

KIPP SWINNEY

Reforging History in the Persian Era Editing of the Twelve

*Forschungen
zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe*

Mohr Siebeck

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159



Kipp Swinney

Reforging History in the Persian Era Editing of the Twelve

The Significance of the Motifs
of the Divine Warrior, Chaoskampf, and Theophany
for Shaping the Book of the Twelve

Mohr Siebeck

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לבני נתן וזכריה וחנוה

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Abbreviations

Peer Reviewed Journals

| | |
|--------|--|
| AO | <i>Aula Orientalis</i> |
| Bib | <i>Biblia</i> |
| BN | <i>Biblische Notizen</i> |
| BSac | <i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i> |
| BTB | <i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i> |
| BZ | <i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i> |
| CBQ | <i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i> |
| ETL | <i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i> |
| ETR | <i>Études théologiques et religieuses</i> |
| HBT | <i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i> |
| HBAI | <i>Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel</i> |
| HTS | <i>Hervormde Theologische Studies</i> |
| HUCA | <i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i> |
| Int | <i>Interpretation</i> |
| JANES | <i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i> |
| JBL | <i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> |
| JBQ | <i>Jewish Biblical Quarterly</i> |
| JETS | <i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i> |
| JHS | <i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i> |
| JNES | <i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> |
| JSem | <i>Journal of Semitics</i> |
| JSOT | <i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i> |
| Mus | <i>Museon: Revue d'Études orientales</i> |
| OTE | <i>Old Testament Essays</i> |
| ResQ | <i>Restoration Quarterly</i> |
| TBei | <i>Theologische Beiträge</i> |
| TynBul | <i>Tyndale Bulletin</i> |
| UF | <i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i> |
| VT | <i>Vetus Testamentum</i> |
| WO | <i>Die Welt des Orient</i> |
| ZABR | <i>Zeitschrift für die altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i> |
| ZAW | <i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> |
| ZDPV | <i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> |

Monograph Series

| | |
|-----|---|
| AB | <i>Anchor Bible</i> |
| ABS | <i>Archaeology and Biblical Studies</i> |

| | |
|---------|--|
| AOAT | <i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i> |
| ATD | <i>Das Alte Testament Deutsch</i> |
| ATDia | <i>Das Alte Testament im Dialog</i> |
| ATSAT | <i>Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament</i> |
| BETL | <i>Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium</i> |
| BibS | <i>Biblische Studien</i> |
| BKAT | <i>Biblischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament</i> |
| BZAW | <i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> |
| FAT I | <i>Forschungen zum Alten Testament: Series I</i> |
| FAT II | <i>Forschungen zum Alten Testament: Series II</i> |
| FRANT | <i>Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments</i> |
| HBS | <i>Herders biblische Studien</i> |
| Herm | <i>Hermeneia</i> |
| HSM | <i>Harvard Semitic Monographs</i> |
| HTHKAT | <i>Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament</i> |
| IECOT | <i>International Exegetical Commentary on the Old Testament</i> |
| LHB/OTS | <i>Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies</i> |
| OBO | <i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i> |
| OSJCB | <i>Osnabrücker Studien zur Jüdischen und Christlichen Bibel</i> |
| OTL | <i>Old Testament Library</i> |
| OtSt | <i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i> |
| RBS | <i>Resources for Biblical Study</i> |
| SBLDS | <i>Society of Biblical Literature: Dissertation Series</i> |
| SBLEJL | <i>Society of Biblical Literature: Early Judaism and its Literature</i> |
| SBS | <i>Stuttgarter Bibelstudien</i> |
| SHBC | <i>Smyth and Helwys Bible Commentary</i> |
| SSN | <i>Studia Semitica Neerlandica</i> |
| VTSup | <i>Supplements to Vetus Testamentum</i> |
| WBC | <i>Word Biblical Commentary</i> |
| WMANT | <i>Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament</i> |
| WUNT | <i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</i> |

Dictionaries, Encyclopedias, and Lexica

| | |
|-------|--|
| ABD | <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> |
| CSD | <i>A Compendious Syriac Dictionary</i> |
| DDD | <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> |
| HALOT | <i>Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> |
| TDOT | <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> |

