drawn from García Martínez/Tigchelaar, Dead Sea Scrolls, 523, for frag. 4Q258 frag. 2 II, 4–5; = 1QS VIII, 24–IX, 10); 1QS IX, 5; X, 6. The passage cited in the Rule of the Community is paralleled elsewhere, as in 4Q256 XVIII; 4Q258 VII, VIII; 4Q259 III, IV; 4Q260 I.

7 For a different interpretation of the idea of the Qumran-Community as a temple consisting of men, see Dimant, 4QFlorilegium, 269–288.

8 Cf. Gärtner, Temple; Hogeterp, Paul; Böttrich, Tempelmetaphorik, 411–425.

9 Cf. Lockyer, Prayers.

known from other ancient cultures and from the epigraphic, pagan sources of the Ancient Near East (especially Mesopotamia and Syria).¹⁰

The example of the daily prayers of Daniel, particularly his prayers in special situations such as when he was condemned to death during the Babylonian Exile, shows the need for a personal, private prayer as a means of communicating with God. The individual prayers from Qumran are embodied in narratives that describe personal experiences in vivid words and images, thus inspiring other individuals in a similar situation, to identify themselves with the whole of that text.¹¹

These pictures summarized in words also serve a pedagogic aim and help the individual who hears or reads those texts to express his own feelings, while teaching him also how to address prayers with the appropriate words, as framed within stereotyped formulas. Here we should emphasize the fact that the Aramaic prayers from Qumran also confirm the valuable and justified use of the Aramaic language as an authorized language of prayer. The individual worshipper not only enters into contact with God, but also enters *into dialogue* with God, who functions as a comprehensive interlocutor.

Praying three times a day “facing Jerusalem” seems to be a well-established feature from Persian times. The mentions in Dan 6:11 and Ps 55:18 of personal prayer three times a day indicate its validity for an individual in a private prayer and not its use as general communal worship. As R. Sarason, in his detailed survey, demonstrates with reference to the Community Rule, “communal prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls serves a cultic function as a substitute for sacrifices (1QS 9:5)”,¹² constituting a communal *Sitz im Leben*, while private prayer is intended to effect a personal conversation with God. In this dialogue with God, one can express the deepest feelings and longings of one’s soul. Indeed, the Talmud defines prayer as the service of the heart (b. Ta’an. 2a). Through history, these longings have taken shape, and have been framed into fixed patterns of blessings (*b^erakhot*), with some of them being practised on nearly all occasions, while other fixed liturgies were used at particularly prescribed times and seasons. But even if spontaneous, and not categorically set out, there is still something of a fixed form in which to frame prayers. It is not appropriate to approach the Almighty like an old friend, saying to him “Hello! I need your help” or “I

¹⁰ Such as the inscription of Zakkur that contains a hymn of thanksgiving for salvation („Danklied“), or the Fekherye Inscription, which contains curse formulas and others.

¹¹ A single glance at these images inspires the emotions that connect us with a person or a past episode [even if the narrative is a fiction] and helps us to express our own feeling in words.

¹² Sarason, *Prayer*, 151–172, esp. 154.

wish to thank you”. There are rules and gestures to observe, in order to address the Almighty in a respectful way, and in this case the Aramaic prayers of Qumran preserve for us some guidelines.

5 About the Aramaic individual prayers at Qumran

Within the 120 Aramaic texts from Qumran there are about fifteen prayers. Mention is made of several other prayers, but the texts have not been preserved.¹³ These texts are without exception the private prayers of individuals and include petitionary, supplicatory, thanksgiving and dedicatory prayers.¹⁴

The prayers do not contain what may be regarded as sectarian elements and we can exclude an Essene origin. There are some dualistic elements in 4QTobit (4Q197–200), 4QTestament of Qahat (4Q542) and 4QVisions of Amram (4Q543–548) that may easily be explained as Persian influence and as common dualistic notions.¹⁵ The language of composition is late but still has classical Imperial Aramaic in it, with orthographic adaptations, characteristic of the Hellenistic period, and is surely pre-Maccabean,¹⁶ with some parts even originating in the Babylonian Exile. The Genesis Apocryphon is written in a later Aramaic dialect, close to the one of Onqelos, but is still a first-century composition and a composite text containing parts of older layers. Be that as it may, the prayers are written in the common language of the Second Temple period: Aramaic.

The Qumran Aramaic prayers are inserted into narrative contexts and embedded in family scenes, describing very personal experiences, and they employ a large gamut of emotions, from sorrow to joy. Weeping is often associated with the prayers and expresses an emotional state of grief and sorrow, but there are cases in which weeping may also be a sign of strong and overwhelming joy: Abram weeps bitterly, tears running down his cheeks, after Sarah is taken away by Pharaoh, while in another text, outside the context of prayer, Abram weeps

¹³ Such as Noah’s thanksgiving in 1QapGen XI, 12–14 and Abram’s exorcism prayer to cure Pharaoh from the evil spirit in col. XI, 28–29.

¹⁴ We would have had even more specimens, if the books of Tobit and Enoch had been entirely preserved. G. Schelbert has noted that there were virtually no Aramaic prayers in the time of Jesus and that he knows only two from Qumran: Abraham’s prayer in the Genesis Apocryphon and the prayer of Levi (see ABBA, 263).

¹⁵ As in the book of Tobit, where the evil spirit Asmodeus is opposed to the good angel Azaria, or the mention of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness (*bny nhwr² wbny ḥšwr²*) in the Visions of Amram (4Q548 frag. 1–2, II, 10–11).

¹⁶ Cf. Schattner-Rieser, Apport, 101–123.

over Lot in 1Q20 22:5. In the book of Tobit tears flow in many instances: in Tob 7:6–7, Raguel is tearful when he weeps and blesses his nephew Tobiah; Raguel's wife Edna and Sarah weep when they hear that Tobit has gone blind. In Tob 7:16, Sarah weeps before her seventh marriage-ceremony with Tobias, and, in Tob 11:9, Hannah weeps when her son comes back. Again, in Tob 11:13, Tobit weeps tears of joy when pronouncing a blessing over his returned son. Weeping is part of the ritual, because when YHWH hears a person's weeping, he will accept their prayer, as expressed in Ps 6:9–10.

Prayers that are presented as the spontaneous outpourings of individuals intent on opening a dialogue with God¹⁷ offer help with the management of situations and emotions such as sadness, illness, injustice, trauma, anger, and with the exteriorization of positive emotions. Therefore, the prayers are often linked with the emotional reactions of weeping and crying.¹⁸

Although the Qumran prayers and benedictions are presented as spontaneous expressions, there is evidence that they follow a didactic aim, so that it becomes clear that the similarity of various formulas indicates a tendency towards standardization and uniformity through the fixing of prayer patterns.

The majority of the prayers are found in the book of Tobit and the Genesis Apocryphon which are among the longest Aramaic texts. We count nineteen prayers, including benedictions that mention some prayers:

1. 1QapGen [1Q20] VII, 20: Noah's blessing¹⁹
2. 1QapGen [1Q20] X, 1–8, 17: Noah's praise and blessing
3. 1QapGen [1Q20] XI, 12–13: Noah's praise and thanksgiving
4. 1QapGen [1Q20] XII, 17–19: Noah's blessing
5. 1QapGen [1Q20] XX, 11–16 Abram's complaint and prayer for mercy on behalf of Sarah
6. 1QapGen [1Q20] XX, 28–29: Abram's prayer for the healing of Pharaoh from affliction and illness
7. 1QapGen [1Q20] XXI, 2–4: Thanksgiving for all that God has offered to Abram
8. 1QapGen [1Q20] XXII, 16–17: Melkizedeq's blessing of Abra(ha)m
9. 1QapGen [1Q20] XXII, 32–34 Abram's complaint that he has no heirs
10. 4QpapTob^a ar [4Q196] frag. 6, 6–6, 13: Sarah's prayer for death (= Tob 3:10–15)
11. 4QpapTob^a ar [4Q196] frag. 17 II, 2–10 (= Tob 12:6–22): An instruction for a prayer of praise and thanksgiving
12. 4QpapTob^a ar [4Q196] frag. 18, 1–15: Tobit's thanksgiving (= Tob 13:1–18)

¹⁷ These prayers are similar to the Mesopotamian *shu-ila* prayers; see Zgoll, Mensch, 121–140.

¹⁸ So also in the biblical prayers of Ezra 10:1; 1 Sam 2:10 (Hannah); Ps 126:1 and 2x in Jeremiah, Neh 1:4 (weeping, fasting, praying); Ps 69:11–14.

¹⁹ The blessing is introduced by the words "So I blessed the great Holy One ..." but the blessing itself is not preserved; similarly in the fragmentary col. 5, 23 and col. 7, 7, see Machiela, Dead Sea, 42 and 48.

13. 4QpapTob^a ar [4Q196] frag 43, 1: Tobit's praise and final blessing (= Tob 14:8)
14. 4QEn^c ar [4Q204] frag. 1 11, 2: Henoch's praise and thanksgiving (= 1 En. 22:14)
15. 4QT. Levi^b ar [4Q213a] frag. 1, 1–18 + 4Q213a frag. 2, 1–10: Prayer of Levi (restored on the basis of a single Greek text from Mount Athos and not included in the TXII)
16. 4QPrNab ar [4Q242] frag. 1–3, 1: Prayer of Nabonidus for his healing
17. 4QTQahat ar [4Q542] frag. 1 I, 1–3: Hymn of praise
18. 4QPrEsther^d ar = 4Q Legends of the Persian Court [4Q550c] frag. 1 I, 1–5: Prayer for the forgiveness of sins
19. 4QExorcism ar [4Q560] magic text or incantation text for exorcising evil and disease

I would now like to present a selection of prayers and benedictions that are representative of emotional states, and that share some common features. Let us first look at the emotional prayers in the Genesis Apocryphon and the book of Tobit,²⁰ which are the longest Aramaic texts preserved in Qumran.

The Genesis Apocryphon consists of two different parts, a Noah-cycle and an Abra(ha)m-cycle, both of which contain a large gamut of prayers and benedictions describing emotional scenes in situations of sadness and lament, as well as of joy and thanksgiving. For some prayers and benedictions we have the texts themselves, while others are only mentioned. The prayer presented here has no counterpart in the Bible but is representative of prayers in the intertestamental literature and paralleled by other texts from Qumran in form and structure; they follow a common “model” and may be defined as didactic religious texts. The Deuterocanonical or Apocryphal book of Tobit is a religious novel of instruction and edification that offers manifold insights into Jewish faith and piety, combining prayers, psalms, and words of wisdom. Among these instructions are guidelines for the matrimonial model, as well as exemplars for prayers and benediction formulas.²¹ The book contains no less than six prayers, covering a wide gamut of emotional prayers from deepest sorrow, depression, and a longing for death, to great joy and praise.²²

About 40 % of the Aramaic text from Qumran is preserved, and the text corresponds to the long version in Codex Sinaiticus.²³ Three of the prayers are pre-

20 4Q196 (3:5, 9–15, 17); 4Q197 (3:6–8); 4Q200 (3:3–4, 6, 10–11).

21 In Tob 6:17 and 12:6–10, the angel Raphael offers instruction about how to practise prayer.

22 Cf. Di Lella, Prayers, 95–115, esp. 95.

23 The Sinaiticus version is also known as Gr. II which is 1700 words longer than the shorter Gr. I. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, five manuscripts have been discovered, four in Aramaic (4Q196–4Q199) and one in Hebrew (4Q200); for the existing versions of the book of Tobit in Greek see Di Lella, Prayers, 96.

served among the Qumran fragments²⁴ and they clearly correspond to the longer version known from Sinaiticus. The Aramaic is classical Imperial Aramaic with many Persian loan-words and archaisms of Imperial Aramaic. Even if the transcriptions are actually later, there is no doubt that the composition originates from the Persian period.²⁵

In our second stage, let us take a look at the benediction formulas in the Genesis Apocryphon, the book of Tobit, Enoch and Qahat.

5.1 Emotional prayers involving weeping in grief or joy

5.1.1 Abram's prayer on behalf of Sarai from 1 Q20 (1QapGen)

After Pharaoh of Tanis learned about the beauty, he took her away to become his wife (1Q20 XX, 12–16). After this, Abram told the Egyptians that she was “only” his sister (and not that she was his wife) in order to save his own life. Therefore, Abram is in distress and prays for his wife's purity, for her not to be defiled.

1Q20 XX, 10–16	Abram's grief and prayer for the life of Sarai
10 ... ושביקת אנה אברם בדילהא ולא קטילת ובכית אנה	10 ... And I, Abram, was spared <i>because of her</i> . I was not killed, and I <u>wept</u>
11 אברם בכי תקיף אנה ולוט בר אחי עמי בליליא כדי דבירת מני שרי באונס []	11 bitterly - I, Abram, and Lot, my nephew, along with me on the night when Sarai was taken from me by force. <i>Vacat</i>
12 בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננת ואמרת באתעצבא ודמעני נחתן בריך אנתה אל עליון מרי לכול	12 That night I <u>prayed</u> , I <u>entreated</u> , and I <u>asked</u> <u>for mercy</u> . Through sorrow and streaming <u>tears I said</u> : “ <i>Blessed (are) you, O God Most</i> <i>High, my Lord, for all</i>
13 עלמים די אנתה מרה ושליט על כולא ובכול מלכי ארעא אנתה שליט למעבד בכולהון דין וכען	13 <i>ages! For you are Lord and Sovereign/Ruler</i> <i>over all the kings of the earth, having power</i> <i>to enact judgement on all of them</i> . So now
14 קבלתך מרי על פרעו צען מלך מצרץ די דברת אנתתי מני בתוקף עבד לי דין מנה ואחזי ידך רבתי	14 I lodge my <u>complaint</u> with you, my Lord, against Pharaoh Zoan, the king of Egypt, because my wife has been taken away from me by force. Do justice to her for me, and show forth your great hand

²⁴ With regard to Tob 6:8–18, the exorcism ritual for removing the evil spirit Asmodaeus who afflicted Sarah is described in 4Q196–4Q197; unfortunately the praise in 8:4–8 is not preserved among the Qumran manuscripts. For further reading, see Stuckenbruck, Book, 258–269.

²⁵ Schattner-Rieser, Apport, 101–123, esp. 116–118.

15 בה ובכול ביתה ואל ישלט בליליא דן לטמיא
אנתתי מני וינדעוד מרי די אנתה מרה לכול מלכי

16 ארעא ובכית וחשית

בליליא דן שלח לה אל עליין רוח מכדש למכתשה
ולכול אנש ביתה רוח

17 באישא והואת כתשא לה ולכול אנש ביתה ולא
יכל למקרב בהא ואף לא ידעהא והוא עמה

15 against him and against his entire house-
hold. May he not be able to defile my wife
tonight – that it may be known about you, my
Lord, that you are Lord of all the kings of
16 the earth.” I wept and became silent.

That night God Most High sent him a pestilential spirit to afflict him and all the men of his house, a spirit

17 of evil which kept afflicting him and all the men of his household, so that he was not able to approach her; nor did he have intercourse with her, though she was with him.²⁶

5.1.2 Sarah's prayer for death²⁷

The prayer of Sarah for death follows Tobit's prayer for death, which we present further only in a translated version, because we lack the Aramaic original in its entirety. Tobit, a pious Israelite deported to Nineveh in 721 BCE after the fall of the Northern kingdom of Israel, suffers severe reverses and becomes blind. Because of his misfortunes he begs the Lord to let him die. In Media, at this same time, a young woman, Sarah, also prays to die, because she has lost seven husbands, each killed in turn during the wedding night by the demon Asmodeus. God hears the prayers of Tobit and Sarah and rescues both of them from their distress.

4Q196 Tob^a ar frag. 6, 2–13
(= Tob 3:9–15; and 4Q200 1 II)

Sarah's grief and prayer for death:
Tob 3:10–15

2 [..] וּבְכַת וְסִלְקַתְתְּ לְעֵלִית בֵּיתָ [אָבוּהָ וּצְבַת לְמַצְלַב
גְּרַמָּה 3-4] [..] לִי לְצִלָּאָה קִדְם אֱלֹהָא²⁸
5 [..] וְלֹא אֲשַׁמַּע חֲסֵד עוֹד בַּחַיִּי וְ [..]
6 [..] לְקַ [ב] ל [..] בְּרִידָ אַנְתָּה אֱלֹהָא דִּי
רַחֲמוּתָא
7 [וּבְרִידָ] [שְׁמִדָ קִדְיִשָּׁא] [וְ] קִוְרָא לְכָל עָ [לְמִין
וְ] יִבְרַכְ [וּנְדָ כָל עוֹבְדִידָ]

²⁶ Fitzmyer, Genesis Apocryphon, 101.

²⁷ Sarah's prayer has corresponding parts among the Hebrew fragments of Tobit from Qumran (4Q200) and is restored on the basis of the Greek text and the medieval Aramaic version.

²⁸ Reconstructed with the medieval Aramaic medieval text in Gaster, Versions; and Weeks/Gathercole/Stuckenbruck, Book, 123.

8 [לְעַלְמֵי עֲלַמְיָא וְכַעַן פְּנִית עַ] לִיד אֲנִפִי וְעִינֵי י
 ג[טִּלְת וְאַמֵּר לְאַפְטְרוֹתַי מִן עַ] ל אֲרַעָא
 9 [וְלֹא אֲשַׁמַּע עוֹד חֲסוּדֵיךָ אֲנִתָּה יִי יִי יִי דַע דַּ] י
 דְּכִיָּה אֲנָה בְּגַרְמֵי מִן כַּ] ל טַמְאַת [גְּבַר]
 10 [וְלֹא גַ] עֲלֵת שְׁמֵי וְשֵׁם אָבִי בְּכָל אֲרַעַת
 שְׁבִינָא [בְּרַה יְחִי דָא אֲנָה] לְאֲבִי

11 [וְלֹא אִיתִי] בְּרַה לְהַ אֲחֵרוֹן דִּי יִרְתֵּנִי [הַ] וְאַחַח לְהַ
 וְקָרִיב לְ [אִיתִי] לְ [הַ] דִּי יִשְׁאַר לְ [הַ]

12 [דִּי אֲנָה מְנַטְרָה נַ] פְּשֵׁי לְבַר דִּי אֲהֵוֹה לְהַ
 אֲנִתָּה כְּבַר אָבִי דִּי [מְנֵי שְׁבַעַת גְּבַרִין]

10 [... and she wept and went up] to the upstairs room of [her father's] house [... and desired to hang herself; ... It is better for me pray before the Lord ... [... and may I not hear a re]proach again in my life-time.

11 [And then she spread her hands] tow[ar]ds [the window and prayed: "Blessed are you, merciful God] and blessed are you and blessed] is your holy [and gl]orious name for e[ver, and] may [all your works (or: creations) bless [you.]

12 [And now, t]o you [I have turned] my face towards you and I have [li]fted [my] eyes: and may you ordain that I may be freed from [the earth]

9 [and not return to hear reproaches. You, ****, kn]ow th[at] I am personally clean fr[om every impurity of a male,] 10 [and that] I [have not def]iled [my] na[me or] my [father's name] in all the land of our deportation; I am [my father's only daugh]ter,

11 he has [no] other son to be [his] heir, nor has he a brother [or a] re[lative for whom]

12 [I should keep] my [so]ul, a son, for who[m] I shall b[e] a wife. Already seven [husbands] have peri[shed] on me²⁹ ... LXX Tob 3:15–16 but if it please not thee that I should die, command some regard to be had of me, and pity taken of me, that I hear no more reproach. So the prayers of them both were heard before the majesty of God.

5.1.3 Tobit's prayer for death (Tob 3:1–6)

This prayer has been not preserved among the Qumran Aramaic fragments and we can therefore present a translation based only on the Greek text. That it existed in Aramaic is certain, because we have fragments that precede Sarah's prayer for death, and are identical to Tobit's prayer.

¹ And I was much grieved in my soul and groaned and wept. ² And I began to pray with groanings: O Lord, you are righteous, and all your works are righteous, and all your ways are mercy and truth: you judge the world. ³ And now, O Lord, remember me, and look upon me; and take not vengeance on me for my sins, both for mine ignorance and my father's. ⁴ They sinned against you and disobeyed your commandments, and you gave us for spoil and captivity, and death, and for a proverb and a by-word and a reproach among all the nations among whom you had dispersed us. ⁵ And now your many judgements are true in exacting from me the penalty of my sins, because we did not keep your commandments and walked not truly before you. ⁶ And now deal with me according to your will, and command my spirit to be taken from me, that I may be released from off the earth and become earth: for it is more profitable for me to die than to live, because I have heard false reproaches, and there is much sorrow in me. Lord, command that I be released from this distress, let me go to the everlasting place, and turn not your face, O Lord, away from me. For it is more profitable for me to die, than to see much distress in my life, and not to hear reproaches.³⁰

5.1.4 Tobit's prayer in joy

Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic medieval fragments	Tobit's praise for having been healed Tob 11:14–18
<p>¹⁴ καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔκλαυσεν καὶ εἶπεν ¹⁴ εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὁ θεὸς καὶ εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας καὶ εὐλογημένοι πάντες οἱ ἅγιοί σου ἄγγελοι ¹⁵ ὅτι ἐμαστίγωσας καὶ ἠλέησάς με ἰδοὺ βλέπω Τωβιαν τὸν υἱὸν μου...</p>	<p>¹⁴ Then he saw his son and put <u>his arms</u> around his neck, and he wept and said to him, "I see you,] my son, [the light of my eyes!" Then he said, "<i>Blessed (are you) O God, and blessed be your name for ever, and blessed be all his holy angels.</i>" ¹⁵ For you afflicted me, but you had mercy upon me; here I see my son Tobias!" ...</p>
<p>¹⁶ καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Τωβιτ εἰς συνάντησιν τῆ νύμφῃ αὐτοῦ χαίρων καὶ εὐλογῶν τὸν θεὸν πρὸς τῆ πόλιν Νινευη</p>	<p>¹⁶ And Tobit went out to the gate of Nineveh to meet his daughter-in-law, <u>rejoicing and blessing God</u> ...</p>

³⁰ Charles, Apocrypha (Tob 3:1–6).

6 Summarized features

The above-mentioned prayers are all emotional prayers and are similar in structure and vocabulary. The first three are petitionary prayers and laments. The fourth is a praise. The proportion is significant. There are far more petitionary prayers than thanksgiving prayers or praises. They start with a description of the deep distress of a suffering individual who weeps and is depressed. The prayers open with blessings and praise of God, then move on to complaint, and end with a request addressed to God in a humble manner, “if it pleases God”. The Lord’s Prayer uttered by Jesus in Aramaic has exactly the same shape: introductory blessing, praise of God (and his great name), and the request (give us bread, forgive our sins). As with Tobit’s prayer for death, the Lord’s Prayer does not begin with a *Berikh*-formula, but starts with a praise of God’s majesty and, as in the prayers of Tobit and Sarah, a request is moderated by a reformulation in which God is asked to act according to his will.

