THE
JEWISH BIBLE
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DOR LeDOR

ISAIAH

They shall beat their swords into ploughshares (Isaiah 2:4)

FROM THE EDITORS

Readers of this Journal will have noticed, I hope with pleasure, that several new features have been introduced over the last two years. Among these innovations are the standardized transliteration, the uniform translation of Bible texts according to the J.P.S., and more recently a new name and a new front cover.

While the old title Dor Le Dor certainly conveys an important idea, it seems to us that the new name — THE JEWISH BIBLE QUARTERLY — signifies more clearly what our Journal is all about.

The new cover was under consideration for some time, and the editors, together with a graphic artist, were presented with numerous ideas and sketches from which they made their choice. Philip Ratner's print was our first choice, not only for technical and artistic reasons but because it has something to say. The lesson is in the artist's illustration of the famous text in Isaiah and Micah. We, who love the Bible, who read it, study it and write about it, can sometimes fail to see the wood for the trees. We are so bound up with texts and interpretations that we can sometimes be unaware of the relevance of the Bible's message. What that message is, is of course itself always open to interpretation. But no one will deny that the value of Peace is the highest value of the biblical prophetic ideal. All of us who hold the Bible dear study it with the inspired conviction that, *Its ways are ways of pleasantness and all its paths are peace* (Prov. 3:17).

A few more matters of general information may be of interest to our readers. First of all, a word about our learned contributors who send in articles for publication. It is gratifying to note that in the last few years we have had over sixty different contributors from all over the world. This is an extremely gratifying number, and compares most favorably with other publications of a similar kind. While we have a number of essays in hand, the Board sincerely invites its readers to submit articles for consideration. Every article sent in is immediately acknowledged and read by the three members of the Editorial Board before a decision is made.

The last piece of information for our readers is that the recent financial appeal letter which was sent out elicited a good response. As you know, we very rarely

THE SCHOOL OF ISAIAH
BIOGRAPHY AND TRANSMISSION OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

BY HAYIM M. I. GEVARYAHU

The extant book of Isaiah preserves a collection of eighth century prophetical messages as well as later material, incorporating the works of Isaiah and later "Isaianic" literature. When we take into consideration the fact that tablets and scrolls were subject to the vicissitudes of survival, we may well say that ancient books have a "biography" of their own. Scandinavian scholars even go so far as to apply the Darwinian phrase "survival of the fittest" to the fate of biblical books. [1]

Biblical evidence suggests that Isaiah himself was the founder of a school of prophets in Jerusalem. I believe that this Isaianic school existed for approximately 200–250 years until all the Isaianic literature had been compiled and established in one prophetic book. [2]

The evolution of the book of Isaiah is the most dramatic of all the prophetic books. One may ask why the phenomenon of a Deutero-Isaiah and a Trito-Isaiah is more pronounced in the book of Isaiah than in any other prophetical book. In this regard it seems worthwhile to study the process by which diverse prophecies from different times came to be attributed to Isaiah, the son of Amoz.

CHARISMATIC AND CLASSICAL PROPHETS

It is not related of the earlier prophets that they committed their prophecies to writing. Traditionally parents taught their children to read and write *and you*

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1   A. H. Gunneweg, *Mündliche und Schriftliche Tradition der vorexileschen Propheten.* 1959

2   H. M. I. Gevaryahu, "Limmudim (Scribal Disciples) in the Book of Isaiah," (in Hebrew), *Beth Mikra* 47 (1971): 438–456.

shall teach them diligently to your sons... and you shall write them on the doorposts of your house and upon your gates. It is to be assumed that the prophets Elijah and Elisha were literate but we see no instructions in the book of Kings to their pupils the *Bene hanevi'im* to write down prophecies. It would seem therefore that the main difference between the pupils of the classic prophets and the "sons of the prophets" of Elijah and Elisha was the level of education and intellect.

The fate of a "book" of prophecies was decided by the pupils and the pupils' pupils who were versed in the art of writing. A prophet would set up a school of pupils to commit his prophecies to writing and thus pass them down to future generations. It is assumed that the classical prophet was a man of letters who was in possession of a worthy collection of the written heritage of the national literature of his day, and that he himself was partially responsible for the authorship of some of his visions. Jeremiah tells us that he dictated his visions to his pupil Baruch ben Neriah (chap. 36). The original prophecy would be transcribed by the prophet or his pupils and two or three copies would be made. Only when the message subsequently showed itself to be one transcending time, were many copies produced. Originally an elite group which included prophets was responsible for transcriptions. The visions of Jeremiah were sanctified, i.e. were accepted by the people as the word of God already in the time of the exile to Babylon. It was the first book of classical prophecy to be accepted into the biblical canon.

We see from Isaiah — *The burden of Babylon which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see* (13:1) that a part of his writings was widely known at the time of the exile to Babylon. While "sons of the prophets," of whom Elisha was the master, were simple and unsophisticated religious enthusiasts who are never referred to in a literary or scribal context or situation, Isaiah's circle, on the other hand, was basically a religious intelligentsia, thoroughly familiar with the *Torah* literature and capable of transcribing and copying prophetical visions. It was precisely this group of Isaiah's disciples which was responsible for recording Isaiah's visions and transmitting his message to following generations.

ISAIAH — "FATHER" OF A LITERARY MINDED CIRCLE.

According to a talmudical tradition which is also accepted by many modern scholars, Isaiah was descended from the kings of Judea. The best evidence for

this assumption is found in the tradition preserved in *Aboth d'Rabbi Nathan*[3] and in *Vitae Prophetarum,* that the burial place of Isaiah was in the vicinity of the Siloam Tunnel, near the Kidron valley which is in the neighborhood of the tombs of the Kings of the House of David, on an estate belonging to the king's family.

Joseph Jensen, in his work *The Use of Torah by Isaiah* (1973), summarizes and supports the opinion of modern authors that Isaiah was educated in a school for young diplomats, and that this school was the source of the prophet's acquaintance with the wisdom and knowledge that was traditionally passed on from generation to generation. But independent of this suggestion there is, in my opinion, explicit evidence that Isaiah was a scribe — סופר and the leader of a circle of young intelligentsia called יודעי ספר "literate ones." The modern equivalent of the class described by this term would be young men with academic training, or "college-trained young men." Only against such a background can we adequately understand the more than a dozen references to writing and recording in Isaiah 1–39. For example:

The parables in Isaiah 29:11–12 concerning a "sealed scroll" which is handed to one who can read — אל יודע ספר and then is handed to one who cannot read — אשר לא ידע ספר.

In 10:19, where the remnant of the Assyrian army is envisioned as being so emaciated that even a mere lad — נער could record them, and the services of an experienced scribe would not be required.

In 29:18 the phrase *In that day, shall the deaf hear the words of a book* uses a term of the scribal school, החרשים *hahereshim,* to admonish the students not to be as one who is deaf. The passage declares that *in that day* all will change for the good, even the deaf will hear and become literate *yodei sefer.* The prophet thus sees in his vision an end of illiteracy and this will bring in its wake a general moral reawakening among all sections of the population *They also that are in spirit shall come to understanding and they that murmur shall learn instruction* (29:24).

In the life of Isaiah and his disciples, we find a psychological and ideological reference to the metamorphosis from a time-dominated outlook to that of the

3   James Muilenberg, "Baruch the Scribe, in Proclamation and Presence" *Old Testament Essays in Honour of Gwynne Henton Davies,* (1970). Cf. my study "Baruch ben Neriah." (in Hebrew), *Shazar Festschrift,* p. 191–243.

timeless and enduring value of the classical prophetical messages. We find here in Isaiah, evidence of the emergence of the establishment of this genre of prophetical literature. The Isaiah school even tried to create a special term *te-uda* — תעודה for messages of prophets that come under this category of written speeches.

