

The Scrolls of the Torah

Edited by
JAN CHRISTIAN GERTZ,
JULIA RHYDER,
THOMAS RÖMER,
and KONRAD SCHMID

*Forschungen
zum Alten Testament
196*

Mohr Siebeck

Forschungen zum Alten Testament

Edited by

Corinna Körting (Hamburg) · Konrad Schmid (Zürich)
Mark S. Smith (Princeton) · Andrew Teeter (Harvard)

196



The Scrolls of the Torah

Material, Compositional and
Interpretive Perspectives

Edited by

Jan Christian Gertz, Julia Rhyder,
Thomas Römer and Konrad Schmid

Mohr Siebeck

Jan Christian Gertz, born 1964; 1993 Dr. theol., University of Göttingen; 1998 Habilitation, University of Göttingen; Professor of Old Testament / Hebrew Bible Studies at the University of Heidelberg.

orcid.org/0000-0003-0328-9463

Julia Rhyder, born 1987; 2011 BA, University of Melbourne, Australia; 2012 BTheol (Hons), University of Divinity, Australia; 2018 PhD, University of Lausanne, Switzerland; the John L. Loeb Associate Professor of the Humanities and Associate Professor of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University, USA.

orcid.org/0000-0002-3146-0662

Thomas Römer, born 1955; 1988 PhD, University of Geneva; Professor of Hebrew Bible and President of the Collège de France, Paris; extraordinary professor at the University of Pretoria (South Africa).

orcid.org/0000-0002-6490-7678

Konrad Schmid, born 1965; 1996 Dr. theol., University of Zurich; 1998 Habilitation, University of Zurich; Professor of Hebrew Bible and Ancient Judaism at the University of Zurich.

orcid.org/0000-0002-8968-2604

ISBN 978-3-16-200695-0 / eISBN 978-3-16-200696-7

DOI 10.1628/ 978-3-16-200696-7

ISSN 0940-4155 / eISSN 2568-8359 (Forschungen zum Alten Testament)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2026 Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems. The right to use the content of this volume for the purpose of text and data mining within the meaning of Section 44b UrhG (Urheberrechtsgesetz) is expressly reserved.

Printed on non-aging paper.

Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, Wilhelmstraße 18, 72074 Tübingen, Germany
www.mohrsiebeck.com, info@mohrsiebeck.com

To David Carr

*on the occasion of his 65th birthday
on April 11th, 2026*

Preface

The genesis of this volume was prompted by our wish to honor one of our most esteemed colleagues in the field, David Carr, currently Professor of Old Testament at Union Theological Seminary in New York City, on the occasion of his 65th birthday on April 11th, 2026. Ever since his dissertation of 1988, published in 1991 as *From D to Q: A Study of Early Jewish Interpretations of Solomon's Dream at Gibeon* (SBLMS 44; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), David Carr has been engaged with fundamental questions of the formation and interpretation of the Hebrew Bible. His approach to the question of the Bible's formation is informed by archaeological, material, cultural-historical, and literary perspectives, as well as from years of intensive dialogue with colleagues from across the globe. From 1993 to 1994, he spent a year as a fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation in Germany in order to advance his research on Genesis; the results were published in his *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996). In this work, Carr offered a fresh approach to the composition of Genesis that laid the groundwork for additional studies and his commentary on Genesis 1–11 (*The Formation of Genesis 1–11: Biblical and Other Precursors* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2020]; *Genesis 1–11*, IECOT [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2021]). Carr also belongs to a group of pioneering scholars who have established comparative-historical reconstructions of the scribal culture of ancient Israel and Judah, with the aim of evaluating different models for the composition of the Hebrew Bible. Particularly influential in this regard was his *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

In his *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), David Carr formulated a comprehensive methodology for reconstructing the literary history of the Hebrew Bible, including a survey of its formation from its latest layers to earlier stages that extended to include the remnants of early literature preceding the time of the Neo-Assyrian empire. The result was a comprehensive analysis that combined philological and literary-critical insights with a nuanced appreciation of the complex social and scribal processes that shaped the formation of the biblical corpus across the first millennium BCE.

In recent years, David Carr has developed a novel “scroll approach” that considers how the material aspects of ancient texts might have affected the formation of the Hebrew Bible. He has offered his insights on this important factor of ancient literary production in his “Rethinking the Materiality of Biblical Texts:

From Source, Tradition and Redaction to a Scroll Approach,” *ZAW* 134 (2020): 594–621; “Background and Aims of a Scroll Approach to the Formation of the Hebrew Bible” *AABNER* 3.2 (2023): <https://doi.org/10.35068/aabner.v3i2.1035>; and, together with Asaf Gayer, “Text Density, Scroll Carrying Capacity and Pre-Biblical Sources: How a Hellenistic Period Shift in Text Density is Relevant to Hypotheses about the Formation of the (Hebrew) Bible.” *ZAW* 136 (2024): 1–27.

In addition to his work on compositional issues of the Hebrew Bible, David Carr has also contributed significantly to broader interpretive matters that affect the study of the Bible today. In *The Erotic Word: Sexuality, Spirituality and the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), he explored the interweaving of sexuality and spirituality in the biblical corpus, while his 2014 monograph *Holy Resilience: The Bible’s Traumatic Origins* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014) offered a powerful application of trauma theory to the biblical corpus to shed new light on issues such as the rise of monotheism, the literary representation of the exile, and the nature of suffering and divine retribution.

David Carr is not only an outstanding researcher; he is also an acclaimed teacher with a refined ability to distill the results of critical biblical scholarship to reach a broader audience of students and educators alike. His textbook *The Hebrew Bible: A Contemporary Introduction to the Christian Old Testament and the Jewish Tanakh* (2nd ed.; Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2020) skillfully presented the literary formation of the Hebrew Bible in a way that intersects with larger interpretive issues – from the role of empire in shaping the biblical text, to the collective trauma experienced during the Babylonian exile, and the importance of matters such as gender, power, and ecology for ethical biblical interpretation.

Over the years of his academic career, David Carr has been an inspiring colleague, a good friend, and a strong bridge-builder particularly between different academic cultures in North America and Europe, but also in other international contexts. For decades, he has been a valued member of Union Theological Seminary, where his teaching and mentorship have shaped generations of students. At the same time, he has played a vital role in building a diverse and inclusive community in the larger region, notably through his long-standing involvement in the Columbia Hebrew Bible Seminar in New York, where he has taken on the formal role of co-chair since 2021. Finally, David Carr is an extraordinarily generous mentor who has devoted countless hours to supporting graduate students, postdoctoral researchers, and tenure-track faculty as they navigate the academic job market. His warmth, generosity, and dedication to others have made him a truly cherished figure within the broader academic community.

In sum, David Carr’s work and service reflect the highest standards of biblical scholarship that advance academic knowledge while creating an inclusive and ethical academic guild. We hope that David Carr will continue to inspire our discipline, to challenge traditional notions of the composition and interpretation

of the Hebrew Bible, and to formulate new methodological approaches that can take the field forward.

This volume brings together a variety of voices of colleagues and friends who both want to thank David Carr for his service to the discipline and also, by contributing to this volume, would like to sharpen our understanding of the composition and interpretation of the Pentateuch, one of the main fields of David Carr's both broad and deep work on the Hebrew Bible. We are very grateful to John Will Rice and Samuel Arnet for their meticulous work in putting this volume together (copyediting, typesetting and proofreading). We also thank the editors of FAT for publishing this volume in their series. Finally: our thanks go to the publisher Mohr Siebeck for the collaboration in producing this book.