In the final part, the petitionary prayer awaits God’s intercession: Tobit ends his prayer by telling God that he should be dealt with according to God’s will but it would better for him to let him die; Sarah ends her prayer by asking God to hear her distress, if that is God’s will. Abram’s intercessory prayer ends with a request for God’s justice.

The “solution”, or God’s answer to the request, is also similar here: God hears Abram’s prayer, then afflicts the Egyptian court and strikes them with a fearful disease. As for Tobit’s and Sarah’s prayers for death, the biblical text itself states that: “At the self-same time the prayer of both was heard before the glory of God. And Raphael was sent to heal them both: *in the case of* Tobit to remove the blindness from his eyes, that he might see again the light of God with his eyes; and *in the case of* Sarah the daughter of Raguel, to give her for a wife to Tobias the son of Tobit, and to unbind Asmodaeus the evil demon from her ...” (Tob 3:16–17).³¹

The fourth example of Tobit’s praise follows the same structure: blessing, praise, evocation of the reasons for the earlier lament, and a concluding thanksgiving and renewed blessing.

All these prayers are short and structured, following a common pattern in form and language. Judith Newman’s general statement on Jewish prayers is also valid for these Qumran Aramaic texts: “There seems to be an increased

³¹ Charles, *Apocrypha* (Tob 3:15–17).

occurrence of short blessings in the late literature which are uttered ‘spontaneously’ according to the narratives.”³²

The praying person speaks in the first person (“I bless”, “I pray”, “I ask”, “I entreat”) and addresses himself to God in the second person (“Blessed are you”; “according to your will”). Women and men pray the same way and wait to be heard and rescued by God.

Prayers are ways of offloading one’s mental ballast. For a time, the suffering person is delivered from his pain, as in the prayer of Abram about Lot and Sarah: it starts with bitter weeping, and ends with weeping followed by a deep silence. The prayers are emotional prayers and the emotion is an embodied feeling and thought that is expressed through physical postures and gestures, involving eyes, hands, lips, and sometimes even the whole body. In the Aramaic Qumran prayers, the preferred gesture is standing with outstretched hands and with eyes and face lifted towards God. Inside a house, the petitioner approaches the window before addressing his prayer to God (Tob 3:11). By raising the hands, the person who prays opens his heart to God who is in heaven, as is clearly expressed in Lam 3:41 (also Job 11:13; 2 Macc 3:20; 15:12, 21).³³

6.1 *B^erikh*-blessings in the Aramaic texts from Qumran

As Esther Chazon has indicated,³⁴ the Hebrew non-biblical scrolls from Qumran hardly attest to opening blessings with spontaneous personal expressions of supplication and petitional prayers. Also, there are few petitionary prayers among the Hebrew texts that are considered non-sectarian.³⁵ In contrast, the Aramaic scrolls, which are essentially narrative texts and without doubt non-sectarian, offer an important proportion of opening blessings, but do not attest to any final ones in Qumran Aramaic.

Among the Aramaic Qumran texts, we have at least six prayers starting with an opening *b^erakha*, which occurs in Aramaic with the passive *b^erikh*-formula “blessed” (hebr. *barukh*, gr. εὐλογητός) and once with the *pael* participle *mbrk*

³² Newman, Book, 27.

³³ But even when the Israelites pray to God, as required, with stretched hands, God hears them only if they are free from sin, as is evident from Isa 1:15: “When you spread out your hands, I will turn my eyes away from you. Even multiply prayers, I will not listen. Your hands are filled with blood, your fingers with iniquity.”

³⁴ Chazon, Dead Sea Scrolls, 158.

³⁵ Cf. Schuller, Prayer (2000), 29–45, esp. 44.

followed by the pronoun “you” in 1Q20 XX, 12. They all continue with a direct address to God “Blessed are you, o Lord/God of heaven and sky etc”.

Whereas “the classic Hebrew formula *brwk YHWH* is completed by a relative clause “Blessed is/be the Lord, who ...” that details the particular divine action that gave rise to the speaker’s gratitude”,³⁶ the Aramaic blessings from Qumran are not expanded by verbal relative clauses. The reason is that the petitionary prayers are not praising God for what has just happened, or what he has done for them, but expressing the wish and hope to be heard and helped after their statement of prayer and petition. Thus, the blessing is only a praise of God’s majesty from whom the petitioner hopes to receive help. The blessing in the QA-prayers has no verb and is a simple nominative phrase, with no relative clause praising God’s exaltedness as in the biblical and Hebrew liturgical blessings from Qumran.³⁷

The *b^erīkh*-formulas in the Aramaic prayers from Qumran are in general connected with weeping and rejoicing. For the Aramaic texts, see the prayers transcribed below, with the blessings in cursive script.

a. In pain in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20 XX, 12–14):

Abram wept bitterly¹² That night I prayed, entreating and seeking mercy. And I said through sorrow and streaming tears. “*Blessed are You, O God Most High, Eternal Lord, for You are Lord and Ruler over everything. You are Sovereign over all the kings of the earth having power to enact judgement on all of them*”. So now I lodge my complaint ...

b. In Sarah’s prayer for death:

Tob 3:12–13 (4Q196 frag. 6, 10–11): “and she wept ... and prayed: *Blessed are you, O merciful God, and blessed is your name for ever: and let all thy works bless you forever*”.

c. In Tobiah’s joyful praise in Tob 8:15–17:

¹⁵And he blessed the God of heaven and said: ¹⁶“*Blessed are you, O God, with all pure blessing; let them bless you forever. And blessed are you, because you made me glad: and it had not befallen as I supposed, but you dealt with us according to thy great mercy.* ¹⁷*And blessed are you, because you had mercy on two that are the only begotten children of their parents: showing them mercy and deliverance, O Lord; and you fulfilled their life with gladness and mercy.*”

³⁶ Chazon, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 155.

³⁷ Cf. Chazon, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 159–160.

d. In Tobit's prayer of praise and joy in Tob 11:14–15:

"Blessed is God, and blessed is his great name, and blessed are all his holy angels. ¹⁵ May his great name [] be blessed [] for all ages." And Tobias went in rejoicing and blessing God in his whole body.

Other blessings that stand outside a prayer context are to be found in the book of Enoch:

e. Enoch's blessing (4Q205 [En^d ar] frag. 1 XI, 2–3 = 1 En. 22:14):

להוה בריך דין ק[ושטא ולהוה בריך מרא/שליט] רבותא וקושטא דמריא לעלמא	Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: "Blessed be the Judge of righteousness ³⁸ , And blessed be the great Ruler. And the truth of the Lord forever."
להוה בריך דין קושטא ולהוה בריך שליט רבותא וקושטא דמריא לעלמא	<i>lehewē ḥarīk dayyān quštā</i> <i>Wālehewē ḥarīk šallīt rəbutā</i> <i>Wəquštā dāmāryā ləʿālmā</i>

In the transliterated and vocalized Hebrew text we wish to demonstrate the stylistic features that characterize the blessing, that is, the syntagmatic repetition, synonymous parallelism, and final rhyme *-ā*.³⁹

f. Qahat's testamentary instruction to his sons contains a hymnic praise that possibly opened with a *b^rīkh*-blessing as in other testamentary texts. It contains all that one needs for a liturgical *b^erakha* – and, interestingly, it is couched in Aramaic.

4Q542 I, 1	I, 2
<p>וּיְוֹדְעוּנְכוֹן שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא וְיִגְדְּלוּנְכוֹן לְכוֹל עַלְמִין וְיִגְדְּלוּנְכוֹן עַלְיָוֹן וְיִגְדְּלוּנְכוֹן עַלְיָוֹן וְיִגְדְּלוּנְכוֹן עַלְיָוֹן</p>	<p>o [Blessed is the great God] 1 and God of gods for all the centuries. And he will make his light shine upon you and make you know his great name</p>

³⁸ Or: "Blessed be the righteous judge, blessed be the great ruler and the righteousness of the Lord forever."

³⁹ A poetic structure with rhyme and rhythm is also evident in the Genesis Apocryphon in the blessings of Abram and Melkizedek's blessing of Abram (1Q20 XXII, 16–17, see Gen 14:19–20): *brīk ʿAbrām ləʿel ʿelyōn/ māre šamayā wəʿarʿā/ ūbrīk ʿel ʿelyōn/ disgar šānāk bidāk*. The alliteration of /k/ and final /a/ helps to memorize such blessings more easily. In contrast, the Hebrew blessing paralleled by Gen 14:19–20 does not contain these features and is therefore not well designed for learning by heart.

<p>וְתִנְדְּעוּנָהּ (וְתִנְדְּעוּנָהּ) דִּי הוּא אֱלֹהַ עֲלָמֵיהּ וּמְרָא כּוֹל סְעֻבְדֵּי אִישְׁלֵיט</p> <p>בְּכוּלָּא לְמַעְבֵּד בְּהוּן כְּרַעוּתָהּ וְיַעְבֵּד לְכוּן חֲדָא וְשִׁמְחָא לְבְנֵיכוּן בְּדַרְי</p> <p>קוּשׁ {ו} טָא לְעֵלְמִין</p>	<p>² and you will know him, {and you will know him} because he is the God of the centuries, and the Lord of all works (or: creations), and the ruler</p> <p>³ of all, to deal with them according to his will. And he will make for you joy and gladness to your sons in the generations of</p> <p>⁴ truth forever.</p>
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We observe in the Aramaic texts, more than in the Hebrew texts from Qumran,⁴⁰ that the holy name of God is avoided and replaced. We never find the *tetragrammaton*, nor the title “God of Israel”, but find instead many substitutions.⁴¹ God is called by epithets as, for instance: in the Tobit manuscripts the *tetragrammaton* is rendered by 4 dots and in the Daniel manuscripts we find the word ²*elāhāk* “your God”, written in ancient Hebrew letters, due to the great respect being accorded to the title. Although ²*elāhā* is well attested (39x, in biblical Aramaic texts of Qumran),⁴² even this title of God is avoided and divine titles and epithets are generally preferred instead, like: Great Name (*šēm rabbā*), Almighty God (²*El Elyon*), Lord of Heaven (*mārē² š^cmayya*), Lord of Heaven and Earth; Lord of Eternity (*mārē² ālmā* and *mare ālmayyā*), Eternal King (*melek š^cmayyā*), the Great Holy One (*qaddīša rabbā*), our Great Lord (*māra²na rabba*) and Lord of Eternity (*mārē² alma*) in 4Q202En^b ar 71, 14, and God is called “truth” or “justice” (*qudšā*); see 1Q20 (1QapGen)⁴³ and 4QQahat 1 I, 1–2. One of God’s substitutions is found in compositions with the simple noun “name”, a common substitute for the *tetragrammaton* in the rabbinic and Samaritan literature:⁴⁴ *b^cšēm mārē² ālmayyā* “in the Name of the Eternal Lord”, *l^cšēm² elāhā* “in the Name of God”⁴⁵; and this divine “name” is sanctified in Tobit (4Q196 frag. 6, 7; frag. 18, 11), Enoch (reconstructed after the Greek, 4Q202 [En^b ar] frag. 1, 15) and in the Lord’s Prayer.

⁴⁰ The *tetragrammaton* YHWH and the divine name EL are generally written in palaeo-Hebrew and so also in the LXX scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (although the scroll is otherwise written in Greek, a feature which is still observed in Greek Bible manuscripts centuries later – even if penned by Christians. See more in De Troyer, Names (2006), 55–66; Williams, Interpretation, 66–68; Skehan, Name, 16–18; Parry, Notes; Stegemann, Erwägungen, 200–202.

⁴¹ See the detailed study of Bernstein, Titles, 291–310, esp. 295.

⁴² Only once attested in 1QapGen.

⁴³ Cf. Greenfield, Contribution, 94 [488].

⁴⁴ Cf. De Troyer, Names (2005).

⁴⁵ Greenfield/Sokoloff, Qumran Aramaic, 92–94.

7 Summarized common features

At the end of this presentation of selected Aramaic prayers from Qumran, we now wish to summarize similarities and common features starting with the prayer situation, the emotional state, the formal character of these prayers, and the significance of these similarities.

In the Aramaic Qumran prayers and *berîkh* formulas we find substitutes for God's name as a sovereign of the world, as ruler (*šallîṭ*), and sometimes as a king, which is the standard form that the rabbis required for a liturgical *b^erakha* and statutory private prayer (b. Ber. 40b).⁴⁶

According to the rabbinical *halakha*, a *b^erakha* that does not contain God's name, or mention his kingship as a ruler of the universe, is not a valid one (b. Ber. 12a; 49a).⁴⁷ Interestingly in this regard, the first part of the Lord's Prayer also has all the elements that a full *b^erakha* must contain.⁴⁸ The liturgical *b^erakha* is often expanded by the words "do what you wish", or, "according to your will" or "may it be your will" as in Tob 3:6, and in the Testament of Qahat. In the text of Qahat 4Q542 frag. 1 I, 3 we have a kind of prayer, at least a praise, that contains features of a full *b^erakha*⁴⁹ which means many epithets for God as God of Gods, Eternal God, Lord of all creations, Lord over all works, and Ruler over all. Unfortunately, since we do not have the complete text, we cannot be sure that the praise opened with a *b^erakha*. Stefan Reif's observation concerning the Hebrew Qumran prayers is also valid for the Aramaic prayers: "The Qumranic use of benedictions is not to be seen as a precedent for the later rabbinic employment of this genre. More accurately, the liturgical developments at Qumran should be plotted at a point between the biblical beginning and the rabbinic progression, that is close to the position occupied by the Apocryphal and Pseud-epigraphical literature."⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Cf. Heinemann, Prayer, 157.

⁴⁷ This is also the ruling codified by Maimonides in Mishneh Torah, Ber. 1.5.

⁴⁸ Cf. Schattner-Rieser, Aramäische.

⁴⁹ Cf. Heinemann, Prayer, 162.

⁵⁰ Reif, Problems, 44–45.

8 Conclusions

Prayers fulfill an important task by helping individuals to manage negative and positive emotions. As a person prays, he can identify himself through the existing narratives, experiencing a similar feeling to that described in the texts, which will provide indirect and direct guidelines for the construction of his own prayer. Since personal prayers articulate all manner of feelings and emotions, a text serves as a guide or companion for the reader who can probably observe with more discernment his own parallel feelings. It is comforting for an individual to know that someone else has had the same feelings, and that another person has experienced similar situations. He thus helps himself to overcome his problems by addressing himself to God.

Prayers: 1. help individuals to deal with a particular type of emotion and have an appreciable influence on social action; they allow the worshipper: 2. to interact with God face to face and: 3. they fulfill a didactic purpose, given that they teach individuals how to pray⁵¹, and how to address themselves to God in the appropriate way and language. Since the speech used in daily life, was Aramaic, it is clear from the texts discussed above that there was no restriction concerning its employment as an authorized language for liturgy, much as Hebrew. Another interesting feature is that there are no dualistic elements and that the *b^erikh* formula is on its way towards standardization. This, to our mind, supports the argument that the process did not start in the Exile but at the end of the Persian period.

S. Sharp may be summarized: In particular, interactions with God through prayer provide individuals with: (1) another to whom one can express and vent anger; (2) positive reflected appraisals that help maintain self-esteem; (3) re-interpretive cognitions that make situations seem less threatening; (4) another with whom one can interact to “zone out” negative emotion-inducing stimuli; and (5) an emotion management model to imitate. Most of these resources help individuals to begin to deal with a particular type of emotion and have an appreciable influence on social action.⁵²

Even though the prayers in Qumran are presented as the spontaneous expressions of individuals, one may already notice the standardization of the *b^erakha*-formulations with regard to structure, form and style.⁵³ Although all the

⁵¹ See also Böckler, *Beten*, 157–174.

⁵² Cf. Sharp, *Prayer*, 417–437.

⁵³ Cf. Heinemann, *Prayer*, 80: A standard *b^erakha*-formula has to include mentions of a divine title and divine kingship.

wording in our *corpus* is not exactly identical, the content of the *b^erakha*-formulations shares common features with the later Hebrew *b^erakha*-formulations and statutory rabbinic prayers.

Prayers and blessings occupy a prominent place in the Aramaic texts from Qumran and serve as a medium by which humans communicate their joy and pain to God in the form of lament and praise, as well as praise and thanksgiving.

All the Aramaic prayers are inserted into narrative plots and in a sense function as school-texts for learning how to pray. They follow a well-defined pattern and have become a paradigm for petitioners who can read or hear these prayers and then express their own needs in the various circumstances of life in which they find themselves.

The individual who identifies himself with the fictional-person learns how to express his own experienced feelings and how to deal with his emotions.

Although there were no prayer books at that time and no authoritative prescriptions as how to pray, the records in those narratives contain structured features that undoubtedly served as guidelines for *learning how to pray*.⁵⁴ Without setting down communal norms for individual piety, these texts with their wording and their gestures in various *b^erakhot*-formulas laid the basis for a kind of standard. The petitioner who respects the rules of prayer may be sure of a divine intervention that will help to deliver him from his misfortune. It is interesting to note that the prayer features and the openings of everyday blessings are in an Aramaic that undoubtedly belongs to the axial age.⁵⁵ All the examples discussed above represent the religious practices of the Second Temple period, and, together with the Lord's Prayer, contain formal liturgical elements.

According to Heinemann,⁵⁶ individual prayers may be divided into three categories: 1. The spontaneous prayer of the individual; 2. *The routine prayer of the individual, although not statutory* and 3. The statutory prayer of the individual.

54 In Ego/Merkel, *Lernen*, especially there: Böckler, *Beten*, 157–174.

55 In the rabbinical writings there are important discussions about whether it is permissible to pray in Aramaic. In b. Šabb. 12b and b. Soṭah 33a it is said that personal petitions should rather be expressed in the holy tongue (*lēšōn haq-qōdeš*), Hebrew, rather than in Aramaic, for the angels do not understand Aramaic, with exception being made in the case of weak and sick persons. Even if the Sages gave preference to Hebrew for the language of prayer, there were defenders of the Aramaic language, which in any case was allowed for individual prayers, and for sick and weak people (y. Meg. 1.9, 71b; Esth. Rab. 4.12. If the Sages discussed the languages allowed for praying it proves that people prayed in their local languages, and one of those in the land of Israel at that time was Aramaic.

56 Heinemann, *Prayer*, 156.

The similarities among the Aramaic Qumran prayers prove that they are situated at point two: routine prayers. Since these prayers and benedictions are written in classical Imperial Aramaic and belong to the third century BCE (with some Tobit and Enoch fragments even dating to the fourth century BCE!), one may conclude that already in late Persian times there was some “regulation” of individual prayers.

I would like to conclude with Stefan C. Reif’s statement: “During the Second Temple period, the tendency developed to link the personal prayer and the formal liturgy. From the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical sources, it is apparent that there was an increasing number of benedictions, hymns and praises, mystical formulations of considerable variety ...”⁵⁷

Abstract

Among the more than 900 Dead Sea scrolls there is a considerable number of prayers for specified occasions and these provide the earliest testimony of liturgical formulations of communal nature.

In addition to these official prayers, there exist personal prayers in Hebrew and Aramaic, which together amount to testimonies of private, apparently spontaneous expressions of supplications or thanksgiving from the Second Temple Period. Allocated first for private use, the formulations and gestures of individual prayers shifted later to a “fixed” or standard format, and included blessings in the common language: Aramaic.

This paper offers an overview of Aramaic prayers with standardized prayer *B^erakhot*-formulae and examines their function and didactic aims within the context of prayer in Second Temple Judaism around the life-time of Jesus.

⁵⁷ Reif, Problems, 73.

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Angela Kim Harkins

A Phenomenological Study of Penitential Elements and Their Strategic Arousal of Emotion in the Qumran Hodayot (1QH^a cols. 1[?]-8)*

While the bulk of the energy in Scrolls scholarship has been channelled into efforts to reconstruct the texts and their literary antecedents, very little attention has been given to their experiential aspects.¹ Of particular interest is the role that emotions play in the experiential performance of the Qumran prayers known as the first group of Community Hymns (= CH I) found in the first eight columns of the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll.² Materialist and naturalistic understandings of the body from the social sciences may shed light on the ancient experience of these prayers at Qumran. Emotions are both visceral and cognitive. Their arousal is understood here as measurable changes in heart palpitation and endocrine levels. Performative emotions are scripted, not spontaneous displays,³ and as such they are not driven by the interior state of the person who displays them.⁴

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1 Ehrlich's important study of the *'Amidah* or the Eighteen Benedictions begins with the observation that research since the 19th century has focused on the verbal and textual aspects of this prayer collection with no regard for the non-verbal aspects of the performance of these prayers. Ehrlich's critique of scholarship on rabbinic prayer as being too concerned with verbal and textual matters at the expense of the embodied aspects of prayer also applies well to the type of research that has been done on Qumran prayers. See Ehrlich, *Language*.

2 Readers are greatly aided by a number of recent publications of the Cave 1 scroll of the Hodayot: Schuller/Newsom, *Hodayot*; and the critical editions of these prayers found in Stegemann/Schuller, *Translation*, and Schuller, *Hodayot*.

3 The language of performative emotions is taken from Ebersole, *Poetics*, 25–51. For a discussion of how scripted "performative emotions" can be understood within the ritual reading of the Qumran hodayot (cols. 9–28[?]), see Harkins, *Heavens*.

4 Anderson's discussion of cross-cultural perspectives is useful for highlighting the differences between modern conceptualizations and assumptions about emotions as being universalizing experiences (1) and as being spontaneous (2) (*Time*, 1–18, here 5); also see Olyan, *Mourning*.

The broadening of the discipline's traditional focus on literary and textual features to include the experiential facets of religion raises the prior question of how penitential elements themselves should be understood. While their presence is often observed in prayer texts from the Second Temple period, they do not need to be understood exclusively within the rubric of a literary form. Classic penitential elements, along with the rites of mourning that are often associated with them, are not the outpouring of the interiority of the individual who enacts them. Thus, the first person confession of sins does not express personal transgressions,⁵ nor is it the case that the petitions themselves should be understood as the articulation of what it is hoped that God will do. Like the confession of sins, the act of petitioning places the individual in a subordinate position in relation to the sovereign deity. Both confessions and petitions are scripted strategies for arousing emotional states of smallness that may lead to a decentering of the self, effectively creating the optimal conditions for a liminality that can lead to states of heightened receptivity within the religious practitioner.⁶ Such an experiential effect may account for the references to covenant experiences that often accompany penitential prayers in the Second Temple period, an association that was previously noted by Odil H. Steck and Edward Lipinski.⁷

1 A phenomenal study of penitential prayer elements

In her essay from 2007, Eileen Schuller raises a number of significant points about the problems with scholarly terminology, noting that the category of “penitential prayer” has not been a self-evident one for all scholars, some of whom prefer to use the language of “prayers of repentance” or “prayers of confession”.⁸ Such classificatory matters arise from the limitations of form criticism and the problems of securing a literary genre. Formally, this category of prayer

5 Lambert's point is well taken; he writes in *Dead Sea Sect*: “we do not have an inner experience of consciousness, but a performance designed to highlight God's magnanimity and the sect's status as its recipient” (505).