Attention must be given to the highly developed international scribal activity especially conventionalized in the Assyrian empire in Isaiah's age. Muilenberg says, "It was a scribal age, one age of many scribes."[4] In that age, the first great libraries were founded by Tiglath-Pileser III and Assurbanipal in Nineveh. It seems that king Hezekiah also organized a library collection in Jerusalem. There is evidence that it became a widespread custom for Mesopotamian scribes to create their own private collections of texts, and one may safely assume that prophets and sages in Israel also followed this custom.

TE-UDAH תעודה

Regarding Isaiah, there are two passages which refer to the status of Isaiah as a leader or "father" of a literary minded circle: Isaiah 8:16–20 and Isaiah 30:8–11. In both of these passages the prophet is apparently in a state of crisis; he wants to retire from his public prophetical office and to communicate to his disciples his written records. In Isaiah 8:16–20, the most important verse for our purposes is verse 16: *Bind up the testimony, seal the instruction with my disciples* and the phrase *I and the children* in verse 18. The exact meaning of the three terms, *te-udah, limmudim* and *yeladim* requires special consideration. The King James Version renders verse 16, *Bind up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples.* The New American Bible translates: *The record is to be folded and the sealed instruction kept among my disciples.* Neither translation of *te-udah* ("testimony", or "record") is satisfactory. The term *te-udah* is mentioned elsewhere only in Ruth 4:7 with reference to an old custom. According to Ginzberg, the noun *te-udah* in Ruth derives from the root עוד which means "again and again; something to be repeated"; the noun then relates to a repeatedly-practised custom, a *minhag*. But it could also be that *te-udah* is derived from the root *t'd* which connotes in Ugaritic "Words delivered by a

4   James F. Ross, "Prophecy in Hamath, Israel and Mari," *Harvard Theological Review*, 63 (1970), p. 2.

messenger." Another possibility is to connect *te-udah* with *'ddn*, a class of seers mentioned in the Aramaic inscription of King Zakir of Hamath (A:11–12) *wy'nny B'lsmyn... (b)yd hzyn ubyd "ddn, And Ba'al-Shamayn answered me... by means of seers and by means of messengers...* (My esteemed colleague, Dr. Cyrus Gordon, suggested to me in a verbal communication the possibility of a semantic development from messengers(s) (Ugaritic *t'd* and Aramaic *'ddn)* to the message of the messengers [Hebrew תעודה *te-udah*]). The exact meaning of the term *te-udah* is of great linguistic, exegetical and historical importance, because it represents the oldest recorded attempt at classification of this literary genre.

We can therefore understand צור תעודה as *"bind, (or fold) together the written records of the prophetical messages,"* which may include, besides Isaiah's own oracles, the words of previous prophets such as Amos and Hosea. Together with this תעודה Isaiah hands over to his disciples for preservation, his collection of Torah literature.[5] From this we may deduce that the entire cultural heritage of Israel was divided into two parts:

(1) The Torah-literature, which included the laws, covenants and stories about the past; and (2) תעודה a special term created by Isaiah's school to designate the words of the prophets, that is prophetical literature.

LIMMUDIM – למודים

The key point in this text is the translation *my disciples* for למודי a translation which has been challenged by various scholars.[6]

The term *lmd* is used frequently in Ugaritic to denote apprentices of various crafts. Jensen raises the question as to how the transference of denotation of apprenticeship to that of discipleship came about.[7] It seems to me that already in

5 Cf. H.M.I. Gevaryahu, "On the Meaning of *torah* in Isaiah in 'The Vision of the Days to Come,' Isaiah 2," (in Hebrew), in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah,* a subject put before the Bible Group held at the home of President Shazar, Vol. ı (1976), p. 96–98. This problem is studied in great detail by Joseph Jensen, *The Use of torah in Isaiah,* (1973).

6 = 2

7 Cf. Jensen. p. 105 ff. The study of K.H. Rengsttorf. *Matheles,* "The Term in the Old Testament and Judaism," R. Kittel, ed., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,* (1967), evaluates biblical and post-biblical sources. The term *talmis* is old, already used in Ugaritic literature. where there is no difference between *lmd* and *tlmd;* both are apprentices. It is only coincidental that in Isaiah *limmud* took on the meaning "disciple," the same as talmudic *talmid.*

Ugaritic a semantic development of the term *lmd* from "apprenticeship" to "discipleship" is discernible. In one colophon a scribe who has copied a literary text identifies himself as a *lmd* of a high priest.

In various Akkadian colophons, the young scribal apprentice is designated as *samallu sehru* or *tupsarru sehru*. The young scribes were responsible for copying literary pieces. It was they who preserved their literary heritage. Many such young students were descendants of old scribal families. It would seem that there was even a custom among young Babylonian scribal apprentices of compiling and preparing their own private libraries.[8] From all of this, we may conclude that Isaiah's *limmudim* were prophetical disciples.

As for ילדים — *I and the children* (Isaiah 8:18), it is obvious that the prophet does not refer here to his biological three children. The reference is to his disciples whom he considers his children. We note a parallel relationship between writer and apprentice in the Akkadian culture. Because apprentices grew up in the homes of the writer, they are called his children.

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

A second time in Isaiah's career there is a hint that the ageing prophet would like to put his papers in order by handing them over to his disciples. It would seem that Isaiah wished to retire. It is said in Isaiah 30:8 עתה בוא כתבה על לוח אתם ועל ספר חקה ותהי ליום אחרון עד עולם. The meaning of this passage is: *Now come write on a tablet* (a wooden tablet) *together with them engrave it on a scroll so it may be a witness forever.*

The verb *bo* in this verse connotes in the Hebrew to assemble from outside to inside the house, i.e. coming to the house for the purpose of writing together with them-*ittam* his prophetical message to be kept as a witness forever. The type of persons who assembled in his home are described in 30:10 as seers and prophets.

The writing materials to be used are *luah* and *sefer,* a wooden tablet usually wax-coated, and a scroll of skin. Note that the parallelism is of the quadratic chiastic form

8   W.W. Hallo, "New Viewpoints on Cuneiform Literature," *Israel Exploration Journal,* (19): 13–26. See p. 22 where he summarizes Oppenheim's opinions.

that is, written on a scroll and engraved on a tablet. I think that thus Isaiah's disciples, and in turn their disciples, kept and transmitted the written message and the oral narratives of their master. In conformity with the humility of ancient times the names of Isaiah's disciples are not recorded. Micah, who came to Jerusalem from Morasha, may have been one of those disciples, since he quotes and interprets the universal peace vision of the old prophets from Isaiah (2:2–5).

Before presenting the references to the creative literary activity of the Isaianic school, I wish to emphasize the fact that the prophetic message originally had the character of a document — *Urkunde*.[9]

Divinely inspired, the prophet described and reacted to the religious, social, moral, political and military events of his time. This was why all the oldest statements of the prophets originally had exact details of dates which included year, month and day. A similar typological phenomenon can be seen when a gifted political journalist publishes topical criticism of contemporary events, which may later become part of classic political literature. But the genius of the classical prophets and their disciples inspired them to record their message in a poetical style. It was thus that a *de facto* literature grew out of "documentary statements."

One can find proof of the activities of the bands of students also in the writings on collections that are referred to in various parts of the book. The original version of Isaiah was put to writing by the prophet's pupils. It was their pupils' pupils who, in the days of the Babylonian exile and the return to Zion, edited the final version that is the book of Isaiah today.

