TRACY J. MCKENZIE

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Textual Expansion in Ezekiel 16

Mohr Siebeck

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Every form of writing turns the world into language.

Verlyn Klinkenborg, *Several Short Sentences about Writing*

This monograph is a revised version of my dissertation completed in 2017 at Georg-August-Universität Göttingen. It is a true pleasure for me to acknowledge the roles that a few individuals have played in creating the world behind this book.

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Second, I would like to thank the provost, president, and board of trustees at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary for their approval of and provision for my sabbatical program. This project would not have come to fruition without their support in this extended time for development, research, and writing.

Finally, I owe the greatest degree of gratitude to my wife, Beth, and to my sons, Micah, Joel, Josiah, and Noah. Although the year abroad in Germany offered a considerable degree of privilege for us all, it did not come without cost for them. With eager expectation, Beth collaborated in the plans in spite of possible detriment to her own health. She took on every task that sustained our well-being in Europe while allowing me to pursue the requirements of my program of study. Each of the boys buoyantly complied with our plans although the timing in their own situations was less than ideal. They resourcefully and brilliantly matured throughout the year and since. Each is my greatest source of inspiration and joy.

Tjm November 2017

Preface

This project began in 2012–13 during a year abroad for a sabbatical program at Georg-August-Universität Göttingen under the kind, thoughtful, and skillful supervision of Reinhard Kratz. In the following year, I continued research and writing while also maintaining my teaching responsibilities at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary. Unfortunately, the work then stalled in 2015–16 for personal reasons. But I was able to complete my writing during the Fall of 2017. The original dissertation was a thorough analysis of Ezekiel 16, but it lacked the clarity and focus of a mature work. I undertook an extensive revision in the Spring of 2020. In this revision, I examined the secondary literature and rewrote the Introduction (now chapter 1) with a greater focus on the way that scholarship has increasingly addressed the interpretive nature of additions, traditions, redactions, and *Fortschreibungen*. In what was originally chapter 2 (now chapter 3), I specifically focused my analysis on how linguistic elements achieve a composite unity in Ezekiel 16. This chapter sets up the analysis in chapter 4 (originally chapter 3), which to a greater extent analyzes how the expansions have built on a pre-existing text, rewritten it, and developed the content. The Conclusion (now chapter 5) was also completely rewritten with new research and analysis. I eliminated a great deal of the material from my original manuscript and focused more on how the interpretive moves in the expansions disclose possible motives, social settings, and dating in Yehud.

Subsequent to the sabbatical year of 2012–2013, Professor Kratz continued to offer valuable feedback in the research and writing process. I am always encouraged from my interactions with him and stimulated to consider how expansions disclose information from the rewriting process. I am also indebted to Hermann Spieckermann for his interaction during my time in Göttingen as well as guidance during the process of publishing with the efficient and expert editors at Mohr Siebeck. Given the number and years of insightful works from these two Old Testament scholars, it will be obvious that one should only attribute to me any oversights or shortcomings in the research, analysis, and writing.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
BDB	Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
BK	Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.* Chicago: The Oriental University of Chicago, 1956–2006
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Edited by Emil Kautzsch. Translated by Arthur E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HB	Hebrew Bible
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
KB	*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*. Edited by Eberhard Schrader. 6 vols. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1889–1915
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible and Old Testament Studies
LSAWS	*Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic*
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
OG	Old Greek
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
Suppl. V.T.	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

Chapter 1

The Book of Ezekiel and Research into Prophetic Texts

A. Introduction

The nexus of prophecy, history, and interpretation has long been a dilemma in Old Testament studies. In the last century, scholars have recognized that this debated network is evident within the developing body of Old Testament texts themselves.[1] The book of Ezekiel offers a unique approach to this nexus because of its concurrence with Jerusalem's demise. During Ezekiel's own exile, the book reports that Ezekiel received news of Jerusalem's destruction (Ezek 33:21). The hand of Yahweh had opened his mouth before the messenger even reached him, and he was no longer mute. One cannot overestimate the importance of such crises in this period. This unspeakable disaster challenged the prophet to understand anew Israel's past and to reassess its future. The wake of the catastrophe of Jerusalem and the collapse of its many institutions profoundly shaped the prophet, his message, and even the book that bears his name. In the decades and centuries that followed, the nation's tenuous existence would compel one to reconsider and construe how Yahweh had dealt with his people and the essence of that relationship in the future.