6 Cf. McNamara, *Neuroscience*.

7 While the *Sitz im Leben* of the penitential form has not been conclusively identified, Steck and Lipinski have proposed that it was located in Second Temple covenant-renewal ceremonies; a suggestion that is worth considering given the mention of covenant that appears in CH I; see Steck, *Israel*, 134–135; Lipinski, *Liturgie*, 37–38.

8 Schuller, *Prayer*, 1–15, here 12.

is thought to contain distinctive features, although elements are not consistently present among exemplars of this type: (1) the confession of sinfulness; (2) petitions for assistance that in the biblical instances are set off by the phrase, “and now” [וְעַתָּה]; and (3) some expectation of the prayer’s efficacy.⁹ While significant variety exists in the specific prayers that are included in lists called “penitential prayers”,¹⁰ classic examples of this type of prayer include: 1 Kgs 8:22–53 (Solomon’s dedicatory prayer at the Temple);¹¹ Ezra 9:5–15 (which ironically lacks any petition [!] and is simply a confession of sins); Neh 1:4–11; 9:6–37; Dan 9:3–19; Bar 1:15–3:8; the Prayer of Azariah; Tob 3:1–6; 3 Macc 2:1–10, and 4Q504 (*Dibrei ha-me’orot*).

The category of penitential prayer is frequently discussed within the context of covenant and the theological concerns of deuteronomic theology. The book of Deuteronomy speaks especially well to the experience after the exile even though it is not considered to be a text produced in Second Temple times. As a category of prayer that is associated with the time after the exile, penitential prayer represents a distinct development from communal lament, in so far as it presumes guilt instead of innocence.¹² The introduction of the confession of sin is the distinguishing feature of penitential texts, and it is absent from laments that feature the psalmist’s claims of innocence in the face of enemy violence.¹³ Deuteronomic theology presupposes a direct correlation between sinfulness and the experience of political destruction; the possibility of restoration comes from

9 Some think that these penitential elements are Second Temple developments of the classic lament form, which are then traced back by form critics to an annual covenant renewal ceremony; Mowinckel, *Psalms 1*, 154–157; von Rad, *Form*, 1–78; Alt, *Origins*, 79–132; Mendenhall, *Law*, 26–76.

10 Considerable variation exists among the compositions that are identified under this category, so noted by Schuller, *Prayer*, 12–14.

11 Solomon’s prayer is not always included in penitential lists, but it does contain many features. See Boda, *Appendix D*, 209–213; see too Newman, *Book*, 24–52.

12 Cf. Bautch, *Developments*.

13 Penitential prayer differs from the lament form in so far as it lacks the complaint (“why?” or “how long?”) which presumes that the speaker claims innocence and that the punishment is undeserved. In contrast, the penitential form acknowledges and confesses the sinfulness of the afflicted. See the thesis by Boda, *Tradition*; also discussed in his essay, *Form Criticism*, 181–192. Also relevant is Boda, *Confession*, 21–50. Boda (*Form Criticism*, 184) writes that some scholars insist that the element of confession of sins had always been an aspect of the form of communal lament; see Gunkel/Begrich, *Einleitung*, 131–133; Weiser, *Psalms*, 74–76; Mowinckel, *Psalms 1*, 183. Cf. Westermann, *Struktur*, 72–73, who says that while there is some relationship to lament, since penitential prayer originates in the laments of the Psalter, it comes to be infused with deuteronomic ideology during Second Temple times.

God's mercy, not Israel's merit. The theology of Deuteronomy presumes that the devastation that is being experienced is a lesser punishment than what is actually deserved, given the clear stipulations and warnings found in the Mosaic Law. It also expresses what might be considered a prophetic expectation of some response, namely, that God will eventually restore Israel in the plenitude of his mercy. Within the literary setting of Deuteronomy, Moses speaks prophetically of both the destruction that is to come, and the hopeful expectation of a restoration in the future.¹⁴

Studies of penitential prayer have long used traditional historical-critical approaches for understanding and analyzing these texts, yet "those who offered such prayers probably did not first think of these prayers in literary terms and with a view toward the development of a tradition. They, probably, first thought of the prayers within their own experience of God, their history, their people, and themselves."¹⁵ And so, while it is valuable to describe the literary features of penitential prayer formally, classic form-critical categories are scholarly frameworks that were established prior to World War II and the discovery of Qumran prayers.¹⁶ While the earliest form-critical scholarship does not consistently acknowledge the presence of such a genre,¹⁷ it is clear that the most recent scholarship on prayer literature from the Second Temple period, while in no way exhaustive, indicates that a significant number of prayers may be subsumed within the experiential frame of penitential prayer. These prayer texts were not fixed in a rigid way; forms and language were frequently redeployed in their composition. Conceptualizing penitential elements within an experiential frame rather than as a strictly literary form may help to explain why it is that some prayers that fall within the ambit of "penitential" fail to conform precisely to formal expectations.¹⁸

The social-scientific language of "category of knowledge" can help to place these prayers in a context that may account for the dynamic set of experiences that they entail.¹⁹ Thinking about penitential elements as recognizable modality-specific representations that were intended to be reconstituted as needed in

¹⁴ Discussed by von Rad, Deuteronomy, 23–30; Weinfeld, Deuteronomy 1–11, 13–17; Ackroyd, Exile, 62–63; Werline, Penitential Prayer (1998), 17.

¹⁵ Werline, Penitential Prayer (2006), xiv.

¹⁶ Penitential prayer was considered a subset of the larger category of lament by Westermann, Struktur, 44–80.

¹⁷ See Schuller's point that penitential prayer as an operative scholarly category is not firmly established (Penitential Prayer, 10–12).

¹⁸ E.g., the absence of a petition in Ezra's prayer (Ezra 9:6–15).

¹⁹ Cf. Barsalou et al., Embodiment, 14–57.

ritually appropriate moments may help us to appreciate how these types of prayers came to be adapted and applied in flexible ways in new historical circumstances.²⁰ Elements of penitential experiences such as the confession of sins, petitions for assistance, and the ritualized gestures of humbling the self, when taken together, constitute a highly associative category of experience that may be constructed and reconstructed during ritual moments. This is because the areas of the brain that govern the processing of sensory perception and higher-order cognition are connected in rich two-way networks to one another. Lawrence Barsalou writes that

[P]eople establish entrenched simulations of frequently-experienced situations, where a given simulation includes (among many other things) a variety of bodily states, such as facial expressions, arm movements, and postures. When environmental cues trigger the simulation of a social situation, part of the simulation is expressed in relevant bodily states. Conversely, if the body is configured into a state that belongs to one of these simulations, the state retrieves the simulation, which then affects social information processing.²¹

According to the studies discussed by Barsalou, reading a text that mentions an object may stimulate areas in the brain that simulate the appropriate visualizing and phenomenal handling of that object, or stimulate other bodily states, including appropriate emotional responses.²² Psychological studies have also demonstrated how the performance of the body in precise ways (e.g., smiling or frowning; nodding or shaking the head) may successfully generate the desired emotion within an individual, or influence positive or negative perceptions.²³ In other words, the body's expression of emotion is not the spontaneous expression

20 Barsalou et al., *Embodiment*, considers how cognitive processes work to create mundane knowledge about objects and experiences and applies these processes to the construction of religious states. Barsalou uses multiple theories about the representation of knowledge that consider the physical embodiment of the individual. These include simulation theories, embodied theories, and situated theories of knowledge. Barsalou integrates all three, but most important for our study are the simulation theories in which egocentric visualizing and imagining of experiences takes place with some degree of automaticity. – The high variability and adaptability of penitential prayer cannot be accounted when we consider strictly the literary and textual aspects of these Second Temple writings; Werline, *Reflections* 2, 213.

21 Barsalou et al, *Embodiment*, 29.

22 Cf. Barsalou et al, *Embodiment*, 27, 28.

23 Cf. Ekman, *Emotion*; also Barsalou et al., *Embodiment*, 27 which states, “participants tended to express positive emotions on their faces and in their voices for positive concepts, but to express negative emotions for negative ones. These results further indicate that participants were simulating the experience of being there, not only orienting visual attention to where the object would be in a typical setting, but also generating appropriate emotional responses”.

of an interior state, but rather, it is instrumental in the generation of a desired cognitive state.

The reenactment of these penitential acts stimulate areas of the brain which then generate the appropriate cognitive state in the religious practitioner, that is, desolation and self-abasement. Texts that are considered to be penitential are said to have proliferated during the Second Temple period as a response to the political loss of land due to the exile.²⁴ In the context of the Second Temple period, this emotion is best described as grief, which is desolation marked by the experience of personal loss. The longing that is expressed in these texts is a grieving for the early covenant relationship with YHWH, prior to the destruction of the Temple and loss of the land. As a set of recognizable elements, the penitential experience may be creatively redeployed and adapted to changing circumstances during the Second Temple period. The social-scientific language of “category of knowledge” may help to conceptualize these prayers broadly to include the dynamic set of experiences that they entail.²⁵

According to Werline, the penitential activity of “searching” and “seeking” was joined to the act of “repentance”, and came to be known as a programmatic set of acts.²⁶ The strategic arousal of desolation, and with it the awareness of sinfulness, reenacts strategic emotions that may be described as a strong “yearning and sadness” over a loss, sometimes accompanied by complex feelings of guilt.²⁷ Individuals in bereavement often report experiences of intense introspection and examination. The psychophysiology of longing that accompanies the emotion of grief is not phenomenally dissimilar to that of “searching” or “seeking”, especially when accompanied by the various rites of mourning that come to be associated with penitence in the Second Temple period.²⁸ Penitential prayer elements lend themselves to reenactment through their use of the first person voice, and of language about the body. The first person voice is

24 General studies on the emergence of penitential prayer and its deuteronomic theology include the important study by Werline, *Penitential Prayer* (1998). Scholars have long wondered if the *Sitz im Leben* for these prayers is some kind of covenant ceremony; see Reventlow, *Gebet*; Baltzer, *Covenant Formulary*; Lipinski, *Liturgie*; Steck, *Israel*.

25 Cf. Barsalou et al., *Embodiment*, 14–57.

26 Cf. Werline, *Prayer*, 17–32. Werline explains that the majority of studies of penitential prayer have hitherto been concerned with traditional form criticism, redaction criticism, and canonical criticism, thus yielding results that prioritize the literary text (17).

27 Cf. Shear, *Edge*, 461–464.

28 Reif observes that “while certain individual aspects of the worship described may be found earlier it is only these late sources that contain lengthy and complex amalgams of so many such elements”; see Reif, *Judaism*, 39. See Werline, *Reflections*, 212–213. Also, Hogewood, *Speech Act*, 69–82.

a significant means by which the religious practitioner is able to access the scripted affective experiences of the subject in the prayers.²⁹ They are designed to strategically arouse emotions of grief and desolation in the religious practitioner. The reenactment of these emotions by the performance of the appropriate gestures, and the scripted confession of sins, is a significant part of the penitential experience for the religious practitioner.³⁰

In penitential prayers, individuals who are said to be confessing their sins seek to take on the posture of a wretched sinful state, but they are not personally guilty of the sins that they confess (e.g., Moses in Exod 34:9;³¹ Ezra in Ezra 9:6–15; and Daniel in Dan 9:4–19). As a scripted reenactment of affect, the confession of sins is not the spontaneous verbalization of an actual personal transgression on the part of the speaker. So too, the petitioning of the deity is a performance that serves to further situate the religious practitioner within a state of supplication and subordination. In light of this reasoning, the expected efficacy of the act of petitioning is not so much that God is moved to act in accord with our will and contrary to his predetermined course of action. In many Second Temple prayers, the petitionary language includes a request for knowledge or understanding (not for God to change his course of action), as we see in 1QH^a 8:24.³² Even so, the significant experiential effect of petition is the sensation of subordination and smallness that results from taking on the posture of supplication. The efficacy of the prayer is not dependent on whether or not the specific petition is answered by God and fulfilled but rather in the experience's ability to simulate the experience of smallness which comes from being in the presence of

29 Gillmayr-Bucher has described the function of the first person voice and language about the body in the Psalms to invite reenactment by the one who prays these texts (Body Images, 301–326). On prayers as a script of affective experiences that are supposed to be reenacted, see Harkins, Reading, 69–113.

30 See Bautch (Formulary, 33–45) who writes that acts of contrition become part of a cultic form in Lev 16: “With contrition included, the cultic confession motif associated with the Priestly writer is thus a process with four parts, contrition-confession-sacrifice-reparation” (here 35). Bautch concludes that Second Temple prayers, “selectively and strategically ... express sorrow for sin rather differently than is done on the Day of Atonement in Leviticus 16” (44). Also, Falk, Inspiration, 135.

31 Here, Moses draws himself into the events, even though he is guilty of no crime, by saying: “If now I have found favor in your sight, O Lord, I pray, let the Lord go with us. Although this is a stiff-necked people, pardon **our** iniquity and **our** sin, and take us for your inheritance” (ׁוּסְלַחְתָּ לְעֹונֵינוּ וּלְחַטָּאוֹתֵינוּ וְנִחַלְתָּנוּ:).

32 Cf. Weinfeld (הבקשות לדעת, 186–200) traces themes of repentance and forgiveness, and more relevant for our discussion, revealed knowledge, present in the *Amidah* and various qumranic and biblical antecedents.

God. The goal of both the confession of sins and the petitionary formulae is to generate self-abasement in anticipation of what will be experienced during the encounter with the sovereign deity, however it may be realized.

2 Penitential elements in CH I

The large Cave 1 scroll of the Hodayot is generally divided into three literary groupings known as Community Hymns I (= CH I), Teacher Hymns (= TH), and Community Hymns II (CH II). The section with which this paper is concerned consists of the first two sheets that are thought to contain columns 1–8, if one presumes that each sheet had exactly 4 columns.³³ The first four columns are badly damaged, with column 4 being the best preserved. Columns 2 and 3 are often presented in the critical editions as reconstructed from nothing more than fragments, and usually little to nothing is reconstructed for column 1. It is worth remembering too that Sukenik's early photographs indicate that there were stitch holes at the edges of the hodayot sheets, but in fact, all of the sheets were found loose and disconnected, and in two separate clumps.³⁴

The first group of Community Hymns known from the first eight columns of the Cave 1 scroll of the Hodayot differs from the TH and CH II which together comprise columns 9–28[?] in so far as it does *not* enjoy multiple attestation among the earlier Cave 4 manuscripts.³⁵ No clear and indisputable instance of Cave 4 manuscripts overlapping with columns 1(?)–8 of 1QH^a exists.³⁶ Only two fragments (1 and 2) are placed among the eight columns of 1QH by the editors of DJD 29, but these two fragments do not contain compelling evidence since CH I

³³ Notice for example that 1QS does not have a regular number of columns per sheet, so it cannot be presumed that such a practice was standard. Perhaps there were fewer columns prior to 1QH^a col. 4.

³⁴ The first edition of this scroll was published by Sukenik (אוצר המגילות הגנוזות [prepared for the press by Avigad]) but the published column numbering did not reflect a reconstructed text. Instead, it presents the sheets and fragments of 1QH^a from large to small. It is common to find in the older literature references to this numbering from the Sukenik edition. It varies by nine cols. and a few lines from the critical edition by Stegemann/Schuller, Translation, now available widely as Schuller/Newsom, Hodayot. For an excellent review of scholarship on the hodayot see Schuller, Scholarship, 119–162; also Schuller/DiTommaso, Bibliography, 55–101.

³⁵ Cf. Harkins, Proposal, 101–134.

³⁶ See the table found in Schuller, Hodayot, 72.

overlaps.³⁷ Also, the CH I material is associated with the Teacher Hymns material since both were copied by the same elegant scribal hand, but it differs significantly from the TH in its orthographic patterns and literary themes, suggesting that there were different origins for these compositions.³⁸

The language and imagery in the CH I section is distinct from the rest of the Hodayot scroll.³⁹ It is only in this group that one finds an explicit reference to the name of Moses (1QH^a 4:24). While this is an especially fitting citation given the deuteronomic allusions that prevail in this section of the scroll, such explicit mention of any illustrious figure from Israel's history is a departure from what is otherwise found in the hodayot. The classic deuteronomic theme of "loving what God loves" and "hating what God hates" is present in 1QH^a 4:36; 6:21–22; 31–37; 7:30–32.⁴⁰ Also, passages like 1QH^a 7:23 resonate especially well with the covenantal passage found at the beginning of the Community Rule, both of which appeal to the deuteronomic imagery of loving God first, with the heart (לֵב) and then with the soul (נֶפֶשׁ). Such a theme appears in the opening of 1QS 1:1–15. "to seek God with [all the heart and soul], doing what is good and right before him, as he commanded through Moses and through all his servants the prophets, and in order to love all that he has chosen and to hate all that he has rejected, keeping away from all evil and adhering to all good works."⁴¹

One significant penitential element, the confession of sins (לְהִתְוֹדֶה from the root *ydh*) appears in CH I,⁴² where it is joined to the act of prostration, the physical act of humbling oneself. In 1QH^a 4:29–31 the speaker says:

³⁷ The two fragments do not contain any distinctive language and the second fragment is especially small, consisting of two lines of four letters: a trace of a final *nun* in the first line and a final *yod* and the two clearly visible letters *resh* and *'ayin* (Schuller, Hodayot, 135). Schuller, the editor of this text, describes the placement of 4Q428 frag. 2 as "tentative" (134).

³⁸ Cf. Harkins, Proposal, 101–134.

³⁹ Cf. Harkins, Community, 121–154, especially the discussion found on pages 138–154.

⁴⁰ An example of deuteronomic language may be seen in the following petition found in the first group of CH: "Strengthen [his] lo[is]n that he may sta[nd] against spirits [and that he may w]alk in everything that you love and despise everything that [you] hate, [and do] what is good in your eyes" (1QH^a 4:35–37).

⁴¹ Mermelstein's discussion of the social-construction of emotion in the hodayot and 1QS is a useful way of imaging how the rhetoric of emotion appears in these passages related to covenant; Mermelstein, Love, 237–263; also for a discussion of the deuteronomic themes in col. 4 of this section of the hodayot, see Harkins, Community, 145–154.

⁴² So too, the penitential element, "to confess sins" appears in 1QS 1:24 (in the *gal*) and in the Admonitions section of CD 20.28 (in the *hitpa'el* form); see Krašovec, Sources, 306–321. For a discussion of the vocabulary for "confession" (*ydh*), see Boda, Words, 277–297.

(29) [Blessed are you, O God of compassion on account of the spirits that you have placed in me. I will [f]ind a ready response, reciting your righteous acts and (your) patience [. . .]k (30) and the deeds of your strong right hand, and confessing (וְלֹהֵוֹדוֹת) the transgressions of previous deeds, and [p]rostrating myself (וְלֵהֲתַנַּפֵּל) and begging for mercy concerning (31) [.] my deeds and the perversity of my heart, because I have wallowed in impurity. But from the council of wor[ms] I have [de]parted, and I have not joined myself to [.]).

The programmatic language of confessing one's sinfulness and one's utter depravity that appears in this particular passage is conveyed in the highly personalized first person voice that can be imagined as a scripted set of emotions for a reader to reenact.⁴³ The sin that is confessed does not specify any transgression or crime, but rather gives a generic statement of depravity that in turn allows for the expression of the performative emotion.

Another notable act that appears in this same passage is that of falling down in prostration. It appears here in 1QH^a 4:30 and also in 1QH^a 5:12 and 8:24. In the specific composition that Jacob Licht entitled, "Request" (בְּקִשָּׁה) found in column 8,⁴⁴ the act of falling down in prostration and begging for mercy is joined to the language of "seeking" (*biqesh*) and covenant:

For] (24) through my knowledge of all these things I will find the proper reply, falling prostrate (לֵהֲתַנַּפֵּל) and be[gg]ing for me[rcy] [continuously] on account of my transgression, and seeking a spirit of understand[ing] ([וְלִבְקֶשׁ רוּחַ בִּינֵיָה]), (25) and strengthening myself through your holy spirit, and clinging to the truth of your covenant, and serving you in truth and (with) a perfect heart, and loving the word of [your] mou[th].

Here, the act of "seeking" is joined to the experience of understanding, reflecting the transference of the penitential practice of "seeking the LORD your God" (Deut 4:29; cf. "seeking my face" in 2 Chr 7:14) to "seeking the Torah" (Jub. 1:12, 15 and 23:26).

These acts of falling down in prostration and "begging for mercy" that appear here and elsewhere in the CH I section of the scroll reflect experiential elements associated with the penitential act of confessing sin. While the word for prostration, or bowing down, is a fairly common word (לֵהֲשַׁתְּחוֹת), the specific expression that appears in the CH I (לֵהֲתַנַּפֵּל) is rare and is attested only four times in the Hebrew Bible. It appears thrice in the deuteronomic retelling of the Golden Calf episode (Deut 9:18, 25 2x) and once within the context of Ezra's own report of his elaborate ritualized prostration and acts of grieving in Ezra

⁴³ Cf. Gillmayr-Bucher, *Body Images*, 301–326.

⁴⁴ Cf. Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 200.

10:1.⁴⁵ In Deut 9, Moses recounts his intercessory acts of praying, including the act of full prostration, and fasting from food and water on behalf of Israel (cf. Jub. 1:19–21). Instead of the ordinary word for prostration, להשתחוות, the word להתנפל conveys the image of physical collapse and total submission. It is striking that it appears here in CH I as many as three times (1QH^a 4:30; 5:12; 8:24).