Jan Gertz
Julia Rhyder
Thomas Römer
Konrad Schmid

Contents

Preface VII

I. The Scribal Cultures Behind the Pentateuch

Jeremy M. Hutton

The Possibility of Extended Literary Prose Narratives in the Iron Age IIA . . . 3

Alice Mandell

The Hand of the Scribe: A “Stylus-and-Wedge”-Based Approach to
the Study of Canaanite Cuneiform 29

William Tooman and Tobias Siegenthaler

Independent Scribes? Text Collections and Institutions in Ancient
Mesopotamia 69

Angela Roskop Erisman

Implied Authors and Scribes: Literary and Material Aspects of
Composition in the Pentateuch 87

Matthieu Richelle

The Quest for the Script of the Pentateuch 101

II. The Formation of the Pentateuch

Julia Rhyder

Scribal Groups, Social Conflict, and the Formation of the
Pentateuch: The Laws of Priestly Blemishes (Lev 21:16–24) as a Case
Study and a Warning 121

Thomas Römer

The 120 Years in the First and Last Scroll of the Pentateuch and the
Composition of Genesis 6:1–4 135

Ronald Hendel

Empirical Models for Source and Redaction Criticism of the
Pentateuch: A Reassessment 151

Konrad Schmid

How Hellenistic Is the Pentateuch? 171

III. Narrative and Law in the Pentateuch

Joachim J. Krause

Interpreting the End: Reception and Reflection of a Prophetic
Tradition in the Primeval History 187

Jeffrey Stackert

The Promise After the Flood and the Rationale for the Priestly Covenants 199

Mark G. Brett

A Mosaic of Quotations: Scribal Conversations in Genesis 215

Yael Landman

Letting Ishmael Live: Abraham's Plea in Genesis 17:18 229

Joel S. Baden

Divine Justice and the Lessons of Genesis 18 241

Thomas B. Dozeman

The Sons of Jacob 255

Mark S. Smith

"Few and Evil": Jacob's Commentary on His Life in Genesis 47:7–10 271

Aron Freidenreich

Moses's Introduction in P and Its Implications for the Priestly Work 291

Nathan MacDonald

Washing from the Laver in the Early Textual History of Exodus 321

Jan Christian Gertz

Who Made the Beginning Holy? Comments on the Debate over the
Presence of the Holiness School in the Primeval History 331

Axel Bühler

Expressing Identity and Idealized Hellenistic Politics in the Book of Numbers 351

Christian Frevel

Scrolling Numbers: Remarks on Numbers as a Separate Book(-Scroll) . . . 367

Sara Milstein

The Myth of the Marriage Metaphor 385

IV. Reception History

Liane M. Feldman

Moving Pieces: Materiality, Plurality, and the Beginning of the Aramaic Levi Document 405

Mahri Leonard-Fleckman

The Refiguration of Genesis 34 in the Book of Judith 423

Contributors 439

Scripture Index 441

Author Index 448

I. The Scribal Cultures Behind the Pentateuch

The Possibility of Extended Literary Prose Narratives in the Iron Age IIA*

Jeremy M. Hutton

1. Introduction

Since the very inception of the critical study of biblical texts, scholars have debated the date(s) at which various portions of the text were deposited in writing. Far from the traditional reception of the text, which viewed Moses as having produced the entire Pentateuch – a position doubted already by Abraham ibn Ezra in the early twelfth century CE, e.g.¹ – critical scholars have identified various stages at which the pentateuchal text may have achieved some semblance of “completion.”² Proposals for this process normally focus on the Persian and Hellenistic periods, depending on the subcorpus under investigation. Textual fluidity continued to suffuse the corpus in the subsequent centuries, with a variety

*I first recall meeting David Carr on a week-long bicycle tour around Ohio (the Great Ohio Bicycle Adventure [GOBA]), sometime around the time I was 15 or 16 years old. At the time, he was teaching at the Methodist Theological School (METHESCO, Delaware, Ohio), near my hometown of Columbus. He knew my father, Rodney R. Hutton, from the local theological circles and shared our interest in cycling. We met again during his visit to Harvard University in 2004–2005, when I was dissertating. I found inspiration in his model of household scribal training; this model continues to inform and undergird my own conception of the textual development of the books of Samuel and Kings. David has provided me with inspiration and guidance throughout my entire career – often more so than he likely realizes – and it is an honor to contribute this essay to a volume memorializing his work. I owe a debt of gratitude to the editors of this volume for the invitation to contribute this piece. To my recollection, I was first introduced to Benjamin Harshav’s work through a lecture by Simeon Chavel at the Chicago–Yale Pentateuch Colloquium in 2017. Subsequently, I have had the opportunity to discuss Harshav’s work with Jeffrey Stackert. I am indebted to both scholars – and particularly the latter – for my engagement with Harshav in this venue. Finally, I am indebted to Nathaniel Greene for engaging discussions of scribalism and a thorough reading of this manuscript.

¹On the well-known position of Ibn Ezra and continuing debates among later Jewish communities, see, e.g., the accessible work of Zev Farber, “The Significance of Ibn Ezra’s Position that Verses Were Added to the Torah,” *TheTorah.com* (<https://www.thetorah.com/article/the-significance-of-ibn-ezras-position-that-verses-were-added-to-the-torah>).

²I place the term “completion” in scare quotes because of the open questions regarding the stability of the biblical text.

of contextual and religious considerations prompting emendation and revision even while various communities sought to establish their own fixed corpora.³ A question of equal importance arises concerning the *beginnings* of these texts: One of the most salient questions that has emerged over recent decades is when it became possible for Israelite scribes to set in writing what we shall call *extended literary prose narratives*.⁴ Although the question of Israelite literacy and orality has always been bound up in critical biblical studies, the specific focus on broader social processes of *literacy* and *literary production* emerged in the 1980s as an object of concerted inquiry. The very possibility of *reading and writing practices* – and, with these, the possibility of textual composition – has subsequently become a frequent subject of heated debate, fueling questions such as, How prevalent was literacy in the Iron Age I, IIA, and IIB? What role did it play in the formation of the state – or, indeed, was it a *product* of the emergent state? If it was a product of the state, could it even have emerged before the achievement of “full-blown” statehood in the Israelite highlands (ca. the eighth century BCE)? How were scribal technologies communicated between practitioners? These and related questions permeate current questions regarding the formation of the Bible.

Over the past three decades David M. Carr has been at the center of these debates.⁵ He has offered several field-sharpening studies on scribalism and textual formation.⁶ Of foremost relevance for the present study is a chapter of Carr’s *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, in which he evaluates “Early Highland States and Evidence for Literary Textuality in Them.”⁷ After a review of perspectives regarding a “United Monarchy” during the tenth century, Carr recognizes archaeological realities while at the same time pointing to sensible interpretations of those data:

³ E.g., Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Molly M. Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism: Scribal Composition and Transmission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); more recently also, e.g., Hila Dayfani, “The Major Additions in the Samaritan Pentateuch Tradition: Editorial Practices and Layers,” *VT* 75 (2025): 335–354.

⁴ Although each of the constituent words in this term deserves extensive discussion, the limited space of the present venue demands concision. My understanding of the category of “extended literary prose texts” will necessarily emerge through discussion.

⁵ I begin this timeline schematically with the publication of David M. Carr, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996).

⁶ See in particular his monographs *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) and *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). But also see idem, “Rethinking the Materiality of Biblical Texts: From Source, Tradition and Redaction to a Scroll Approach,” *ZAW* 132 (2020): 594–621 and the essays contained in idem, *From Sources to Scrolls and Beyond*, *FAT* 177 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2024).

⁷ Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 355–385.