Professor Gevaryahu is the chairman of the World Jewish Bible Society. He has written extensively on biblical subjects. He is now preparing for publication major works on the Biography of the Book of Psalms, Biblical proto-canonical Colophons, and on Monotheism vs. Polytheism.

FOR THE STATUTES OF OMRI ARE KEPT...

(Micah 6:16)

BY B. Z. LURIA

If we carry on reading to the end of the chapter quoted in the title, we will come to the conclusion that the "statutes of Omri" caused the prophet much chagrin. These statutes which continued to be in force during the reign of Ahab were a source of trouble to the people *that I may make thee an astonishment... and ye shall bear the reproach of My people.* What was the nature of these statutes of Omri? The verse presents some difficulties and needs careful analysis.

a) וְיִשְׁתַּמֵּר *are kept.* The grammatical form of this term is unusual. It conveys the meaning of continued existence — a situation that will cause trouble.

b) חֻקּוֹת *statutes.* The Targum translates: "Rules of the house of Omri" signifying a strict law imposed by the highest authority, namely Omri, which demanded complete compliance. The prophet is embittered by the fact that Omri's laws did not follow him to the grave but remained in force after his death.

c) We know very little about Omri himself; a total of eight verses of the Scriptures are devoted to him, one of them being...*And Omri did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord and dealt wickedly above all that were before him. For he walked in all the way of Jeroboam... and in his sins wherewith he made Israel to sin, to provoke the Lord... with their vanities* (I Kings. 16:25–26).

From this verse biblical scholars assume that Omri's major sin was the worship of the calves in Beth-el and Dan. However, there is a significant addition: *and* [he] *dealt wickedly above all that were before him.* The nature of that particular wickedness is not specified. If it was not in the realm of a cult we must seek it in other areas of his activities. Omri's foreign policy is briefly summarized by the words "וגבורתו אשר עשה" *and the might that he showed,* (v. 27) indicating that he was successful in his military campaigns, without giving us any details. Here, fortunately, we can find the missing information on the tombstone of Mesha, the king of Moab, where we find "Omri subdued Moab for

Ben Zion Luria is the editor of Beth Mikra, the Hebrew publication of the Israel Society for Biblical Research. He is the author of numerous volumes in Hebrew on biblical history and geography.

many days." He freed the towns of Reuben and Gad from the yoke of Moab, as far north as the river Arnon and exacted an annual tribute throughout his reign, which continued for some years of Ahab's reign.

Some scholars lay the blame for the sins of his son Ahab and his daughter-in-law Jezebel, the daughter of the King of Zidon, on the shoulders of Omri. As is known, Jezebel introduced the cult of Baal worship to Samaria and she persecuted those that worshipped the true God. However, during the twelve years of Omri's reign we do not find any signs that would indicate an intrusion of Zidonian idol worship.

Thus the statement *and* [he] *dealt wickedly above all before him* does not refer to worship, or to dealings with neighbouring peoples who could have exerted a negative influence. It is to be found rather in the harm that he caused to his subjects in his own land.

Let us examine the biblical description of some of the "might" which Omri showed. The chapter records, *And he* [Omri] *bought the hill Samaria of Shemer for two talents of silver; and he built on the hill, and called the name of the city... Samaria* (v. 24).

On the surface, this would seem to be a praiseworthy deed. Omri did not confiscate the property of Shemer by force, not by guile, nor by staged "court proceedings" as in the case of Jezebel and Naboth's vineyard. He paid for it; he even found an appropriate solution to the ancient tradition whereby no Israelite could sell inherited property, by attaching the name of the original owner (Shemer) to the new city (Shomron — Samaria).

In fact, the sages of the Talmud praised him, saying "Why was Omri privileged to rule a kingdom? because he added one city in Israel." However, the Talmud came into existence hundreds of years later, and time has a habit of smoothing over the unpleasant angles of events long past. In fact the building of the city imposed a heavy burden upon the people; a similar building of a city some eighty nine years earlier, had caused the secession of Ephraim from the kingdom of Judah and this event was still fresh in the minds of the people. This city was Shechem, and Rehoboam had refused to listen to the complaints of the people. *Thy father* [Solomon] *made our yoke grievous; now therefore make thou the grievous service lighter, and we will serve you* (I Kings 12:4).

When we come to Samaria today, 2,800 years after it was built, and walk on the site of its ancient streets, we are amazed by the accomplishments of Omri and

Ahab as builders. Archeologists and historians have shown that the city was surrounded by walls with strong gates; there was a royal palace, — the well known "ivory house"; a temple for Baal, houses for the king's men, market places for the merchants, and homes for the inhabitants of the newly built city. They even built a canal from distant wells to bring water to the new capital. Ahab continued with building activities in Samaria, as we read: *and the ivory house which he built, and all the cities that he built, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?* (I Kings 22:39).

From archeological research we know that Ahab continued the building work which his father initiated. He constructed an imposing fortress on a mountain top and surrounded it with walls, and inside the fortification he built a spacious palace. His building program was not confined to Samaria. Worthy of mention is the winter house in Jezreel. He also enlarged the upper city of Hazor, and in Meggido he built a fortress and stalls for the horses. He also dug a tunnel from the fortress to a well-spring.

In order to understand this massive building operation we must visualise what this involved. Who quarried the huge stones? Who dressed them and transported them from the quarries to the building site? Who built, who plastered and who decorated? Who paved the roads and who constructed the water conduit? Quite simply — the king's "statute" enabled him to enlist all the labor required.

King Solomon built a palace for himself as well as the Temple; he did not have to worry about walls and gates for Jerusalem, as these had been built by Joab in the days of David. Master builders from Tyre, whose king was an ally of David undertook the construction of the royal buildings and instructed the workers. But the basic heavy labor was performed by the people, who made up the forced labor "levy." Omri used the same method. This was the statute of Omri. The book of Kings records the procedure:

> *And King Solomon raised a levy out of all Israel; and the levy was 30,000 men. And he sent them to Lebanon, ten thousand a month by courses, a month they were in Lebanon and two months at home... And Solomon had threescore and ten thousand that bore burdens, and fourscore thousand that were hewers in the mountains...* (I Kings 5:27–29).

We get some idea what this implied when we hear that it took Solomon thirteen years to build his royal house, and seven years to build the Temple (cf. I Kings 6:37; 7:1).

The burden laid upon the people was grievous, but Solomon was the son of the popular King David and the book of Kings does not criticize him. After twenty years of forced labor levies however, the people had had enough; and when Rehoboam was unwilling to listen to their demands to lighten the burden, the northern tribes rebelled and the land was split into two kingdoms.

Omri had no spoil at his disposal, except the tribute exacted from Moab. After four years of civil war he seized power and by that time there was very little left in the royal treasury. In order to build Samaria he had no choice but to issue that infamous royal decree using the same methods as Solomon. The will of the king was law, executed by loyal supporters who were exempt from the duties they imposed on others, and who undoubtedly enjoyed favors and privileges granted by the king.

We have no exact record of how long the royal building constructions continued, with people being pressed into service of the king, but we can make a rough estimate. It began in the sixth year of Omri's reign, in 876 B.C.E. and continued at least to the end of the first of Ahab's reign, i.e. 859 B.C.E. — a total of 17 to 20 years. The people suffered, but they did not rebel, neither against Omri nor against Ahab.

The mania for building magnificent palaces which seized both the kings of Israel and of Judah, caused deep anger among the prophets. Thus, later, Jeremiah had this to say about a palace built by Shallum, son of Josiah:

> *Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness,*
> *And his chambers by injustice;*
> *That useth his neighbour's service without wages*
> *And giveth him not his hire.*

(Jeremiah 22:13)

Micah felt compassion for the people's sorrow and suffering. He was at pains to point out the evil in the arbitrary royal decree which enslaved the people and predicted that national disaster would ensue. He expressed his wrath about the buildings that were erected by abuse and exploitation of a people when he prophesied:

> *Therefore I will make Samaria a heap in the field*
> *A place for the planting of vineyards;*
> *And I will pour down the stones thereof in the valley,*

And I will uncover the foundations thereof.