Text Critical Witnesses

| | |
|-----------|--|
| 1QpHab | Pesher Habakkuk found in Qumran Cave 1 |
| 1QpMic | Fragments of Pesher Micah found in Qumran Cave 1 |
| 4QpNah | Pesher Nahum found in Qumran Cave 4 |
| 4QXII | Copies of the Book of the Twelve Found in Qumran Cave 4. Copies are labeled a-g. |
| 8HevXIIGR | Copy of the Book of the Twelve in Greek found at Nahal Hever Cave 8 |
| MurXII | Copy of the Book of the Twelve Found at Wadi Muraba'at |

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| MT | Masoretic Text |
| OG | Old Greek (Sometimes referred to as the Septuagint or LXX) |
| OG ^{Batb} | Codex Barberini |
| S | Syriac or Peshitta |
| T | Targum |
| V | Latin Vulgate |

Extra-Biblical Primary Sources

| | |
|------------|--|
| 1QH | The Hodayot found in Qumran Cave 1. |
| 4Q400–407 | <i>The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice</i> found in 8 mss from Qumran Cave 4. |
| Ant. | <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> by Flavius Josephus |
| B. Bat. | <i>Baba Batra</i> tractate from the Babylonian Talmud |
| Baal Cycle | <i>The Baal Cycle from Ugarit</i> (KTU 1.1–4) |
| C. Ap. | <i>Contra Apion</i> by Flavius Josephus |
| Cyr. Cyl. | <i>The Cyrus Cylinder</i> |
| Elish | <i>Enuma Elish</i> or the <i>Babylonian Epic of Creation</i> |
| Ep. Fest. | The <i>Festal Letters</i> of Athanasius of Alexandria |
| Es. Pr. | The Esarhaddon Prism or <i>The Annals of Esarhaddon</i> |
| KTU | <i>Keilalphabetische Texte aus Ugarit</i> |

Grammatical Abbreviations

| | |
|-----|------------------------------------|
| 1cs | First-Person, Common, Singular |
| 2ms | Second-Person, Masculine, Singular |
| 3fs | Third-Person, Feminine, Singular |
| 3ms | Third-Person, Masculine Singular |
| fp | Feminine, Plural |
| fs | Feminine, Singular |
| mp | Masculine, Plural |
| ms | Masculine, Singular |

Chapter 1

Introduction and History of Scholarship

Recent political discussions in the United States have highlighted the contentious and subjective nature of recording and telling history. In light of these developments, some lament a supposed degradation of the news as political factions no longer agree on the basic facts of history. The creation of narratives to fit political agendas, however, is the norm in historiography, despite the fiction of the unbiased observer writing history.¹ Historiography relies on the creation of narratives that can never achieve objectivity, and these narratives inevitably favor some political and/or religious perspective.² Thus, shaping the historiography received by a community in the ancient or modern world has religiopolitical consequences. Communities, however, pass on their historiography both through texts that describe history and texts that imply or assume particular versions of history.³ This study analyzes the way that scribes in the Persian era used the motifs of the divine warrior, *Chaoskampf*, and theophany to form the historiography embedded into the Book of the Twelve concerning the “Long Sixth Century” (approximately 620–520 BCE).⁴

A description of the project begins this introduction. The following section lays out the evidence and the argument for assessing the common development of the Book of the Twelve into a coherent corpus. As will become evident, the

¹ Hans-Georg Gadamer deconstructs the idea that the work of the historian is methodologically similar to the natural scientist. History and other branches of the humanities cannot be objective according to Gadamer. Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1960), 1–10.

² Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 8–10.

³ This study identifies historiography that appears in texts that do not explicitly tell history as “embedded historiography”. The Twelve does not relate history in a narrative form but makes assumptions and assertions about history. Thus, the historiography from the Twelve is an “embedded historiography”.