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[1] H. W. Hertzberg, *Die Nachgeschichte alttestamentlicher Texte innerhalb des Alten Testaments*, BZAW 66 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1936), 110–21; I. L. Seeligmann, "Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegese," in *Congress Volume Copenhagen 1953*, Suppl. V. T. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1953), 150–81; Walther Zimmerli, "Zur Sprache Tritojesajas," *Schweizerische Theologische Umschau* 20 (1950), 110–22. Research in this area is burgeoning, so I have mentioned here only early treatments of this phenomenon and then a few more recent ones below. Walther Zimmerli, "Das Phänomenon der ‚Fortschreibung' im Buche Ezechiel," in *Prophecy: Essays Presented to Georg Fohrer on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. J. A. Emerton, BZAW 150 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980), 174–91; Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Odil Hannes Steck, *Die Prophetenbücher und ihr theologisches Zeugnis: Wege der Nachfrage und Fährten zur Antwort* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1996); Reinhard Kratz, *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels*, FAT 42 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 126–56; idem, *Prophetenstudien*, FAT 74 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 32–70, 177–242. More recently and stemming from the perspective of biblical law in the period of the Second Temple, Teeter's research and carefully argued conclusion relates to reuse of similar material in that corpus and period. David Andrew Teeter, *Scribal Laws: Exegetical Variation in the Textual Transmission of Biblical Law in the Late Second Temple Period*, FAT 92 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 1–26, 269–70.

To be sure, the book witnesses these developing concerns within its textual borders. It relays not just when but why the catastrophe took place. But in the aftermath, it also speaks to Yahweh's commitment to Israel. The question remains how a prophetic text like the book of Ezekiel conveys Yahweh's past word to Israel in view of its contemporaneous situation. In what ways might a prophetic text reflect a prophet's words and Israel's foundational theological commitments but also incorporate ongoing experience, development of thought, and hope for the future? These concerns and more have been at the center of the debate over prophecy's relationship to the prophets, their words, and their experiences since early modernity and, in many ways, much longer.[2] A failure to address how the prophet's words and the theological commitments engendered ongoing interaction within Ezekiel 16 impoverishes our understanding of the history of this period, of their attitudes toward and techniques with prophetic texts, and of their theological commitments.

Through its many twists and turns, scholarship's understanding of prophecy has developed alongside the general discipline of Old Testament studies. Research on the literature of the Old Testament has shown a great deal of convergence with publications on the Dead Sea Scrolls with the scrolls' wealth of material attesting to the interpretation, growth, and rewriting of scripture and scripture-related material.[3] Studies in both fields testify to the increasing recognition of how these books took shape. Scholarly proposals have given attention to the notion of interpretation and scribal activity in order to discern

[2] My concern in the interpretation of these prophetic texts will show itself in the treatments of prophecy by Bernard Duhm and forward. Treatments of the history of interpretation of the Old Testament in general include Ludwig Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testamentes in der christlichen Kirche* (Jena: Mauke's Verlag, 1869); Magne Sæbø, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, vol. 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008); Henning Graf Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation*, vols. 1–4, trans. Leo G. Perdue (Atlanta: SBL, 2011). My first chapter will consider scholarly interest in the prophetic books, but the discussion of different levels or senses of Scripture throughout the history of interpretation, including the *sensus literalis*, has received renewed interest in past decades; cf. Charles J. Scalise, "The *Sensus Literalis*: A Hermeneutical Key to Biblical Exegesis," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 42, no. 1 (1989): 45–65.