(Micah, 1:6)

The fury which the words of Micah raised in the royal courts finds expression in a legend which was preserved in a book containing an account of the lives of prophets *(Vitae Prophetarum,* by Epiphanus, a father of the Church). The book was written in Greek, and it is assumed that it was translated from Hebrew. Concerning Micah the Morashite, it is told: "Micah the Morashite was from the tribe of Ephraim. Because he caused much trouble to King Ahab, he was killed. Joram, the son of Ahab, cast him from a rock, and he was secretly buried in his city, close to the burial place of his parents" *(The Lives of the Prophets,* Charles Gutler Torrey, Philadelphia 1946, p. 40).

The legend about the murder of the prophet by Joram, the son of Ahab, undoubtedly stems from a Hebrew source, but the source to date is unknown.
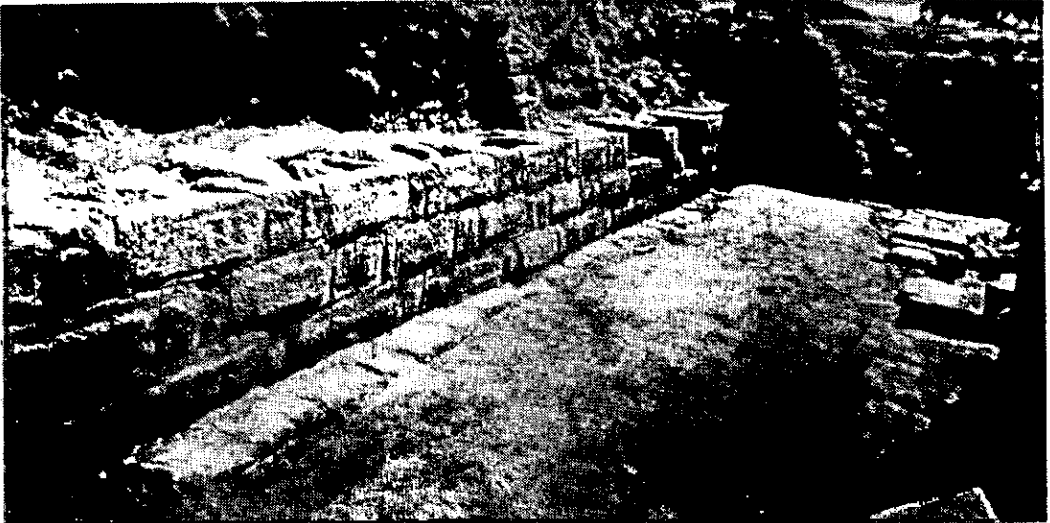
/Omri/ bought the hill, and built on the hill and called the name of the city... Samaria.
(II Kings, 17:24)

'GARMENTS OF SKIN'

(Genesis 3:21)

BY ROBERT J. RATNER

The details of Scripture reveal some of its most profound teachings. Genesis 3:21 reads:

> And the Lord God made for Adam and for his wife garments of skin and He dressed them.

The words *kotnot or* leave no doubt as to their signification. All modern translations render these words as "garments of skin," and all commentaries agree that the words mean what they say, garments made of skin or leather.[1] Skin, however, has a very definite origin: animals. The problem is that animals must die in order to render their skins for such use as in Genesis 3:21. Yet, death did not enter the world until Abel's pious act of sacrifice in Genesis 4:4. At that moment, death became real and humans began to use the products of animals. If, then, Genesis 3:21 gives evidence of the first death and the first usage of animal products, we must revise our thinking about the context and meaning of the Eden story in particular and the primeval history in general.

But one might justifiably argue that the investigation of the question "Where did the skin come from?" is doomed from the start. For instance, to cite one critic: "The writer is not concerned whence the Lord got the hides, anymore than with the question as to the original appearance of the serpent."[2] However,

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1 See, for instance, the usage in II Kings 1:8 *ezor or* or that in Numbers 31:20, *keli or*,

2 A. Gordon, *The Early Traditions of Genesis* (Edinburgh, 1907), p. 287.

Robert J. Ratner received his Ph.D. and rabbinical ordination from H.U.C. in Cincinnati. He now serves as rabbi of Cong. Beth Aaron in Billings, Montana and is Assistant Prof. of Philosophy, Religious Studies, and Humanities at Eastern Montana College. Dr. Ratner has published several articles on Bible and the Ancient Near East.

recently a scholar stated that Genesis 3:21 "suggests a new, deadly stance of opposition between man and beast ...[and man] is last shown with his destructive power over animals a *fait accompli.*"[3] This argument is proposed in favor of Adam's responsibility for the death of the animals whose skin would be used to make the garments. In fact, such an extreme position as this will not be put forth here. To ask how the animals arrived at such a condition, asks too much of the text. Rather, our attention will be focused on the plain meaning of the text as we have it. Otto Procksch's understanding of the verse is suggestive. He says: "Where the skins came from is not stated but naturally they could only have come from animals.[4] Our understanding of Genesis 3:21 is as follows: The Lord God made garments for Adam and his wife from the skins of dead animals. Unlike Procksch, we will investigate the contextual significance of this understanding.

Genesis 3:21 now takes on a new dimension of meaning. Death becomes actualized. It is not, when we arrive at this point in the narrative, the vague threat it once had been when God told Adam not to eat of the tree of knowledge lest he die (2:25). Rather, death has now become most tangible. The bitter truth of the curses just pronounced by God to the snake, the woman, and the man is very real. Adam and Eve learn that life has an end and, no doubt, the universal anxiety over one's own mortality has taken hold of them. So wrote Don Isaac Abravanel: "And, behold, God saw fit to make their clothing from the skins of the dead animals so that it might be for them as a reminder that they too will die and be like those very creatures who died and now are as though they never were."[5] The people now recognize in the animals their own mortality. Thus, the garments of skin play a pivotal role in the dynamic interchange between God and man as they pass into a new tension-filled relationship with one another.

Human mortality and its consequences direct the movement of the expulsion narrative. The curse uttered by God that ends the Eden story emphasizes the inevitability of death (3:19). God's harsh pronouncement in 3:19 *Until you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken — for you are dust and to dust*

3   J. Rosenberg, "The Garden Story Forward and Backward," *Prooftexts* 1 (1981), pp. 1–27, here p. 8.

4   *Die Genesis,* third edition (Leipzig, 1924), p. 40.

5   *Perush al haTorah* (Jerusalem, 1954), p. 110.

you will return, forms an inclusion with the birth of Adam (2:7 *Then the Lord God formed man of the dust of the earth...*) and a transition to the expulsion narrative. The next action is carried out by Adam who *called his wife's name Havva because she was to be the mother of all living* (3:20). T. Fretheim aptly remarks: "By this naming, Adam expresses a hope that in spite of punishment life will go on. ...This is an act of faith."[6] Adam's response to God's curse is an emphatic affirmation of the continuation of life. (The word 'mother' and the naming look ahead to 4:1). God responds with an act that is life-preserving, the giving of clothing (3:21).[7] Paradoxically, death enters the world at the same moment. Having just been cursed with death and then witnessing it first hand, God expects that man will feel the urge to reach for eternal life. God is portrayed as feeling threatened(3:22). He quickly and decisively thwarts any possible design mankind might have upon obtaining immortality by exiling the man and his wife from Eden (3:23–4). Further, God responds to the perceived threat with a deadly threat of His own: a flashing and fiery sword (3:24). God's curse (3:19) must not be reversed, for if man were to eat of the tree of life, the separation between the divine and the mortal would be destroyed.