⁴ The Long Sixth Century represents the period from the collapse of the Assyrian Empire to the ascendancy of the Persian Empire over Babylon. The terminology of the “Long Sixth Century,” comes from an edited volume containing essays regarding this climactic and consequential chapter in the history of the ancient Near East. In the year 620, the Assyrian Empire began disintegrating under pressure from the resurgent Babylonians, and Babylon’s alliance with the Medes expedited the process. By the year 520, the Babylonians had relinquished control of the Near East to Achaemenid Persia, which stood as the new imperial power. Pamala Barmash and Mark W. Hamilton, eds., *In the Shadow of Empire: Israel and Judah in the Long Sixth Century*, ABS 30 (Atlanta: SBL, 2021).

common development and functionality of the Twelve as a book stands as an important assumption of this project. The next section covers the history of scholarly inquiry on the Book of the Twelve to situate this project within the larger discourse. The work of many scholars paved the way for this study, and this study will hopefully lead to further avenues of inquiry about the Book of the Twelve and the Hebrew Bible in general. The third section summarizes scholarship on the motifs of the divine warrior, *Chaoskampf*, and theophany. The fourth section lays out the methodological parameters for this study, which makes clear the path this study takes in reaching its conclusions. Finally, this introduction concludes with a discussion of the contribution of this study to the larger scholarly discourse.

1.1 Definition of the Project

This study combines discussions of the development of the Book of the Twelve, analyses of implied or embedded historiography, and examinations of the motifs of the divine warrior, *Chaoskampf*, and theophany. In analyzing the historiography of the Book of the Twelve, this study employs different approaches than analyses of books with explicit historiography like Samuel, Kings, or Chronicles. The Book of the Twelve does not record history as annals or chronicles may, as the Twelve does not construct a narrative account. The proclivity of the Twelve to allude to historical events impacting Judah, however, demonstrates that the historiography of the people of Judah is integral to the function of the form of the Book of the Twelve existing in Persian period Yehud.⁵ This study uses “Proto-Twelve” to distinguish the final form of the Twelve from earlier form(s) in the Persian era that may not have yet contained twelve books.⁶ The prophetic genre of the Twelve allows individual books to interact with large sections of history. For example, Zephaniah comments upon the events of its setting, the late seventh century, and the events of Israel’s return from exile in the late sixth century (Zeph 3:20). This pattern of commenting upon historical events allows the embedded historiography present in the Twelve to emerge with enough clarity to analyze, as conducted in this study.

⁵ For a discussion of the role of history and chronology in the structure of the Twelve, see page 29.

⁶ In this study, the terminology of “Proto-Twelve” refers to the Persian era stages of the development of the Book of the Twelve. Later stages (Hellenistic era) and earlier stages (Babylonian era) of the Book of the Twelve have more precise terminology, such as the Book of the Four (discussed below). Depending on the stage of development, the Proto-Twelve may have anywhere between six and eleven books. Once scribes add a twelfth book, “the Book of the Twelve” becomes accurate terminology.

As demonstrated in this study, the historiography embedded in the Book of the Twelve specifically focuses on Yahweh's participation in history. The embedded historiographies in many works from the ancient Near East contain divine elements, as exemplified by the *Behistun Inscription* of Darius the Great. Darius and his scribes integrated historiography into the *Behistun Inscription*, and the deity Ahura Mazda features prominently.⁷ The *Behistun Inscription*, however, describes the primary work of Ahura Mazda in history as the empowerment of King Darius.⁸ The Persian era Yehudite scribes dealt with their continuing history in which there was no local king that Yahweh clearly favored.⁹ Thus, the embedded historiography tends to describe Yahweh's work not as the empowerment of a human monarch, but rather Yahweh's acting directly – in other words, in terms of the motifs of the divine warrior, *Chaoskampf*, and theophany.¹⁰ This trend within the Twelve facilitates a merging of latent royal ideology with a divine ideology, and Yahweh assumes the role of both deity and monarch – a move that Zeph 3:15 makes explicit. As monarchs attempt to establish legitimacy to effectively rule their subjects, the scribes shaping the Book of the Twelve attempt to create legitimacy for Yahweh's rule, which the fall of Judah potentially compromised.¹¹

This study argues that scribes in the Persian era used the motifs of the divine warrior, *Chaoskampf*, and theophany to shape the embedded historiography of the Long Sixth Century in the Book of the Twelve to establish legitimacy for Yahweh as the rightful ruler. These three motifs intrinsically focus on divine activities, implying that the embedded historiography of the Twelve takes a decidedly theocentric/Yahweh-centric approach to history. While not unique to depictions of Yahweh, in ancient literature these motifs usually describe the

⁷ Rüdiger Schmitt, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Old Persian Text*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum 1 (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1991), 49.

