

H. G. M. WILLIAMSON

Studies in  
Persian Period History  
and Historiography

*Forschungen  
zum Alten Testament*  
38

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Mohr Siebeck

# Forschungen zum Alten Testament

Herausgegeben von

Bernd Janowski (Tübingen) · Mark S. Smith (New York)

Hermann Spieckermann (Göttingen)

38





H.G.M. Williamson

# Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography

Mohr Siebeck

HUGH G. M. WILLIAMSON, born 1947; Graduate of Cambridge University; 1975–1992 Lecturer in Hebrew and Aramaic at Cambridge; since 1992 Regius Professor of Hebrew, University of Oxford and Student of Christ Church, Fellow of the British Academy.

ISBN 3-16-148261-1

ISSN 0940-4155 (Forschungen zum Alten Testament)

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.ddb.de>.

978-3-16-157794-9 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

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The book was typeset by Martin Fischer in Tübingen using Times typeface, printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

*Dedicated to my colleagues in the  
Society for Old Testament Study  
in gratitude for the honour of being  
elected as President for the year 2004*



## *Preface*

It was a great honour to be invited by the editors of the series *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* to submit a collection of articles for publication. As they left the selection entirely to me, I decided that I could most helpfully include most of the articles and other studies which related to the lengthy period during which I focused my research and writing on the books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. This is intended to lend the collection a certain coherence, and also fills in a good deal of the background work which related to my preparation of commentaries on these books.

The question which always arises in these circumstances is whether or not to revise the articles to take account of more recent work. I have decided against undertaking revision for one simple reason. Research on any particular topic is inevitably undertaken within the framework of the state of knowledge and the questions which are being raised at the time. If they then have any effect on the course of the subsequent discussion (which is not always the case!), within a decade or two the framework is altered and new questions have arisen. To tack on a little additional bibliography, or to make a few remarks in response to particular points of criticism, skews the presentation and leaves a misleading impression. The earliest pieces included here were written nearly thirty years ago. Inevitably, new material has come to light in the meantime, opinions have been modified and the course of the discussion has moved on. Although I am in no way ashamed of anything republished here, it would be equally surprising if I still agreed with every word that I wrote then. But it is as they were that they made their contribution, and I prefer that they be preserved within their own context rather than turned into something that they were never intended to be. New situations call for fresh work, not the reworking of old, and in fact the final article in this collection is precisely an attempt to revisit a problem with which I had dealt long before in an attempt to bring the discussion up to date.

The exceptions to this self-imposed rule should be mentioned for the sake of accuracy. First, for aesthetic reasons the attempt has been made to adopt a unified style for references and the like, not to reproduce the several different systems that characterize the different journals and *Festschriften* in our field. In some cases, this has meant providing footnotes to include the references which in the original publication were provided only in collected bibliographies at the end of the article, and there is no article which has not had to receive some modification to conform to the style adopted for this book. Since in addition



most of the collection was written before the days when the use of word-processors was common, the whole was at the same time put on disk for the convenience of the publisher. For undertaking this monumental task, I should like to express my sincere thanks to Dr Francesca Stavrakopoulou of Worcester College, Oxford; whatever is pleasing about the text's appearance is due to her dedicated labours.

Secondly, the nature of chapter 12 should be explained. At its base lies an article of the same name that was published in the *Tyndale Bulletin*. At about the same time, I was also preparing an article for a *Festschrift* for Professor Seeligmann of Jerusalem. The topics overlapped in one particular, but some detail included in the latter was not reproduced in the former. For the present book, therefore, I have incorporated the material from the Seeligmann volume which did not find inclusion in the other (about two pages in all). The details of the original article which has here been plundered are 'The Dynastic Oracle in the Books of Chronicles', in A. Rofé and Y. Zakovitch (eds.), *Essays on the Bible and the Ancient Near East: Isaac Leo Seeligmann Volume*, 3 (Jerusalem, 1983), 305–18.

Finally, the first chapter has not been previously published. It was written many years ago for a composite volume which in the end never appeared. Although again it is something of a child of its time, it also sets out some of my thinking about the problems and possible solutions relating to the whole enterprise of history writing in connection with the province of Judah in the Persian period, and I find that on this I have not changed my mind in major ways. It therefore serves rather well in place of an introduction to the whole.

Since not everything could be included in this volume, I have added a list of my other publications on the material relevant to its concerns after the list of acknowledgments.