[3] See note 1 and the discussion below. Although Fishbane is not the first to notice such phenomena, the convergence becomes evident in Old Testament studies with Fishbane's *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*. The same year that Fishbane published his work, George J. Brooke published *Exegesis at Qumran: 4Q Florilegium in Its Jewish Context*, JSOTSup 29 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985). The discussion below will document this growing recognition of growth in the prophetic texts themselves.

prophecy's interdependence on the milieu in which it is produced.[4] Examinations of the book of Ezekiel have likewise followed this path but recent studies on Ezekiel 16 have overlooked these important concerns.[5]

Scholars have focused less on the individual prophet or factors that constitute the origin of prophetic books and more on the processes that have led to the growth of these literary compositions. After reviewing the last fifty years of research into these matters, Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann concludes,

> Recent studies on the prophetic literature, especially in Germany, make it clear that there is no chance of reconstructing the prophet's curriculum vitae, his historical life story. It is impossible to describe the historical prophet's mentality, the different individual phases of his prophesying, and the exact succession of these phases. The reason is that the development of a prophetic book from the beginning, to the final edition, could go on for centuries. Each and every generation had its own special problems: the catastrophe of 587 BCE; the situation of the exile; the diaspora; and very probably the situation in the Hellenistic age.... The book of Ezekiel, like other prophetic books, testifies to enormous theological effort and debate, made to support and explain the conviction that the individual as well as the whole people are under Yahweh's rule, and that they are not left to the chaotic constellations and developments of the world. Therefore, it is an important task for the research on the Book of Ezekiel "to restore the 'frozen' dialogue" of the Old Testament tradition to a living theological discussion between groups and parties.[6]

Pohlmann's comments signal modernity's shift in scholarly pursuits. His comments also acknowledge the theologically interpretive expansions that produced these books and commend new studies in the wake of these developing assumptions.

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[4] For scribal activity at Qumran, see George J. Brooke, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking Backwards and Forwards," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Michael H. Floyd and Robert D. Haak, LHBOTS 427 (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 151–65. For an historical sketch of the emergence of prophetic and apocalyptic literature, see Michael Floyd's contribution in the same volume, "The Production of Prophetic Books in the Early Second Temple Period," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Michael H. Floyd and Robert D. Haak, LHBOTS 427 (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 276–97.

[5] I critique the scholarly treatments of Ezekiel 16 below. The last analysis that submitted Ezekiel 16 to related concerns was Thomas Krüger, *Geschichtskonzepte im Ezechielbuch*, BZAW 180 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989). Before him, Walther Zimmerli's Ezekiel commentary introduced such concerns, but failed to consider the interpretive aspect of the expansions especially in Ezek 16:1–43; Walther Zimmerli, *Ezechiel 1–24, I*, BK XIII (Neukirchen-Vluyn: BK, 1969); ET, Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, Chapters 1–24*, Hermeneia, trans. Ronald E. Clements (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979).

[6] Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann, "Ezekiel: New Directions and Current Debates," in *Ezekiel*, ed. William A. Tooman and Penelope Barter, FAT 112 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 13–14 (see also pp. 3–17); Pohlmann quotes Rainer Albertz, *Religionsgeschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit 1*. ATD Ergänzungreihe 8/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 31.

The book of Ezekiel is a complex literary work. The book's many literary formulas, e.g., "And the word of the LORD came to me," attest to the written and structured composition of smaller literary units into a whole.[7] These smaller units themselves exhibit signs of production by means of various influences, factors, and processes.[8] These factors and processes were motivated, in part, by great upheaval and changing circumstances happening in Yehud in the neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. There is still much for us to learn about the production of texts and the ways in which these texts reflect the hopes and theology of this period. In this study, I will analyze one of these literary units, Ezekiel 16:1–63, and demonstrate how the prophetic word and its interpretive expansions reflect ongoing actualizations of its theology and hope.