⁸ Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 107.

⁹ Consequentially, texts like Isa 45:1 describe Yahweh as empowering foreign monarchs.

¹⁰ Sa-Moon Kang, *Divine War in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East*, BZAW 177 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 13–23.

¹¹ The field of Political Sociology describes “legitimacy” as an intangible quality granting a ruling party/individual the authority to exercise power over a people group/nation. Legitimacy under any government organization retains vulnerabilities, and thus rulers must continuously enhance their legitimacy. Hereditary monarchies establish legitimacy primarily through genetic relationship to prior monarchs, creating possibilities of sibling usurpation. In Democracies, officials establish legitimacy through the vote of the people, allowing the possibility that a majority of people to cast votes for a rival in a subsequent election cycle. Control of military power provides a strong source of legitimacy and may be the sole source for a military dictatorship. The concept of Political Legitimacy has its origins in the work of German sociologist, Max Weber. David Beetham, “Political Legitimacy,” in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology*, ed. Edwin Amenta, Kate Nash, and Alan Scott (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 120–29.

work of deities in a mythic space or time.¹² The depictions of the active work of Yahweh without an intermediary king executing the divine intentions in physical space and a recent time thus shape a historiography that affirms the legitimacy of Yahweh to rule without a human co-regent or king, a religiopolitical necessity in a post-monarchic Judean context. Upon the (re)establishment of Yahweh's legitimacy in the Persian era, the Judean people would behave according to a reality of Yahweh as both deity and monarch, meaning the people would persist in worshiping Yahweh, despite the historical circumstances.

Nahum 2:14 (13) provides a salient example of the type of texts central to this investigation. A fuller discussion of this text appears in Chapter Three. Persian era readers would have understood a historical referent of Nah 2:14 (13) to be the demise of the Assyrian Empire and particularly the fall of Nineveh in 612 BCE.

English Translation

Nahum 2:14 (13) MT

Behold, I am against you declares Yahweh of Armies. I will burn your chariot in smoke, and the sword shall consume your lions.¹³ And I will cut off your prey from the land. And the sound of your messenger will no longer be heard (Nah 2:14 [13]).

הנני אליך נאם יהוה צבאות והבערתי
בעשן רכבה וכפיריך תאכל חרב
והכרתי מארץ טרפך ולא ישמע עוד קול
מלאככה

While Nah 2:14 (13) may have appeared in a version of Nahum older than the Persian period, as discussed in Chapter Two, Nahum stands as one of the texts incorporated into the Proto-Twelve during the Persian era. This text factors into the Persian era (re)formation of the embedded historiography of the Long Sixth Century in the Book of the Twelve. Yahweh claims to act, specifically burning the chariot/chariotry of Assyria, thus expanding the work of Yahweh beyond the empowerment of a human king. Yahweh does not need to fight another deity in a parallel or divine realm, and thus Yahweh's activity appears in human space.¹⁴

This study does not endeavor to consider the motifs of the divine warrior, *Chaoskampf*, and theophany in the Book of the Twelve exhaustively or to examine the entire embedded historiography of the Twelve. These motifs

¹² The Epic of Gilgamesh and Enuma Elish provide useful examples, where the events of the narratives take place in a far-distant and mythic past.

¹³ This reading assumes a minor emendation of רכבה to רכבך, based on the rest of the verse, 4QpNah, MurXII the OG, T, and V. Nesina Grütter, *Das Buch Nahum: Eine vergleichende Untersuchung des masoretischen Texts und der Septuagintaübersetzung*, WMANT 148 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2016), 91; Pieter B. Hartog, "Nahum 2:14: Text-Critical Notes," *VT* 63 (2013): 546–54.