In this same hodayah entitled “Request” in column 8, language that is redolent of Moses’s entreaty in the Golden Calf episode appears with two negative petitions in lines 33 and 36, shortly after the above-mentioned reference to prostration, begging for mercy, and seeking a spirit of understanding (8:24–25). This same passage, 1QH^a 8:23–36, references covenant demands and obligations:

(29) I know that no one can be righteous apart from you, and **so I entreat you** (ואחלה) with the spirit that you have given to me that you make (30) your kindness to your servant complete [for]ever, cleansing me by your holy spirit and drawing me nearer by your good favour, according to your great kindness [wh]ich you have shown (31) to me, and causing [my feet] to sta[nd in] the whole station of [your] good fa[vour], which you have cho[sen] for those who love you and for those who keep [your] commandments [that they may take their stand] (32) before you forever, and [atone for iniquity], and savou[r] what is pleasing, and mingle myself with the spirit of your work, and understand your deed[s] (33) I [] not y [] w and **let there not c[o]me before him any affliction (that causes) stumbling** from the precepts of your covenant, for [] (34) your face. And I kno[w that you are a God] gracious and compassionate, patient and abounding in kindness and faithfulness, one who forgives transgression and unfaithful[ness], (35) moved to pity concerning a[ll the iniquity of those who love] you and keep [your] commandments, [those] who have returned to you in steadfastness and (with) a perfect heart [] (36) to serve you [in] to do what is [] good in your sight. **Do not turn away** the face of your servant [and do no]t reject the son of your handmaid. (1QH^a 8:29–36)

The language for “entreating” or “mollifying” God that appears here in line 29 is strongly reminiscent of the paradigmatic scene preserved in Exod 32, where Moses returns from his stay atop Mount Sinai only to find Aaron and the Israelites down below engaging in the flagrant worship of an idolatrous cult. In that remarkable moment of intercessory prayer, Moses entreats the Lord his God (ויחל משה את פני יהוה אלֵהִיו) to put aside his righteous anger and to not destroy Israel, even if such destruction is exactly what Israel deserves.⁴⁶ Not

⁴⁵ This is accompanied by praying, confession of sins, weeping, before the House of God (Ezra 10:1), and also includes fasting from food and water (10:6).

⁴⁶ The Golden Calf episode has a strong deuteronomistic/deuteronomistic association and it is commonly recognized as a commentary on the illegitimate cult established by Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 12. Nicholson (Exodus) argues that there are signs of deuteronomistic editing of Exod 19:3b–8 and Exod 24:3–8; so following a line of scholarship set by Peritt, *Bundestheologie*, 190, and

surprisingly, the passage in Exod 32:11–14 references characteristic features of the penitential category of knowledge: a petition, acknowledgement of guilt, participation in acts of mourning (Exod 33:4–6). Here, too, Moses’s prayer includes, in priestly language, the expunging of the sin of the Golden Calf, and he suggest that he might perhaps make atonement for Israel’s sin (אֱלֹהֵי אֲכַפְרָהּ) בְּעֵד הַטְּאִתְּכֶם in Exod 32:30).⁴⁷ Significantly, these elements precede the singular experience of a divine encounter that takes the the form of beholding the divine effulgence (Exod 33:18–23), as well as the form of a covenant experience in the making of the second set of tablets and the reception of laws in Exodus 34. The radiance of Moses’s face may be understood as a manifestation of the transformative experience of the encounter with the deity on the mountain; a bodily sign of the arousal of emotion in response to his experience of the real presence of the deity. Apparently, God is so moved by these acts that he restores the covenant with Israel.⁴⁸ Notably, in the version of these events found in Deut 9, it is Moses who performs the penitential acts of prostration and fasting (Deut 9:18–25), even if he himself is not guilty of the crime of idolatry.

It is significant that the penitential elements found in the CH I section of hodayot are also accompanied by deuteronomistic covenant language and references to joining the covenant. The arousal of the emotions of desolation and guilt generate a cognitive state of liminality that allows the religious practitioner to experience a heightened state of receptivity. Thus, it is significant that references to the law and to covenant fidelity are associated with these penitential prayers. It is notable that it is in this section of the Hodayot scroll, CH I, in the lengthy composition known as 1QH^a 5:12–6:33, that we see various penitential elements with strong deuteronomistic associations appearing within a covenant-making scene.⁴⁹ In a passage that begins after the *vacat* in 1QH^a 6:27, the speaker reports his entry into the covenant and the various pledges that he has made:

the discussion of the identification of D elements in sections of the Sinai pericope (Exod 19–34) by Blenkinsopp, Sinai, 155–174. See also Hayes, Calf, 45–93.

⁴⁷ Cf. Hogewood, Speech Act, 81–82.

⁴⁸ So too, the description of God that appears in the aftermath of the Golden Calf episode is also echoed here in this hodayah: “The LORD, the LORD, God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth; keeping mercy unto the thousandth generation, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin; and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children’s children, unto the third and unto the fourth generation” (Exod 34:6–7).

⁴⁹ Cf. Harkins, Observations, 243–250. On the numbering of this composition, see Stegemann, Number.

And as for me, I have knowledge by means of your abundant goodness and by the oath I pledged upon my life not to sin against you (29) [and] not to do anything evil in your sight. And thus I was brought into association with all the men of my counsel. According to (30) his insight I will associate with him, and according to the amount of his inheritance I will love him. But I will not regard evil, and a b[ribe] (given) in wi[cked]ness I will not acknowledge. (31) [And] I will no[t] exchange your truth for wealth nor any of your judgements for a bribe. But according as [. . . a per]son, (32) [I will l]ove him, and according as you place him far off, thus I will abhor him. And I will not bring into the council of [your] tr[uth any] who turn away (33) [from] your [co]venant. *Vocat*

Notably, in the entirety of the Hodayot scroll, language about the speaker's actual entry into a covenant or council is the most explicit in the section of the scroll known as CH I, the same section wherein penitential elements and language are the most prominent. Here, the preparedness for pledging fidelity to the obligations of the covenant may be understood as a state of heightened receptivity that has been achieved through the decentering experience of prostration and the strategic arousal of guilt, both of which succeed in generating the sensations of humility and self-abasement.

Just as in the biblical instances of Exod 32–34, Deut 4–5, Ezra 9–10, and Neh 9, we can see at Qumran, that there is a coupling of penitential practices and prayers with an experience of the Law and the idea of covenant renewal, in which the sequencing of penitential activity always occurs prior to the experience of the Law and covenant.⁵⁰ This pairing suggests that the performance of

50 The authors and compilers of the CD position the Admonitions (“searching it” דרשוהו in CD 1.6) prior to the legal corpus; so too the redactors of 1QS begin with a reference to humanity searching (דרש) with all their heart and soul (cf. Deut 4:29) (1:1–2), and the passage concerning the searching in the Torah (איש דורש בתורה יומם ולילה) and searching judgement (ולדרוש) (משפט) (1QS 6:6, 7) is appropriately sequenced prior to the legal corpus. What is remarkable about the transformation of the object of “searching” (דרש) from God in Deut 4:29 to the Law in Jub. 23:26 is that 1QS also associates it with the activity of continuous day and night investigation (cf. Ps 1:2 and Josh 1:8), suggesting a scenario where sleep deprivation was also physically enacted as a means for generating the transformative state of liminality which would then prepare for the experience of encounter or revelation. See the discussion of nocturnal prayer by Penner (*Patterns*, 165–208), where he discusses the wider practices of nocturnal prayer and phenomenal experiences of the celestial *realia* thought to be praying in communion with the angelic beings (stars) during the night. In addition to the wide attestations in the ancient world for praying at night, there is also the data from contemporary sleep-specialists that humans naturally experience a state of wakefulness in the middle of their sleep cycle during which time it is customary to participate in a range of activities. In such a scenario, the experience of liminality can come naturally during these nocturnal moments of wakefulness in which the practitioner moves from a sleep-induced state to wakefulness, or when one might be praying in a sleep-deprived state.

penitential behaviours had a preparatory role in the covenant-making experience. The emotions that are aroused are those that create those sensations of smallness that accompanied an encounter with the sovereign deity; such an encounter would be expected for covenant-making events. As a performance, the penitential features are scripted reenactments that do not actually reflect personal states of sin or guilt. The decentering experience of the arousal of desolation is one that can make the religious practitioner predisposed to a state of heightened receptivity to the covenant-making experiences that follow these penitential elements in CH I, without predetermining that they will occur.

3 Some provisional conclusions about the phenomenal study of penitential elements in the Qumran Hodayot (cols. 1[?]-8)

The display of performative emotions is a critical feature of the experience of penitential prayer. Performative emotions are not the result of private heartfelt expressions of interior states (as Calvin would urge), but rather outward physical displays that serve a ritual purpose. As I have suggested elsewhere, the public display of such emotions may also function politically, to confirm and elevate the power and prestige of the religious practitioner, and so it is important that the strategic reenactment of affect be detected on the body.⁵¹

Thus far, we have proposed that the reenactment of the penitential acts of “searching” and “seeking” and repentance is an intentional performance of scripted affect that is designed to recreate in the religious practitioner the sensations of desolation and loss. Notably, in the biblical instances of these prayers, the speaker of the prayer (Moses, Ezra, Daniel) does not confess actual sins, but rather rehearses a number of predictable sins (e.g., idolatry and covenant infidelity) in the first person voice. So too, the unnamed speaker of the Qumran Hodayot confesses sins in the first person voice as a strategy for arousing the critical emotions of desolation and of longing for a restored relationship with YHWH. In the prayers in the group known as CH I, the model of humility is Moses himself. As with others who are associated with penitential experiences (Moses, Ezra, Daniel), the expression of desolation and longing brought about

⁵¹ Here, emotions are understood as biological changes in heart palpitations and endocrine levels. They can be useful in a stratified and hierarchical society for distinguishing between individuals, as well as for conferring power and prestige; see Harkins, *Heavens*, 106–110.

by the confession of sins, petitions, and performing the postures of supplication are part of a highly stylized enactment of self-abasement that generates liminality. These practices create a predisposition towards humility and simulate the bodily sensations that one may expect to have when one finds oneself in the presence of a sovereign. Performing prayers that highlight penitential elements may contribute to the cultivation of mental imagery that may in turn generate a predisposition towards the kinds of experiences that are being described.⁵² The references to covenant obligations and duties that appear in the first group of Community Hymns suggest that the phenomenal reenactment of the experience of encounter is one that calls to mind the foundational event of the Sinai covenant between Moses (Israel) and YHWH.

In conclusion, this inquiry into the phenomenal experience of performing penitential prayer raises further questions about the compatibility of petitionary elements and the larger deterministic theology expressed in the Scrolls.⁵³ Penitential elements in Second Temple prayers such as those in the first group of the *hodayot* are wholly consistent with the determinism expressed elsewhere in the Scrolls since both penitence and determinism presume a magnification of God and a diminution of the religious practitioner. Penitential elements are compatible with a highly deterministic theology if one maintains, as we have done, that the confession of sins does not articulate an actual interior state and that petitions do not seek to alter the course of events that have been preordained. Both the confession of sin and the act of petitioning are scripted strategies for arousing the crucial emotions of desolation and longing and for generating the sensations of smallness. As such, they aim to create a predisposition towards a desired state that is thought to be necessary for simulating the encounter with the almighty sovereign, although it is important to note that such an experience is not predetermined to happen.

In the Second Temple period, being able to access experientially the sovereign God with the vividness of a first-hand encounter would have been an important way of recovering the lost intimacy and relationship with God after the disruption of the exile and destruction of the first Temple. When imagined in this way, the strategic arousal of emotion is a mechanism for ensuring continuity with foundational events after the exile. As an elect community, the affective

⁵² For anthropological studies on the significant role that sensory experience and mental imagining has in religious experiences, see Noll, *Imagery*; Luhrmann/Morgain, *Prayer*.

⁵³ For useful overviews of determinism at Qumran, see Popović, *Determinism*, 533–535; Klawans, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 264–283; Duhaime, *Determinism*, 194–198; Stauber, *Determinism*, 345–358.

reenactment of the highly stylized penitential practices performed by the speaker of the CH I prayers is all the more dramatic and compelling to God since the self-abasement of the elect Qumran community member is more notable and dramatic than that of a truly wretched person.⁵⁴ The ritually correct display of self-abasement on the body of the one praying may serve to reinforce or increase the power and prestige that the individual enjoys within the group and may also function instrumentally as a costly display of commitment, generating entitlement among its members and compelling them to behave in pro-social ways.⁵⁵ This pro-social aspect to emotion's display in penitential prayer contexts is compatible with the themes of covenant renewal that are found with these Community Hymns.

In sum, the penitential and petitionary elements in the CH 1 group of hodayot highlight the Yahad's understanding of a sovereign deity and they are consistent with the expressions of deterministic theology found elsewhere in the scrolls. While it is altogether appropriate that a supplicant would petition one who is supremely powerful, it would have been unseemly to presume that the sovereign would respond in kind to the request. The efficacy of the penitential and petitionary elements in CH I lies in the way in which they both amount to strategies for generating an experiential sense of smallness within the prayer. The more one finds himself in the presence of God's glory, the more magnified is one's sense of unworthiness. The confession of sins and the confession of the greatness of God are not incompatible phenomena; in fact, they share the same root *ydh*, and are intimately related to one another.

Abstract

This paper seeks to situate the first group of Community Hymns (= CH I) found in the Qumran Hodayot (1QH^a cols. 1[?]-8) within a larger experiential framework by examining the penitential elements in these prayers and their strategic

⁵⁴ Lambert, *Fasting*, writes: "If fasting constitutes the adoption of the persona of the afflicted, then the higher the status of the one fasting, the more dramatic his or her descent" (485). In this sense, the performance of the prayers is best actualized by a highly esteemed member of the community. This also helps to explain the pervasive themes of self-abasement in the hodayot hymns in general – they do not describe a reality as it exists, but a condition that hopefully will be created.

⁵⁵ Cf. McNamara, *Neuroscience*, 30–31. Also see Sosis, *Value*, 166–172; Ebersole, *Function*, 185–222, esp. 187; also see the discussion by Harkins, *Heavens*, 108–109.

arousal of emotion. While these prayers are not classically understood to be penitential, they contain a number of penitential elements (declaration of sinfulness, petitions, falling down in prostration) that arouse performative emotions of desolation within the religious practitioner, which in turn strategically generate a state of diminution. The concern of this essay is not with cataloguing the bodily gestures involved in the ritual performance of these prayers, but rather with a consideration of the overall strategic aim of the body's arousal of emotion.

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The Centrality of Prayer and Stability of Trust. An Analysis of the Hymn of the Maskil in 1QS IX, 25b–XI, 15a*

1 Introduction

The Community Rule (Serekh Ha-Yahad) is one of the longest and best preserved texts that have been found at Qumran. Despite the numerous studies devoted to it, the final two columns (1QS X–XI) – known as the “Hymn of the Maskil” – have received little scholarly attention. This article presents a new literary analysis of the hymn’s structure and content, revealing the way in which the Maskil is presented and the central role prayer plays in the office.¹

The first to examine the content of the hymn was Talmon, in an article describing “The Order of Prayers of the Sect from the Judaean Desert.”² As he pointed out, its first two sections (Talmon: 1QS IX, 26–X, 8; X, 8–17) deal with fixed prayers and the times at which they are to be recited. In the wake of this study, scholars began to analyse the role the hymn played in the Qumran calendar and at the beginnings of institutionalized prayer.³ Although Licht assessed the hymn’s structure and content in his commentary on the Community Rule, no comprehensive assessment of the whole text, or literary analysis of the central motifs, has been conducted to date.⁴

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1 For the Maskil, see Lange, Sages; Hawley, Maskil; Newsom, Self, 169–174; Newsom, Sage.

2 An English version of this article was published in Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu.

3 Weise (Kultzeiten, 3–57) translated X, 1–8 into German and discussed their importance for the calendar. See also Ben-Dov, Head, 44–48. For institutionalized prayer, see Nitzan, Qumran, 52–59; Falk, Sabbath, 103–123; Penner, Patterns, 87–97.

4 Licht, Rule Scroll, 201–233. Wernberg-Møller (Manual, 139–156) also comments on parts of the text. Newsom (Self, 165–174) has contributed to our understanding of the literary relationship between columns IX and X–XI and elucidated the Maskil’s roles as presented in the hymn. Hultgren (Damascus Covenant, 426–431) and Falk (Sabbath, 103–104) have also investigated its structure. For the hymn’s redaction and textual development, see Metso, Development, 135–140; Alexander/Vermes, Qumran Cave.

No accepted definition of the hymn's parameters and internal divisions having yet been determined, the present contribution addresses itself to this issue, engaging in a close reading of the text in order to establish the hymn's structure and content. Employing tools initially proposed by Chazon and developed by Hughes in her study of the Thanksgiving Scroll, together with those that Dimant has suggested for identifying "sectarian phraseology," it also seeks to re-examine the view of the Maskil and his community as depicted in the hymn.⁵

While the entire unit of IX, 12–XI, 22 relates to the Maskil, IX, 12–25a sets out the rules and regulations according to which he is expected to act.⁶ The closing lines of the unit (XI, 15b to the end of the Serekh) contain a doxology that concludes the Serekh. The hymn being sandwiched between these two passages (probably IX, 25b to XI, 15a), and primarily being in the first person singular, it has come to be known as the Final Hymn of the Rule or the Hymn of the Maskil.

Column IX, 12–25a – commonly referred to as the "The Regulations for the Maskil" – constitutes a key text in relation to this figure, his attributes, and functions.⁷ The Cave 1 copy of the Community Rule indicates that the regulations and the immediately following hymn form a sequential text. As Newsom argues, the hymn appears to represent the "image of the leader who represents the spiritual ideal of the sect."⁸

2 Opening section: IX, 25b–26a

Determination of the hymn's opening line is a difficult task since no division exists between "The Regulations for the Maskil" (IX, 12–25a) and the hymn. A material reconstruction consisting of the end of 1QS IX, frag. 4a–d of 4QS^e (4Q259 IV, 4a–d) – which preserve "The Regulations for the Maskil" unit – and 4QOtot (4Q319), which belongs to the end of 4QS^e, demonstrates that IX, 26 does not form part of the regulation unit, being added to 1QS at a later stage with the

⁵ Chazon, *Use*; Hughes, *Allusions*, 39–40, 44–48, 61; Dimant, *Use*; Dimant, *Crucible*.

⁶ See further Newsom, *Self*, 169–174.

⁷ The unit known as "The Regulations for the Maskil" is constructed from two sets of headings (1QS IX, 12, 21) followed by a set of several regulations. The majority of the regulations relate to the Maskil's knowledge and insight regarding the periods and his role in segregating the community and the group's knowledge from outsiders.

⁸ Newsom, *Self*, 166.

rest of the hymn.⁹ IX, 25 is also absent from 4QS^e, possibly being related to it in the same fashion as IX, 26.¹⁰ These considerations enable us to determine that the hymn commences at some point within these two lines.

I propose that the hymn begins in IX, 25b with the sentence: **למשפט אל יצפה תמיד** (“for the judgement of God he always keeps watch”) on the grounds that the motif of **משפט** informs the headings and bridging units of the entire hymn. Never forming part of 4QS^e, – that is, part of the “Regulation for the Maskil” unit – this thus marks the transition to the hymn.

3 The bridging links

The division of the hymn into stanzas reveals that some lines do not fit the general structure of a particular stanza, or that they contain a different subject.¹¹ An overview allows us to discern that the motif of *mišpāt* runs as a conceptual thread throughout the hymn, permitting us to identify it as a unified lyrical unit.

The opening line presents the idea of **משפט** as a general idea, the Maskil being referred to in the third person: **למשפט אל יצפה תמיד** (“for the judgement of God he always keeps watch”)¹² (IX, 25). The bridging link to the second stanza brings the events back to the present, that is, the period of affliction (**ואימה ובמכון צרה עם בוקה בראשית פחד**) (X, 15). In contrast to the rest of IX, 25, the Maskil is the speaker here, evidently being fully aware of God’s judgement: **ואדעה כיא בידו משפט כל חי** (“for I know that in his hand is the judgement of every living being”) (X, 16). In the bridging link to the third stanza, the speaker brings God’s judgement closer by employing the first person singular, making it his own judgement: **כיא אני לאל משפטי ובידו תום דרכי**

⁹ For a discussion of the material reconstruction of 4QOtot, see Talmon/Ben-Dov/Glessmer, Qumran Cave, 199–200. More than ten copies of the Community Rule have been found at Qumran (1QS; 4QS^{a-i}; 5Q11?). Based on the different versions of the text preserved in the copies, Metso (Development, 143–147) and Alexander/Vermes (Qumran Cave, 12), as well as many others, have proposed divergent theories regarding the redaction that the Rule underwent. Metso maintains that col. X–XI were added to the Rule at a late stage of the process, Alexander/Vermes agreeing with this aspect of her thesis.

¹⁰ The first to notice this issue of textual redaction was Knibb (Qumran, 144). See also Metso, Development, 119; Newsom, Self, 168. For a detailed discussion of the beginning of the hymn, see Gayer, Hymn, 28–31.

¹¹ For an overview of the process of discerning into literary units, see Appendix 1.

¹² Unless otherwise noted, all translations of the Community Rule herein are from Charlesworth’s edition (Rule, 40–51).

(“but as for me, the judgement concerning me belongs to God and in his hand the perfection of my way”) (XI, 2). The judgement is also applied to the speaker in the concluding lines: **וּאִם אֶכְשׁוּל בְּעוֹזוֹן בִּשְׂרֵי מִשְׁפָּטֵי בְצִדְקַת אֱלֹהֵי תַעֲמוּד לְנִצְחִים** (“when I stumble over fleshly iniquity my judgement is by God’s righteousness which endures forever”) (XI, 12–13); **וּבְחַסְדֵּי יְבִיא מִשְׁפָּטֵי** (“In his mercy he brings my judgement”) (XI, 13–14). The alteration in the personal pronoun conveys the sense that the Day of Judgement is approaching. In the final line, the judgement appears, for the first time, to have occurred in the past: **בְּצִדְקַת אֱמוּנוֹ שִׁפְטָנִי** (“In the righteousness of his truth he has judged me”) (XI, 14).¹³

As noted above, the theme of judgement – which informs the bridging links, opening section and conclusion of the hymn – leads the stanzas toward the Day of Judgement. Although the hymn’s primary subject is not the *eschaton* – as indicated by the fact that the stanzas themselves do not address this theme – the speaker’s employment of it as a connecting link between the stanzas attests to its importance and significance for the community.¹⁴

4 First stanza: IX, 26b–X, 14

The first stanza has been the subject of much discussion because of its links with the institutionalization of prayer and calendrical issues through the “Hymn for the Set Times” or “Hymn of the Seasons” (X, 1–8).¹⁵ A close literary reading of the text establishes that the phrase **תְּרוֹמַת שְׁפִתַיִם** and the verb **אֲבָרְכֵנּוּ** form its external framework. The first stanza thus appears to begin in IX, 26b and end in X, 14.

It consists of two parallel parts, the first of which (IX, 26b–X, 8) – dealing with the times at which prayer is to be recited – was given the title “Hymn for the Set Times” by Yadin.¹⁶ The recurrence of the root **רִא"שׁ** (twice in X, 1 and

¹³ Contra Charlesworth’s: “he judges me”.