Scholars have long noted that Ezekiel 16 shows signs of supplementation. Some have described these additions as appendices[9] or "ein neuer Abschnitt, der das bisherige Gleichnis gänzlich verschiebt, also von jüngerer Hand herrührert."[10] These additions and even other supplementations to an earlier textual unity take various shapes and suggest distinct motivations and techniques. My analysis will examine these expansions for their developmental origins, underlying interpretive moves, and techniques of textual production. It is not until we understand the interpretive motivation, sometimes evident in the interpretive technique, that we postulate the historical circumstances that gave rise to such hopes and theology.

The first task in these introductory pages is to trace the interpretation of prophecy in the modern period that led to concerns with these phenomena in Ezekiel 16. This survey leads me to briefly consider related chapters in the book of Ezekiel that overlap with my study of Ezekiel 16. In chapter 2, I examine the text critically in order to establish a text for analysis and the possibility of later scribal activity. Recent research into the book of Ezekiel demonstrates the connection of text-critical studies with that of traditionally understood literary criticism, so the step is important to consider the

[7] Two recent monographs that consider this reality are Karin Schöpflin's *Theologie als Biographie im EzechielBuch: Ein Beitrag zur Konzeption alttestamentlicher Prophetie* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 56–126, which I discuss below, and Tyler D. Mayfield's *Literary Structure and Setting in Ezekiel* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010).

[8] See the thorough introduction of factors and influences from the perspective of form and tradition criticism in Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 21–80. Cf. Ellen Davis, *Swallowing the Scroll: Textuality and the Dynamics of Discourse in Ezekiel's Prophecy* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1989), who argues for the literary quality of the making of the book in contrast to merely oral prophecy. I will demonstrate the veracity of this statement within Ezekiel 16.

[9] G. A. Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1951), 180–81.

[10] Gustav Hölscher, *Hesekiel: Der Dichter und das Buch*, BZAW 39 (Giessen: Von Alfred Töpelmann, 1924), 96.

plausibility of textual growth within Ezekiel 16.[11] Establishing a text for analysis then leads to a third step in chapter 3. There I demonstrate the unity of the chapter from a synchronic point of view in order to discern consistent elements across its materials. As O. H. Steck has pointed out, an examination of textual expansion in prophetic literature must begin with an understanding of how it was shaped into a unity.[12] Only when one recognizes forms, formulas, and other linguistic elements that create unity is one in a position to discern potential development in the chapter. In chapter 4, I analyze potential developments that emerge through incongruities and linguistic repetition and reuse. My analysis of repetition and reuse yields interpretive, successive growth that generates a textual whole. This successive growth can then be differentiated to divulge a pre-existing textual shape. In this way, the examination works backwards to subtract expansions from pre-existing textual shapes. Utilizing this methodology, I demonstrate the origin and development of Ezek 16:1–43, which has not been done, in spite of Walther Zimmerli's groundbreaking proposal regarding *Fortschreibungen* for 16:44–58.[13] Additionally, I consider how each textual development indicates an extension in meaning from its pre-existing textual shape to an expanded form of the text. This extension in meaning discloses the discontentment that a writer had with

[11] Although a chorus of studies has drawn attention to this relationship, for which see below in chapter 2, O. H. Steck, in a book about the production of prophetic texts, called for the connection of text-critical and exegetical examinations that utilize text, literary, and redaction criticism in order to elucidate historically the textual plurality at Qumran (Steck, *Die Prophetenbücher und ihr theologisches Zeugnis*, 19). For studies related to the book of Ezekiel, see also Ashley S. Crane, *Israel's Restoration: A Textual-Comparative Exploration of Ezekiel 36–39* (Boston: Brill, 2008), and Ingrid E. Lilly, *Two Books of Ezekiel: Papyrus 967 and the Masoretic Text as Variant Literary Editions*, VTSup 150 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012).

[12] Steck, *Die Prophetenbücher und ihr theologisches Zeugnis*, 70. I discuss Steck's important assessment and proposal for examining prophecy below.