¹⁴ This stands in contrast to the mythic poetry of Ugarit, Assyria, or Babylon. In stories such as the *Enuma Elish* or the *Baal Cycle* divine warriors (Baal or Marduk) must fight against divine foes, such as Yam or Tiamat.

routinely apply to events cast far into the future, and thus do not have specific historical referents. While these other uses of the motifs may provide helpful data for understanding the theological framework of history as a whole in the Twelve, Persian era editors would likely have interpreted these texts in light of their future oriented contexts. Aside from the focus of this study on the role of these motifs in the formation of the embedded historiography in the Twelve, the divine warrior, *Chaoskampf*, and theophany can function meta-historically or eschatologically. Joel 4:9–16 (3:9–16) provides an example of the motifs functioning meta-historically, and Zech 9:11–15 provides an example of the motifs functioning eschatologically.¹⁵ A brief look at Joel 4:9–16 (3:9–16) and Zech 9:11–15 demonstrates the types of functions of the motifs of the divine warrior, *Chaoskampf*, and theophany that stand outside the scope of this study.

Joel serves a key function in the Book of the Twelve, which includes providing a paradigm of history for reading the Twelve.¹⁶ Joel 4:9–16 (3:9–16) uses warrior and theophany motifs to describe God's role in history. The theophany motif appears clearly in Joel 4:16 (3:16).

English Translation

Joel 4:16 (3:16) MT

And Yahweh roars from Zion. He projects his voice from Jerusalem, and the heavens and the earth shake. But, Yahweh is a refuge to his people and a stronghold for the children of Israel.

יהוה מציון ישאג ומירושלם יתן
קולו ורעשו שמים וארץ ויהוה
מחסה לעמו ומעוז לבני ישראל

As Monika Müller demonstrates, Joel 4 (3) oscillates between describing the past and future, and thus the roaring of Yahweh in v. 16 connects both to the future and to the past.¹⁷ The connection of Joel 4:16 (3:16) to Amos 1:2 highlights the polyvalence of the text.¹⁸ Yahweh performs these actions both in the past and in the future, allowing the text to color the past and future simultaneously.

¹⁵ Eschatological uses of these motifs may not describe the end of the cosmos, but rather a cataclysmic disruption of the natural order.

¹⁶ The paradigm shaping role of Joel emerges from (1) its abundant use of intertextual connections to other books in the Twelve (most specifically with its fertility language), (2) its position second in the Twelve in the MT tradition despite a later setting and composition than books like Amos and Micah, (3) and a transtemporal focus. James Nogalski, "Joel as 'Literary Anchor' for the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James Nogalski and Marvin Sweeney (Atlanta: SBL, 2000), 105–9; Jörg Jeremias, "The Function of the Book of Joel for Reading the Twelve," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 77–78.

¹⁷ Monika Müller, *Und der HERR wohnt in Zion (Joel 4,21): Literaturwissenschaftliche und theologische Untersuchungen zu Joel 3 und 4*, WMANT 150 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2017), 34–37.

¹⁸ See the discussion on pages 140–142.

The motifs of the divine warrior and theophany appear concretely in Zech 9:13–14, where Yahweh uses weapons and commands natural phenomenon.¹⁹

English Translation

For I have bent Judah as my bow. I have fitted Ephraim.
And I have stirred up your children O Zion against your
children O Yavan. And I have made you like a warrior's
sword. And Yahweh will appear over them, and his arrow
will go out like lightning. And my lord Yahweh shall blow
in the Shophar, and he shall walk in the tempests of Teman.

Zechariah 9:13–14 MT

כִּי־דִרְכָתִי לִי יְהוּדָה קֶשֶׁת מִלֵּאֵתִי
אֶפְרַיִם וְעוֹרֹרֹתֵי בְנֵי־צִיּוֹן עַל־
בְּנֵי־יָוָן וְשִׁמְתִּיד כַּחֲרֵב גְּבוּר
וַיְהוֹה עֲלֵיהֶם יֵרָאֵה וַיֵּצֵא כֶבֶד־
חָצוֹ וַאֲדֹנֵי יְהוּה בְּשׁוֹפָר יִתְקַע
וְהָלַךְ בַּסַּעֲרוֹת תִּימָן

Factors, such as the stability of the OG tradition of the Twelve from the Ptolemaic Period, suggest that scribes incorporated Zech 9:13–14 into the Twelve prior to the Seleucid period.²⁰ For the text to comment upon history, Zech 9:13–14 would need to emerge after a battle between the children of Yavan (Greeks) and the denizens of Jerusalem. A lack of such events prior to the Maccabean revolt (167 BCE) casts doubt that Zech 9:13–14 refers to a specific battle between Hellenistic and Hebraic forces.²¹ More plausibly, the text looks forward to an eschatological battle.²² Thus, this text does not factor into the (re)formation of the embedded historiography of the Twelve but looks forward towards a future climactic battle, and thus serves eschatologically.