¹⁴ The Rule of the Congregation that follows the Community Rule in the Cave 1 scroll begins with the declaration: **זֶה הוּא הַסֵּדֶךְ לְכוֹל עֵדָה בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים** (“And this is the rule for all the Congregation of Israel in the end of days”) (1QSa I, 1). The fact that the final unit of the Community Rule – i.e., the Hymn of the Maskil – is related to the Day of Judgement and that the Rule of the Congregation follows directly after this forms an interesting link between the two compositions.

¹⁵ See Ben-Dov, Head, 44. For the institutionalization of prayer and calendrical issues, see notes 2 and 4 above.

¹⁶ Yadin, War, 321.

once in X, 4, 5, 6) and the allusion to the heavenly tablets in the description of the engraving of the set times in X 1 imbue this part of the stanza with a sense of divine activity.

The second part relating to human activities (X, 9) – singing, music playing, rejoicing (ארננה, X, 14), etc. – I have entitled the “Hymn of Human Artistry.” The headings of the two parts appear to have been inserted in order to reflect the structural and substantive dynamics between the two halves of the first stanza. As Table 1 demonstrates, the two sections share numerous features. The phrase תרומת שפתים and the root בר"ך (“bless”) in IX, 26 and X, 14 form an envelope that determines the opening and conclusion of the stanza. Similarly, each of them commencing with the term ראשית (beginning), X, 1–2 and 13–14 parallel one another.¹⁷

The most prominent feature of this stanza is the triple reference to the חוק חרות (“engraved statute”), an expression that appears to derive from 4QInstruction (4Q417 1 i, 15–17).¹⁸ The roots חר"ת (*h-r-t*) and חק"ק (*h-q-q*) recall both the stone tablets in Exodus (Exod 32:16) and the heavenly tablets.¹⁹ The phrase creates an internal envelope within the stanza (X, 6, 11), which is in turn divided into two parallel halves. In establishing a chiasmic structure, the centre of the stanza may be identified as the stanza’s principal theme.

The formal features that enable the two parts of the stanza to be identified are intended to undergird their content. Early on, Talmon suggested that lines 1–8 present the different times at which prayer is to be recited, lines 9–15 presenting the prayers themselves.²⁰ This proposal is commensurate with the structure suggested here. The parallelism attributes to human artistry – namely,

¹⁷ The word תרומת in IX, 26 is based on a reconstruction accepted by most scholars: cf. Charlesworth, Rule, 94; Licht, Rule Scroll, 208; Qimron, Dead Sea Scrolls, 226. Newsom (Self, 165) considers IX, 26b to form part of the heading of the hymn rather than of the first stanza. This proposal fits well with Licht’s claim (Rule Scroll, 202) of a *homoioteleuton* of the phrase תרומת שפתים between IX, 26 and X, 1. For further discussion of the significance of the root ש"רא, see Newsom, Self, 182–183.

¹⁸ The engraving motif also appears in 1QH^a IX, 23–24: הכול חקוק לפניכה בחרת זכרון and 4Q180 (AgesCreat A) 1, 2–3: על לחות: [] לקץ לקצו והוא חרות על לחות. Discussing the links between 4QInstruction and the Hodayot, Goff (Wisdom [2004], 272) draws attention to the fact that the root חק"ק reflects the deterministic worldview of the “Hodaya of Creation” (1QH^a IX). For a detailed analysis of the *hodaya*, see Lange, Weisheit, 223–225.

¹⁹ Lange (Weisheit, 80–92) defines this as a “nomistic context,” stressing the connection between the heavenly and stone tablets. In contrast, Goff (Wisdom [2003], 88–89) understands the phrase in relation to 4QInstruction, thus ascribing sapiential qualities to it (see also: Wisdom [2993], 156–158).

²⁰ Talmon, Order, 6.

prayer – a similar status to engraved time. In conjunction with the dual association with the heavenly tablets and prayer, the expression **חוק חרות** denotes that prayer is engraved on the tablets.

Table 1: Structure and framework of the first stanza

IX, 26–X, 1	<p>תרומת [שפתים יברכנו 1 עם קצים אשר חקקא 26 [with the offering of] lips He shall bless Him 1. with the times which he has decreed</p>			
	↓			
X, 6	<p>תרומת שפתים הברכנו כחוק חרות לעד with the offering of the lips I will praise him according to the statute engraved for ever</p>			
	↓			
X, 8–9	<p>ובכול היותי חוק חרות בלשוני לפרי תהלה ומנת שפתי 9 אזמרה בדעת As long as I live an engraved statute on my tongue as a fruit of praise, the portion of my lips 9 I will sing with skill</p>	Main idea	Internal framework	External framework
	↓			
X, 11	<p>ופשעי לנגד עיני כחוק חרות and my transgressions are before my eyes as an engraved statute</p>			
	↓			
X, 14	<p>ואברכנו תרוסת מוצא שפתי במערכת אנשים I will praise him with the offering of the utterance of my lips in the row of men.</p>			

The middle section of the stanza (X, 8–9) articulates the principal idea, reinforced through the structure of the central line. The relational *lamed* preceding the phrase **פרי תהלה** (“fruit of praise”) in line 8 structures the phrases **חוק חרות** and **תהלה פרי** according to a “cause and effect” relationship, that is to

say, the engraved statute causes the Maskil to give praise.²¹ The same device occurs in the second half of the sentence, in which the Maskil dedicates the “portion of the lips” to the glory of God: **ומנת שפתי אזמרה בדעת וכול נגינתי: לכבוד אל** (“the portion of my lips I will sing with skill and all my song to the glory of God”) (X, 8–9). The structure of this line implies that divine activity, as embodied in the engraved statute, inspires the human artistry of prayer that praises God and his creation.

The modification of the phrase **פרי תהילה** by **חוק חרות** establishes the fact that the Maskil’s prayer serves to mediate between God’s creation and human artistry. The second occurrence of **חוק חרות** (X, 8) emphasizes that it (as his offering) is forever on his tongue in praise of God and the glorification of his creation.²²

5 Second stanza: X, 17b–IX, 2a

The second stanza delineates the Maskil’s role in distinguishing between the community and those outside it, namely, their opponents.²³ Just as the first stanza is informed by the root **חק**“ק, this one revolves around the root **גב**“ל (*g-b-l*), being characterized by short action-sentences.²⁴ Like the first stanza, the second is also structured in parallel halves (X, 17b–23a // X, 23b–XI, 2a), the two halves being distinguished from one another by the use of different sentence forms. The negative valence of those in the first half lays stress on what the Maskil should avoid, primarily in relation to the community’s opponents:

ולהון חמס לוא תאזה נפשי לוא אקנא ברוח רשעה

²⁵(X, 18–20) ואפיא לוא אשיב מאנשי עולה ורייב אנש ןחת לוא א תפיש עדי ןם נקם

²¹ For the function of the relational *lamed*, see Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 487–488.

²² For the root **חק**“ק is the sense of “something fixed or determined”; cf. Jer 31:35; Prov 8:15; HALOT 299, 3.

²³ Newsom (Self, 170) identifies the Maskil as a “gateway or boundary marking figure”.

²⁴ A semantic link between these two roots is created by various biblical verses that contain them both: cf. Jer 5:22; Job 38:8–11. For the use of the root **חק**“ק as signifying a “set border”, cf. Mic 7:11; Job 14:5; 38:8; Prov 8:29.

²⁵ The hymn employs a wide range of derogatory terms to denote the community’s adversaries. It is difficult to ascertain whether this constitutes a literary device or whether the terms are adduced for other reasons. The designation of the Yahad’s opponents by code words being a well-known characteristic of the Pesharim, the names may denote their enemies or a splinter

Table 2: Structure of the second stanza

Negative valance actions	⇒	Negative action + heart	⇒	3 Nega- tive actions +organs of prayer	↔	3 Posi- tive actions + organs of prayer	⇐	Positive action + heart	⇐	Positive valance actions
X, 18–21		X, 21		X, 21–22		X, 22–24		X, 24		X, 24–IX, 2

As evident from the phrase **גבול סמוך** (“firm boundary”; X, 25), the root **גב"ל** recalls the Damascus Document and Thanksgiving Scroll, which make frequent use of the motif of the border.²⁶ Perhaps the most prominent description of the Maskil as a boundary-marking figure occurs in 1QH^a X, 8: **ותעמד פעמי בגבול רשעה ואהיה פח לפושעים**.²⁷ The Damascus Document reiterates and underlines the link between “(re)moving the boundaries,” “contravention of the law,” and “violation of the covenant” (CD V, 20; XX, 25–27; 4Q266 11, 11–12); the author of the Hymn of the Maskil creates the same associations through the roots **גב"ל** and **חק"ק**.²⁸

The hymn employs several additional motifs to highlight the issue of segregation:

1. The concealment of knowledge: **בעצת תושיה אס"תר דעת** (“with the counsel of salvation I will conceal knowledge”) (X, 24).²⁹

26 For the root **סמ"ך** carrying the same meaning, cf. Ps 111:8; Isa 26:3. The phrase **גבול סמוך** is unique and occurs only here in the scrolls. The phrase **יצר סמוך** (cf. Isa 26:3) is more common, occurring in the Hodayot in a similar context to the phrase **גבול סמוך**, describing the hymnist’s role in the conflict with the community’s opponents (1QH^a X, 7–9, 9–11 in DJD 40): “you support my soul by strengthening my loins and increasing my strength; you made my steps sturdy on the frontier of evil (**גבול רשעה**) so that I became a trap for offenders but a medicine for all who turn away from offence, a wit for simple folk and a staunch purpose (**יצר סמוך**) for the timorous at heart.” Translation from García Martínez/Tigchelaar (Dead Sea Scrolls, 161).

27 Cf. 1QH^a XI, 24; XV, 14.

28 In the Damascus Document, the community’s opponents are called, inter alia, **מסיגי הגבול**, “those who remove the boundaries”. In CD V, 20–21, this group is accused of leading Israel astray: **ובקץ חרבן הארץ עמדו מסיגי הגבול ויתעו את ישראל ומשפטי קודשכה יעשה האדם וחיה וגבולות הגבלתה לנו אשר את**. The phrase **מסיגי הגבול** is clarified by the text of 4Q266 (D^b) 11 11–13: **את**. **עובריהם ארותה**. The first part of the sentence notes that whoever keeps God’s commandments shall live, the second part that those who breach the boundaries will be cursed. The parallelism indicates that the borders represent God’s regulations and statutes, those who removed them thus being those who defied His will; see Goldman, Exegesis, 94.

29 Cf. 1QS IX, 17: **ולסתר את עצת התורה בתוכ אנשי העול**.

2. The combination **שׁוֹךְ** + **בְּעֵדָה**: **וּבְעֵרְמַת דַּעַת אֲשׁוּכַ בְּעֵדָה**: “and with prudent knowledge I will hedge it”) (X, 25). The Hebrew root **שׁוֹךְ** frequently signifies the idea of “defence” in the Hebrew Bible and Qumran literature.³⁰
3. The geometric term **קו** (“line”; X, 26) indicates the correct measurement of the law. In X, 26, the word signifies a tool in the hand of the hymnist for properly interpreting the set times: **אֲחַלְקָה חוֹק בְּקוֹ עֵתִים**: “I will measure a statute by the measuring line of time”).³¹ The act of engraving the line, which recalls the inscribing of the ordinances on the tablets and thereby alludes to the engraved statute, establishes a clear boundary between the community and those outside it.

The line (**קו**) drawn on the ground segregating the community from its opponents is established by the **חוֹק חֲרוּת**, the hedge, and the **גְּבוּל סְמוּךְ** (cf. Jer 5:22). These motifs, which are reflected in the stanza’s structure, aid in elucidating how the Maskil segregates the community by means of prayer.

6 Third stanza: IX, 2b–11

Like the first two stanzas, the third also consists of two halves. Here, however, no parallelism or defined centre is discernible. The defining structural element of this stanza lies in its opening and closing lines (lines 2 and 11), which delineate its parameters.

1QS XI, 2: כִּי אֲנִי לֹאֵל מִשְׁפָּטִי וּבִידוֹ תוֹם דְּרַכִּי

1QS XI, 10–11: כִּי אֲנִי לֹאֵל הַמִּשְׁפָּט וּמִידוֹ תוֹם הַדֶּרֶךְ

³⁰ For the root **שׁוֹךְ** as signifying “separation”, see HALOT 1312. For a similar biblical usage, cf. Job 1:10.

³¹ Charlesworth (Rule, 47) interprets the verb **אֲחַלְקָה** as “measure” and the “line” as an instrument with which to measure the various statutes. Licht (Rule Scroll, 82) associates the verb with Isa 34:17: **בְּקוֹ עַד-עוֹלָם יִדְוֶה חֲלֻקָתָהּ לָהֶם** (1QIsa^a = חֲלֻקָת), thus suggesting that it carries a pedagogic sense. García Martínez/Tigchelaar (Dead Sea Scrolls, 97) translate: “I shall share out the regulation with the cord of the ages,” which I believe to be erroneous. Licht and Charlesworth appear to share the same understanding of the verb, Licht merely adding the pedagogic meaning in light of the Maskil’s sapiential aspect. Both these scholars also interpret the “line” as a measuring tool, the set times functioning as scale marks measuring the correct division of the times. In my opinion, this is a more accurate exegesis.

The first half of the stanza (lines 3–6) is structured chiasmically, the idea of the firmness of faith lying at its centre (line E–E' in Table 3).

Table 3: Chiasmatic structure of the third stanza: XI, 3–6

A	כיֹּא מִמְקוֹר דַּעְתּוֹ פִּתַּח אֹרִי from the fountain of his knowledge he has released my light
B	וּבִנְפִלְאוֹתָיו הִבִּיטָה עֵינַי ³² my eye beheld his wonders
C	וְאוֹרֹת לְבָבִי בְרוּ 4 נְהִיָּה ³³ the light of my heart beheld the Raz 4 Nihyeh
D	וְהוּיָא עוֹלָם ³⁴ מִשַּׁעַן יְמִינִי what shall occur and is occurring forever is a support for my right hand
E	בְּסֹלֶעַ עוֹז דְּרַכַּ פְּעָמַי מִפְּנֵי כּוֹל לּוֹא יִזַּד עֲזָרְעָ ³⁵ on a firm rock the way of my footstep it shall not be shaken on account of anything
E'	כִּיֹּא אִמַּת אֵל הִיאָה 5 סֹלֶעַ פְּעָמַי for the truth of God is 5 the rock of my footstep
D'	וּגְבוּרָתוֹ מִשַּׁעֲנַת יְמִינִי and his strength is the staff in my right hand
C'	וּמִמְקוֹר צְדָקְתּוֹ מִשְׁפָּטִי from the fountain of his righteousness is my justice
B'	אוֹר בְּלִבִּי מְרִזֵּי פִּלְאוֹ a light comes into my heart from his wondrous mysteries
A'	בְּהוּיָא עוֹלָם 6 הִבִּיטָה עֵינַי תּוֹשִׁיָּה אֲשֶׁר נִסְתָּרָה מֵאֲנוּשׁ ... my eyes beheld what shall occur forever 6 salvation which is hidden from human-kind ...

³² Cf. Ps 119:18: גַּלְעֵינִי וְאִבִּיטָה נִפְלְאוֹת מְתוֹרֶתְךָ.

³³ The phrase Raz Nihyeh, “The Mystery that is to be” appears over 20 times in the sapiential composition 4QInstruction (4Q415–418; 4Q418a; 4Q423; 1Q26), twice in 1QMysteries (1Q27 1 I, 3–4), and once in the Community Rule (1QS XI, 3–4). Goff (Wisdom [2004], 15) understands it to signify a supernatural revelation through which the addressee obtains wisdom. See also Goff, Wisdom [2007], 13–17; Schoors, Language, 86–88; Kister, Wisdom Literature, 30–35; Lange, Weisheit, 55–68.

³⁴ Both Wernberg-Møller (Manual, 38) and Charlesworth (Rule, 46–47) link the phrase הוּיָא עוֹלָם in VI, 4 with the previous sentence: וְאוֹרֹת לְבָבִי בְרוּ נְהִיָּה וְהוּיָא עוֹלָם. Licht, on the other hand, (Rule Scroll, 90) reads the passage according to the chiasmatic structure, dividing the lines accordingly. He thus renders “*hōyē’ ʾōlam* is (are?) a support” for the hymnist right hand, understanding the Raz Nihyeh (XI, 3–4) as “a system of mysteries and rules of the eternal universe.” For the root ה״ה in this context, see Lange, Weisheit, 60; Goff, Wisdom [2007], 13–15.

³⁵ This should be read יִזְדַּעַע.

The first section of the third stanza no longer uses the first person singular, the focus shifting to God, who here becomes the active figure. The chiasmatic structure allows the author to liken God's truth to a **סלע עוז** ("firm rock") upon which he places his feet and finds support (lines E and E' in Table 3).³⁶ Although these are the only lines in which the Maskil is the active figure, the chiasmatic structure implies that God gives the Maskil steadfast trust because of his faith.³⁷

The use of stability as a metaphor for God's truth is a very natural one in biblical terms, a man of truth being a trustworthy man: **כִּי־הוּא כְּאִישׁ אֱמֶת וִירָא** ("for he was a more trustworthy and God-fearing man than most") (Neh 7:2).³⁸ 1QH^a XIV, 14 compares truth to a firm rock, the speaker likening himself to a man standing behind a sturdy wall whose foundations are a **סלע** ("rock") and a **קו המשפט** ("line of judgement"), both of which are motifs linked to the theme of the second stanza. A similar description occurs in 1QS XI: **כִּי אַתָּה תִּשִׁים סוּד עַל סִלְעַ וּכְפִיס עַל קו מִשְׁפָּט וּמִשְׁקֶלֶת אִמָּ [ת] לְ[נ] סוֹת** **כִּי אַתָּה תִּשִׁים סוּד עַל סִלְעַ וּכְפִיס עַל קו מִשְׁפָּט וּמִשְׁקֶלֶת אִמָּ [ת] לְ[נ] סוֹת** (1QH^a XIV, 26).

The emphasis laid on the foundations of the wall is significant in light of the keyword in the second half of the third stanza, namely, **סוד**. While this noun frequently signifies "assembly" or "company" as, for example, in the phrase **סוד רימה** ("assembly of worms") (XI, 10) or **ועם בני שמים חבר סודם** ("with the sons of heaven he has joined together") (XI, 8), here it carries the second meaning of "foundation," from the root **יס"ד** rather than **סו"ד**.³⁹ In the phrase **סוד מבנית קודש**, it combines both the standard meaning of "assembly" and the literary meaning of "foundation."⁴⁰

Line 8 indicates that the function of the "foundation" was to keep the community firmly established: **ועם בני שמים חבר סודם לעצת יחד וסוד מבנית קודש למטעת עולם עם כל קץ נהיה** ("He unites their assembly to the sons of the heavens in order [to form] the council of the Community, a foundation of the building of holiness to be an everlasting plantation throughout all future ages").

³⁶ For another use of the root **יז"ע** in the context of steadfast trust, cf. 1QS VII, 18: **והאיש אשר יזע רוחו מיסוד היחד ... תזוע רוחו מיסוד היחד** ...

³⁷ For a similar description of **היחד**, cf. 1QS VIII, 7–8: **עצת היחד יקר בל יזדעעו: היאה חומת הבחן פנת יקר בל יזדעעו: יסודותיהו ובל יחישו ממקומם**.

³⁸ This etymology is even more striking when other Semitic languages, such as Arabic, are adduced. Here, the root of truth is *h-q-q*, thereby linking this stanza with the first: see Badawi/Haleem, Dictionary, 224–226. For **אמת** in the sense of "stability," see HALOT, 68.

³⁹ See HALOT, 744. The Yahad were accustomed to calling themselves **סוד קודש** (1QS VIII, 5) or **סוד קדושים** (1QH^a XII, 25), the noun also being used to denote their adversaries: **סוד והמה סוד** (1QH^a X, 22).

⁴⁰ Cf. 1QH^a XIV, 26: **תשים סוד על סלע**.

As the first part of this line 8 suggests, angels and men join together in a סוד יחד עצת ("council of the community"), the *waw* preceding the second occurrence of סוד demonstrating that the סוד מבנית קודש ("foundation of the assembly") grounds the Yahad and provides it with מטעת עולם ("eternal existence"), which is the communal process itself.

In the first part of the stanza, therefore, the hymnist describes God's truth as a firm rock on which he stands. The second part of the stanza provides the second pillar of the hymnist's stability, which is the community. The double meaning of the סוד attests to the complex nature of the noun. The segregating barrier that the hymnist constructs in the second stanza similarly rests on two pillars: the "assembly" to which he belongs and upon whom he leans – that is, the community – and trust in God, the stable and trustworthy foundation of the bulwark.

7 Conclusion

The linkage between divine deeds and human artistry formed by the Maskil's prayer in the first stanza emphasizes that prayer, as the most important aspect of human artistry, serves as a way of praising God. The second stanza develops this idea, intimating that prayer also functions as a key instrument in segregating the community from its opponents, which is one of the Maskil's central tasks. The third stanza grounds the community's borders and its stability upon the Maskil, who stands steadfast and firm upon God's truth. The hymn thus creates a system of mutual dependence: while the community requires the Maskil for protection and separation from its opponents, the firmness of the division depends on the fact that he belongs to the community. God's truth and work, expressed in divine deeds, on the one hand, and the Maskil's faith in Him on the other, thus form both the basis of the relationship between the leader and his followers and the source of prayer and trust.

Abstract

This article takes a fresh look at the "Hymn of the Maskil" in columns IX, 25b–XI, 15a of the Cave 1 copy of the Community Rule (1QS). Through an examination of the content and structure of the hymn, the article demonstrates the central role of prayer and steadfast trust in the everyday life of the Maskil as a leading figure of the Yahad.

A close reading of the hymn's formal features reveals that it contains three stanzas. These are linked via bridging units that also serve as headings. A leading biblical motif informs each of the stanzas, which are connected in both forms and content.

The first two stanzas describe the various roles of the Maskil: praising God at the appointed times (first stanza) and being a boundary figure, facing both the inside and the outside (second stanza). The idea of steadfast trust in God which lies at the centre of the third stanza thus creates a link between the first two stanzas. This emphasizes the fact that prayer serves as a key instrument in the community's segregation from its opponents; the author's task being to separate and defend the community.

Appendix 1: Discerning literary units within the hymn

Being poetic in form, the hymn calls for a specific set of literary tools and methods to understand its portrayal of the Maskil. A close reading of the hymn's formal features reveals that it contains three stanzas, each of which addresses a different aspect of the Maskil. The stanzas are linked via bridging units that also serve as headings. A leading motif informs each of the stanzas, which are connected in both form and content.