It remains for me only to thank the editors of this series once again for inviting me to make this selection, and to the editorial staff at Mohr Siebeck for their helpfulness in bringing the project to fruition.

Christ Church, Oxford

H.G.M. Williamson

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## Acknowledgments

Thanks are due as indicated below for permission to republish the following articles:

To the Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten for **2**. 'Judah and the Jews', in M. Brosius and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis* (Achaemenid History 11; Leiden, 1998), 145–63.

To the editor of the *Tyndale Bulletin* for **3**. 'The Governors of Judah under the Persians', *TynB* 39 (1988) 59–82, and **12**. 'Eschatology in Chronicles', *TynB* 28 (1977), 115–54.

To the editor of the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* for **4**. 'Nehemiah's Walls Revisited', *PEQ* 116 (1984), 81–88.

To Oxford University Press for **5**. 'The Historical Value of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* xi.297–301', *JTS* ns 28 (1977), 49–66, and **16**. 'The Composition of Ezra i–vi', *JTS* ns 34 (1983), 1–30.

To Continuum (incorporating the former Sheffield Academic Press) for **6**. 'Introduction' to the English translation of M. Noth, *The Chronicler's History* (JSOTSup 50; Sheffield, 1987), 11–26, and **11**. 'The Temple in the Books of Chronicles', in W. Horbury (ed.), *Templum Amicitiae: Essays on the Second Temple Presented to Ernst Bammel* (JSNTSup 48; Sheffield, 1991), 15–31.

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XIV      *Other Publications on Persian Period History and Historiography*

‘The Family in Persian Period Judah: Some Textual Reflections’, in W. G. Dever and S. Gitin (eds.), *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors – from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palestina* (Winona Lake, 2003), 469–85

## Historical Studies





## *1. Early Post-Exilic Judaeon History*

The historian of the province of Judah during the Achaemenid period (538–333 BCE) appears at first sight to be unusually well provided with detailed and reliable sources. First, within the Bible the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are paramount, but further light is shed, to a greater or lesser extent, from such prophetic books as Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Isaiah 56–66, Joel, and possibly others. Second, the evidence from archaeological discoveries, whether architectural, artifactual, or epigraphic, has been brought together in a magisterial synthesis by Ephraim Stern<sup>1</sup> that must be the envy of those working in other periods, whether earlier or later. Third, there is no shortage of written material from the regions beyond Judah: the corpus of Old Persian texts may be modest, but it has been well studied and has the merit of taking us to the very heart of the empire.<sup>2</sup> Complementary points of view are expressed in the Greek historians, supremely Herodotus, with whose writings historiography is generally thought to have come of age. No less valuable for our purpose are the papyri from Elephantine in Egypt<sup>3</sup> and from Wādī ed-Dâliyeh in Palestine itself. Finally, though from a much later period, Josephus includes material in his account of this period<sup>4</sup> which most scholars believe to be of some value.

### *A. The Nature of the Sources*

As so often proves to be the case, closer examination reveals that the historian is not left without difficulties in exploiting this apparent abundance of material. First, despite the progress that recent years have seen in the study of the Achaemenid empire, there is still an almost total silence about Palestine in Persian and Greek sources. Thus even if we understood fully Herodotus's

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<sup>1</sup> E. STERN, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538–332 BC* (Warminster and Jerusalem, 1982).

<sup>2</sup> R. G. KENT, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (AOS, 33; 2nd edn; New Haven, 1953).

<sup>3</sup> See A. COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century BC* (Oxford, 1923); B. PORTEN, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968); P. GRELOT, *Documents Araméens d'Égypte* (Paris, 1972).

<sup>4</sup> *Ant.* 11.

account of the organization of the satrapies, we should still know nothing from that quarter about the constitutional status of Judah. This may come as something of a surprise to those who are used to relying on the now classic *History of the Persian Empire* by A. T. Olmstead;<sup>5</sup> do not considerable portions of his work deal explicitly with Judah and her relations with the central imperial power? It needs to be realized, however, that for those sections Olmstead depends wholly, and sometimes none too critically, upon the biblical record. Its integration with the wider history of the empire was a matter of (perhaps almost unconscious) hypothesis – not to be rejected for that reason alone, as we shall see below, but equally not to be accorded the status of objectivity. Similarly, the importance of Judah to the Achaemenids is probably exaggerated in the minds of Olmstead's readers simply because of his particular interest in the subject. By contrast, it comes as something of a shock to the biblical scholar when perusal of the three modern syntheses of the history of this period – by the classicist J. M. Cook,<sup>6</sup> the Iranian scholar R. N. Frye,<sup>7</sup> and in the recent massive volume devoted to this period in the *Cambridge History of Iran* series<sup>8</sup> – reveals that scarcely any attention whatsoever is paid to characters and events which he or she had always considered fundamental. The somewhat parochial nature of the present chapter needs therefore to be borne in mind.