The parameters laid out above lead to an examination of the books of Nahum and Habakkuk. The books of Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah also contribute meaningfully to this study, but the examination of texts from these books requires careful redaction critical work to determine relevant editorial layers and

¹⁹ Definition and discussion of these phenomena appear on pages 17–20.

²⁰ See the discussion on page 47.

²¹ The progression of Zech 9:1–10 from north to south resembles the progression of Alexander's armies in the campaigns of 333–332 BCE, providing evidence that Zech 9:13–14 reflects upon the immediate aftermath of these campaigns. According to Josephus, Alexander's forces did not need to besiege Jerusalem, but the priests and people greeted Alexander upon his arrival at Jerusalem (*Ant.* XI.viii, 5–6). While Josephus likely fabricated elements of his account of Alexander's arrival at Jerusalem, such as the reading of the book of Daniel, the peaceful conquest likely represents reality. Thus, Alexander's conquest does not provide a historical referent for a battle between children of Yavan and the children of Zion. Mark Boda argues that the text emerges in the Persian period, which would strengthen the likelihood that Zech 9:13–14 functions eschatologically. The connection between Zechariah 9 and the campaigns of Alexander the Great, however, provides persuasive evidence for an early Hellenistic era dating for this text. James Nogalski, "The Completion of the Book of the Twelve," in *The Book of the Twelve: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, ed. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer and Jakob Wöhrle, VTSup 184 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 65–89; Karl Elliger, "Ein Zeugnis aus der jüdischen Gemeinde im Alexanderjahr 332 v. Chr.: Eine territorialgeschichtliche Studie zu Sach 9.1–8," *ZAW* 62 (1949): 63–115; Mark J. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016), 33–34.

²² Scribes may have interpreted Zech 9:13–14 in light of the Maccabean revolt after the fact, but this text likely belonged to the Book of the Twelve before the Maccabean revolt.

material. Yet, the importance of each of these books emerges from their role in the coherent corpus of the Book of the Twelve, as addressed in the next section.

1.2 One Book or Twelve Books?

The twelve prophetic books, known as the Book of the Twelve, the Twelve Prophets, or the Minor Prophets, carry a stronger relationship to each other than most other adjacent books of the Hebrew Bible. The nomenclature, “Book of the Twelve,” acknowledges the close relationship of these twelve books and indicates that the books share aspects of development and functionality.²³ Three types of evidence support the overlapping functionality and development of books from the Twelve, namely (1) traditions from antiquity about the Twelve, (2) textual transmission of the Twelve, and (3) commonalities of motifs, themes, and phrases within the Twelve.

(1) Several texts from antiquity discuss the Twelve as a single entity or logically assume this singularity. The *Hymn of the Fathers* from Sir 49 provides a single summary for the Book of the Twelve alongside summaries of the other prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible:²⁴

English Translation

And may the bones of the Twelve Prophets
send new life from their resting place. For,
they encouraged Jacob and delivered them
with faithful hope.

Sirach 49:10 OG

καὶ τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν τὰ ὀστᾶ
ἀναθάλοι ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῶν·
παρεκάλεσαν γὰρ τὸν Ἰακωβ καὶ
ἐλυτρώσαντο αὐτοὺς ἐν πίστει ἐλπίδος.

In the Babylonian Talmud, *B. Bat.* 13b–15a calls for only three lines of space between the books from the Twelve, where it calls for four lines between the other prophetic books. Other closely associated corpora, such as the Torah, receive the wider spacing requirements, illustrating the unique relationship of the Twelve. When enumerating the books of the canon, Josephus and 4 Ezra provide numbers that logically require the Book of the Twelve to count as a single

²³ While many scholars accept the basic proposal of the unity of the Book of the Twelve, a few notable outliers disagree. See James Nogalski, “One Book and Twelve Books: The Nature of the Redactional Work and the Implications of Cultic Source Material in the Book of the Twelve,” in *Two Sides of a Coin: Juxtaposing Views on Interpreting the Book of The Twelve*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and James Nogalski, Analecta Gorgiana 201 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 11–46; Ehud Ben Zvi, “Twelve Prophetic Books or ‘The Twelve’: A Few Preliminary Consideration,” in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 125–56.