The first stanza (1QS IX, 26b–X, 14) presents the Maskil as a figure who mediates between divine creation and human artistry, thereby highlighting the important role prayer played in this office. The second stanza (1QS X, 17–XI, 2) presents the Maskil as the community's lodestone, dividing the group's members from the outside world. The third stanza (1QS XI, 2–XI, 11) stresses the stability and steadfast-trust the community enjoys, thanks to the Maskil.

This textual division is based on the determination of the first stanza as consisting of the material between the **יברכנו** (“he shall praise him”) blessings in IX, 26 and the **אברכנו** (“I shall praise him”) in X, 14, and identification of the phrase **תרומת שפתיים** (“offering of the lips”) in IX, 26 and X, 14 as a delineating marker. The third stanza comprises XI, 3–11, the opening and concluding lines of which are structurally and substantively analogous. Once these units have been established, it is possible to ascertain the bridging links – which also serve as headings – by means of the common motif of **משפט** (*mišpāt*). This in turn enables the precise pinpointing of the opening line of the hymn and the beginning of the second stanza – both subjects of much scholarly debate. In my view, the hymn should be read according to the following division:

- 1) Opening/first heading: IX, 25 from the words **למשפט אל** to the (reconstruction) **יספר חסדיו** in IX, 26.
- 2) First stanza: IX, 26 from the words **ותרומת שפתיים** to the words **במערכת אנשים** in X, 14.
- 3) Bridging unit and heading to the second stanza: X, 15 from the beginning of the line to the words **ארננה יחד** in X, 17.
- 4) Second stanza: X, 17 from the words **לוא אשיב** to the words **ומקני הון** in XI, 2.
- 5) Bridging unit and heading to the third stanza: XI, 2 from the words **כיא אני** to the words **ימה פשעי** in XI, 3.
- 6) Third stanza: X, 3 from the words **כיא ממקור** to the words **לוא יעשה** in XI, 11.
- 7) Ending unit: XI, 11 from the words **ואני אם** to the words **תפארתו** in XI, 15.

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Oda Wischmeyer

Prayer and Emotion in Mark 14:32–42 and Related Texts

Mark 14:32–42 reports on the prayer that – according to the Gospel of Mark – Jesus of Nazareth said, before he was taken prisoner. In the course of exegetical research, the text has been interpreted along different lines: first, concerning the relationship between tradition and redaction; second, concerning the issue whether, and to what extent, the pericope was part of the (older) passion narrative; third, the connection to the psalms of individual lament; and fourth, the Septuagint language of Jesus’s prayer.

In my paper, I wish to draw attention, in particular, to the *emotions* that are connected with the prayer, and to the emotional setting of the narrative in the pericope. From the outset, I would like to make a comment on the issue of the religious classification of the text in question. We have to bear in mind that the evangelist Mark, member of a Christ-confessing community of the second generation,¹ transmits the wording of a short prayer of Jesus but one recited without witnesses.² This means that what we read is *a priori* part of Mark’s narrative or of his sources, not the wording of Jesus himself. In other words: what we read is not the original record of the pious Jesus’s prayer recited while in mortal danger, but a text written by a Christ-believer some forty years after Jesus’s death. That said, although Mark 14 is to an extent an Early Christian text, and does not simply reproduce a Jewish prayer, the text may nevertheless be read as a document that reflects how early Christian authors, who themselves were ethnic Jews or at least very close to contemporary Judaism,³ thought of Jesus and the way he had prayed. That is why Mark 14 and related texts are for good reason read and interpreted in the context of Early Jewish texts.

1 A short introduction into the topic of prayer

During the past decade much scholarship has been conducted on the topic of prayer in the Tanakh, as well as in Early Jewish and in Early Christian texts. I merely recall *Yearbook 2004 of Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature* on

1 See Collins, Mark, 673–683.

2 See Scheer, Götter, 45–46 (for the practice of loud prayer).

3 See my contribution in: Identity, 355–378.

“Prayer from Tobit to Qumran”,⁴ a collection of essays that covers the three fields I have just mentioned. Since then, in the field of New Testament and Early Christian Studies, three titles deserve special recommendation: first, the monograph of Hermut Löhr on the prayer of 1 Clem. 59–61;⁵ second, the broad study of Karl-Heinrich Ostmeyer on New Testament prayer;⁶ and third, the collection of essays on „Das Gebet im Neuen Testament“, edited by Hans Klein, Vasile Mihoc and Karl Wilhelm Niebuhr in 2009.

Prayer, one of the most important forms of Jewish religious practice together with almsgiving and fasting, is often mentioned in the New Testament. Not surprisingly, prayer is an integral part of the religious practices of Jesus according to the synoptic Jesus-tradition. In the Gospel of John, Jesus does not pray in the sense of asking God for a favour, but has conversations with God, especially in chapter 17, Jesus’s so called “priestly prayer”.⁷ The highest attention has always been paid to the “Our Father” in the Gospel of Matt 6:9–14 par.⁸ In his first letter to the Christ-believing Corinthians, Paul gives particular advice about the right way of praying in the community (chapters 11 and 14).⁹ The author of the Acts of the Apostles hands down the wording of several important acts of praying in the young Christ-believing communities.¹⁰ To put it briefly: the earliest Christ-believing communities were very close to the practices of both public and private Jewish prayer. In the texts of the synoptic gospels, however, we also find a certain tendency towards polemical dispute about the practices of Jewish prayer, with a preference for a brief wording and an attitude of humility.¹¹

4 Egger-Wenzel/Corley, *Prayer*. The volume covers the whole area of Old Testament, Early Jewish and New Testament texts. For Judaism in the Second Temple period, see the article of S.C. Reif in the present volume; also Urbanz, *Gebet*.

5 Löhr, *Studien*.

6 Ostmeyer, *Kommunikation*. Ostmeyer gives a comprehensive history of research on pages 2–28.

7 See the essay of Ostmeyer, *Prayer*, 233–247.

8 See Klein, *Vaterunser*, 77–114.

9 See the essay of Löhr, *Formen*, 115–132 (the essay deals only with forms and traditions in prayers of the Pauline communities).

10 Cf. Act 1:24–25; 4:24–30; 7:59, 60.

11 Cf. Mark 12:40 par. Luke 18:13 (the tax collector utters only one short prayer petition: ὁ θεός ἰλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ).

2 Prayer in the Gospel of Mark

Table 1: Prayer in the Gospel of Mark

1:35	Jesus prays at a lonely place.
2:12	The people praise God (prayer of thanksgiving).
6:41	Jesus says the thanksgiving prayer.
6:46	Jesus prays at a lonely place on a mountain.
7:34	Jesus uses gestures of praying (looking up to heaven and sighing).
8:6	Jesus says the thanksgiving prayer.
9:29	Praying in the fight against demons.
11:17	Jesus's comment on the Temple as house of prayer (Isa 56:7).
11:22–25	Jesus's teaching on prayer.
12:40	Jesus's polemics against the praying of the Pharisees.
13:18	Jesus's request for prayer (in the context of the prophecy about the events of the end).
14:22–23	Jesus says the thanksgiving prayer.
14:26	Jesus and the disciples sing a hymn after the last supper.
14:32–42	Jesus prays in Gethsemane.
15:34	Jesus's last cry (Ps 22:2).

Karl-Heinrich Ostmeyer gives a comprehensive overview of the vocabulary of prayer in the Gospel of Mark.¹² The evangelist uses *προσεύχομαι/προσευχή* for the praying of Jesus (Mark 1:35; 6:46; 14:32, 35, 39) which is at the focus of this paper. Already in 1:35, the author of the Gospel of Mark reports that Jesus was praying apart from the people: he “went away to an unpopulated place, and began to pray there.”¹³ This note belongs to what we call “Markan redaction”. Adela Collins argues that 1:35–39 is “editorial”, and she points to the “correspondence” between Mark 1:35 and Mark 14:32–42.¹⁴

We meet a different kind of prayer in 11:20–25. In this pericope, Jesus gives his disciples instruction on the connection between miracle-working, faith and prayer. It is “miracle-belief” that is commended here by Jesus. Already in 9:23, Jesus characterizes firm belief as the power that makes *πάντα δυνατὰ τῷ πιστεύοντι* (“everything possible for the one who believes”) and points to the fact that certain demons can be expelled only by the kind of prayer that is based

¹² Ostmeyer, *Kommunikation*, 212–235.

¹³ See also 6:40; text according to the translation by Collins, Mark.

¹⁴ Collins, Mark, 177.

on “miracle-belief”¹⁵ which he himself practises in the strongest and most successful way (9:14–29).

Scholars have always pointed to the fact that there is a fundamental tension between Mark 9 and 11 on the one hand, and Mark 1 and 14 on the other. While, in chapter 11, Jesus encourages the disciples to pray in the firm expectation of being heard, his own prayer in chapter 14 waives any request for the protection of his life. The wording of Mark 14:36a, that is, Jesus’s address to God: ἀββα ὁ πατήρ, πάντα δυνατά σοι, is very close to the confident phrase of 10:27: πάντα γὰρ δυνατὰ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. But, at the same time, even at the very same moment, Jesus restrains his request for salvation from death by adding: “But (let) not what I want (be), but what you want”. This phrase is obviously parallel to the saying of the “Our Father” in Matt 6:10: γενεθήτω τὸ θελημα σου. Mark does not transmit the text of the “Our Father”, but shares traditions with the recording source Q and with Matthew¹⁶ regarding the sayings about God’s will (Mark 14:36d) and forgiveness (Matt 6:12a and 14–15; Mark 11:25).

What we see in Mark are two different statements on faith and prayer that are both part of the Jesus-tradition, with the first underlining the strength of a confident prayer. This tradition is connected with sayings and stories on miracle-belief and on miracle-working, that is to say, exorcism. The second statement spells out faith as obedience: “In an ancient Jewish context, this late statement may be seen as an expression of perfect obedience”, comments Adela Yarbro Collins.¹⁷ The first tradition is part of Jesus’s public preaching and healing, and although Mark makes a difference between the healing power of Jesus and that of the disciples,¹⁸ he leaves no doubt that the disciples have the same healing power, based on miracle-belief as Jesus (Mark 3:13–19; 6:7–13). The second tradition underlines Jesus’s uniqueness. He is the one who lives according to the third request of the “Our Father”. The evangelist underlines this aspect of Jesus’s praying by including the narrative units in chapter 1 and 14, which report on Jesus’s lonely and devotional prayer.

¹⁵ For other traces of “miracle-belief” in Mark, see Collins, Mark, 534–535.

¹⁶ Cf. Collins, Mark, 537.

¹⁷ Collins, Mark, 679.

¹⁸ Cf. Mark 9:14–29.

3 Emotions in the Gospel of Mark

Stephen C. Barton starts his essay on “Eschatology and the Emotions in Early Christianity”¹⁹ with the following appropriate statement: “Academic interest in the study of the emotions has grown considerably in recent years.”²⁰ With regard to the New Testament, however, Barton argues that emotions are “a missing element in the study of early Christianity.”²¹ Fortunately, Barton’s view is somewhat outdated: there are seminal contributions by Gerd Theissen since 1993²² and recent studies by David E. Aune,²³ Petra von Gemünden and the contributors to the DCL Yearbook 2011²⁴ – to name only a few examples.

What I wish to do here is to provide no more than a short overview of those pericopes, in which emotions play a considerable role, and to roughly map the language of emotions in the Gospel of Mark.

Table 2: Emotions in the Gospel of Mark

1:21–22	General note on the emotional effect of Jesus’s teaching on the audience (amazement).
1:23–28	The crowd is terribly afraid: the whole pericope creates a scene of anxiety.
1:41	Jesus has compassion for a leper.
2:12	The audience is terribly afraid.
3:1–6	Note on Jesus’s anger and grief.
3:21	Jesus’s family thinks him mad.
4:35–41	The disciples are terribly afraid.
5:15	People are afraid of the healing-miracle near Gerasa.
5:20	People marvel about Jesus.

19 Barton, *Eschatology*, 571–591.

20 Barton, *Eschatology*, 571. See Wischmeyer, *1. Korinther*, 343–359. To the bibliography (356–359) add: Meyer-Sickendiek, *Affektpoetik*; Konstan, *Emotions*; von Gemünden, *Affekt* (for earlier contributions of von Gemünden see: *Affekt*, footnote 19); Riis/Woodhead, *Sociology*; von Gemünden, *Affekte*, 255–284 (with an updated bibliography). There has been much scholarly work on the broader themes of emotion – body – mind, especially in the fields of history, sociology, psychology, cultural history, and applied philosophy. “Emotions” have become a key term for cross-disciplinary research in these fields. See Plamper, *Geschichte*, and Frevert, *Vertrauensfragen*; Frevert, *Gefühle*; with a survey of the current theory-based approaches given by Scheer, *Emotions*, 193–220.

21 Barton, *Eschatology*, 571.

22 See the bibliography in Wischmeyer, *1. Korinther* (footnote 21).

23 Aune, *Passions*, 221–237.

24 Egger-Wenzel/Corley, *Emotions*.

- 5:33 The woman with the flow of blood is terribly afraid.
- 5:36 Jesus asks Jairus not to fear.
- 5:38 The public is weeping and mourning because of the death of the daughter.
- 5:40 The public mocks and laughs at Jesus.
- 5:42 The audience is terribly amazed by the healing of the daughter of Jairus.
- 6:2–3 The audience in the synagogue in Capernaum is amazed and outraged at Jesus's teaching.
- 6:6 Jesus marvels at the unbelief of the people of Nazareth.
- 6:20 Herod is afraid of John the Baptist.
- 6:34 Jesus has compassion for the people.
- 6:49–51 The disciples are terribly afraid at the Sea of Galilee.
- 7:37 The audience is terribly amazed by Jesus's healing power.
- 8:2 Jesus has compassion for the people.
- 8:33 Jesus starts a verbal attack on Peter: Jesus uses highly emotional language.
- 9:6 Peter, James and John are terribly afraid at the mountain of transfiguration.
- 9:15 The crowd is amazed at Jesus.
- 9:19 Jesus's anger with the people.
- 9:32 The disciples are afraid of asking Jesus.
- 10:14 Jesus is angry with the disciples.
- 10:21 Jesus likes a wealthy man.
- 10:22 The man is sad.
- 10:24–26 The disciples are astounded by Jesus's teaching on wealth.
- 10:32 The disciples' fear on the way to Jerusalem.
- 10:41 The disciples' anger with James and John.
- 11:8–10 The setting of Jesus's entry into Jerusalem is full of the emotions of joy and admiration.
- 11:18 Fear of the religious authorities, amazement at the people.
- 11:32; 12:12 The authorities fear the crowd.
- 12:17 The authorities marvel about Jesus's answer.
- 14:4 Some individuals are angry with the woman who anoints Jesus.
- 14:11 The priests are happy about the intention of Judas to hand Jesus over to them.
- 14:19 The disciples are sad.
- 14:33–34 Jesus is distressed and anxious and in fear of death.
- 14:72 Peter weeps.
- 15:5 Pontius Pilate marvels at Jesus's silence.
- 15:6–15 *The setting of the pericope is full of the emotions of envy²⁵ and violence.*
- 15:33–37 Jesus in mortal agony and final desperation.
- 15:44 Pontius Pilate marvels at Jesus's death.
- 16:1–8 *The setting of the pericope is characterized by the trembling, amazement and fear of the women on Easter morning.*
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²⁵ See Hagedorn/Neyrey, *Envy*, 15–56.

As the table shows, the author of the Gospel uses some main patterns for narrating emotions. The most effective way of expressing emotions within texts, and of evoking emotions among the audience, is to create brief narrative units that are entirely characterized by an emotional setting.²⁶ What the author uses for achieving such impact is the vocabulary of fear, anxiety, amazement, lamentation or desperation. Mark 14:32–42 is a perfect paradigm of this kind of *narrating* of emotions. Another literary pattern is the consistent characterization of the crowd's reaction to Jesus's teaching and healing: they again and again react by showing their feelings of amazement, anxiety, fear, and outrage at Jesus's powerful miracles of healing, sometimes also at his preaching or argument, or simply his powerful person (δύναμις²⁷). In all these situations, however, the crowd remains indecisive in their attitude towards Jesus. It is only in Jerusalem where the crowd acts in a decisive way: first with joy and admiration, but shortly thereafter they are full of violence and hate. The picture the author gives of the disciples is largely similar to that of the crowd during Jesus's time in Galilee. Fear is a characteristic feature of the disciples' emotional behaviour towards Jesus. The disciples remain mostly indecisive too. We find the same attitude, even with the women: the final sentence of the Gospel relates to the women. Its wording is: ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ ("they were afraid").²⁸

In particular situations the author adds stronger emotions such as anger or grief, sighing or crying out, even tears. In general, the evangelist focuses his narrative consistently on Jesus. Jesus is the only one whose emotional reactions vary: the author attributes to Jesus compassion, love (ἀγάπη), anger, grief, fear of death and mortal desperation. To sum up: the Gospel of Mark is full of emotions, especially of literary settings that are dominated by strong emotions.

²⁶ See the italics in the table.

²⁷ See Mark's concept of the religious δύναμις of Jesus: 5:30; 6:2, 5, 14; 9:39 (other people who act in Jesus's name).

²⁸ Von Gemünden, *Affekte*, 272, argues in a similar direction, though without pointing to the underlying pattern of fear as an expression of the particular kind of indecisiveness that is the reason for Jesus's anger.

Table 3: The Lexicon of Emotions in the Gospel of Mark

ἐκπλήσσω ²⁹	1:22; 6:2; 7:37; 10:26; 11:18 (together with φοβέομαι)
λυπέω/συλλυπέω/περίλυπος ³⁰	10:22; 14:19/3:5/6:26; 14:34
ὀργή ³¹	3:5
κράζω ³² /ἀνακράζω ³³	3:11; 5:5, 7; 9:24, 26; 10:47–48; 11:9; 15:13–14/1:23; 6:49
ἐπιτιμᾶω ³⁴	1:25; 3:12; 4:39; 8:30, 32–33; 9:25; 10:13, 48
θαμβέω ³⁵ /ἐκθαμβέω ³⁶	1:27; 10:24, 32/9:15; 14:33; 16:5–6 (repetition)
σπλαγγνίζομαι ³⁷	1:41; 6:34; 8:2; [9:22]
ἐξίστημι/ἔκστασις ³⁸	2:12; 3:21; 5:42 (ἐχέστησαν ἐκστάσει μεγάλη ³⁹)/6:51; 16:8 (together with τρόμος)
δειλόσ ⁴⁰	4:40 (opposition: πίστις)
φοβέομαι ⁴¹ /φόβος ⁴² /ἔκφοβος ⁴³	4:41; ⁴⁴ 5:15, 33 (opposition: πίστις), 36; 6:20, 50; 9:32; 10:32 (together with θαμβέω); 11:18 (together with ἐκπλήσσομαι), 32; 12:12; 16:8 (the closing word of the Gospel; put together with τρόμος καὶ ἔκστασις)/4:41/9:6
τρέμω/τρόμος	5:33 (together with φοβέω)/16:8 (together with ἔκστασις)
καταγελάω	5:40 (in the sense of “laugh down”)
ταράσσω	6:50 (together with ἀνακράζω)
στενάζω ⁴⁵ /ἀναστενάζω	7:34; 8:12
ἀγανακτέω ⁴⁶	10:14, 41; 14:4

29 Cf. Eccl 7:17; Wis 13:4; 2 Macc 7:12; 4 Macc 8:4; 17:6.

30 Twice in LXX; *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament.

31 Codex D has several times ὀργίζομαι (see von Gemünden, *Affekte*, 258–259).

32 Not a lexeme of emotion, but of the physical expression of an emotion; very frequently used in LXX, especially in the psalms of lament.

33 ἀνακράζω: 13 times in LXX.

34 In NT texts, τιμᾶω occurs only in LXX quotations. LXX: several proofs; see esp. Sir 11:7; Zech 3:3; 3 Macc 2:24.

35 *Vacat* LXX [Aq Gen 49:9].

36 LXX: Sir 30:9.

37 Twice in LXX.

38 Frequently occurring in LXX.

39 *Figura etymologica*.

40 Six times in Sirach and the book of Wisdom; five other proofs.

41 Very frequently in LXX, especially in Psalms, prophets, Sirach, Daniel. For the gospels see von Gemünden, *Affekte*, 268–273.

42 This substantive is one of two nouns that belong to the common vocabulary of emotions.

43 *Hapax legomenon* in NT; see 2 Cor 10:9; LXX: Deut 9:19; 1 Macc 13:2.

44 *Figura etymologica*.

45 See στεναγμός Rom 8:26.

46 See von Gemünden, *Affekte*, 260–264.

ἀγαπάω	10:21
στυγνάζω	10:22
θαυμάζω/ἐκθαυμάζω	5:20; 6:6; 15:5/12:17; 15:44
χαίρω	14:11
κλαίω	5:38–39; 14:72
φθόνος ⁴⁷	15:10
ἀδημονέω ⁴⁸	14:33
βοάω φωνῆ μεγάλης	15:34
ἀφίεμι φωνὴν μεγάλην	15:37 ⁴⁹

The semantic lexicon provides further evidence. What this list shows is the two-fold manner in which the evangelist shapes his semantic of narration as an emotional one. Preponderantly, he uses emotional *verbs*, but additionally we find verbs that describe the physical effects of emotions that strengthen the emotional impact, like weeping, laughing down, crying, shouting out, and trembling. The other narrative tool is the use of an exaggerated style that is characterized by the language of *hyperbole*.⁵⁰ One more instrument of achieving emotional language is the use of *prefix-forms*. Mark prefers verbs with ἐκ, which he uses four times. Other prefixes are ἀνά, σύν, περί and ἐπί.

Besides, it is evident that while the lexicon is dominated by examples of the semantic field of fear or amazement, the narration is filled with those emotions that are negatively connoted and work in a destructive way.⁵¹ The audience will be impressed by the concentration and force of those destructive emotions. In contrast, only very few positively connoted emotions are mentioned: compassion and love, both belonging exclusively to Jesus.⁵² The consistency of the semantic field is striking and demands further explanation.

Perhaps the most important aspect of emotional narration in Mark is the author's focusing on persons and on groups of persons. It is always *persons*, who are in the centre of the narration, not *actions*. Actions are only instruments by which the author aims at shaping the narration of Jesus. Jesus is the central and

47 This is the second noun that belongs to the common lists of emotions. Both are negatively connotated.

48 Not in LXX; see Matt 26:37 and Phil 2:26. Bauer, Wörterbuch, 30, translates: „in Unruhe sein“.

49 See the manuscripts that add κράζειν.

50 Often we read “very much”, “terribly” etc. See also the examples of grammatical comparison, of the *figura etymologica* and of duplication or *hendiatyoin*.