In sum, both archaeological and biblical evidence suggest that David and Solomon's Jerusalem was a modest 4–6 hectare settlement [...] on a relatively inaccessible hillside and lightly fortified by a large retaining structure along with some kind of fortress [...] It was not yet a major residential center for a vast bureaucratic apparatus, but a base from which these two rulers assembled a short-lived military and economic domination of the surrounding area.⁸

Further, despite what appears to be a relatively decentralized social structure of the highland society(/-ies) during the tenth century BCE, Carr views the increasing “growth of settlements in later centuries” as potentially interpreted as “a spur for later political centralization as a reflection of centralization that already occurred.”⁹ This increasing, albeit only incipient, centralization is realized in various biblical texts describing the structure(s) of David's and Solomon's courts (2 Sam 8:16–18 // 2 Sam 20:23–26 // 1 Chr 18:15–17, and 1 Kgs 4:1–6, respectively);¹⁰ by the time of the downfall of the Omride dynasty in the second half of the ninth century, political centralization – especially in the north – had become so pervasive that it was recognized as a state by foreign powers, both large and small. The frequent designation of both the northern and southern kingdoms as, respectively, the “son of (the House of) Omri” and the “House of David” in contemporary Akkadian (Jehu is called the “son of Omri” [*mār Ḫumri*] in the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III [RIMA 3:88; COS 2.113F]¹¹) and Northwest Semitic (בית דוד; *KAI* § 310 [Tel Dan Inscription] and possibly § 181 [Mesha Stele]¹²) texts attests to a relatively high degree of political centralization already by the end of the ninth century.¹³

⁸ Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 362.

⁹ Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 364.

¹⁰ Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 368–369.

¹¹ According to RIMA 3.88, the text reads *ṁia-ú-a DUMU ṁḫu-um-ri-i* (“Jehu, son of Omri”). Daniel David Luckenbill (*Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927], 1:211 § 590) renders DUMU *ṁḫu-um-ri-i* with *mār Ḫumri*, but A. Kirk Grayson (*Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, vol. 2: 858–745 BC, RIMA 3 [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996], 149 no. 88) translates “Jehu (Iaua) of the House of Omri.” Similarly, K. Lawson Younger (“Black Obelisk,” *COS* 2.113F) renders it with *mār bīt Ḫumri* (“son of the House of Omri”). For the use of *mār* (“son of”) to indicate leadership of a polity, conceptualized as a “House,” see, e.g., Mahri Leonard-Fleckman, “The *bīt X* Formula in Assyrian Documentation and Aramaean Social Structure,” *HBAI* 7 (2018): 140–171.

¹² The reading *btdwd* in the Mesha Inscription has been vigorously contested since it was first proposed by André Lemaire, “La dynastie davidique (*BYT DWD*) dans deux inscriptions ouest-sémitiques du IXe s. av. J.-C.,” *SEL* 11 (1994): 17–19, here 18; idem, “House of David” Restored in Moabite Inscription,” *BAR* 20.3 (1994): 30–37; see also Michael Langlois, “The Kings, the City, and the House of David on the Mesha Stele in Light of New Imaging Techniques,” *Sem* 61 (2019): 23–47, esp. 35–47. In contrast, see Israel Finkelstein, Nadav Na’aman, and Thomas Römer, “Restoring Line 31 in the Mesha Stele: The ‘House of David’ or Biblical Balak?” *TA* 46 (2019): 3–11.

¹³ See esp. Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 373; see also Mahri Leonard-Fleckman, *The House of David: Between Political Formation and Literary Revision* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2016).

After establishing a well-reasoned description of the gradual emergence, Carr then spends the remainder of the chapter outlining the epigraphic evidence attesting to Israelite scribalism that developed alongside the Israelite and Judahite kingdoms within this milieu of nascent-but-gathering political centralization.¹⁴ These pages echo his earlier conclusions in *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, in which he argues for small-scale, family-based training in scribal regimens and the use of oral recitation (and the corresponding fixing of such texts in the form of writing) for purposes of enculturation.¹⁵ Yet, they plow new ground as well: Specifically, Carr adduces the epigraphic evidence of the southern Levant as probably indicating that “Phoenicia did not just have an alphabetic system for writing documentary and display texts, but also a corpus of literature, faint echoes of which we see in the Bible.”¹⁶ Further, Carr argues that

the examples of extended textuality are so rare and the circumstances of their preservation so haphazard that we are on much better ground interpreting presences in this area than absences. Moreover, [...] we probably do have *in the Bible* some remnants (or pale reflections) of the sort of tenth–ninth century Israelite royal literature that stood as a rough early counterpart to the sort of textuality evident in the ninth-century Moabite and Syrian inscriptions.¹⁷

“In sum,” Carr concludes, “though it is difficult to know anything for certain about Judah and Israel of the tenth to ninth centuries, it is plausible to suggest that these early kingdoms developed a preliminary literary system.”¹⁸

In this contribution honoring Carr’s work, I evaluate one recent set of claims relegating the production of extended literary prose narratives to the late ninth or eighth centuries BCE. I argue instead that circumstantial evidence from southern Levantine epigraphy and theoretical evidence regarding what constitutes “literature” converge to suggest that Carr’s argument, described above, provides a more accurate reconstruction of Israelite textuality. In fact, I argue, the occupants of the Israelite and Judahite highlands during the early monarchic period would indeed have had the networks and capabilities necessary to draft and circulate extended literary prose texts. This assertion neither assumes *widespread* literacy, nor does it necessitate a fully-fledged state system providing specialized scribes with a technical, routinized, and standardized scribal training. Rather, I sketch here a social context in which “lengthy” prose narratives comprising several conjoined columns of unified, literary prose text could have emerged.

¹⁴ Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 375–385.

¹⁵ Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 377; see, e.g., idem, *Writing on the Tablet*.

¹⁶ Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 379.

¹⁷ Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 383, italics original.

¹⁸ Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 385.

2. The Dawn of Long-Form Third-Person Narrative?

Seth L. Sanders and, following his lead, Daniel Pioske have recently asserted that we have to look to Israel's neighbors for the earliest scribal productions of significant length. The royal inscriptions of Meshah (*KAI* § 181), discovered at Tall Dhiban in modern Jordan, and of Hazael (probably; *KAI* § 310), at Tel Dan in the northernmost reaches of Israel, provide the most extensive epigraphic texts from the ninth century BCE in the southern Levant. Further, Pioske makes the claim that, because third-person *narratives* are not attested in the early literary production of the ancient Near East, we should be wary of accepting claims of early literary production of the kind found, for example, in the book of Samuel.¹⁹

Like many recent interpreters, Pioske has accepted the fundamentally oral origins of biblical composition:

The “thoroughgoing oral world” in which biblical prose narratives were similarly produced was a world, consequently, in which many of the biblical stories would have been composed more for aural consumption than for individual reading, created, disseminated, and performed for audiences accustomed to experiencing these stories principally through the human voice.²⁰

I agree with Pioske's position in this regard. Yet, it is more difficult to accept his dependance on the methodological stance that would limit what we can say about the Hebrew prose scribal production only to the time from which our first concrete evidence emerges.²¹ Pioske establishes a variety of markers of Biblical Hebrew prose that he seems to consider both constitutive of and essential to biblical literary prose:

It offers lengthy accounts about the past by narrating former affairs through forms of emplotment and by drawing on a distinct collection of literary conventions to do so. Such elements include thematic recurrences and allusion, frequent instances of dialogue between characters, the manipulation of narrative time (i.e., the adoption of a narrative preterite, the use of deictic markers, forms of analepsis and prolepsis, representation of simultaneous events), and storytellers adept at drawing attention to “a genuine inner life” of their

¹⁹ The same logic has been adopted recently by Cynthia Edenburg, “Wilderness, Liminality, and David's Rite of Passage,” in *David in the Desert: Tradition and Redaction in the “History of David's Rise”*, ed. Hannes Bezzel and Reinhard G. Kratz, BZAW 514 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2021), 285–303, esp. 286. Pioske cites Edward L. Greenstein, “On the Genesis of Biblical Prose Narrative,” *Prooftexts* 8 (1988): 347–354, esp. 349; Robert S. Kawashima, *Biblical Narrative and the Death of the Rhapsode* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 9. Yet, at the cited page, Kawashima is merely citing Greenstein! More productive discussion of the use of third person in Homer can be found at *ibid.*, pp. 72–74; yet there, Kawashima shows how first- and third-person narration interacts to vest characters with the voice of the narrator.