²⁴ James Nogalski, “The Book of the Twelve Is Not a Hypothesis,” in *The Book of the Twelve – One Book or Many?*, ed. Elena Di Pede and Donatella Scaiola, FAT II 91 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 47–48.

book. Josephus records twenty-two books of the canon (C. Ap. 1.40), while 4 Ezra 14:45 records twenty-four.²⁵ The brevity of the books from the Twelve cannot fully explain the condensing of the twelve books to one. The five relatively short books of the Megillot do not receive the same unified treatment in the Talmud or canon enumerations.²⁶

(2) The textual transmission of the Book of the Twelve provides evidence that copyists understood the close relationship of the Twelve. Evidence from Qumran shows that scribes habitually transmitted the Twelve together on a single scroll (4QXII^a), although the order of the books had not yet stabilized.²⁷ Medieval Hebrew manuscripts, such as Codex Leningrad, contain notations at the end of each book about the number of Pesuchim (פסוקים) and mid-point of each book. The notes following Malachi contain the number of the Pesuchim for Malachi and the Twelve all together. The notations, however, only provide a mid-point for the Twelve (שנים עשר), while continuing to provide information about the number of Pesuchim for the Former Prophets and the whole collection of the Nevi'im (Prophets). In Codex Leningrad, none of the books from the Twelve has a mid-point designated for just the single book – a phenomenon unique to the entries from the Twelve. Again, the brevity of these books cannot explain the lack of notations, as the books of the Megillot receive notions of the mid-point of each book. The Masoretic text thus groups the Twelve in a tight unit.

(3) Evidence from the books from the Twelve for a singular Book of the Twelve emerges from the numerous commonalities and correlations between the books.²⁸ Scholars such as Dale Schneider, James Nogalski, Barry Jones, Erich Bosshard-Nepustil, Paul House, Aaron Schart, Jakob Wöhrle, Nick Werse, and many others have written about the threads that tie the Book of the

²⁵ In his 39th festal letter (367 CE) Athanasius of Alexandria makes this enumeration explicit, claiming *καὶ λοιπόν, Προφῆται, οἱ μὲν δώδεκα εἰς ἓν βιβλίον ἀριθμούμενοι*, "... and remaining, the Prophets, the Twelve being counted as one book..." (Ep. Fest. 39:4). In the Vulgate, Jerome likewise makes the explicit statement, *unum librum esse duodecim prophetarum*, "One book is the Twelve Prophets" (*Incipit Prologus Duodecim Prophetarum*, 5). Nogalski, "The Book of the Twelve Is Not a Hypothesis," 39, 48–52.

²⁶ The Megillot contains Ruth, Song of Songs, Esther, Qohelet (Ecclesiastes), and Lamentations.

²⁷ Odil Hannes Steck, "Zur Abfolge Malachi--Jona in 4Q76 (4QXII[a])," *ZAW* 108 (1996): 249–53; Russell Fuller, "The Twelve," in *Qumran Cave 4: The Prophets*, ed. Eugene Charles Ulrich et al., DJD 15 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 221–318; Russell Fuller, "The Form and Formation of the Book of the Twelve: The Evidence from the Judean Desert," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House, JSOTSup 235, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 86–100.

²⁸ Rainer Kessler provides a helpful summary. Rainer Kessler, "The Twelve: Structure, Themes, and Contested Issues," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Prophets* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 207–22.

Twelve together.²⁹ A survey of their work on the Twelve appears in the next section. The number of connections between the books from the Twelve render the possibility of coincidence as implausible.