51 See the remarks of von Gemünden, Affekte.

52 The only occasion where Mark mentions delight is 14:11 (in a negative context).

dominant figure in the narrative constellation of the Gospel. Mutual relations between Jesus and the persons he encounters: i.e. sick people, his family, the religious authorities, the crowd, the disciples, and the women, cause emotional reactions, both, from Jesus's side and from the side of the different groups he meets. As I have already pointed out, the evangelist is especially keen to create emotional atmospheres of fear or amazement in which Jesus's meetings with specific groups of people take place. It is religiously-based anxiety, fear or amazement that are the result of Jesus's healing-miracles. In this respect, Mark's narrative is very close to Rudolf Otto's *tremendum*.

I come back to my earlier statement that the crucial point in this setting is the relation between miracle-working, miracle-faith, and the amazement and horror of the public at the miracle. Jesus fights against demons *coram publico*: it is exactly this setting that creates the overall, emotional atmosphere. Part of this atmosphere is due to Jesus's frequently mentioned reaction of anger or annoyance because of the public's indecisiveness. They do not understand Jesus, neither his deeds nor his teaching. And as I have already pointed out, the same holds true for his disciples. What Mark outlines, is a situation of spiritual fight, a battle, dominated by the power of Jesus that defeats the power of the demons. The spiritual battle is accompanied by strong emotions from Jesus, the demons, and the public, producing individual spheres of colliding power.

I have already quoted Adela Collins's remark on the parallels between chapters 1 and 14 regarding Jesus's prayer of obedience. The evangelist repeatedly points to the fact that Jesus was seeking solitude in lonely and quiet places for the purpose of prayer.⁵³ Here the author outlines a kind of counter-world in which Jesus is with himself and with God. In this counter-world he need not use δύναις and is able to waive those emotions he has about the people. This observation leads us to our text of Jesus's prayer in Gethsemane.

4 The text

Mark 14:32–42 is part of the passion narrative. It is irrelevant to my argument where the passion narrative begins and which sources underlie the Markan narrative.⁵⁴ Within the present text of the Gospel of Mark, the pericope has a double function as an opening text of the account of Jesus's arrest, process and

⁵³ Cf. Mark 1:45.

⁵⁴ See the excursus: "The Passion Narrative," in: Collins, Mark, 620–639. Cha, Death (according to Collins, Mark, 673 [*non vidi*]).

death on the one hand, and as a closing narrative of the particular chain of text-units that report on Jesus's presence with some individually elected persons on the other: with Peter, James, John and Andrew in chapter 13, with Simon the leper and his guests (14:1–9), with the disciples during and after the Last Supper (14:12–31), and with Peter, James and John in 14:32–42. The perspective narrows. Jesus is no longer in public, but in private rooms and lonely places.

14:32–42 narrates the scene of a private prayer of Jesus when in mortal danger. The text-unit is carefully composed:⁵⁵ narrative introduction (v. 32), three-fold⁵⁶ attempt at praying (33–41a) in contrast to the sleeping disciples, concluding announcement (41b, 42). The focus of the narration is on the first prayer (35–36).⁵⁷ The evangelist opens the textual sub-unit with a brief narrative that constitutes an introductory sketch (33–34). What follows is, first, a recapitulation of the prayer (35); second, its explicit wording (36); and third, correspondingly, Jesus's address to Peter whom he finds sleeping together with the other disciples (37–38). So, the Evangelist is able to report not only on Jesus's prayer, but also on his exhortation to the disciples concerning the correct way of praying.

5 Prayer and the language of emotions in Mark 14

The prayer in verse 36 consists of three parts: first, Jesus's statement concerning God's power; second, the appeal to save his life; third, his submission to God's will. Adela Collins underlines the emotional character of the pericope that is dominated by the verbs ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι and ὀδημονεῖν in v. 33: "The narrative portrayal of v. 33b prepares the audience for the anguish that follows in this passage."⁵⁸ Scholars have often pointed to the fact that not until 14:33 are Jesus's weakness and anxiety mentioned. The contrast between Jesus and the firm attitude towards death of, for example, Socrates or the Stoics, or the Maccabean martyrs,⁵⁹ has also been subject of discussion. The trail of our text, however,

⁵⁵ See Marcus, Mark, 982.

⁵⁶ For the "folkloric pattern of three", see Collins, Mark, 681.

⁵⁷ Cf. Marcus, Mark, 982.

⁵⁸ Collins, Mark, 676; Marcus, Mark, 982, points to the "vocabulary concerning strength, ability, and weakness." – The Luther-Bible translates correctly: „er fing an zu zittern und zu zagen“. ἐκθαμβέω is here more than "to be amazed" (LS and Greek-English Lexicon to the Septuagint).

⁵⁹ Marcus, Mark, quotes Celsus's critical view of "Jesus's lamentation and prayer as proof that he was not divine" (986). See Origen, *Cels.* 2.24.

does not lead in this direction of showing strength in situations of mortal danger. As we have already seen, the lexicon of emotions in the Gospel of Mark is very close to the Septuagint, especially concerning those verbs of “sudden, overpowering passion” as ἐκπλήσσω⁶⁰ and ἐκθαμβέω.⁶¹ Together with ἀδημονεῖν⁶² and περίλυπος in v. 34 the evangelist builds a strong emotional field of extreme anxiety. It fits into this picture when Jesus quotes Psalm 41:6 as well as 42:5⁶³ and “falls upon the ground” – an attitude revealing “a highly emotional state”, as Adela Collins remarks.⁶⁴ Jesus does not quote the entire *stichos* of the psalm, but only the opening clause, to which he adds the highest form of intensification: “to the point of death”. The narrative setting reaches its climax when Jesus addresses God as “Father”, ἀββα,⁶⁵ and asks his father to save his life. The image of the “cup” – clearly an allusion to the cup of wrath of the Old Testament⁶⁶ – even strengthens the perspective of death.

This very moment of humiliation and anxiety turns out to be the turning point of the prayer: the additional phrase “as you will” is the expression of obedience, confidence, and final submission. After this emotional crisis, Jesus is able to interpret his situation as a kind of temptation.⁶⁷ What he requests from Peter is not only an appeal for support, but rather an admonition for praying in the correct, spiritual way, whereas the first part of Jesus’s prayer is the deeply emotional expression of a human being who is in fear of his life. It was exactly this kind of “christology” the author wanted to narrate in the pericope of Gethsemane: Jesus as a human being in mortal agony.⁶⁸

⁶⁰ LS 517. LXX: Eccl 7:17; Wis 13:4; 2 Macc 7:12; 4 Macc 8:4; 17:6.

⁶¹ See footnote 36.

⁶² See footnote 48.

⁶³ See Collins, Mark, 676.

⁶⁴ Collins, Mark, 677.

⁶⁵ For this term see Schelbert, ABBA. Schelbert argues concerning the Early Christian liturgy: „Daher liegt die Annahme näher, dass die Anrede auf die Tauffterminologie oder ekstatische Gebetspraxis einer griechisch sprechenden Gemeinde zurückgeht“ (58). Wilk, Vater, 201–231, goes in the same direction in his contribution to the name of “Father” in Early Jewish and Early Christian literature. Whether Wilk is right in stating that the double address of God as Abba and as πατήρ points to God’s double function as helping and at the same time pursuing his aim, is not clear from the text.

⁶⁶ Cf. Collins, Mark, 680.

⁶⁷ See Matt 6:13 (part of “Our Father”).

⁶⁸ Von Gemünden, Affekte, 278, draws a line from the ὀργή of Jesus to God’s wrath. What Mark intends, however, is to underline the human destiny of Jesus.

Abstract

The Gospel of Mark reveals only rare indications of the practice and language of prayer, although it goes without saying that prayer was a constitutive part of the Jewish religion in which Jesus and his fellow Jews were brought up. Only one narrative episode reflects the way in which Jesus prayed: Mark 14:32–42. In 14:32 Jesus expresses his fear of death, and in 14:36 the evangelist hands down a prayer-logion. The narrative framing of the episode and its dynamic structure create a situation that aims at evoking the emotions of the audience. The audience/the readers may feel moved and deeply touched by the short literary scene. This paper places the Markan text in the Early Jewish and Early Christian religious and literary context and discusses the contribution of the text for the image of the Markan Jesus with a special focus on the language of emotion.

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Eve-Marie Becker

Κράζειν and the Concept of “Emotional Prayer” in Earliest Christianity: Rom 8:15 and Acts 7:60 in Their Context(s)

1 Κράζειν and the language of “emotional prayer”

In current scholarship, there are various ways of studying emotions and emotionality in and beyond the field of *rhetorical criticism*. In fact, “emotions” and “emotionality” have now become central themes within the humanities and social studies, and they provide a congenial meeting place for various academic disciplines, such as neurobiology, psychology, anthropology, history and philosophy.¹ It could, however, be argued that these themes remain largely absent from Early Christianity scholarship. In 2011, Stephen C. Barton referred to “emotions” as a “missing element in the study of early Christianity”² (even though Adolf Harnack [1908] had already addressed the topic³). And, although some preliminary work has been carried out on “emotional criticism”,⁴ it is undoubtedly the case that current and future scholarship in early Christianity could benefit from innovative⁵ research in this area. This also applies to the exegesis of New Testament and Early Christian literature.⁶ In this paper, which concentrates on a particular motif from Rom 8 and Acts 7, I wish to demonstrate that research on emotions and emotionality can also provide fresh insights into Pauline and Lukan studies. I will suggest reading a particular lexeme, κράζω,

1 Cf., e.g.: Plamper, *Geschichte*; Shantz, Paul.

2 Barton, *Eschatology*.

3 Cf. Harnack, *Exkurs*, 207–210.

4 Cf., e.g.: Becker, *Tränen*, 361–378; Wischmeyer, *1 Korinther*.

5 For instance, Shantz, Paul, 110. facilitates a renewed view of the ecstatic dimensions of Paul’s life and religious thought.

6 This includes reflections on the topic within commentaries, as we find it, for instance, in: Schlier, *Brief*, 198–199, and recently in Jewett, *Romans*, 497. Cf. recently Kornarakis, *Depths*, 437–460.

together with its lexematic variants – for example, κραυγάζω and κραυγή – as a reflection of ancient Greek emotional language.

While κράζω κτλ. rarely occurs in Greek-Hellenistic literature, its semantic significance develops in the Septuagint as well as in Early Christian writings. It is therefore no coincidence that κράζω gains its most important meaning in the context of Jesus's death on the cross. According to Matthew's – and arguably Mark's⁷ – account, it is the crucified Jesus who, just before his death, cries out loudly: “And Jesus cried again with a loud voice and yielded up his spirit” (Matt 27:50: ... πάλιν κράξας φωνῆ μεγάλης ἀφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα).⁸ In Matthew 27, Jesus's crying on the cross, which is the second (πάλιν as reference to v. 46) and final cry, could *de facto* be understood as a cry within an ultimate *prayer call* („Gebetsruf“).⁹ This prayer is very much styled according to the Psalms (see v. 46 and its reference to Ps 22:2) and, indeed, in the LXX κράζω κτλ., is often used as a translation for: קָרָא.¹⁰ Matt 27:50 also appears to fit this tradition of Psalm prayers.¹¹ On the cross, Jesus appears as the paradigmatic person praying, and uttering his prayer emphatically, i.e. with emotional expression and insistence.

This first observation relates to the passion narrative(s). I would, however, at this point, like to continue by asking the following questions: Despite an obvious line of tradition that may be traced back to the Psalms, is it typical for prayers to be “cried out”? How is it that κράζω κτλ. can actually relate to the emotional semantics of prayer? What kinds of lexicon are at play here? As we shall soon see, κράζω κτλ. refers to the phenomenology of ancient *emotional prayer*. Let us begin by examining the lexeme's *etymology*: κράζω, κραυγάζω is clearly an *onomatopoetic* word that invokes the voices of crows (κόραξ; Lat. *corvus*), ravens, frogs or even dogs (*Lyrice Adespota* 135). We could best translate κράζω, κραυγάζω into English as “croaking” (Hebrew: קָרָא; Latin: *crocio*; German: “krächzen”) or “crying” (German: “kreischen”).¹² Interestingly, neither lexeme is well attested in pagan Greek literature, but they are both found

7 Cf. Mark 15:39 – according to: A, C, K, N, W, Γ, Δ, Θ, I¹,¹³, 28, 33, 565, 579, 700, 1241, 1424, 2542^s, I 844 (κραξας), *Mehrheitstext*, Lat., Syr., and D (κραξαντα).

8 Translation according to: second edition of the Revised Standard Version.

9 For various other Jesuanic “prayer calls”, see von Severus, *Gebet*, 1171: Mark 14:36 par; 15:34; Matt 27:46; Luke 23:46; 23:34*; John 12:27–28; Heb 5:7; Matt 11:25–26; John 11:41–42.

10 Otherwise κράζω translates (cf. Muraoka, *Index*, 71), for instance: שׁוּע, קָרָא, רוּע, צַעַק, נָהַק, נָהַק, קָרָא.

11 Grundmann, *κράζω κτλ.*, 900–901, though, sees a reference to Isa 42:2 (see also Matt 12:19).

12 Similar: LSJ, 989 and 992. For the Latin equivalents, see Gemoll, *Schul- und Handwörterbuch*, 450.

frequently among Septuagint and New Testament writings. How can we explain this difference?

(a) There are only few references in Greek-Hellenistic literature¹³ that contain a *negative connotation* (Juvenal, *Sat.* 12:112; Porphyry, *Abst.* 2:34; Tatian, *Or. Graec.* 25:2).¹⁴ Κράζω κτλ. appears in the context of magic (see below), which, in general, is perceived negatively until late antiquity (see differently: Greek Magical Papyri; Hermetic writings):¹⁵ In the Graeco-Roman world, magic is an ambiguous, if not a “doubtful”, concept since it is frequently seen as a “manipulative strategy to influence the course of nature by supernatural (‘occult’) means ...”; “‘manipulative (coercive or performative) strategy’ ... refers rather to a difference from religion.”¹⁶ In modern scholarship, however, such a definition of magic “as coercive and instrumental” has itself become questionable.¹⁷ A better starting point for approaching the phenomenology of Graeco-Roman magic is “the discussions of magic (and its relation to religion) in the writing of Romans themselves”, such as the Elder Pliny (*Nat.* 30:1–18) or Lucian (*Phal.* 6:413–830). Here, an opposition is indeed proposed “between religion and magic”, even if magical practice “and the fear of magic were ... symbiotic”.¹⁸ In general, contemporary scholarship offers afresh a proper scientific theory of magic,¹⁹ according to which κράζω κτλ. would belong to the category of „objekt-sprachliche Terminologie“. Until now, however, current scholarship has not conducted a thorough investigation into the “emotional language” used in ancient magic, either in terms of „Objektsprache“ or „Metasprache“ (emotional

13 Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (26.01.2014) provides 3.032 instances for κράζω κτλ. – mostly in LXX, NT and among patristic authors (Epiphanius, Athanasius, Johannes Chrysostomus).

14 References in Grundmann, κράζω κτλ., 898–899. Grundmann’s article is still relevant even if his political attitude in Nazi-Germany is highly problematic; see Arnhold, Entjudung, and the review by Niebuhr, in: ThLZ 138 (2013) 1369–1371.

15 Cf. Versnel, Magic, 908–910, explains this change in late antiquity by the shift in cosmology and world-view.

16 Versnel, Magic, 909. Cf. also: „Der antike Mensch, sowohl der Griechen als auch der Römer, haben weithin diese Art von Schreien für etwas den Göttern gegenüber Unpassendes, für etwas Barbarisches gehalten“ (Grundmann, κράζω κτλ., 899).

17 Cf. Beard, Religions, 219.

18 Beard, Religions, 219 and 221.

19 Cf. Frenschkowski, Magie, 873: „Eine gegenwärtige Theorie der M(agie) muss ... auf jeden Fall präzise zwischen objekt- u(nd) metasprachlichen Bestimmungen unterscheiden, also zwischen der Untersuchung der antiken Begriffe u(nd) Konzepte einerseits u(nd) der definierenden Ausbildung einer modernen kulturwissenschaftlichen Terminologie andererseits“ (873).

language).²⁰ With this in mind, it is necessary to re-examine κράζω κτλ. As an expression of the phenomenon of emotional praying, it must have caused suspicion in the ancient world. In Graeco-Roman literary discourses, it was seen as a “performative strategy” that could contradict religion; it was therefore rejected by Greek philosophers (cf., e.g. Plato) as much as by Roman authors.²¹ In contrast, gospel writers do not seem to share this fear of contact with the phenomenon of “emotional prayer”.

(b) In Greek-Hellenistic history-writing and/or narrative prose literature, there are some references where a prefix-form like ἀνα-κράζω is used neutrally, or in only a slightly negative sense. This occurs in the context of explicative proclamations – as, for example, the articulation of the *vox populi* that demands public execution – or in various types of public acclamations. In every case, we could speak of a “declarative function” (Lat.: *clamare, exclamare*; cf., e.g.: Xenophon, *Anab.* 6:4:22; see also Josh 6:5; Philo, *Flacc.* 144; 188; cf. also NT: Matt 12:19 [LXX]; Mark 11:9; 15:13–14; Luke 23:18; Acts 7:57; 19:28, 32, 34; 21:28, 36; 22:23), which, in regard to the synoptic Gospels and Acts, may also serve as a mode of prophetic announcement (Matt 25:6; Luke 1:42; see also Josephus, *Ant.* 2.117). That is to say, the vocabulary may even reflect how the group of Jesus’s disciples or apostles articulates itself (Matt 21:9, 15; 27:23; Luke 19:40; Acts 14:14; 23:6; 24:21). Within the synoptic Gospel writings, these public proclamations may also express the acclamation of Jesus as “Son of David” (cf. Matt 9:27; 15:22–23; 20:30–31; 21:9, 15; Mark 10:47–48; Luke 18:39). In an analogous way, we occasionally find references in the Greek-Hellenistic context where κράζω κτλ. labels the manner in which the hierophant in Eleusis announces mysteries (*Hipp.* 5:8:40).

(c) Despite these occasional references, however, the phenomenology of κράζω κτλ. primarily occurs outside Greek and Hellenistic prose literature. The phenomenology of “crying out”, rather than the lexeme, can be found in a *cultic or ritual* context or in texts that deal with *magic*²² (Robert W. Daniel and Franco

²⁰ This also applies to Frenschkowski, *Magie*, especially in his presentation of the New Testament material (917–925). Cf. some attempts to investigate various kinds of soundings, in Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 39.

²¹ Cf. Versnel, *Magic*, 909. There are some works with a critical reflection of magic, as e.g.: Apuleius, *Apol.*; Theophrastus (satirical works); Lucian, *passim*.

²² We do not have a wide variety of textual material from magic itself – i.e., magical papyri – where κράζω κτλ. occurs; as a “communicative language” initiating the prayer; we rather find terms like: κληίζω (e.g., PGM III:210; IV:455; 1171); (ἐξ-)ὄρκίζω (e.g., PGM III:72; IV:1240; cf. also: SM [Supplementum Magicum] 52:2, s. below); (ἐπι-)καλέω (e.g., PGM IV:1181; 1207; 1599f.; 1209), cf.: Preisendanz, *Papyri*. There are also, however, a few instances where κράζω κτλ.

Maltomini see a “juridical connotation” here²³). In these texts, κράζω κτλ. generally relates to “the field of the Demonic”;²⁴ gods of the netherworld are “invoked” by magicians (Lucian, *Men.* 9), much as wizards or even demons or demoniacs themselves “cry”²⁵ (cf. also NT gospel writings: Matt 8:29; 15:22–23; Mark 1:23; 3:11; 5:5, 7; Luke 4:33, 41; 8:28; 9:39; Acts 16:17). In these texts, we might say that “crying” – as “utterance” and “performance”²⁶ – is considered to be a substantial part of the magic technique, which was frequently perceived as a “manipulative strategy”. Does this also apply to the gospel writings and, in particular, to synoptic exorcism accounts? In any case, we can observe here that the actors’ contact with the demonic is enlarged by the group of *suppliants* requesting Jesus’s activity as an exorcist (Mark 9:24, 26). The semantic connotations of κράζω κτλ. as magic and rituals are strong; they are still visible in early Christian times (cf. Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5:8), when, for instance, Ignatius or Tatian relate the semantic field of κράζω, κραυγάζω – albeit now in an allegorical or polemical sense – to the field of μυστήρια (Ignatius, *Eph.* 18:2–19:2;²⁷ Tatian, *Or. Graec.* 17:2).

In general, we may describe the *semantic profile* of κράζω κτλ. as follows: In the Greek-Hellenistic world, the lexicon of κράζω κτλ. arouses suspicion, since it is related to the field of magic. As well as this, it can be an expression for the “mysterium tremendum” (Rudolf Otto); some instances in the gospel writings also indicate this (cf. in the context of epiphanies: Matt 14:26; Mark 6:49). More generally speaking, κράζω κτλ. refers to a *religious phenomenology* that interferes with the sphere of the demonic or spiritual and that can enter the public arena; here it can have a declarative function. Both dimensions – the interference with the demonic and the declarative function – are also visible in the synoptic Gospels and Acts. Interestingly, the earliest Christian writers are less cautious in their usage of κράζω κτλ. than their Hellenistic-Roman contempo-

occurs; cf. Muñoz Delgado, *Léxico*; see also: <http://dge.cchs.csic.es/lmpg>, with reference to: SM 49:69: “with a terrible voice the shouting goddess leads the stranger (?) to the god” (φωνῆ βαρβαρεον κράζουσα ...), translation according to Daniel/Maltomini, *Supplementum I*, 198. – Cf. in general on the magical papyri Betz, *Papyri*.

23 Cf. SM 52:8: “... Senblynpnos. Cry out to Hades, do not allow the gods in Hades to sleep ...” (... κρᾶξον εἰς τὸν Ἅδην ...), translation according to Daniel/Maltomini, *Supplementum II*, 4: “Crying out in accusation”, probably has a “juridical nuance” (Daniel/Maltomini, *Supplementum II*, 5), with reference to Ameling, Hilferuf, 157–158.

24 Grundmann, κράζω κτλ., 899.

25 References, again in Grundmann, κράζω κτλ., 899.

26 Versnel, *Magic*, 909–901.

27 Other references to κράζω, κραυγάζω, κραυγή among the so-called Apostolic Fathers: 1 Clem. 22:7; 34:6; Barn. 3:1; 10:3; Ign. *Phld.* 7:1; 19:1.

aries, since there are many more instances of κράζω κτλ. within earliest Christian writing, particularly among the gospel narratives and Acts, i.e. among the historiographical writings of the New Testament.