Second, for all their apparent fullness, the biblical sources suffer from certain defects from the point of view of the historian. Chief among these is the lack of any overall chronological framework. In the pre-exilic period, when Judah was still an independent monarchy, state records (presumably) furnished the Deuteronomistic Historian with such basic information as the order of the kings and the length of their reigns. For whatever reason, no such records have survived from the post-exilic period. Their nearest equivalents, the lists of high priests, are not necessarily complete and in any case are not generally synchronized with our other sources of information. The problems that this circumstance poses are compounded by the fact that there were three Persian kings named Artaxerxes, three named Darius, and two named Xerxes, and that these are not satisfactorily distinguished from each other in the majority of our sources. Consequently, even where there are cross-references to these kings in the biblical texts, there remains uncertainty as to which king is being referred to.

Before the full horror of this situation can be appreciated, it is necessary also to take into account the true nature of our primary source, the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Despite the evident attempts of editors to weld them together into a literary and theological unity, it is becoming increasingly apparent that these

<sup>5</sup> A. T. OLMSTEAD, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago and London, 1948).

<sup>6</sup> J. M. COOK, *The Persian Empire* (London, 1983).

<sup>7</sup> R. N. FRYE, *The History of Ancient Iran* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, III.7; Munich, 1984).

<sup>8</sup> I. GERSHEVITCH (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran, 2: The Median and Achaemenian Periods* (Cambridge, 1985).

books were assembled from originally completely discrete sources. This is not the place to undertake a full literary analysis, but the results of such a study may be usefully, if somewhat cavalierly, stated.

The account of the return of the Jews from their Babylonian exile to Judah and their restoration of the temple in Ezra 1–6 was built up from first-hand official records by an editor working long after the events in question.<sup>9</sup> These records, which are mostly cited *in extenso*, are of outstanding value as raw materials for a history, but their narrative conjoining is only what the editor could deduce from the sources themselves, and so is devoid of independent historical value. Where there are references to the kings in these documents, the historical contexts are for the most part reasonably secure; but not all are so dated.

The account of Ezra's journey to Jerusalem and his reform (Ezra 7–10; Nehemiah 8) is also to be regarded as a once quite independent source. At least, that is the best that can be said about it, for many scholars are extremely skeptical about its historical value.<sup>10</sup> I have tried to argue elsewhere<sup>11</sup> that such skepticism may not be warranted, but even if that be granted, we must still accept that only one year's activity is described, with no antecedent cause or subsequent effect alluded to. In other words, the material may be detailed, but it remains isolated, the reference to 'the seventh year of Artaxerxes' in Ezra 7:7 being notoriously slippery.

The situation is not dissimilar in the case of Nehemiah. The importance of his so-called memoir is celebrated on all sides, and rightly so when it is taken on its own terms. In their enthusiasm, however, scholars seem generally to overlook the fact that the events recorded here fall into two groups. The first is focused almost entirely on the wall-building and its immediate aftermath, and so again spans no more than a year at most. The remainder comprises a number of brief paragraphs describing various social and religious reforms, not themselves dated for the most part, but possibly belonging together as a record of some of the activities of Nehemiah's 'second term' as governor. Once again, therefore, isolated moments of Judah's history are brilliantly illuminated, but nothing connects them firmly to anything recorded in our other sources.

Finally, the rest of the material in the book of Nehemiah is a motley collection of once separate sources, many, perhaps, drawn from the temple archives, if their somewhat priestly bias is to be taken at face value. Only here do we approach the possibility of bridging our historical gaps by way of lists of high priests in Nehemiah 12. Unfortunately, however, many believe that these lists are defective. They seem too short to cover the period in question, so that

<sup>9</sup> See H.G.M. WILLIAMSON, 'The Composition of Ezra i–vi', *JTS* ns 34 (1983), 1–30 (below, 244–70).