Next we learn that Adam "knows" his wife and she gives birth to Cain. She brings new human life to the world, thereby fulfilling the wish Adam had uttered when he named Eve. (Paradoxically, the one just born will be the extinguisher of life). The naming of Cain, now by Eve, reaffirms the creative power of woman who has now displaced God in this role. This brief pericope is tense with man's anxiety over the life he lives in the shadow of inevitable death. That tension is no better portrayed than in the words "garments of skin" which stand at the heart of this pericope.

This detail, the "garments of skin," when read against the background of the primeval history exposes many otherwise overlooked contradictions in the text. These contradictions add significant tension to the narrated events. We will examine but two of these, selected for the role they play in the overall story of Genesis 1–11.

First, the clothes themselves present a paradox; God's act of love, the giving of the clothes, places a barrier, distance between man and God.

6   *Creation, Fall, and Flood* (Minneapolis, 1969), p. 91.
7   G. von Rad, *Genesis,* revised edition (London, 1972), pp. 96–7.

God provides Adam and his wife with clothing. These garments are not merely the temporary, makeshift, and partial coverings they had fashioned for themselves earlier (3:7), but they are permanent full-body coverings. God, hereby, improves their lot. The author presents a God who looks ahead for them, for their own benefit. By taking the initiative, God meets His creatures where they are, even though God might have wished differently for them.

Such an understanding of the narrative's movement nullifies completely assertions that verse 21 unnecessarily duplicates verse 7. For example, Gerhard von Rad, remarks: "The statement that God made man 'garments of skin' is in some tension with verse 7, and probably stems ultimately from another circle of tradition."[8] However, the present reading understands the author's desire to portray a God who is close, who accepts and responds to His creatures' new life situation, and attempts to preserve them in it.[9] If He were man, he might have sent his defiant enemies naked into exile, in shame lacking all dignity. But He is God, and not man. He keeps close even to those who reject Him and sends them out, to be sure, but in dignity, fully clothed.

God desires to be close to His creatures, it is true, but the means by which He expresses this desire, namely the giving of clothes, presents a paradox to the reader. These clothes protect them and keep them warm (unlike those which they conceived and made for themselves), but at the same time they distance man

8   *Op. cit.*, p. 96. E. Richter suggests, in an article entitled "Kannte die Priesterschrift eine Geschichte vom Sündenfall? Ein Wort zu Genesis 3:21" (*ZAW* 57 [1939], pp. 285–6), based upon a note by G. von Rad, that 3:21 derives ultimately from *P*. But, *P* had already stated in 1:29 that only vegetation was to be eaten. For Richter, we find in 3:21 the great sin parallel to *J*'s sin of eating from the tree. Here, in *P*, men kill animals, in violation of the command of 1:29. Hence, the *hamas* in *P* before the flood refers to man's killing of both man and beast. This being the case, sense is made of the new permission to eat meat after the flood as well as the prohibition against spilling blood.

Unfortunately, the assignment of 3:21 to *P* under any circumstances is untenable. In Genesis 1:29, furthermore, God merely permits mankind to eat vegetation. While it is possible that the text's intention is to legislate vegetarianism or, better to set it up as a model, there is no implied prohibition of the use of animal products to be found in 1:29. In addition, there is also no statement in 3:21 that men did the killing and, clearly, there is no expressed sentiment that whatever happened in 3:21 was in any way sinful.

9   D. Bonhoeffer, *Creation and Fall* (New York, 1959), p. 88 and A. Richardson, *Genesis 1–11* (London, 1953), pp. 77–8.

physically from his Creator. Now, the clothes make it nearly impossible for there to be intimate closeness, especially that physical touching, previously experienced between God and man. God formed man, as a potter forms a lump of clay into a delicate vessel, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. God took the man and put him in Eden. God operated on the man in order to create woman. Now God provides clothing for the people He formed and dresses them.[10] Genesis 1–11 paints a picture of progressive distancing between God and man, and the clothing is the first outward symbol of this development.

The second set of contradictions centers on human cultural development as it is traced in Genesis 1–11.

Besides the fact that the word *or* 'skin' is part of an extended alliterative word play, a device so prevalent in the Eden story (cf. 2:25; 3:1, 7, 10, 11, 21),[11] our verse also shares in common with the rest of Genesis 2:4b–4:26 an intense interest in explaining origins. Elsewhere man is exclusively credited with advancements in civilization. However, in Genesis 3:21, God is the innovator. Once such a cultural artifact is made by God and passed on to man, it is to be expected that man will imitate God and recreate the artifact as needs be. The divinely given clothing may someday wear out and be discarded. But not so the idea behind it. Man is now able to replace the clothing by following the steps first taken by God.

God introduces and makes permanent clothing. The writer shocks his reader by using the verbal form *vayyaas* — ויעש from a root which is elsewhere reserved for God's great creative acts. Thus, Genesis 3:21 stands apart from the rest of its context and in some tension with it by this usage of *asah* עשה as well as by the attribution of this one cultural innovation, the clothing, to God instead of man.[12]

10 Or as U. Cassuto would have it, with reference to II Samuel 1:24 *(A Commentary on Genesis, I: From Adam to Noah* [Jerusalem, 1972], p. 171): "He had them dress themselves" and so, also, the *Jerusalem Bible:* "and they put them on."

11 D.N. Freedman and M. O'Connor, *TWAT* Iv 3/4 (1982), col. 399.

12 It may be appropriate here to address the question of the similarities and differences between our account and the material from the ancient Near East. The one fact that must be stated at the outset is that nearly all the ancient Near Eastern materials that treat the rise of cultural accoutrements ascribe their innovation to the gods. This is clearly the opposite of the picture we find in Genesis. In the specific case treated here, i.e. clothing, many scholars, most recently D. N. Freedman and M. O'Connor *(ibid.),* have compared the Old Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic, II ii

Otherwise, civilization develops in the hands of man and because Cain is the only remaining member of the second generation, it is through him that civilization moves forward. Cain was, at first, an agriculturalist. After he kills his pastoralist brother Abel, who had just had his animal sacrifice accepted by God, Cain becomes a ceaseless wanderer upon the face of the earth. His line, however, brings into being the cities of sedentary folk and their crafts.

And we might have thought that the entire legacy of Abel would have been forever erased from mankind's memory. But see what follows. We are constantly reminded of Abel and his usage of animal products as the many cultural innovations are wrought by Cain's line! In Genesis 4:19, we are introduced to the seventh in Cain's line, Lemech. His son Yaval was the ancestor of tent dwellers and cattle tenders (4:20). Yaval utilizes animal products as did Abel before him (cf. 4:2). However, he takes one further step by introducing the tent — a cultural artifact made of the skins of slain animals (cf. 9:21). His brother, Yuval, also exploits the carcasses of dead animals for the benefit of society by extracting their guts in order to make strings for stringed instruments (4:21). In 4:22, Tuval-Cain introduces metal working which also relied upon the products of animals for the production of hand bellows.[13] Thus we see the sons of Lemech, a man of the same disposition as his ancestor Cain (4:24), follow in the footsteps of Abel.

Lemech takes the bloodshed, upon which his sons rely for their innovations, to an extreme as he kills people for sport.[14] Yet, when we view Lemech within the broader context of the Genesis 1–11 composition, he becomes an equivocal figure. In Genesis 5, when the line of Seth, the replacement of Abel (4:25), is

26–30, in which the prostitute clothes Enkidu after he has been introduced to his own sexuality.