²⁰ Daniel D. Pioske, *Memory in a Time of Prose: Studies in Epistemology, Hebrew Scribalism, and the Biblical Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 24.

²¹ This methodological position was proposed in its most raw expression by Seth L. Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).

characters, both human and divine, by gesturing toward but leaving largely inaccessible the thoughts and motivations of these protagonists.²²

As an example of these trends, Pioske cites 2 Sam 12:20–23 (MT), in which David explains his cessation of mourning for his and Bathsheba's first child. This is indeed a fine example of the literary features that Pioske views as representative of Biblical Hebrew prose, putatively criteria that exemplify a more advanced literary perspective than Pioske would allow for the earliest, halting steps of a narrative tradition. Yet, 2 Sam 12:20–23 can hardly be considered part of the earliest levels of the text,²³ and therefore cannot be considered to comprise evidence impugning the antiquity of the chapter's *Grundbestand*.

²² Pioske, *Memory*, 26–27.

²³ Even on a relatively conservative analysis, this passage, which is part of the larger pericope of 2 Sam 12:15b–23, seems at earliest to belong to a stage of writing that can best be viewed as a Solomonic Apology (comprising ca. 2 Sam 11:1–27*; 12:15b–25*; 1 Kings 1–2* [each of which contains many secondary additions]), which dated maximally to the end of Solomon's reign – sometime around the beginning of the last third of the tenth century BCE. For discussion, see Jeremy M. Hutton, *The Transjordanian Palimpsest: The Overwritten Texts of Personal Exile and Transformation in the Deuteronomistic History*, BZAW 396 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 192–201, and 221–222, esp. 222; previously, see Tomoo Ishida, “The Succession Narrative and Esarhad-don's Apology: A Comparison,” in *Ah, Assyria...: Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor*, ed. Mordechai Cogan and Israel Eph'al; (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1991), 166–173; subsequently, see Andrew Knapp, *Royal Apologetic in the Ancient Near East*, WAWSup (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 249–276, esp. 275–276; see also idem, “David and Hattushili III: The Impact of Genre and a Response to J. Randall Short,” *VT* 63 (2013): 261–275, esp. 268–275. Moreover, the child resulting from David's coercion of Bathsheba seems originally to have been Solomon, if we make the jump from 11:27a to 12:24bβ, following several scholars; see, e.g., Ernst Würthwein, *Die Erzählung von der Thronfolge Davids – theologische oder politische Geschichtsschreibung?*, ThSt B/115 (Zurich: TVZ, 1974), repr. in idem, *Studien zum deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk*, BZAW 227 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 29–79, esp. 40–53; Timo Veijola, “Salomo – der erstgeborene Bathsebas,” in *David: Gesammelte Studien zu den Davidüberlieferungen des Alten Testaments*, Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran julkaisu 52 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 84–105, esp. 103–105, repr. from *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament*, ed. J. A. Emerton, VTSup 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 230–250; Jacques Vermeylen, *La loi du plus fort: Histoire de la rédaction des récits davidiques de 1 Samuel 8 à 1 Rois 2*, BETL 154 (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 306–310. Accordingly, the invention of Solomon's older brother in vv. 15b–23 may itself have been inserted later than the (secondary) addition of vv. 1–15a and would have fueled a narrative “re-counting” of David's deceased children. In my view, we do not have irrefutable evidence for the precise order of additions in 2 Samuel 11–12, but the addition of vv. 15b–23 following that of vv. 1–15a could have spurred an even later revision of the number “sevenfold” in v. 6 (cf. LXX ἑπταπλασιασίου) to “fourfold” in the MT (אַרְבָּעִיִּם) (see Hutton, *Transjordanian Palimpsest*, 196–201; the precise order of additions is left flexible there, although I generally assumed that vv. 15b–23 were part of the underlying Solomonic Apology). All this is to say, Pioske's selection of vv. 20–23 as indicative of a more fully developed literary prose narrative that cannot be representative of the earliest stages of Hebrew literary production demonstrates nothing. The selection of a passage more firmly located in the earliest recoverable stages of the

Somewhat more confusingly, Pioske admits that

the prose we find in the Bible is not, then, the terse king lists or brief accounts one reads in the royal inscriptions or annals of Mesopotamia, but instead draws nearer in form to certain Egyptian prose stories, such as Sinuhe (COS 1.38) and Wen-Amun (COS 1.41), and in plotlines and themes to a wide collection of literature from the ancient Near East, including epic material (e.g., Kirta [COS 1.102] and Aqhat [COS 1.103]), commemorative writings (e.g., Tel Dan Stele [COS 1.102]), royal apology (e.g., The Apology of Hattušili III [COS 1.77]), (pseudo-)autobiography (e.g., Idrimi [COS 1.148]; Birth Legend of Sargon [COS 1.133]), law, and chronicles (e.g., Babylonian Chronicle [COS 1.137]), among other instances. There is little doubt that the narrative prose of the Hebrew Bible is heir to this rich repertoire of older literature from the ancient Near East.²⁴

The repertoire gestured to here is broad, accurate, and widely comparable to the variety of texts contained in the Hebrew Bible. But Pioske then goes on to separate Hebrew literature from these texts:

Yet in comparison to these more venerable writings, what we perceive in the Hebrew prose tradition of the Bible is a depth of characterization and complexity of narrative technique “that must astonish anyone familiar with the literatures of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia.”²⁵

As above, Pioske has committed a category error: He compares here the putative complexity of the “prose tradition of the Bible” with the (relative) simplicity of ANE literature. This comparison flattens a clearly multilayered biblical text, however, essentializing its “prose tradition” without separating its constituent layers and thus failing to adequately analyze its composition history.

Primary among the departures from ANE literature that Pioske finds in “biblical prose” is “that it narrates a past through an anonymous third person voice.”²⁶ To his credit, Pioske does admit that the third person “is found in other texts from the ancient Near East, such as in the Hittite ‘Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I’ (COS 1.74).”²⁷ (When surveying Egyptian literature, Pioske could add here the third-person narrative frame of the “Prophecies of Neferti” [COS 1.45], which at least *purports* to narrate a past, “The Eloquent Peasant” [COS 1.43], and the tale of “The Two Brothers” [COS 1.40]. Ugaritic epic texts in the third person include Kirta [COS 1.102] and Aqhat [COS 1.103], both of which Pioske mentions in the passage quoted above.) But Pioske deems the third-person narration of a purported history-writing to be anomalous in comparison with the literatures of other ancient (and some more recent!) societies:

development of Samuel (e.g., 1 Sam 17:1–11) would have been more fairly representative of texts springing from the hypothesized setting of text-supported orality.

²⁴ Pioske, *Memory*, 28.

²⁵ Pioske, *Memory*, 28–29, quoting Greenstein, “On the Genesis,” 347.

²⁶ Pioske, *Memory*, 29.

²⁷ Pioske, *Memory*, 29.