<sup>10</sup> C.C. TORREY, *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah* (BZAW, 2; Giessen, 1896); cf. W. TH. IN DER SMITEN, *Esra: Quellen, Überlieferung und Geschichte* (SSN, 15; Assen, 1973), for a more recent bibliography.

<sup>11</sup> H.G.M. WILLIAMSON, *Ezra, Nehemiah* (WBC, 16; Waco, 1985).

whether by haplography of repeated names or some other reason it is not impossible that some names have dropped out. This at once casts doubt on any attempt confidently to locate chronologically the high priests mentioned in our other sources on the basis of these lists. Furthermore, as presented to us now, the lists' own chronological indicators are apparently governed more by ideological than by historical concerns. The reference to 'Darius the Persian' in Neh. 12:22 is a case in point,<sup>12</sup> and the summarizing dates in v. 26, which should in any case be ascribed to the very latest level of redaction in these books, seem more concerned to conflate than to order the material in hand.

The outcome of these considerations is that even though by comparison with other eras the history of Judah in the Achaemenid period seems to many to be a precious necklace, it turns out on examination to be rather an assortment of isolated gems which have lost the chain that ought to be keeping them in shapely order. In scholarly writing characters and events are slid up and down the scale of absolute chronology in a totally bewildering variety of permutations.

There is one further introductory point concerning our sources that ought not to need saying but that in fact needs to be emphatically underlined. These works were not written with historical interests primarily in view. It is therefore very frustrating to find that there are several issues in addition to chronology that seem fundamental to us in the historical enterprise, which they pass over as of no significance. The best-known example concerns an issue that we have already seen is not resolved to everyone's satisfaction by extra-biblical sources either, namely the constitutional status of Judah and the position of its leaders. In one of his now classic essays, Alt<sup>13</sup> was able to exploit this situation in order to argue that before Nehemiah's time Judah was administered as part of the province of Samaria within the satrapy of 'Beyond the River'. Only with the appointment of Nehemiah did Judah gain the status of a separate province with its own governor. Since Alt wrote, the discussion of his theory has been prolonged and shows no sign of resolution yet. To re-examination of the texts<sup>14</sup> have been added considerations from epigraphical sources.<sup>15</sup> But whereas we might have hoped (and some have claimed) that these would settle the matter, we find in fact that they come up against chronological problems of their own. In brief, the clearest evidence ought to come from the references to 'governor' on bullae and seals, but sadly the experts disagree over whether they come before or after Nehemiah.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See WILLIAMSON, Ezra, Nehemiah, 364–65.

<sup>13</sup> A. ALT, 'Die Rolle Samarias bei der Entstehung des Judentums', in A. ALT (ed.), *Festschrift Otto Procksch* (Leipzig, 1934), 5–28; reprinted in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 2 (Munich, 1953), 316–37.

<sup>14</sup> M. SMITH, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament* (New York and London, 1971), 193–201; S. E. McEVENUE, 'The Political Structure in Judah from Cyrus to Nehemiah', *CBQ* 43 (1981), 353–64.

<sup>15</sup> N. AVIGAD, *Bullae and Seals from a Post-Exilic Judean Archive* (Qedem, 4; Jerusalem, 1976).

<sup>16</sup> See STERN, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible*, 199–209.

If the later date is upheld, then clearly their evidence, however valuable in other respects, is mute with specific regard to Alt's theory. But Alt in turn, it needs to be said, based his argument very much on silence, and as ought to be clear by now, such arguments need to be treated with the very greatest caution in the present context. Japhet<sup>17</sup> has done well to show the extent to which ideological concerns may account for the lack of attention to political issues in Ezra in particular. Although this cannot wholly account for the ambivalent attitude of the official records included in Ezra 1–6, it serves at any rate as a warning not to expect clear answers to most of the questions which we pose today almost as a matter of course.

### *B. Procedure*

Our discussion thus far leaves us with the difficult problem of how best to proceed. One possibility is to become an academic sniper, picking off all hypotheses without necessarily having anything very positive to propose in their place. For the reasons we have noted, this approach is extremely easy for the period under consideration; for every date or connection proposed, to go no further, it is always possible to intone the response that there is an alternative, so that nothing should be considered certain. The present book is hardly the place for such self-indulgence, however.