There is little to commend this comparison, however: a) We are neither dealing here with the innovation of clothing, nor with the first humans. b) The prostitute, a human, clothes Enkidu. Unless we abandon this understanding of what the prostitute is and argue that she is really Ishtar in the flesh, we must say she is human. c) The fact that both the prostitute and Enkidu share one cloth is not actually relevant, because a comparison with the biblical text would require a too literal understanding of the word *'or* as a singular. It may not have been so intended. d) It is never stated that the cloth is from skin. It would appear that, for the moment at least, comparison with materials external to the Bible is not helpful in this instance.

13   J. Muhly, in a personal communication, dated March 4, 1985. He also notes that the Beni Hassan Tomb painting may have a depiction of just such bellows. I would like to thank Professor Muhly for his assistance in this matter.

14   Note that Nimrod (10:9) hunts and kills animals for sport.

enumerated, we find that Lemech is ninth in the line and, ironically, he fathers Noah who would be the savior of all mankind and animal-kind. Even though Noah follows in the footsteps of Cain and Adam, the agriculturalists, Abel's legacy as husbandman lives on. Abel's venerable profession would be adopted by all the fathers of Israel from Abraham to Moses, and from King David to Amos.

Abel is indeed not forgotten, though the line is Cain's. But why all the attention to Abel? It is he, who perceived that animals are the medium through which man and God interact and communicate. This perception was, of course, fundamental to Israelite and later Jewish thought. But who, according to the biblical text, was the innovator of this idea? If our reading of Genesis 3:21 is correct, then it would appear that God himself first used animals as a means to communicate with man. He communicated His acceptance of man's present condition, His own need to be close at a moment of great crisis for His special creatures, and his desire to continue the relationship established earlier. Abel may be credited with perceiving the means through which God communicated with man and then with imitating the actions of God for God's own benefit. Simply put:

If God, of his own volition utilizes animal products for the benefit of man, should not man, in imitation of his God, reciprocate of his own volition with the products of animals.

Abel, then, brings an offering *of the firstlings of his flock and of their fatty portions* (4:4) and God accepts the offering.

This understanding solves a contextual problem not often treated in the literature: If Cain follows the occupation of his father, Adam, then whom does Abel imitate? In addition, this reading of the text also makes sense of the sacrifice brought by Abel, even though we would not go so far as to implicate God in the slaying of the first beasts who died to give their skins so that Adam and Eve might be dressed.

Upon first reading, the "garments of skin" appear to be of little consequence to the developing denouement of the expulsion from Eden and to the broader context of the primeval history. Read now, as we have done, against the backdrop of these very contexts, this seeming minor detail reinforces the major lessons that stand as their foci. The fullness of God's complex relationship with man begins to be developed. Man's encounter with his mortality and the consequences of that encounter are played out before us.

THE TABERNACLE — A PSYCHO-THEOLOGICAL ENTERPRISE

BY JEFFREY M. COHEN

Nestling amid all the practical details governing the design, materials and positioning of all the components of the desert sanctuary, is one short verse, comprising a mere five words which are, nevertheless, the veritable crux of the whole of Judaism:

ועשו לי מקדש — *And they shall make for Me a sanctuary*

ושכנתי בתוכם — *And I shall dwell in their midst* (Ex. 25:8)

Squeezed in after a request for donations of ram's skins, sealskins, acacia-wood, oil and onyx, this five word 'aside', or 'footnote' is surely one of the most exciting, challenging, and the most remarkable statements in the whole of the Torah.

ועשו לי מקדש — You, simple, sinful, mortals, make for Me a dwelling, ושכנתי בתוכם – And I, the great All-powerful, All-wise, All-seeing, Immortal God, will come and dwell among you. I will seek your proximity; I will court your fellowship; I will crave your attention, and your love.

These five words altered the course of history. They removed the concept of God from the realm of the distant, the transcendent, the capricious God of mythology; and they brought Him into a personal, intimate, immanent relationship which would invest life with meaning, sanctity and significance, and which would offer man the hope and assurance that not only is he not alone, but that God is as much in search of man as man is — or should be — in search of God.

So why, then, did this 'revelation' come so late in the Divine-Israelite encounter? Surely its place was earlier, either as a promise when they were still in Egypt, or at least as an introduction to the Sinaitic Revelation itself. In Egypt, God told the people merely that ולקחתי אתכם לי לעם והייתי לכם לאלהים *I shall take you to Me as a people, and I shall be to you* as a God (Ex. 6:7). 'A God' —

Rabbi Dr. Jeffrey M. Cohen is the Rabbi of Stanmore & Canons Park Synagogue, London, and lecturer at Jew's College. He has written five books, the most recent one "Horizons of Jewish Prayer." A book of his collected biblical and contemporary essays was published in 1988.

something remote, aloof, unknowable, mysterious. That is all the Israelites were offered for the future. And at Sinai, it was no different: ויאמר ה' אל משה כה תאמר אל בני ישראל אתם ראיתם כי מן השמים דברתי עמכם *And God said to Moses: So you shall say to the children of Israel, 'you yourself have seen that it was* from the heavens *that I spoke to you* (Ex. 20:19). God is still in heaven. He is not yet prepared to leave His celestial fortress to dwell among men.

Israel, at the dawn of the Exodus, and at the Revelation some months later, was clearly not yet ready for the concept of a personal God, abiding in close proximity to man. It took time for God to "descend" from heaven down to earth; for the people to acclimatize to the notion that the God who rides the clouds can nevertheless be confined between the two staves of the Ark of the sanctuary. Hence, with consummate psychological insight, the Bible records God's command to concretize His presence, to build a sanctuary, a home for the Divine; and while being diverted into the practicalities of its construction, God slips in an idea that is so mind-boggling in its ramifications that it could only, truly, be assimilated and accepted superficially by people who were too busy concentrating on *how* and *what* they were to make, rather than on the unique use to which it would later be put, as a focus for divine-human proximity. That 'smuggled-in' idea was contained in the two words ושכנתי בתוכם, *And I shall dwell in their midst.*

The vessels of the sanctuary also aided, psychologically, the process of acclimatization to the theological notion of an immanent God. They helped bridge the gap between a God of heaven and a God on earth. They all helped to convey the notion that holiness is truly associated as much with the mundane, the domestic, the every-day pursuits and activities of man as it is with a sense of awe before the divine grandeur or in association with a ritual act infused with mystic symbolism.

What are those sacred utensils that helped bridge the celestial-terrestrial spiritual divide? They are certainly not obscure ritual objects, made out of rare materials, with strangely inscribed mystical incantations. They are, in fact, the ordinary objects you would expect to find in any residence throughout the ages. There was a *bookcase* containing the sacred literature — though more grandly referred to as an ארון, an Ark. Granted that it was exquisitely wrought in gold, with two engraved figurines on the top, called כרובים, cherubim; but in essence it was no more than a mere container for tablets, the equivalent of a modern

cabinet for displaying artifacts, or a bookcase. Nothing more than you would expect to find in any religious home. Even the cherubim, according to tradition, had the faces of a little boy and a little girl — precisely what one would expect to find gracing any family home. There was a table (שולחן), and its dishes (קערותיו), pans (כפותיו), jars (קשותיו) and bowls (מנקיותיו) — common-or-garden kitchen and dining-room utensils, albeit of solid gold. Then there was a candelabrum (מנורה), such as is required in any home, either in order to provide light by which to read the sacred books or to enable one to see to eat one's meal. There was also a wash-basin on a base (כיור וכנו), and there was a structure called a מזבח, or altar, for roasting the sacrificial foods and ingredients — the counterpart of the grill or stove found in any home. The structure of the sancuary, itself, was far from grand. It was nothing more than an enlarged tent with several enclosures.