[13] For an early description of this concept, see Zimmerli, *Ezechiel 1–24*, 106. Even though Zimmerli articulates a successive expansion for Ezek 16:43–58 upon an existing shape of the text, I will have more to say about the interpretive exposition of the *Fortschreibungen* in Ezek 16:43–58 and 59–63 than Zimmerli did in his commentary. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 69, 334, 347–53; see Zimmerli's descriptions of this phenomenon at the end of this introduction. Scholarship on Ezekiel has burgeoned significantly since Zimmerli's commentary and so has our perception of the production of biblical books. For the state of scholarship on Ezekiel, see Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann, *Ezechiel: Der Stand der Theologischen Diskussion* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2008); idem, "Ezekiel: New Directions and Current Debates," 3–17; Krüger, *Geschichtskonzepte im Ezechielbuch*; Anja Klein, *Schriftauslegung im Ezechielbuch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Ez 34–39*, BZAW 391 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008); Schöpflin, *Theologie als Biographie im EzechielBuch*. See also other contributions in Tooman and Barter's edited volume, *Ezekiel*. For a very helpful review of scholarly proposals for understanding the vision accounts in the book of Ezekiel, see Janina Maria Hiebel, *Ezekiel's Vision Accounts as Interrelated Narratives: A Redaction-Critical and Theological Study*, BZAW 475 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 1–37.

the pre-existing textual shape while recasting the prophetic word for his own circumstances. Apprehending an extension in meaning provides a context to postulate historical circumstances and theological foundations that are latent in the growth of the chapter. This interpretive step is perhaps the most important for understanding how the expansions disclose actualizations of prophetic word, theological bases, and historical experiences in Ezekiel 16. Furthermore, it is the step that scholars have not adequately done for this insightful chapter in the book of Ezekiel. As the chapter expands, one sees the emerging basis for the hope for those who are clinging to Ezekiel's prophecy as an authentic word from Yahweh. The chapter not only reveals attitudes toward authoritative prophecy and techniques of textual production, but also demonstrates the various theological and historical perspectives amid the changing landscape of neo-Babylonian and Persian period Judah. These latter considerations I address in the chapter 5.

B. Tracing the Interpretation of Prophetic Texts

This survey traces the scholarly treatment of the composite nature of prophetic texts and its interpretive consequences. In the early modern period, scholars began to postulate various notions about the diverse makeup of prophetic books. Emerging out of new ways of thinking in the periods of the Renaissance and early Enlightenment, humanism, rationalism, and individualism began to influence traditional approaches to the inspiration and authorship of books of the Bible.[14] In studies on the prophets, J. C. Döderlein became the first to attribute Isaiah 40–66 to a second writer in the exilic period.[15] His thesis was

[14] See the description of these centuries and intellectual movements by Magne Sæbø in "From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment – Aspects of the Cultural and Ideological Framework of Scriptural Interpretation," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, 2:21–39. See also in the same volume H. J. M. Nellen, "Growing Tension between Church Doctrines and Critical Exegesis of the Old Testament," in *HB/OT*, 2:802–26; Henning Graf Reventlow, "English Rationalism, Deism and Early Biblical Criticism," in *HB/OT*, 2:851–72. Steven Nadler cites Baruch Spinoza's account of the *Nevi'im*, "… they are of even later provenance, compiled (or 'heaped together,' in Spinoza's view) from a variety of sources by chroniclers or scribes from the Second Temple period." Quoted in Steven Nadler, "The Bible Hermeneutics of Baruch de Spinoza," in *HB/OT*, 2:830.