Second, we may proceed to retell the biblical story, more or less modified according to critical predilections, and with extra-biblical tidbits thrown in where possible. This is the standard procedure in history textbooks, but ultimately it is not satisfying. The reason is that it tries to make a single narrative thread out of what are, generally speaking, historically unrelated subjects. It was the genius of the biblical authors to do this for their theological purposes, and of course that was, and remains, a legitimate exercise. But it is not the same enterprise as historiography as generally understood. Thus the endless debate about the relative chronology of Ezra and Nehemiah becomes less pressing if the need to relate them to one another is dropped: their purposes, status, and spheres of authority are clearly shown in the texts to be distinct, and it is better to treat them as such. The same can be said for the tensions between official documents and their later theologically-motivated editors, and so on.

I propose, then, that at this stage the most fruitful advance may be made by tracing two distinct histories: of political institutions and of religious thought and practice. The advantage of my proposal is that it allows us to compare like with like. In this way, despite all the gaps in our knowledge, there is the potential for a relative chronology within each of the categories concerned. I am not

<sup>17</sup> S. JAPHET, 'Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel', ZAW 94 (1982), 66–98.

unaware of the objection that political and religious history cannot be separated in the biblical world. I accept that objection to a limited extent, if by it is meant that political leaders may sometimes have acted out of religious motives and convictions and vice versa. But I should still maintain that there is a sufficient distinction to enable us to proceed. After all, Judah was by now part of a large and totally non-Jewish empire. In Judah as much as in Babylon the Jews were having to learn how to live both by 'the law of your God and the law of the king' (Ezra 7:26).

Again, the opinion is frequently advanced that increasingly through the Persian period political power was bifurcated between the secular governor, with his responsibility for taxation on behalf of the central authorities of the satrapy and the empire, and the high priest, who raised internal revenue by way of a temple tax necessary for the administration of what some regard as a temple-state. Powerful support for this view will no doubt be claimed from the newly-published coin<sup>18</sup> bearing the inscription 'Johanan the priest' alongside coins of a similar type inscribed with the name of the province, *yhd*. Furthermore, Meyers<sup>19</sup> has recently argued that this situation prevailed already from the sixth century BCE on. Yet even if this were so (and the evidence, it has to be said, remains very slight; one wonders to what extent earlier scholars assumed it on the basis of the situation later in the Hellenistic period and more recent writers have merely perpetuated the idea), it would still not invalidate my proposal: the political role of the high priest would still need to be kept distinct from a history of religious thought.

In the bulk of this chapter, therefore, attention will be concentrated on the political history of Judah in the Achaemenid period, with developments in religious thought referred to only where they impinge upon this particular area. One consequence of this procedure is that comparatively little notice will be taken of Ezra. This may seem strange to some readers who are familiar with his dominant position within biblical and post-biblical tradition. The fact is, however, that his political impact appears to have been minimal, and readers will have to judge whether our presentation is the poorer without him.

I have stated that as far as possible two branches of history – political and religious – need to be kept distinct. Ideally, a third area of study should be included, namely what may be broadly classified as social history. Whitelam<sup>20</sup> has recently entered a powerful plea to the effect that this should be taken far more seriously than is customary in the research of historians of ancient Israel, and indeed he implies that it should take precedence over what he calls text-based reconstructions. Among the disciplines whose importance he urges, he

<sup>18</sup> D. BARAG, 'Some Notes on a Silver Coin of Johanan the High Priest', *BA* 48 (1985), 166–68.

<sup>19</sup> E.M. MEYERS, 'The Shelomith Seal and the Judean Restoration: Some Additional Considerations', *Erlsr* 18 (1985), 33\*–38\*.

<sup>20</sup> K.W. WHITELAM, 'Recreating the History of Israel', *JSOT* 35 (1986), 45–70.

refers to social scientific methods, new archaeology, settlement patterns, demographic studies, the effects of climate, disease, shifting trade patterns, and so on. For many, recent literary study has eroded confidence in the biblical texts for the early history of Israel, at least until the founding of the monarchy,<sup>21</sup> and Whitelam claims that this erosion is likely to continue into even later periods. As a result, one plank of what he regards as a nineteenth-century western approach to historiography is removed. The other plank is the view that 'men make history', with its consequence that history is the study of leading personalities. But, urges Whitelam, this is just a reflection of the bias of our literary sources. In fact, 'the novel can only be understood in terms of the recurrent and regular', and to ignore the primacy of the latter, for which literary sources are not at all best suited as evidence, is to court the danger of encouraging 'the reduction of complex historical reality to simplistic categories'.