The idea dawned gradually on the Israelites that God's 'house', which they were now constructing, differed little from their own. They were being gradually acclimatized to thinking of God as someone close, near and dear, for whose arrival and accommodation they were now preparing — in much the same way as they would for a friend, acquaintance, or member of the family. The sanctuary thus bridged the gap between heaven and earth. It enabled the Israelites to accept as feasible the incredible announcement: ושכנתי בתוכם — *I shall dwell in their midst.*

> Abraham J. Heschel wrote that the sanctuary "taught Israel that there is no conflict between God and man, no hostility between spirit and body, no wedge between the holy and the secular (or the domestic). It taught that man does not exist apart from God, and that the human is the borderline of the Divine... [It taught that] life passes on in proximity to the sacred, and it is this proximity that endows existence with ultimate significance... Even the satisfaction of physical needs can be a sacred act — eating, studying, washing our body, building and constructing edifices of the hands, or the mind... *(Man is not Alone,* p. 265).
>
> It also taught that the man-God encounter has an obverse side in the daily interactions between man and his neighbor, and that a simple home and its routine can be transformed into a blueprint for divine activity, and a place of hospitality for the divine visitor.

THE MULTIPLE FUNCTIONS OF "HOW" IN THE TANAKH

BY RONALD T. HYMAN

The word HOW (êkh אֵיךְ and its variations[1]) serves six main linguistic functions in the Tanakh, but not exactly with the frequencies which we modern speakers might expect based on today's Hebrew or English. HOW occurs only 83 times altogether in the Tanakh,[2] and this number includes the full range of uses in dialogue, lecture, narrative, prophesy, and poetry. This article will briefly explore the word HOW in terms of its multiple functions (focusing on HOW in Chapter 1 from II Samuel which is helpful in distinguishing among three of the six main functions).

INQUIRY KNOWLEDGE HOW

In both Hebrew and English one function of HOW is to elicit an explanation of some facts asserted to be true. For this reason, the question in dialogue which asks "How do you know?" follows a statement already made by another speaker. When used in this way, HOW serves the "inquiry knowledge" function. To illustrate the inquiry knowledge HOW, let us turn to II Samuel 1, recalling the events from the last chapter of I Samuel. King Saul was fighting the Philistines at Mount Gilboa. The battle went against Saul who realized that his end was near. After his aide refused to kill Saul at his own request, Saul fell upon his own sword and died. After several days a young man came to David who was in Ziklag following his own battle with the Amalekites. The young man, who came from Saul's camp with his clothes ripped, fell down before David. In dialogue form

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1   The six variations are: *ve ekh; ekha, ekho; ekhakha, ve-ekhakha* and *hekh* ואיך, איכה, איכו, איככה, ואיככה, היאך

2   This is infrequent compared to WHY (242 times) in its two forms of *lammah* and *maddua* — למה, מדוע.

Ronald Hyman is Professor of Educ. at Rutgers Univ. of the State of N.J. He is the author of, among others, Strategic Questioning (1979) and School Administrator: Faculty Supervision Handbook (1986), Prentice Hall.

between David and the young man, II Samuel 1:3–10, is as follows:

David: Where have you come from?

Young Man: I escaped from the camp of Israel.

David: What happened there? Pray tell me.

Young Man: Many people fled the battle; many have fallen dead; and Saul and Jonathan his son have also died.

David: HOW do you know that Saul and Jonathan his son have died?

Young Man: I happened by chance to be on Mount Gilboa and saw Saul leaning on his sword. And the chariots and horsemen were pressing down upon him. When he looked behind him, he saw me and called to me. I answered, "Here I am." Then he said to me, "Who are you?" And I answered, "I am an Amalekite." Then he said to me, "Stand, please, beside me and kill me because agony has taken hold of me; because there is little life left in me." So I stood beside him and killed him because I knew that he would not live much longer at all. Then I took the crown from his head and the bracelet from his arm. And I have brought them here, my lord.

At the beginning of the dialogue it is not clear whether David is aware of Saul's death. In any case, David proceeds to ask three questions, all of them for inquiry. This is appropriate since he wishes to learn about the unexpected arrival of the young man. First, David asks about the young man himself in terms of the context of his sudden appearance. Then, upon learning that the young Amalekite was with Saul, David asks about the situation concerning Saul at Mount Gilboa. Finally, upon hearing of Saul's death David uses the inquiry knowledge HOW to ask his question, "How do you know that Saul and Jonathan his son have died?" This is the only such dialogue question in the entire Tanakh.[3]

At this point it is not clear whether David is inquiring in order to confirm the statement about Saul's death or whether he is challenging the young man. It only becomes clear that the question is inquiring for knowledge when we later read of David's reaction to the young man's response. The HOW question appropriately

3 The two other instances of the inquiry knowledge function do not occur in dialogue. See Deuteronomy 18:21 and Psalms 73:11.

flows from the previous two questions and their answers. Indeed, this is the way we commonly use HOW today and what we expect to find in dialogue. Note that the young Amalekite fields the question as one of inquiry and in so doing presents a conflicting account of Saul's death — suicide by falling on his own sword (I Samuel 31:4) versus euthanasia at the hands of the young man (II Samuel 1:9–10). This contradiction may be the motivation for the fourth question by David later on.

EXPRESSIVE RHETORICAL HOW

David's inquiry knowledge HOW contrasts sharply with his second use of HOW. After hearing of Saul's death, apparently for the first time, David ripped his clothes, as did all of his men. David's entire camp wailed, cried, and fasted until the evening time. Thus, David's mood has changed. Whereas David was elated by his own victory over the Amalekites (I Samuel 30), he has become saddened by the defeat and death of Saul and Jonathan, his dear friend.

Finally, David again speaks to the young man. In dialogue form, II Samuel 1:13–14 is as follows:

David: From which place do you come?

Young man: I am the son of an Amalekite stranger.

David: HOW were you not afraid to put forth your hand to destroy the
                Lord's anointed?

With his second HOW question David is not inquiring at all. David is expressing anger and disapproval of the young man's behavior. Within the context of this passage it is clear that David does not expect a response to his question. When used in this second way, HOW serves the "expressive rhetorical" function. With an expressive rhetorical HOW question a speaker shows his feelings, such as anger, despair, surprise, or anguish. He asks but expects no answer. David does not receive even one word of response because the Amalekite understands that with this question, unlike the previous four, no response is expected.

The very structure of David's question gives a clue that David is using HOW to express his feelings rather than to inquire. David was in effect saying something like, "You should have been afraid to kill Saul with your sword

because he was our king anointed by the Lord. You have done a horrible thing by killing Saul."[4]

Moreover, in his fourth response the young man confirms that he is an Amalekite, a member of a nation which traditionally has been an enemy of the Israelites since the time of Moses (Exodus 17:8–16). Thus, anger, a sense of obligation to fulfill the commandment in Deuteronomy 25:19 to "blot out" the Amalekites, and a desire for revenge arise within David in addition to his feelings of sadness and personal grief. David acts upon the strong emotions which have overtaken him by commanding one of his aides to kill the young man.

POETIC-PROPHETIC HOW

David, once he has his revenge, begins to lament the deaths of Saul and Jonathan. In his famous lamentation David uses HOW in yet a third way and does so three times. Beginning with II Samuel 1:19 David poetically laments the fallen heroes and in the very first verse says:

> *The beauty, O Israel, is slain upon your high place!*
> *HOW have the mighty fallen!*[5]

David repeats this use of HOW in verses 25 and 27 to end his lamentation, which in turn ends Chapter 1 of II Samuel.