It nevertheless remains a remarkable feature of biblical narrative that it recounts a varied past inclusive of both royal and non-royal agents almost exclusively in the third person voice, with the anonymity of the biblical narrators forming a striking contrast not only to those Greek historians such as Herodotus and Thucydides, but also in comparison to the first person discourse that dominates many royal genres of prose writing from Mesopotamia.²⁸

Pioske then deploys this criterion in an attempt to identify the “time in which prose appears”²⁹ by examining the conventions of our extant witnesses to Hebrew scribal activity.

Pioske begins his investigation of the epigraphic record with the recognition that “writing existed in the Levant for many centuries before the appearance of any Hebrew prose text.”³⁰ This includes both Babylonian and, to some extent, Egyptian texts; the former are found in the small collection of Akkadian texts found in the southern Levant,³¹ while a somewhat more extensive – if less varied – evidentiary basis can be found for the use of hieratic numerals in the context of administrative documents.³² Pioske notes that, although “Canaanite inhabitants of the Levant who spoke in dialects that were forerunners to

²⁸ Pioske, *Memory*, 29. He cites here John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983; repr. 1997), 55–78, 92–99; Peter Machinist, “The Voice of the Historian in the Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean World,” *Int* 57 (2003): 117–137. Machinist focuses almost entirely on distinguishing the “pseudo-I” of ancient Near Eastern historiographic materials (including the narrative frame of Deuteronomy) from the more historically embodied “analytical I” of the Greek historians such as Herodotus and Thucydides. This distinction, in my view, supports consideration of biblical historiography as of a piece with other ancient Near Eastern history writing; the genre thus appears to be one that is regionally defined and conventionalized.

²⁹ Pioske, *Memory*, 30; Pioske’s discussion is dependent on Jeffrey Kittay and Wlad Godzich, *The Emergence of Prose: An Essay in Prosaics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).

³⁰ Pioske, *Memory*, 30.

³¹ Pioske cites William Moran, “The Syrian Scribe of the Jerusalem Amarna Letters,” in *Amarna Studies: Collected Writings*, ed. John Huehnergard and Shlomo Izre’el, HSS 54 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 259–274; Wayne Horowitz, Takayoshi Oshima, and Seth L. Sanders, *Cuneiform in Canaan: The Next Generation*, 2nd ed. (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2018); Ryan Byrne, “The Refuge of Scribalism in Iron I Palestine,” *BASOR* 345 (2007): 1–31, esp. 1–12; William M. Schniedewind, *A Social History of Hebrew: Its Origins through the Rabbinic Period*, AYBRL (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 31–48.

³² See, for example, Orly Goldwasser, “Hieratic Inscriptions from Tel Sera’ in Southern Canaan,” *TA* 11 (1984): 77–93; Orly Goldwasser and Stefan Wimmer, “Hieratic Fragments from Tell el-Far’ah (South),” *BASOR* 313 (1999): 39–42; Orly Goldwasser, “From the Iconic to the Linear – The Egyptian Scribes of Lachish and the Modification of the Early Alphabet in the Late Bronze Age,” in *Alphabets, Texts and Artifacts in the Ancient Near East: Studies Presented to Benjamin Sass*, ed. Israel Finkelstein, Christian Robin, and Thomas Römer (Paris: Van Dieren, 2016), 118–160; Stefan J. Wimmer, *Palästinisches Hieratisch: Die Zahl- und Sonderzeichen in der althebräischen Schrift*, AOAT 75 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008); Stefan J. Wimmer et al., “A Hieratic Brit-Bowl from Tell el-Ḥesi,” *TA* (forthcoming).

Scripture Index

Genesis

- 1-11 332, 336
1:1-2:3 336-344
1:1-3 301
1:1-31 341
1:2 204
1:28 191, 345-346
1:28-30 346
1:29 207
1:29-30 346-347
1:31 191, 204, 345
2:1-3 341
2:2-3 332, 338-340, 344
2:4b-7 301
5 176-177, 293
5:1 301
6:1-4 135-140, 142-144
6:3 137, 145-149, 282
6:4 138
6:5 248
6:5-9:17 163-164
6:11 204, 347-348
6:11-12 207
6:11-13 190-192, 345
6:12 196
6:13 195, 197, 348
6:17-18 211
6:21 345
7:21-24 166
8:1 211-212
8:15-17 345
8:21-22 200
9:1 345
9:1-6 207
9:1-7 343-348
9:8-17 344
9:9-11 199
9:11 197
9:13 210
9:16 345
11 176-177
11:10-32 293
12:1 217
12:1-3 216-220, 245, 247
12:1-9 221
12:3 244
12:6-7 225
12:8 217
13 226
14 177-178
16:5 391
17 205
17:1 306
17:7-8 313, 319, 334
17:8 282, 313
17:13 210
17:18 229-240
17:19-21 235
17:20 232, 239
17:22 204
18:17 244
18:17-19 244-247
18:17-32 241-253
18:18 244-245
18:20-21 244, 247-249
18:23-32 249-251
18:25 235
20:7 235, 296
21:1 306
21:9-10 237
21:14-15 240
21:16 231, 240
21:17 231
21:18 232
22:7-8 295
23:4 226
24 178
24:3-4 217, 219
24:7 218, 224
25:7 282
25:7-8 273, 278, 288, 313
25:17 313
25:19-28:22 256, 263
26:34 267
27:2 281
27:26 267

Genesis (cont.)

- 27:37 265
 28:1-5 267
 28:4 282
 28:6-9 267
 28:10 263-264
 28:13-15 218-219
 28:19 219, 264
 29:1 264
 29:1-32:1 256, 264
 29:15-30 257
 29:31-30:24 255-257
 29:31-30:25 263-265, 269
 30:25-43 257
 31:1-7 263, 265, 269
 31:13 217, 219, 264
 31:44-52 176
 32:1 264
 32:1-33:17 257
 32:2-35:7 264
 32:2-36:43 256
 32:7 257
 32:9 258
 32:11 258
 32:13-20 258
 32:14 295
 32:22 258, 263, 265, 269, 295
 32:24 258
 32:26-32 258
 32:28 259
 32:30 264
 32:33 255
 33:1-7 255, 258
 33:8-11 258
 33:17 264
 33:18 264
 34 393, 414, 423-436
 34:1 434
 34:5 413
 34:7 259, 434
 34:25-26 434
 35:1-7 264
 35:4 264
 35:9-15 267
 35:11 227
 35:16-20 256-257, 263-265
 35:21-22 259
 35:22-26 256, 267-269
 35:28 282
 35:28-29 313
 36:7 282
 37 260-261, 268, 415
 37-38 259, 264
 37-50 178-179
 37:1 282, 311, 313
 37:2-4 265
 37:5-8 265
 37:9-11 265
 37:12-17 265
 37:21-24 265, 268-269
 37:26-27 268
 37:29 265
 37:32 265
 37:33-35 265
 37:36 265, 296
 38 260, 268-269, 396
 38:27-30 268
 39-41 259, 261, 264-265
 40:20 179
 41 266
 41:33 261
 41:37-57 265
 41:50-52 265, 268
 42-45 260-261
 42-50 260, 264, 266
 42:22 266
 42:37 266
 43:3 268
 43:8-10 268
 44:14 268-269
 44:17 268
 44:17-34 269
 44:18-34 268
 45 260
 45:29 284
 46-50 260, 266
 46:6-7 312
 46:8 310
 46:8-10 309
 46:8-27 267, 312
 46:11 309
 46:28 268
 47:1-6 271-272, 286
 47:1-11 271-272
 47:2 286
 47:3 271
 47:4 271
 47:4-6 166-168
 47:5-6 271, 286
 47:7 273-276
 47:7-10 271-289
 47:8 277-279

Genesis (cont.)