[15] Johann Christoph Döderlein, *Esaias ex Recensione Textus hebraei ad Fidem Codicum manuscriptorum et Versionum antiquarum latine vertit Notasque varii Argumenti*, 3rd ed. (Altdorfi, 1789); Jean Marcel Vincent, *Studien zur literarischen Eigenart und zur geistigen Heimat von Jesaja, Kap. 40–55* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1977), 17–19; Christian Moser, *Umstrittene Prophetie: Die exegetisch-theologische Diskussion um die Inhomogenität des Jesajabuches von 1780 bis 1900* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 28; Martin Mulzer, "Döderlein und Deuterojesaja," *BN* 66 (1993): 15–22.

primarily in contrast to dogmatic notions of divine inspiration that were prohibiting astute exegesis of the book of Isaiah. Döderlein argues that the prophet's assertions regarding Babylon had to be recognizable to his contemporaries in order for him to be understood.[16] Döderlein's interpretation should come as no surprise given his familiarity with Campegius Vitringa's commentary on Isaiah and Vitringa's consideration of Hugo Grotius's argument for the use of an author's background for interpretation.[17] If the eighth-century prophet wrote about sixth-century Babylon, it would not make sense to his audience. Therefore, it was only reasonable to presume a context and audience in Babylon. This hermeneutical rationalism immediately made itself known in Old Testament studies through J. G. Eichhorn.[18]

In his *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Eichhorn has a lengthy discussion on the prophets and the collection of their oracles, in particular Isaiah and Jeremiah.[19] While the work lacks modern hermeneutical insight, Eichhorn recog-

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[16] Moser, *Umstrittene Prophetie*, 27.

[17] In Döderlein's *Esaias ex Recensione Textus hebraei*, see his Praefatio Editiones Primae, which is unnumbered, where he shows his familiarity with Grotius and Vitringa on page 11 of this preface. Noted for his commentary on Isaiah, Vitringa is an important figure in the study of the prophets not only because of his commentary on Isaiah but also his hermeneutical program; Campegius Vitringa, *Commentarius in librum prophetiarum Jesaiae,* I (Leeuwarden: F. Halma, 1720), 12–16; idem, *Observationum Sacrarum*, Libri Sex (Franequera: Wibii Bleck, 1712), 36–40; and idem, *Hypotyposis Historiae et Chronologiae sacrae a M. C. usque ad finem saec. I accedit Typus Doctrinae Propheticae* (Franeker: Joh. Bernhard. Hartung, 1722). For interpretive concerns, see the Praefatio Ad Lectorem, **3 and *Typus Doctrinae*, 2–3. For the interaction between Vitringa and Grotius, see E. G. E. van der Wall, "Between Grotius and Coccieus: The 'Theologia Prophetica' of Campegius Vitringa (1659–1722)," in *Hugo Grotius, Theologian: Essays in Honour of G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes*, ed. Henk J. M. Nellen and Edwin Rabbie (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 195–215. For more on Vitringa, see Klaas Märten Witteveen, "Campegius Vitringa und die prophetische Theologie," *Zwingliana* 19, no. 2 (1993): 345–46; Johann Anselm Steiger, "The Development of the Reformation Legacy: Hermeneutics and Interpretation of the Sacred Scripture in the Age of Orthodoxy," in *HB/OT*, 2:739; John Sandys-Wunsch, "Early Old Testament Critics on the Continent," in *HB/OT*, 2:973–75. Hugo Grotius privileged an interpretation of prophecies that understood the presumed sociocultural situation portrayed in their literary context rather than an interpretation through church dogma or the New Testament; see van der Wall, "Between Grotius and Coccieus," 195–215; Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testamentes*, 430–34.

[18] Rudolph Smend has documented the association between Döderlein and Eichhorn. Rudolph Smend, *Deutsche Alttestamentler in drei Jahrhunderten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 31. See also Vincent, *Studien zur literarischen Eigenart und zur geistigen Heimat von Jesaja*, 17; Moser, *Umstrittene Prophetie*, 27–28.