With specific reference to the period under discussion here, he deserves to be cited in full:

What kind of history is it that devotes its attention to the precise chronological sequence of Ezra and Nehemiah, or how many Elyashibs and Sanballats may have figured in the history of Israel and is able to say little, if anything, about the wider social reality?<sup>22</sup>

Standard treatments of Ezra and Nehemiah, for instance, concentrate upon the personalities and the politics of the biblical narratives and the perplexing problem of their chronological relationship. There is little time left to investigate the situation of Palestine vis-à-vis the Persian empire, particularly changing trade patterns, or to outline changes in settlement patterns in Palestine as a result of the change in political hegemony. It is only when such questions are seen to be significant that strategies will be devised to investigate these complex problems.<sup>23</sup>

There is much in Whitelam's criticisms of current writing on Israel's history that is justified, and indeed most of his points have already been made by others, even if in less concentrated form. Nevertheless, it is difficult to avoid the impression that he has somewhat exaggerated his case in order to make his point more forcefully, and he himself recognizes that text-based history retains some validity. Although it would be inappropriate to take up the issues fully here, some remarks are in order to justify the more conservative approach adopted in the present chapter.

First, the methods that Whitelam advocates have been largely developed as tools for historical research in the context of what is misleadingly termed pre-history, that is to say the history of non- or pre-literate societies. It would be churlish, however, to deny the value of written historical sources where they are available. They give us access, albeit partial and one-sided, to a wealth of

<sup>21</sup> See J. A. SOGGIN, *A History of Israel: from the Beginnings to the Bar Kochba Revolt, AD 135* (London, 1984).

<sup>22</sup> WHITELAM, 'Recreating the History of Israel', 53.

<sup>23</sup> WHITELAM, 'Recreating the History of Israel', 54.



information that is simply unobtainable in any other form, and it is only the consequence of natural human interest that gives them particular prominence in the work of many historians.

Second, although it is true that few, if any, of the biblical texts are free of major critical problems, Whitelam has overstated the negative consequences of these difficulties, at least so far as the later biblical period is concerned. If historians pay much attention to the detailing and, where possible, unravelling of these problems, that is because they hope to move towards their resolution, and not to their being ruled out altogether as primary evidence. This is certainly the case with our review of the sources available for the history of Achaemenid Judah.

Third, it needs to be remembered that the types of evidence that Whitelam favours are also highly ambiguous, material remains being in themselves largely mute and the subject of hypothesis and controversy among the experts.

Fourth, Whitelam's article is a call for a new research strategy, not an exposition of work accomplished. As he candidly recognizes, many of the necessary data are not yet available, and those that are have yet to be collected and organized. We may thus heartily endorse his appeal for work to be done in this area and at the same time recognize that in a chapter such as the present one it will not be possible at this stage to include such material.

Fifth, this conclusion is more particularly the case with regard to our period where, despite a few pioneering efforts,<sup>24</sup> such a programme lies way in the future. Since all such work is more than usually inter-disciplinarian, the historian is at the moment left waiting for his colleagues in cognate disciplines to advance along the lines of their own expertise before seeing what can be made of their results.

Finally, although acknowledging that the unique or unusual stands out only by contrast with what is normal, it would be wrong to deny that those who were present at the time had a less clear idea of this contrast than we do today. Such considerations will sometimes have determined what was recorded. Of course, such perceptions entail value judgements, but it is precisely because many historians of Israel share some of the values of those whom they study that the latter retain an interest which other data do not. If all historical writing reflects the bias of its writers, then a more traditional approach should not be dismissed as totally illegitimate. The history of ideas or institutions or religion may not be the interest of a social historian, and the latter may well have far more to say about these subjects than we have yet imagined. But that does not amount to a

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<sup>24</sup> E.g. H. G. KIPPENBERG, *Religion und Klassenbildung im antiken Judäa: Eine religionssoziologische Studie zum Verhältnis von Tradition und gesellschaftlicher Entwicklung* (SUNT, 14; Göttingen, 1978); W. SCHOTTROFF, 'Arbeit und sozialer Konflikt im nach-exilischen Zeit', in L. and W. SCHOTTROFF (eds.), *Mitarbeiter der Schöpfung: Bibel und Arbeitswelt* (Munich, 1983), 104–48.

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Edited by Bernd Janowski, Mark S. Smith  
and Hermann Spieckermann

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