47:9 279–286, 288–289
 47:10 273–276
 47:11 272
 47:13–26 179
 47:27 205, 311, 313
 47:28 282
 47:29–31 266
 48 265
 48:1–2 267, 269
 48:3–6 267, 269
 48:3–20 275
 48:5 267, 391
 48:6 267
 48:7–22 269
 48:8 267
 48:11 266
 48:15 274
 48:16 266
 48:21–22 274
 49:1–12 266, 268
 49:2–27 275
 49:3–12 426
 49:9–12 266, 268
 49:13–21 426
 49:22–26 266
 49:28 275
 50 147
 50:1–3 266
 50:4–11 266
 50:12–13 312
 50:14 312–313
 50:14–21 266
 50:20–22 267, 269
 50:22 313
 50:24 227–228
 50:25 227
 50:26 282

Exodus

1:1 310
 1:1–5 98, 269
 1:6 266, 269
 1:7 205, 310, 315
 1:8 266, 269
 1:9 244
 1:9–10 140
 2:3–6 238
 2:10 238
 2:11 147
 2:23–25 205, 297

3:1–4:18 304
 3:15 304–305, 307
 4:6–7 141
 4:11–12 299
 4:14–16 299
 6:2 297
 6:2–3 305–307
 6:2–7:6 337
 6:2–8 296
 6:2–9 293
 6:2–13 294–297, 303–307, 313
 6:3–5 297
 6:6–7 315
 6:7 319
 6:9 300
 6:10–12 293, 300
 6:12 296–297, 314
 6:13 296, 314
 6:13–30 293, 296
 6:14 310
 6:14–15 309
 6:14–25 293
 6:16 309
 6:16–20 309
 6:21–25 295, 309
 6:26 294
 6:26–27 297, 309
 6:26–30 294–297
 6:27 294, 296
 6:28 301–303
 6:28–30 296–302
 6:29 294, 301
 6:29–30 295
 6:30 294, 296–297, 299, 301
 7:1 298
 7:1–2 297–301, 308
 7:4 308
 7:4–5 319
 7:7 147, 298
 7:8–13 206
 7:11–12 207
 7:19–20 206
 7:21–22 206
 7:22 207
 8:3 207
 8:14 207
 12:1–20 334
 12:32 275
 12:40–41 309
 12:41 308, 319
 12:43–49 334

Exodus (cont.)

15:22 374
 15:22-27 99
 16:1-36 375
 16:16-17 92
 16:16-30 339
 17:1-7 375
 17:8-16 375
 18:1-27 375
 18:13-28 375
 20:8-11 339
 20:24 227
 23 363
 23:12 340
 24:15-25:1 341
 25:8 204
 29:4 329
 29:43-44 340
 29:45-46 337
 29:46 319
 30:13 354
 30:14 354
 30:17-21 323-325, 328
 30:18-21 325-326
 30:19 329
 31:12-17 209, 332, 334, 339
 31:16 210
 31:17 210, 340
 32:8 246
 32:9-10 176
 33:3-5 251
 33:13 246
 33:19 246
 34 363
 34:6-7 246, 251
 34:14-16 395
 35-40 179-180, 321
 35:1-3 209
 35:1-5 332
 35:1-13 339
 38:8 325-330, 326
 38:26 354
 39-40 341
 40:30 326
 40:30-32 325-330
 40:33 375
 40:34 204
 40:34-35 376
 40:36-38 375

Leviticus

1:1 379
 7:22-27 334
 11 346
 11:43-45 343
 17 346
 17-26 124, 334-338
 17:1-6 347
 17:7 347
 17:13 93
 18:7-17 390
 20:5 396
 21:9 396
 21:16-22:16 125
 21:16-24 123-126, 128, 130, 134
 21:17 128-129
 21:18-20 127
 21:20 127-128
 21:24 129
 22:1-16 128
 22:17-25 127
 23 363
 23:4-8 372
 25:23 226
 26:45 377-378
 26:46 377-378
 27 354
 27:14-22 372
 27:25 354
 27:30-31 372
 27:34 181, 374, 377-379
 27:43 374

Numbers

1-2 97
 1-4 182, 354-355, 358, 361
 1:1 97, 181, 373-379
 1:1-5 372
 1:20 98
 1:48-50 372
 2-3 359-360
 3-4 97
 3:40-43 373
 3:47 354
 4 361
 4:5-16 373
 7:1 375
 7:86 145
 8 361

Numbers (cont.)

8:23–26 354
 9:1–14 375
 9:16–23 375
 10:11 97
 10:29 375
 11 91–92, 375
 11:4 92
 11:16 375
 11:25 375
 11:32 92
 11:33 92
 12:1 141–142
 12:13 239
 13–14 375
 13:33 138
 14:11–12 249
 14:13–19 252
 14:29 354
 14:32–34 147
 15 334
 15:32–36 339
 16:2 362
 18:16 354
 20:1–12 375
 21:4–7 99
 22:1 378
 22:6 244
 22:22–35 295
 22:28 149
 24:15–24 181
 25:11–13 434
 26 182, 354–355, 358
 26:52–56 354, 361
 26:58–28:12 373
 27:1–12 383
 27:12–13 146
 28–29 363
 28:9–10 339
 32 97
 32:11 354
 32:34–38 182
 33:39 149
 34 360
 34:3–5 360
 34:10–12 360
 36:1–2 372
 36:1–12 383
 36:7–8 372
 36:7–11 372
 36:13 373–379

Deuteronomy

1:1 375
 1:1–5 374, 376–377
 3:27–28 146
 4:6–8 246
 5:12–15 339
 7:1–6 142
 11 182
 12 346
 12–26 182
 12:20–26 93
 12:20–28 347–348
 12:23 348
 14 346
 16 363
 18:19 348
 22:20–21 396, 400
 24:1–4 398
 25:5–10 392
 27 182
 31:2 145–146, 148, 282
 31:16 396
 32:8–9 183
 32:11 389
 32:29 233
 32:39 234
 32:43–44 183
 32:48–52 146
 34 149
 34:1–3 176
 34:7 145–148, 282
 34:7–9 146
 34:10–12 147, 380

Joshua

2 393
 24 147
 24:1 222
 24:15 222
 24:25–27 221
 24:29 282
 24:32 221

Judges

2:6 282
 2:17 396
 5:24 275
 8:33 396

1 Samuel

2:6 233

1 Samuel (*cont.*)

16-18 161-162
 16:17-18:30 162-163
 17:7 164
 17:41 164
 17:48 164
 17:49 165
 17:50 164-165
 17:51 165
 25:14 274

2 Samuel

5:4-5 149
 6:11-12 275
 7:14 238
 8:10 274
 8:16-18 5
 12:1-4 236
 12:15-23 8
 12:20-23 8
 19:35 278
 20:23-26 5

1 Kings

1 149
 3 393
 4:1-6 5
 8:66 274
 9:14 145
 10:10 145
 18 396

2 Kings

22-23 72

Isaiah

19:25 275
 37:32 434
 43:1 390
 45:1 353
 47:2-3 400

Jeremiah

2-3 398
 2:27 398
 3:4 398
 13:26 400

Ezekiel

7 193, 195-196
 7:1-12 195

7:2 194, 196
 7:2-6 348
 7:4 196
 7:11 196
 16 386-388, 397-400
 16:1-7 236
 16:4-6 390
 16:5 238
 16:8-9 389
 16:20 391
 16:30 392
 23 386, 397-400
 32:26-27 138
 33:29 226
 44:1-3 361
 44:7-16 299
 45:4-5 361
 45:7-8 361
 45:12 354
 45:13-46 363
 45:13-46:15 364
 47-48 360
 48:8-14 361
 48:21-22 361

Hosea

2 399
 5:8-6:6 258
 12 256

Amos

6:3 284
 7:1-3 192
 7:4-6 192
 7:7-8 192
 8 196
 8:1-2 192-195
 8:2 348

Nahum

3:5 400

Zechariah

6:10 97

Malachi

3:17 390

Psalms

40:13 286
 49:6 284

Psalms (cont.)