[19] J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1803), 56–186. He concludes about the book of Isaiah, "Mir scheint er, um der oben angeführten Gründe willen, erst nach dem Babylonischen Exil durch die Zusammenstellung Jesaianischer und anderer

nizes the diverse character of oracles and later collections. Perhaps more significantly, his interpretive impulse is to translate the individual prophecies in light of their presumed historical background. In his three-volume translation and explanation of the prophets, he explains in the forward to the second volume,

> The German edition of the Hebrew prophets is worked out in this way: It should present their work understandable to each reader according to his education and taste, and therefore whatever belongs together in terms of chronology is arranged as a unit, so that one speech explains the other; in that way, whatever is left of prophetic speeches from the time of the Assyrian rule over Asia Minor is collected together in the first volume; and in the second volume, all that is left of the prophetic speeches of the OT coming from the times of the raids of the Scythians and the rule of the Chaldeans to the beginning of the Babylonian exile.[20]

The individual prophetic speeches had to be put into chronological arrangement and time period so that the readers to his volume had the appropriate sequence and context to understand the prophetic material. Eichhorn sought to make the prophets understandable to his German audience by means of a historical understanding rather than a traditional approach that, because of a dogmatic view of inspiration, saw every prophetic sermon given at an artificial, unified moment in the ministry of the prophet and given only in the service of church dogma.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Romanticism and Idealism began to emerge as a reaction to a sterile rationalism of early modernity. These ideas surfaced in Old Testament studies and generated new proposals for understanding the prophets and their written materials.[21] It was the prophetic individual – at least the great prophets – who had a higher experience that they understood to be from God for whom they gave their poems, and who salvaged the mission

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Orakel entstanden zu sein" (p. 114; "It appears to me to have come into existence for the above mentioned reasons only after the Babylonian exile through the collecting of Isaianic and other oracles"). See also Rudolf Smend, *From Astruc to Zimmerli: Old Testament Scholarship in Three Centuries*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 70–72.

[20] J. G. Eichhorn, *Die hebräischen Propheten*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1819), vi, states, "Nach dieser Weise ist diese deutsche Ausgabe der hebräischen Propheten gearbeitet: Sie sollte ihre Werke jedem Leser von Bildung und Geschmack verständlich darstellen, und eben darum ist zusammengeordnet, was der Zeit nach zusammengehört, damit eine Rede die andere erläutere. So steht im ersten Bande alles beisammen, was noch von prophetischen Reden aus den Zeiten der Assyrischen Oberherrschaft über Vorderasien vorhanden ist; und im zweiten, was sich aus den Zeiten der Streifzüge der Scythen und der Übermacht der Chaldäer bis auf den Anfang des Babylonischen Exils von prophetischen Reden im Alten Testament erhalten hat."

[21] Abraham Kuenen articulated a rationalistic approach to prophecy but one in which the prophets were ethical monotheists. Their messages were their own, but they were more earnest in their adherence to the Holy One of Israel; they elevated and purified the message of their religion and their history. A. Kuenen, *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel: An Historical and Critical Enquiry*, trans. Adam Milroy (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1877), 574–91.

and religion of Israel.[22] Bernard Duhm articulated a view of prophetic individuals as more than mere seers with ecstatic experiences.[23] The activity of prophecy may have begun with that type of phenomenon but Duhm described the result of the development of prophecy and prophets in Israel as those individuals among the highest levels of society. These prophets had ushered in for Israel the equivalent of a scientific revolution; not in terms of science or philosophy but in terms of history, spirituality, and freedom within Israel and even in world history itself.[24] These types of prophets had an ongoing message of renewal and freedom.

Duhm's approach to the prophetic writings was influenced not only by the ideas of Romanticism but also by the growing conviction that the law came after the prophets.[25] This view carried with it the understanding that the law was a later development to and systemization of an inner, moral, and free religion, which the likes of Abraham represent and particular prophets heralded.[26] Prophets such as Ezekiel, who articulated a legal or systematic approach to God, Duhm described with a jaded view.[27] Other prophets, e.g., Jeremiah, who articulated an approach to religion from the heart and without a preoccupation with laws or the cult, represent the prophetic spirit that brought the people a free moral vision because of their accord with Yahweh.[28] For Duhm, these premises form a partial basis for delineating different sources in the book of Jeremiah. And because of the now obvious complexities to the book of Jeremiah, Duhm innovatively turned attention to various literary pieces of the book of Jeremiah.[29]