The picture changes slightly when we look at Early Christian writers of the second century and beyond. At first, authors of the second century are much more reluctant to use κράζω κτλ.,²⁸ since they view it as an expression of *religious emotionality* in the pagan world (Tatian, *Or. Graec.* 24:1). From the third century CE until the late Byzantine period, however, Christian authors make more use of this lexicon: κράζω κτλ. occurs in monastic texts or exegetical literature, but primarily in *martyr-literature* (apocryphal Acts of the Apostles; Pionios-martyrdom, 15/7; cf. already 1 Macc 9:46) as well as in a *liturgical context*. This fact is by no means accidental: Early Christian authors continue a line of tradition that dates back to the Septuagint and, more particularly, to the Psalm literature. As we have already seen in the crucifixion scene in Matthew, κράζω occurs frequently in the context of prayers (Lat.: *clamo*) that are framed by a narrative account.

This evidence calls for further explanation, since it does not relate exclusively to the reception history of Psalm literature. As we shall see – first in Paul and then in Acts –, κράζω is used in a specific way from earliest Christianity onwards. When conceptualizing “emotional prayer”, Paul and Luke only partly continue a Psalm motif; they also develop a new, more extended concept based on a complex set of motifs and narrative framings, which, from here onwards, embeds itself in Early Christian literature.

2 Paul’s concept of “emotional prayer”: Rom 8:15 and Gal 4:6

In the Pauline letters, κράζω κτλ. is used only in a few instances (Rom 8:15; 9:27; Gal 4:6). Besides a prophetic and declarative meaning in Rom 9 (v. 27), all of these instances, again, suggest an interrelation with prayer.²⁹ κράζω and prayer

²⁸ Cf. in general: Lampe, *Lexicon*, 974, with references to: “cry aloud” (Hippolytus, *Haer.* 4:28; 5:8); “to God in a prayer” (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 7:7); “proclaim aloud/preach”, either as apostle, prophet or through spirit (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 7:9; Origen, *Hom. Jer.* 16:1; Origen, *Cels.* 2; Methodius of Olympus, *Symp.* 1:3; Theodoret, *Affect.* 7).

²⁹ Paulsen, *Überlieferung*, 88–94, has modified Seeberg’s idea of a tradition about prayer in Rom 8:15b (Katechismus, 240) by claiming that ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ is a formula and that the phrase

thus tend to build up a *constitutive motific construct*. How does this construct come into being, and how does it work? In Paul, κράζω refers to a necessary attitude that the person praying should have; we could even say that κράζω κτλ. stands for the emotional expression that resembles the urgency, insistence, strength and intimacy of praying. At first glance, we can trace a line of tradition back to the Psalms and their communicative use of κράζω κτλ. (see above).³⁰ Here, the person praying is *per definitionem* seen as a person “crying out with a loud voice” (Pss 26:7 and 27:1LXX). The Hebrew אָרַף essentially aims at “attracting [God’s – E.-M.B.] attention to oneself”.³¹ In the Psalms – somehow differently from Greco-Roman magic – such a communicative, or rather expressive, mode of utterance is never understood as a “manipulative strategy”, since the person praying cannot be certain about the actual result of his praying; his/her prayer is partly answered (Ps 54:17LXX) but partly not (Ps 21:3LXX).³² “Crying” thus primarily resembles the *communicative* situation in which the Psalmist acts *coram Deo*.

While Paul in his usage of κράζω (אָרַף) certainly and primarily has in mind this idea of “making insistently contact between God and the person praying”, he nevertheless suggests a more complex connotation. In contrast to the Psalms, there are two striking motifs that reveal how Paul speaks about “emotional prayer”. First, his prayer call focuses on an acclamation of God as “Father”; secondly, praying appears as an „inspiriertes Schreien”³³ which overcomes “fear” (φόβος); it is essentially conceptualized as a pneumatic, most likely an ecstatic, experience. In Rom 8:15 (cf. also Gal 4:6), Paul claims:

For you did not receive the spirit of slavery to fall back into fear (φόβος), but you have received the spirit of sonship. When we cry (κράζομεν), “Abba! Father!” it is the Spirit himself bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God ...³⁴

According to Rom 8, *crying, spirit, sonship and praying* are directly interrelated motifs. “Crying” and “prayer” necessarily relate to “sonship” and “spirit”, and

appears rather as an acclamation than a prayer (Paulsen, Überlieferung, 91): „Paulus überliefert so in Röm 8,15 mit dem ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ eine geisterfüllte Akklamation.”

30 In contrast, Käsemann, Römer, 220: „In die Irre führte, daß man κράζειν in Analogie zu den Ausrufen im Psalter selbstverständlich und primär auf das Gebet bezog ..., statt es als technischen Terminus der Akklamation zu erkennen.“

31 Cf. Labuschagne, אָרַף, 668: „... Die Grundbedeutung ... ist anscheinend; durch den Laut der Stimme die Aufmerksamkeit jemandes auf sich ziehen, um mit ihm in Kontakt zu kommen.“

32 References again in: Grundmann, κράζω κτλ., 899–900.

33 Schlier, Brief, 198.

34 Translation according to: second edition of the Revised Standard Version.

vice versa. The Pauline construct of “emotional prayer” consists of these four motifs. This is also approved by Gal 4:6.³⁵ Here, the role of the “spirit” for the praying person becomes even more evident; indeed, Paul claims it is the πνεῦμα of Jesus Christ itself, sent by God into the hearts of believers, which cries: ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ.

And because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, “Abba, Father!”³⁶

But how does Paul reach this most complex claim? How can “crying”, “prayer”, “sonship” and “spirit” converge in such a motific construct?³⁷ If we do not wish simply to assume a Pauline *theologumenon* or invention here, we might appeal to a tradition. But then our next question becomes: whence did Paul acquire this tradition? I will now therefore proceed to explore the notion of *Motivgeschichte*. By doing so, I hope to not only provide parallels to each motif,³⁸ but to explain how the “motific construct” of emotional prayer in Paul as such came into being as a *pre-Pauline motif*.

In Rom 8 and Gal 4, it appears as though Paul combines various *motifs* that are all related to “prayer” or “plea”. We know these motifs from the *synoptic*

³⁵ Paulsen, *Überlieferung*, 96, considers Rom 8:15 to be the „überlieferungsgeschichtlich jüngere Stufe“.

³⁶ Translation according to: second edition of the Revised Standard Version.

³⁷ Do we understand this construct better by reconstructing its *Überlieferungsgeschichte* and its *Sitz im Leben*? This is the traditional approach among Pauline scholars – cf., e.g., Paulsen, *Überlieferung*, 93: „Paulus übernimmt in 8,15b eine Akklamation ... hellenistisch-judenchristlicher Gemeinden. Diese Akklamation hatte ihren Sitz im Leben in der Taufe; überlieferungsgeschichtliche Verbindungen zur Tradition von der Taufe Jesu bei den Synoptikern mögen bestanden haben, sind aber nicht mehr genau erkennbar.“

³⁸ It is possible to identify some parallels to single motifs: for instance, the acclamation of God’s name resembles how in pagan liturgy (Mithras) the appeal to names functions as incantation, cf. Lietzmann, *Römer*, 84, – with reference to Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 39–40; in early rabbinic literature, there are no parallels to be found for the motif of the *spirit being involved in the prayer* (Strack/Billerbeck, *Briefe*, 243), although we find a variety of references where the emotional activity of the spirit (references, in Strack/Billerbeck, *Evangelium*, 134–138) can also be connected to κράζω and its Semitic equivalents (*šwh*): Strack/Billerbeck, *Briefe*, 571. On the other hand, the “Abba”-acclamation in general is attested, although it is rather used collectively (“our father”) than individually (“my father”), Strack/Billerbeck, *Evangelium*, 49–50. Strack/Billerbeck explain the preferred use of the “Father”-acclamation in a collective sense by way of the rabbinic attitude to religious emotions such as awe: „Der einzelne fürchtet, mit der Anrede ‚mein Vater‘ Gotte (sic!) gegenüber allzu familiär zu werden u(nd) dadurch die Ehrfurcht zu verletzen; bei der Mehrzahl tritt dies Empfinden zurück“ (Strack/Billerbeck, *Evangelium*, 50).

tradition: (1) It is said in several exorcism accounts that different πνεύματα – deriving from demons – are contacting Jesus (e.g., Mark 1:23); πνεῦμα and κράζω are thus part of a common lexicon where a request to Jesus is uttered and, thereby, demoniacs are treated as slaves by the demons. (2) In his most expressive prayer to God in the garden of Gethsemane, Jesus addresses God as ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ (Mark 14:36). Here, the attitude of urgently praying to God includes addressing him with strong emotion directly as “Abba Father”; this syntagm might also allude to the Lord’s prayer (Q 11:2b–4). In terms of its intimacy, this exceeds Hellenistic-Jewish salutatory addresses such as κύριε πάτερ (Sir 23:1, 4).³⁹ (3) As mentioned above, in Matt 27:50, Jesus’s attitude of intimately praying to God in an ultimate situation on the cross is explicitly described as κράζειν. (4) Finally, all synoptic gospels agree that, immediately before the final prayer cry on the cross, Jesus cites Ps 22/21LXX;⁴⁰ interestingly, Ps 22/21LXX is continuously filled with the lexematics of κράζειν (vv. 3, 6, 25b), which, in the LXX-version, serves the translation of various Hebrew lexemes.⁴¹ In other words, in the crucifixion scene, Ps 22 reveals itself as *the* paradigm of “emotional prayer”.

It is not necessary to interpret Paul as dependent on the synoptic tradition in literary terms.⁴² Instead, we may view the synoptic tradition as a “motific reservoir” that generated traditions which were available to Paul and which somehow centered on the passion narrative. *What we find here is that Jesus’s activity, already as exorcist, but rather more as the suffering son of God who is preparing for his violent death on the cross, is characterized by an emotional fight over πνεύματα as well as by a devotion to God in an emotional prayer; Psalmist experience of praying helps to interpret the crucifixion scene but cannot entirely illuminate Jesus’s praying attitude.*

Against this background of a highly complex *Motivgeschichte*, we understand Rom 8 and Gal 4 in a different light. Paul actually claims that sonship – mediated *via* the appropriate pneumatic gift – enables the group of believers to enter the intimate sphere of praying, which Jesus himself has initialized and explicated (cf. also Q 11:2b–4). In this way, Paul takes Jesus as a paradigm of emotional prayer (cf. Rom 8:17), just as he conceptualizes Jesus as an *exemplum* to his communities elsewhere (cf. Phil 2:5–11).⁴³

³⁹ In contrast: Sir 51:1. Cf. in general: Strotmann, Vater; Gilbert, Prayer, 117–135; Reiterer, Gott, 137–170.

⁴⁰ Mark 15:34 and Ps 22:2; Matt 27:46 and Ps 22:2; Luke 23:34 and Ps 22:19.

⁴¹ V. 3: אָרָץ; v.6: קָעַץ; v. 25: עָוֶשׂ.

⁴² For a general discussion of this question, see the recent publications: Wischmeyer, Paul; Becker, Mark.

⁴³ On this, cf. Becker, Ethik.

In Paul, κράζω as an expression of “emotional prayer” combines *confrontational* (see action and reaction in the sphere of the demonic), *acclamatory* (see acclamation) and *eschatological* (see prayer call on the cross) language.⁴⁴ With this crucial insight, we may *de facto* mediate in a highly aporetic scholarly discussion where “ecstatic” and “pneumatic” readings of κράζω are contrasted. Ernst Käsemann and Robert Jewett claim that κράζω, in part, means an “ecstatic cry”.⁴⁵ Colleen Shantz shares this opinion. Shantz considers Rom 8 as a “discourse of someone for whom ecstatic religious experience is a significant biographical element”, and thus concludes, “In the first place the use of κράζω ... in Rom 8:15 is conspicuously ecstatic.”⁴⁶ With this, she rejects a pneumatic or eschatological interpretation of the phenomenon, an interpretation which Henning Paulsen (among others) has favoured⁴⁷ and which is intended to repel the recognition of ecstasy in Paul.

If, however, we consider κράζω to be an expression of “religious emotionality” that traces back to exorcisms as well as acclamations and prayer calls (on the cross), we can overcome the contrast between pneumatology and ecstasy: religious emotionality consists of pneumatic as well as ecstatic experience. Shantz herself identifies this connection when she emphasizes how κράζω refers back to the “emotional and exuberant character of the worship that includes shouting.”⁴⁸ Indeed, charismatic experience and ecstasy might be two sides of the same coin, called *religious emotion*.⁴⁹ We might therefore best understand κράζω along the lines of religious emotionality, which is rooted in pneumatic as well as ecstatic experience.

Consequently, κράζω κτλ. constitutes emotional semantics which have most effectively been related to the ritual of prayer by Paul. On the basis of Rom 8 and Gal 4, “prayer” may then be conceptualized as an “emotional practice”

44 Käsemann, Römer, 219, identifies this idea in a similar way: „In einer gottfeindlichen Welt gewährt der Geist der Gemeinde die Möglichkeit des Rufes Abba ...“

45 Rom 8:15; Gal 4:6 as „der ekstatische Schrei“: Käsemann, Römer, 219. Jewett, Romans, 499. Jewett traces this form of ecstasy back to the phenomenon of “charismatic language”: “Since the Spirit impels believers to utter their prayers directly to their Abba, this is a powerful, experiential confirmation of their status as children of God” (500).

46 Shantz, Paul, 128–129. – For an enthusiastic interpretation, cf. Löhner, Formen, 115–132, 125–126.

47 Paulsen, Überlieferung, 96: „Das κράζειν ordnet sich ... dem Aussageinhalt der jeweiligen Äußerung unter.“

48 Shantz, Paul, 130.

49 “In general, religious experience is marked by numinosity, or awe, which is a particular complex of more basic emotions and cognitive states. Religious emotion is characterized by a feeling of euphoria or elation combined with ‘mild to moderate fear’ ...” (Shantz, Paul, 114).

(Monique Scheer)⁵⁰ which itself helps to express religious emotionality. For Paul, such an emotional practice would even have served to generate a “sense of shared identity. This experience [= ecstatic religious, E.-M.B.] creates in Paul the ‘inner’ resources that make the death of Jesus a transformative force in Paul’s own life.”⁵¹ What Shantz reiterates here causes us to rethink again the results of earlier *Motivgeschichte*: Paul’s construct of “emotional prayer” in Rom 8 and Gal 4 in fact combines various synoptic traditions about κράζειν and “prayer”; in doing so, it applies the current paradigm of Jesus’s emotional prayer to Paul’s and his communities’ own lives.

3 Luke’s re-shaping of “emotional prayer” in history-writing: Acts 7:60

To conclude, let us look at the way in which Luke connects and transforms the line of interpretation that is rooted in the synoptic tradition and utilized within Paul’s concept of prayer. Luke’s account of Stephen’s martyrdom (Acts 6:8–7:60) appears to be *the* relevant passage here:⁵²

Now when they heard these things they were enraged, and they ground their teeth against him. But he, full of the Holy Spirit (πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου), gazed into heaven and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God; and he said, “Behold, I see the heaven opened, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God.” But they cried out with a loud voice (κράζαντες δὲ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ) and stopped their ears and rushed together upon him. Then they cast him out of the city and stoned him; and the witness laid down their garments at the feet of a young man named Saul. And as they were stoning Stephen, he prayed (ἐπικαλούμενον), “Lord Jesus (κύριε Ἰησοῦ), receive my spirit (τὸ πνεῦμά μου).” And he knelt down and cried with a loud voice (ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ), “Lord (κύριε), do not hold this sin against them.” And when he said this, he fell asleep.⁵³

Since this is an eminent part of Luke’s narrative account in Acts, several questions of interpretation arise. We could analyze this passage by referring to how

⁵⁰ For the concept: Plamper, *Geschichte*, 313. – With reference to: Scheer, *Emotions*, 193–220.

⁵¹ Shantz, *Paul*, 143.

⁵² To select only Acts 7:54–60 may also be appropriate in literary terms since historiography, as such as well as historiographical accounts in particular, are best read against their narrative ending. Since we should understand Luke’s concept of writing missionary history against its focus on Paul’s successful arrival in Rome, we should read the narrative account of Stephen’s fortune against the description of his death that we find in Acts 7:54–60.

⁵³ Translation according to: second edition of the Revised Standard Version.

it necessarily fits into the macro-structure of Acts,⁵⁴ or we could focus on certain motifs that are elementary for the Lukan conceptualization of prayer; for instance, the “kneeling down”,⁵⁵ the “falling asleep”,⁵⁶ and the twofold praying appellation to the *kyrios*, who must be one time Jesus (v. 59) and the other time God himself (v. 60): the divine subjects shift.⁵⁷ I would, however, like to concentrate on the question of whether and how Luke in this account connects and transforms the synoptic concept of “emotional prayer” that was likewise adapted by Paul.

The semantics of κράζω also plays a crucial role in Acts. But does the Lukan account about Stephen’s martyrdom resemble the synoptic and Pauline constructs of “emotional prayer”? And, if so, how? It has frequently been argued that Acts 7 is created in conformity with the passion narrative in Luke 22–23 (e.g., Richard I. Pervo; Jacob Jervell). So, are Jesus and Stephen, in equal terms, portrayed by Luke as “emotional prayers”? In a formal sense, both stories present various narrative elements in a similar manner; for example, in the doubling of prayer.⁵⁸ With regard to lexematics, however, we can also identify substantial

54 After demonstrating how the early missionary history directly succeeds Jesus’s ascension (Acts 1:1–26) and the nature of the community’s beginning in Jerusalem (Acts 2:1–5:42), Luke in his *Acta Apostolorum* extensively depicts the first stage of the spread of the church: various commentators on Acts thus take 6:1–9:31 as a literary unit; cf. Roloff, *Apostelgeschichte*, 13. Within this literary unit, Stephen’s fate (Acts 6:8–7:60) plays a dominant role within Luke’s overall narrative concept. Indeed in various ways: (a) the accusations against Stephen (blasphemy: 6:11) resemble the accusations against Jesus, and thus connect Luke’s gospel and Acts; (b) Stephen’s speech (Acts 7:1–53) is one of the most comprehensive speeches in Acts, and thereby reflects its author’s twofold interest in using speeches as a method of history-writing: speeches function as interpretive tools for the narrative account, and, at the same time, they provide a comprehensive historical retrospect („Geschichtsrückblick”) in order to present “history” as a continuum of personal *exempla* – from Abraham to Moses and Solomon; (c) the narrative about Stephen’s fate and martyrdom also acts as a narrative link to the story about Paul (Acts 8:1–3), which will be in focus from chapter 13 onwards.

55 Is this a reaction to the stoning, or the gesture of praying? Cf. Roloff, *Apostelgeschichte*, 128.

56 Euphemism: Roloff, *Apostelgeschichte*, 128.

57 Cf. also v. 56 where the “Son of Man” and God are mentioned together – a similar motif may be found in Luke 22:69; Pervo, *Acts*, 197, sees the saying derived from Luke 22:69; Roloff, *Apostelgeschichte*, 127, however, points at the singularity of Acts 7:56 (only here “Son of Man” is not used as a self-designation), and thus emphasizes the differences between both sayings; because of the singularity, Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 252, assumes that Luke is using a “source” in Acts 7.

58 Pervo, *Acts*, 195: Pervo detects six narrative elements that are shared in the Lukan passion narrative and in Acts 7: “the absence of a formal sentence” (Luke 22:71), “a climatic Son of Man saying” (Luke 23:68; Acts 7:56), “a reference to garments” (Luke 23:54; Acts 7:56), “the final

differences that are frequently overlooked in textual exegesis. These differences reveal a deliberate conceptual variation in Acts 7, a variation that cannot be traced back to source material, or to the tradition that Luke utilizes here.⁵⁹ Rather, it is Luke himself who intentionally creates the narrative variants between Luke 22–23 and Acts 7.

In contrast to Acts 7 (vv. 57 and 60), Luke does not use the lexematics of κράζω κτλ. in Luke 22–23. It appears as if Luke’s choice of emotional vocabulary in both books leads us closer to the narrative portrayal of his literary figures. In Luke 22–23, Luke depicts the crucified Jesus as detached from “emotional prayer”, while, in Acts, he relates Stephen – the first Christian martyr – explicitly to it. Luke obviously distinguishes between Jesus’s and Stephen’s fates by marking a difference in their praying attitude. “Emotional prayer” is now most evidently restricted to the group of martyrs. By making this conscious distinction, Luke takes into account that, by his time, κράζω had radically developed its meaning – especially in the context of prayer (see Revelation) – among Christ-believers. At the same time, the *Auctor ad Theophilum* might be aware of Hellenistic-Roman literary suspicion about the phenomenon. For Luke, therefore, the lexematics of κράζω κτλ. had to be used carefully in order to portray, in an appropriate fashion, Jesus as the Christ. The concept of “emotional prayer” had to be transformed. By assigning the attitude of emotional prayer so intensely to the Stephen figure, Luke makes a remarkable shift. Consequently, he prepares a narrative pattern that will impact significantly on the development of early Christian literature: κράζω κτλ. will increasingly become part of emotional prayer in the context of martyriology.

words in a loud voice and a prayer” (Luke 23:46; Acts 7:60), “the prayer for forgiveness of enemies” (Luke 23:34; Acts 7:60), and the “burial by ‘devout’ person(s)” (Luke 23:50–53; Acts 8:2); Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 254. – Roloff, *Apostelgeschichte*, 128, is, however, more hesitant about exposing this parallelism, and instead characterizes Jesus’s passion as „konkretes Strukturmodell ..., das auf den Weg und das Geschick der Zeugen ... prägend wirkt“.

59 The debate about sources in Acts 7 continues: While Pervo, *Acts*, 196, is fairly hesitant in finding any source material – as, e.g., in v. 55 – and tends only to describe the tradition, Roloff, *Apostelgeschichte*, 111 and 126, suggests a tradition that contained a narrative about a lynching (vv. 57, 58a) and that was redacted by Luke in the direction of a trial that ended in an execution (vv. 58b; 8:1a). According to Roloff, the pre-Lukan narrative would thus consist of vv. 55a, 56–58a, 59–60; 8:2 (*Apostelgeschichte*, 127). – I would like to thank Sarah Jennings (Aarhus) and stud. theol. Anna Bank Jeppesen (Aarhus) for copy-editing the English text of this paper and helping to prepare it for publication.

Abstract

In this article, the lexematic field of κράζω κτλ. in Hellenistic literature – pagan, early Jewish and early Christian – is investigated. While the Jewish-Christian texts carefully make use of κράζω κτλ. in the frame of “emotional prayer” (esp. PsLXX; Paul; Matthew and Acts), the so-called pagan notion of the lexeme and the phenomenology of emotional prayer refers to magic which, in literary discourse, is valued negatively, at least ambiguously. In their reference to κράζω κτλ., Paul and Luke partly take up Psalm language, but partly need also to reshape the concept of “emotional prayer” by interpreting it on the basis of the Jesus paradigm (cf. Matt 27:50 etc.). Slowly, the language is linked to martyr literature.

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