90:10 279
94:13 284
106:48 378
137 92

Proverbs

15:15 284
18:23 274

Job

1:10 275
3:6 279
42:12 275
42:16 282, 288
42:16–17 149
42:17 278

Ruth

3:9 389
3:10 275
4:18–22 268

Ecclesiastes

12:1 284

Daniel

5:19 233
6:2 145

Ezra

3:8 354
9 142

1 Chronicles

5:12 145
18:15–17 5
23–27 361–362, 364
27:25–31 362
27:25–34 362
27:32–34 362

Acts of the Apostles

1:15 145

Judith

1:1 428
1:2–5 429
4–5 430
4:3 429
5:5–19 430
5:18–19 430
8:1 433
9 427
9:2–4 432–433
9:3 434

2 Baruch

16:1 285

Author Index

- Abdul-Jabbar, Mustafa 74, 76
Achenbach, Reinhard 217–218, 221, 322,
354, 382
Albertz, Rainer 173, 178
Albright, William Foxwell 61
Alembert, Jean Le Rond d' 108
Amar, Itzhak 336, 344–345
Amit, Yairah 333, 338–339
Anderson, Gary A. 326–327
Arnold, Bill T. 200, 336, 339, 342, 344
Assante, Julia 394–395
Aster, Shawn Zelig 234
- Bacon, Benjamin Wisner 243
Baden, Joel S. 123, 174, 217
Bakhtin, Mikhail 224
Barmash, Pamela 238
Barr, James 223
Barthélemy, Dominique 372
Barthélemy, Jean-Jacques 107
Barthes, Roland 215
Barton, John 90
Becker, Uwe 196
Beentjes, Pancratius Cornelis 406
Berkovitz, Abraham Jacob 234
Berman, Joshua A. 152–153
Bernand, André 353
Berne, Christoph 292, 300, 309, 314, 369,
376–377
Bhabha, Homi K. 355, 357
Bianconi, Giovanni Battista 107
Biggs, Robert D. 79
Bird, Phyllis A. 395
Blenkinsopp, Joseph 387
Bloch, Marc 153
Block, Daniel I. 194–195
Blum, Erhard 153, 175, 178, 257, 260, 262,
275, 292, 311, 314, 334, 337–338
Boccaccini, Gabriele 144
Booth, Wayne C. 88–89, 100
Borger, Rykle 155
Bourdieu, Pierre 405
Bovati, Pietro 235
- Brandscheidt, Renate 177
Brenner, Athalya 396
Brettler, Marc Zvi 146
Brin, Gershon 238
Bruckner, James K. 230
Bruning, Brandon E. 328
Bühler, Axel 181–182, 317
Bührer, Walter 137–139
- Calmet, Augustin 106, 114
Campbell, Antony F. 293
Cappel, Louis 105
Carpenter, J. Estlin 243
Carr, David McLain 4–6, 14, 26, 30–31, 87,
91, 96, 100–101, 121, 135, 137–139, 145, 152,
171, 173, 187–191, 211–212, 215–216, 247,
250, 256–257, 260, 264, 287, 292, 319–320,
332–333, 351, 367, 369–370, 384, 407–408,
420, 423–426, 435, 438
Carroll, Robert P. 388, 399
Cartwright, Caroline 33, 36
Cavigneaux, Antoine 76–78
Chatman, Seymour 89
Chavel, Simeon 162, 205, 251
Childs, Brevard S. 293
Clark, Elizabeth A. 399
Clermont-Ganneau, Charles 112
Coats, George W. 261
Cohen, Yoram 80–81, 145
Craigie, Peter C. 388
Crenshaw, James L. 69–70
- Davies, Eryl W. 355
Davies, Graham I. 72, 293
Davies, Philip R. 72–73, 144
Davis, John B. 18
Day, John 202
Dayfani, Hila 175
De-Whyte, Janice P. 237
DeGrado, Jessie 162, 394
Delitzsch, Franz 241
Dempsey, Carol J. 389
Demsky, Aaron 72

- Diderot, Denis 108
 Diringer, David 113
 Dobbs-Allsopp, F. W. 16
 Drawnel, Henryk 411, 413, 415, 418
 Driver, Samuel R. 112–113, 241, 246
 Dubovský, Peter 275
 Dyck, Jonathan E. 354
- Eco, Umberto 89
 Ede, Franziska 260
 Eichhorn, Johann Gottfried 114
 Elliger, Karl 333–334
 Eshel, Esther 411, 413–414, 417
 Ewald, Heinrich 114–115
 Exum, J. Cheryl 387
- Fanon, Frantz 355, 432
 Fillmore, Charles J. 23
 Finkel, Irving L. 36
 Finkelstein, Israel 33–34, 39–40, 55, 173, 177–178, 182
 Finn, Arthur Henry 321
 Firmage, Edwin 342–344
 Fischer, Georg 137, 315
 Fleming, Daniel E. 426
 Florentin, Moshe 329
 Foucault, Michel 124, 129–130, 358
 Frahm, Eckart 158–159
 Frevel, Christian 133, 368
 Fuad, Chelcent 128
- Gabler, Johann Philipp 332
 Gaines, Jason M. H. 273, 277
 Gayer, Asaf 369–370
 Geller, Stephen 205–206
 Germany, Stephen 369
 Gerstenberger, Erhard S. 127
 Gertz, Jan Christian 140, 195–197, 200, 312, 316, 333, 339
 Gesenius, Wilhelm 109, 114
 Gmirkin, Russell E. 173
 Gnuse, Robert K. 173
 Gonzalez, Hervé 132, 355
 Gooding, David W. 321
 Goren, Yuval 33–34, 39–40, 55
 Gowan, Donald E. 388
 Graf, Karl Heinrich 115
 Gray, George Buchanan 361
 Greenberg, Moshe 239, 387, 389
 Greene, Nathaniel E. 14–15, 25
- Greenfield, Jonas C. 411, 413–414, 417
 Gruen, Erich S. 437
 Gunkel, Hermann 140, 206–207, 242, 259, 261
- Hannoun, Na'il 75
 Hansen, Donald P. 79
 Haran, Menahem 123
 Harford-Battersby, G. 243
 Harl, Marguerite 147–148
 Harshav, Benjamin 22–27, 203
 Hendel, Ronald 177, 192
 Henry, Matthew 241
 Hensel, Benedikt 133
 Hong, Koog P. 304, 307
 Honigman, Sylvie 132
 Houtman, Cornelis 298
 Humphreys, W. Lee 261
 Hutchens, Kenneth D. 360
 Hutzli, Jürg 207, 287, 311–312, 316–318, 332, 336, 344–345
- Ikeda, Jun 81–82
 Ilgen, Karl David 332
 Iser, Wolfgang 89
- Jacob, Benno 148, 301
 Jamieson-Drake, David W. 27, 70
 Janowski, Bernd 212
 Jastram, Nathan 371
 Jefferson, Rebecca J. W. 410
 Jeon, Jaeyoung 132, 304, 318
- Kamionkowski, S. Tamar 388–389, 391
 Keil, Carl Friedrich 241
 Kellermann, Diether 354
 Kim, Jong-Hoon 22
 Knierim, Rolf P. 148
 Knohl, Israel 224, 333–334, 336, 344
 Knudtzon, J. A. 58
 Koosed, Jennifer L. 428, 431
 Kopp, Ulrich Friedrich 109–110
 Kosmin, Paul J. 429
 Kratz, Reinhard G. 179, 218, 260
 Krause, Joachim J. 187, 189
 Kristeva, Julia 215–216, 224
 Kuenen, Abraham 115
 Kugler, Robert 410–411, 413
 Kunz-Lübcke, Andreas 178–179
 Kvanvig, Helge S. 302