Duhm was already known for his commentary on Isaiah, his (re-)articulation of a proposed third major layer in the book, and the isolation of the book's

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[22] Bernard Duhm, *Israels Propheten*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1922), passim, but e.g., 88, "Die Propheten, die dem Volk Israel und der von Elisa vertretenen Religion den Untergang verkündigen, habe den weltgeschichtlichen Beruf Israels und seiner Religion gerettet." This elevated view of the prophet could even be said of Deutero-Isaiah, as late as this writer was in Israel's history (pp. 292–94). See also Charles Shepherd, who describes the influence of the Romanticism of Herder and Lowth upon the interpretive framework of Duhm; in *Theological Interpretation and Isaiah 53: A Critical Comparison of Bernhard Duhm, Brevard Childs, and Alec Motyer* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), 16–22.

[23] Duhm, *Israels Propheten*, 78–88, 95–96.

[24] Duhm, *Israels Propheten*, 4–8.

[25] Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2003).

[26] Duhm, *Israels Propheten*, 13–28.

[27] Duhm, *Israels Propheten*, 228–29; idem, *Die Theologie der Propheten* (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1875), 260–63, 265, quoted in Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation*, 4:330–31.

[28] Duhm, *Israels Propheten*, 244, 268–70, 284.

[29] Duhm, *Israels Propheten*, 242–44.

Servant songs from Deutero-Isaiah.[30] But Duhm also proposed an interpretation for the book of Jeremiah that was based on isolated poems of Jeremiah and Baruch's narratives about Jeremiah. He easily discerned different textual sources for the book for several reasons: First, the book contains obvious references to independent texts; second, internal and external evidence demonstrate a compositional history; third, Jeremiah's amanuensis and the book's second edition after the first was burned in a fire provide ample explanations for different views; fourth, Duhm's understanding of Jeremiah's program of spiritualization with his "emphasis on religion of the heart";[31] and fifth, a prophet's tendency for poetry (because "poetic speech is the speech of the gods"[32]). These reasons provide for Duhm an adequate basis for isolation of texts. Whether the individual poems of Jeremiah, the narratives about Jeremiah that Baruch wrote, or the reworking of a narrative by later editor, Duhm displays a mature sense of the composition of the book.[33]

Furthermore, as with the book of Isaiah, Duhm considers the different historical contexts from which the various texts emerge. Some of Jeremiah's poems emerge from his time in Anathoth, some from his time in Jerusalem, and some from an undetermined time although after the death of Josiah.[34] Duhm even suggests the significance of a new literary context in which an editor has placed different poems of Jeremiah. After discussing Jeremiah's dictation of his early poems, he says,

> Since the scroll which was read three times a day could not have been too large, it may have contained only the songs that prophesied the downfall; now Jeremiah must have united all the existing poems and also added some of those which we now find from ch 14 on, since provisionally his public ministry was diminished. The gripping account of a great water shortage must belong to the older but now incorporated poems on which a remarkable prayer of the people and answer of Jahweh follow.[35]

He continues by describing the placement of the conversation between the prophet and Yahweh in the literary context of the poems dealing with the prophet's mother. Although Duhm does not tease out the significance of these new literary contexts as one might do so today, his sensitivity to both historical and literary contexts is noteworthy and portends future approaches to this literature that reckon with redactional and expansionary additions.

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[30] Duhm, *Israels Propheten*, 291–95. For Duhm's role in the promulgation of this hypothesis, see Shepherd, *Theological Interpretation and Isaiah 53*, 39–41.

[31] Duhm, *Israels Propheten*, 270, 283–84; Duhm's penchant for Romantic ideals is commonly recognized.

[32] Duhm, *Israels Propheten*, 95, quoted in Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation*, 4:333.

[33] Duhm, *Israels Propheten*, 265–66; idem, *Das Buch Jeremiah* (Tübingen: J. C .B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1901), x.

[34] Duhm, *Israels Propheten*, 243.

[35] Duhm, *Israels Propheten*, 266–67.

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