The evidence does not negate the individuality of the books within the Twelve but indicates a stronger association than most adjacent books.³⁰ Editors likely formed early collections as a means of preserving smaller books. The act of combination, however, led to the reinterpretation and ultimately the redaction of all the books now forming the Book of the Twelve. While the collection of books may have facilitated a reading strategy in understanding the books in light of each other, editors made this understanding of the Twelve tangible in the ways they redacted the books together. The strands running through the Book of the Twelve appear too strong, too numerous, and too coherent to have occurred accidentally or even through the work of one anthologist.³¹ For these reasons, this study assumes that a common formation process affected the whole of the Twelve. This study analyzes a portion of that formation process relating to the creation of a historiography of the Long Sixth Century that Persian era Yehudite scribes embedded into the Book of the Twelve.

1.3 History of Scholarship on the Diachronic Development of the Book of the Twelve

The works of Rolland Wolfe and Dale Schneider stand out as two notable precursors to the broad scholarly interest in the common development of the Book of the Twelve.³² In 1935, Wolfe published an article based on his dissertation laying out stages of development that the Book of the Twelve experienced before reaching its current form.³³ Wolfe proposes thirteen different redactional layers, including an anti-high priest layer, an eschatological layer, a day of

²⁹ Paul Redditt, "The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Review of Research," in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul Redditt and Aaron Scharf, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 1–26.

³⁰ Nogalski, "One Book and Twelve Books," 11–46.

³¹ Richard L. Schultz, "The Ties That Bind: Intertextuality, the Identification of Verbal Parallels, and Reading Strategies in the Book of the Twelve," in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul Redditt and Aaron Scharf, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 27–45; James Nogalski, "Intertextuality and the Twelve," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D.W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 102–24.

³² Heinrich Ewald also proposed a hypothesis for the redaction of the Book of the Twelve. Heinrich Ewald, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes erklärt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1868), 74–82.

³³ Rolland Emerson Wolfe, "The Editing of the Book of the Twelve," *ZAW* 53 (1935): 90–129.

Yahweh layer, a Pentateuchal reform layer, and others. Wolfe's hypothesis did not gain significant traction among scholars, but his work represents an important precursor to the diachronic models of the Book of the Twelve emerging later in the twentieth century. Under the guidance of Brevard Childs, Dale Schneider finished his dissertation in 1979 which presents a diachronic hypothesis of the development of the Book of the Twelve into a single unit.³⁴ Schneider relies on the canonical arrangement of the Twelve as the most significant clue to its development, but although his work stands at the front of a new wave of scholarship looking at the development of the Book of the Twelve, his work does not typify the models emerging later. The work of the scholars involved in SBL seminar on the development of the Book of the Twelve resembled Wolfe's contributions more than Schneider's.

The first movement towards the contemporary discussion in the development of the Book of the Twelve appears in the work of Eric Bosshard.³⁵ Bosshard's 1987 article demonstrates some commonalities between the structure of Isaiah and the Twelve, which Bosshard argues indicates common development. Bosshard, a student of Odil Hannes Steck, applies the methodological framework of Steck in Isaiah to the Twelve.³⁶ Bosshard later published his dissertation that lays out a fuller versions of his hypothesis of a common development of Isaiah and the Twelve, but this work emerged after the new wave of scholarship on the Twelve had taken shape.³⁷

1.3.1 Major Redactional Models of the Book of the Twelve

This section lays out three models that have significantly affected the discourse on the redactional development of the Book of the Twelve. The material follows a chronological structure, beginning with the work of James Nogalski, followed by Aaron Schar's contributions, and concluding with the work of Jakob Wöhrle. After looking at these three models, the next section includes a survey of other models.

James D. Nogalski's Contributions. Another student of Steck set the stage for the contemporary discussions on the Twelve. In 1993, James D. Nogalski

³⁴ Dale Schneider, "The Unity of the Book of the Twelve" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1979).

³⁵ Erich Bosshard, "Beobachtungen zum Zwölfprophetenbuch," *BN* 40 (1987): 30–62.

³⁶ Odil Hannes Steck, *The Prophetic Books and Their Theological Witness*, trans. James Nogalski (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2000).

³⁷ Erich Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1–39 im Zwölfprophetenbuch: Untersuchungen zur literarischen Verbindung von Prophetenbüchern in babylonischer und persischer Zeit*, OBO 154 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1997).

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