- L'Hour, Jean 139
 Lakoff, George 23
 Lambert, W. G. 158
 Langacker, Ronald W. 23
 Lauinger, Jacob 40, 50–52, 58, 61
 Lehmann, Reinhard G. 11
 Lemaire, André 72
 Lemche, Niels Peter 172
 Leuenberger, Martin 275
 Levin, Christoph 139, 332
 Levine, Baruch A. 128
 Levy, Moritz Abraham 111
 Lipka, Hilary B. 395
 Liverani, Mario 58
 Lozinsky, Hryhorii 363
 Lyon, David G. 113
- Mabie, Frederick 51
 MacDonald, Nathan 123, 179, 180
 Macfarlane, Kirsten 103–104
 Machinist, Peter 10
 Malaise, Michel 357
 Mali, Hillel 325
 Malul, Meir 236
 Margalot, Mordecai 239–240
 Mastnjak, Nathan 87, 93–94
 Mathys, Hans-Peter 138–140, 181
 Maul, Stefan 84
 McEvenue, Sean 205–206
 McKane, William 382
 Meyer, Eduard 176
 Michaeli, Frank 304
 Milgrom, Jacob 126–127, 338–339, 344
 Milik, J. T. 144
 Mitchell, Christopher Wright 274
 Mizrahi, Noam 117
 Monroe, Lauren 261–262
 Montfaucon, Bernard de 106
 Moore, James D. 15
 Moran, William L. 58, 64
 Morin, Jean 105
 Mosis, Rudolf 370
 Müller, Reinhard 161, 167, 175–176
 Muraoka, Takamitsu 281
- Na'aman, Nadav 33–34, 39–40, 55, 259
 Nati, James 94, 367
 Naveh, Joseph 117
 Neumann, Friederike 218
 Newman, Judith H. 406, 433–435
 Nietzsche, Friedrich 169–170
- Nihan, Christophe 126, 208, 337, 344, 347, 349
 Nocquet, Dany 221
 Noth, Martin 126, 295, 297, 353
- Olson, Dennis T. 359
 Oppenheim, A. Leo 31, 236
 Otto, Eckart 146–147, 182–183, 319, 373–374, 379
- Pakkala, Juha 161, 167, 176
 Paul, Shalom M. 193
 Person, Raymond F., Jr. 152
 Pike, Dana M. 371
 Pinker, Aron 279
 Pioske, Daniel D. 7–14, 16–18, 20, 22
 Pola, Thomas 333
 Polak, Frank 116, 285
 Pope, Marvin H. 389–390
 Popper, Julius 179–180, 321
 Postel, Guillaume 103–104
 Postgate, J. Nicholas 79–80
 Powell, Barry 16
 Price, B. J. 26
 Propp, William H. C. 294, 300–301, 322, 324
 Pury, Albert de 256–257
 Pylypa, Jen 124
- Rad, Gerhard von 242, 261
 Rainey, Anson F. 58, 61–62
 al-Rawi, Farouk 77–78
 Redford, Donald 262, 268
 Reland, Adriaan 107
 Rendsburg, Gary A. 220
 Rendtorff, Rolf 279, 291–292, 303–304
 Rezetko, Robert 152
 Rhyder, Julia 93
 Richey, Madadh 19
 Robson, Eleanor 31
 Rofé, Alexander 220
 Röhrig, Meike J. 383
 Rollston, Christopher A. 14, 71
 Römer, Thomas 122, 177–179, 260, 297, 300, 311, 382
 Rosenberg, Roy A. 148
 Rudnig-Zelt, Susanne 258
 Runions, Erin 388
 Ruppert, Lothar 139
 Rütterswörden, Udo 347
 Rutz, Matthew 81–83, 155
 Ruwe, Andreas 128, 335
 Ryholt, Kim 357

- Samuel, Harald 369, 376–377
 Sanders, Seth L. 7
 Sarna, Nahum M. 242, 272
 Satlow, Michael 399
 Saulcy, Félicien de 111
 Saussure, Ferdinand de 222
 Sayce, A. H. 112
 Scaliger, Joseph Juste 104–105
 Schäfers, Kirsten M. 371, 375
 Schipper, Bernd U. 262, 312
 Schipper, Jeremy 127
 Schmid, Konrad 197, 260, 303
 Schniedewind, William M. 18, 26, 40–41,
 70–72
 Schorch, Stefan 329
 Schüle, Andreas 138–139
 Schwartz, Baruch J. 212
 Searle, John R. 24
 Seebass, Horst 137
 Seesengood, Robert Paul 428, 431
 Seifert, Elke 391
 Setel, T. Drorah 385
 Shead, Stephen L. 23
 Shields, Mary 386, 391
 Shippelhouste, Karlene 64
 Ska, Jean Louis 134
 Skinner, John 168, 242
 Smend, Rudolf 191, 197
 Smith, William Robertson 151, 161–162, 169
 Speiser, E. A. 242, 273
 Spinoza, Baruch 115
 Stackert, Jeffrey 123, 127, 338
 Steinem, Gloria 385
 Sternberg, Meir 231, 426
 Stone, Michael E. 411, 413–414, 417
 Strawn, Brent A. 238
 Stuckenbruck, Loren T. 406

 Tal, Abraham 329
 Taylor, Jonathan 33, 36
 Tigay, Jeffrey H. 151–152, 154, 169
 Tigchelaar, Eibert J. C. 408
 Tobin, Vera 208
 Tobolowsky, Andrew 267–268
 Tolkien, J. R. R. 24
 Toorn, Karel van der 69–72, 81–82, 157–158
 Torczyner, Harry 113

 Tov, Emanuel 161, 165, 180, 406–407
 Trouillot, Michel-Rolph 405
 Tsedaka, Benyamim 329
 Tucker, Aviezer 153
 Tuell, Steven Shawn 354

 Ulrich, Eugene 372

 Van de Mieroop, Marc 76, 84
 Van Seters, John 139, 147, 257, 305, 311
 Vawter, Bruce 276
 Vayntrub, Jacqueline 21
 Vernant, Jean-Pierre 363
 Vita, Juan-Pablo 38, 42, 53, 58, 60
 Vogüé, Melchior 110–111

 Wade, Martha 326, 328
 Warner, Megan 336
 Wazana, Nili 360
 Weber, Max 121–122
 Weimar, Peter 179
 Weingart, Kristin 178, 257, 260, 262
 Wellhausen, Julius 115, 165–166, 176, 200,
 211, 213, 243, 292, 297, 363
 Wells, Bruce 235
 Westbrook, Raymond 232, 234
 Westermann, Claus 243, 247, 249, 261, 276
 Wette, Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de 115
 Wevers, John William 322, 324–326, 328
 Whisenant, Jessica 70
 Wills, Lawrence M. 431
 Wilson, Ian D. 123
 Witte, Markus 137
 Wöhrle, Jakob 209, 336
 Wolde, Ellen van 23
 Wolff, Hans Walter 193
 Worthington, Martin 154
 Wright, David P. 30

 Yaron, Reuven 233–234
 Yee, Gale A. 388, 398
 Yoder, Tyler R. 52, 58, 61

 Zahn, Molly M. 406, 411
 Zakovitch, Yair 236
 Ziegler, Werner Carl Ludwig 332
 Zimmerli, Walther 195