David surely is not using HOW to serve an inquiry knowledge function – to seek an explanation concerning the deaths of Saul and Jonathan in battle. Nor is he using HOW to ask an expressive rhetorical question because the Amalekite is already slain at David's command. Nor is he addressing anyone in particular. Rather, David is expressing his emotion of deep sorrow to everyone. He is using HOW to express his grief over losing Saul and his friend Jonathan whom he considers his brother and whose love was "pleasant" and "wonderful" (verse 26).

When used in this third way, HOW serves the "expressive poetic/prophetic" function, so named because it occurs most notably in poetry and prophesy in the

4   Other instances of the expressive rhetorical function include Genesis 44:34 and Judges 16:15.

5   Note that the English translation of Jewish Publication Society generally uses an exclamation point with the expressive poetic/prophetic function of HOW to distinguish it clearly from the expressive rhetorical HOW.

Tanakh.[6] David, as poet, is exclaiming, not asking. The context of David's statement about "the mighty" and the structure of the sentence in the positive rather than the negative form (as in his fifth question to the Amalekite) clearly indicate that David is using HOW differently from before. He uses HOW to serve a poetic function. Indeed, his emotion is so strong that he repeats his exclamation twice. Thus, David in verses 19, 25, and 27 uses HOW to exclaim his deeply felt sorrow and pain. All of this appears within one single passage of the Tanakh; three separate functions occur within fifteen verses. This is the only single passage in the Tanakh containing more than one function of HOW.

INQUIRY SEQUENCE HOW

While Chapter 1 of II Samuel provides examples of three functions of HOW, we must turn to other parts of the Tanakh to locate the three other main functions. HOW, as we expect, also serves the function of seeking an explanation of an event in terms of the sequence of prior actions which led or will lead up to that event. When used in this fourth way, HOW serves the "inquiry sequence" function in that it explains the way an event came about or will come about. To illustrate this function let us turn to Judges 19 and 20. There a certain Levite had traveled to retrieve his wife who had returned to her father's house in Judah. After finally succeeding, the Levite started his return trip. However, he was beset by some base, perverted men from the tribe of Benjamin who abused his wife until she died. Subsequently, the children of Israel congregated at Mizpah. They met the Levite and asked him about his dead wife (Judges 20:3–7).

Children of Israel: HOW did this wickedness come about?

Levite: I came to Gibeah which belongs to Benjamin with my wife to lodge
overnight. The men of Gibeah rose up against me and surrounded the
house where I was staying at night. They wanted to kill me but instead
raped my wife so badly that she died. Then I took my wife, cut her into

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6   Two other well known instances of the expressive poetic/prophetic function occur in Psalms 137:4 and Lamentations 1:1. See also the comment of Hillers on HOW. He contends that to begin with HOW is "the traditional way of beginning a poem which depicts a striking change from virtue to vice... The effect is to make of what follows an incredulous quest... an expression of the speaker's astonishment, grief, or indignation at what has happened." Delbert R. Hillers, *The Anchor Bible: Lamentations* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1972) p. 10.

> pieces, and sent them to all parts of Israel because these men have committed lewdness and abomination in Israel. Tell me, children of Israel, what do you advise?

The children of Israel seek an explanation about the wife's death with their HOW question and receive one. They seek one not in terms of cause and effect (WHY?) but in terms of the sequence of events which led to her death. The husband responds in four verses, using only three to explain what it takes the narrator all thirty verses of Judges 19 to relate. The husband uses his fourth verse to prod his countrymen into retributory action, and he succeeds.

EXPLANATORY HOW

In its fifth function HOW is used simply to indicate that a sequence of actions will occur or has already occurred. The speaker indicates or describes a sequence. To illustrate the "indicative explanatory" function, as the fifth function is called, let us turn to Ruth 3.

Naomi and Ruth are talking together after Ruth's return from being with Boaz in the threshing room. Ruth tells her mother-in-law all that has happened with Boaz. Finally, Naomi, the experienced and wise woman, advises Ruth in 3:18.

> Naomi: Sit, my daughter, until you know HOW the matter will develop because the man will not rest quietly until he has finished this matter today.

Naomi does not explain what will develop. She only indicates with an indicative explanatory HOW that certain actions will occur. These actions themselves will explain how Boaz feels about Ruth and his role as redeemer of a widowed member of his family.

We find a similar use of HOW in II Kings 17:28. The narrator uses HOW to indicate that a sequence of events has occurred. In describing how the foreign settlers brought to Samaria by the king of Assyria learned about God, the narrator uses the indicative explanatory HOW.

> Narrator: So, one of the priests whom they had exiled from Samaria came and dwelled in Bethel; he taught them HOW to fear the Lord.

LOGICAL CONCLUSION HOW

There is also a sixth and often unrecognized linguistic function of HOW in the Tanakh which occurs most notably in dialogue. With this function of HOW the

speaker draws a conclusion based on the preceding facts he has already stated. When used in this way, HOW serves the "logical conclusion" function. Two examples will illustrate the logical conclusion function. Let us turn first to Genesis 39.

Joseph has been working in the house of Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh who bought Joseph from the Ishmaelites. Joseph has become the trusted overseer of Potiphar's house and has attracted the eye of Potiphar's wife. The wife seeks to seduce Joseph and says to him, "Lie with me" (39:7). Joseph refuses. He states vigorously that Potiphar has put him completely in charge of the entire house, and that Potiphar has held back nothing from Joseph except his wife. Then Joseph in 39:9 concludes with, "So, HOW can I do this great wickedness and sin against God."

Joseph is not inquiring at all for an explanation from Potiphar's wife about how to betray Potiphar and God. He has already refused her overture. Nor is Joseph using the expressive rhetorical or expressive poetic / prophetic HOW mainly to convey his feeling about the attempted seduction. Rather, given his preceding statements, and given his use of the *ve ekh* ואיך variation of HOW, it is best to consider that Joseph is drawing a logical conclusion based on those stated facts. Though it might be possible to claim that Joseph is using the expressive rhetorical, it is better to consider such a use of HOW as a separate and distinct function of HOW, the logical conclusion function. That is, it follows from what Joseph has said that *therefore,* Joseph cannot lie with Potiphar's wife and thereby sin against God.

Another illustration of the logical conclusion function occurs in Genesis 44:8. Joseph has sent his steward to put Joseph's goblet in Benjamin's sack as the brothers prepare to return home to Canaan. The steward overtakes the brothers on their journey home and accuses them of ingratitude and theft.

Steward: Why have you repaid evil for good? (Why have you stolen the goblet from which my lord drinks and from which he does divining). You have done evil by your actions.

The Brothers: My lord, why do you speak such words? Far be it from your servants to do such a thing. Behold, the money which we found in our sacks we returned to you from the land of Canaan. So, HOW could we steal silver or gold from your lord's house.

The brothers use HOW to draw the conclusion based on the stated fact that they have returned the easily disposable money they found. *Therefore,* they could not steal Joseph's goblet. Indeed, given the context, it is a valid and true conclusion. Once again, there is a preceding factual situation and the use of the *ve ekh* variation of HOW to indicate the logical conclusion function.

SUMMARY   ----

In summary, there are six main[7] functions of HOW in the Tanakh: the inquiry knowledge; the expressive rhetorical; the expressive poetic/prophetic; the inquiring sequence; the indicative explanatory; and the logical conclusion. In dialogue between speakers there are few occurrences of the inquiry knowledge and the inquiry sequence functions, contrary to what we modern speakers might expect. Most speakers in the Tanakh use HOW to express an emotional tone either through the expressive rhetorical or the expressive poetic/prophetic function of HOW. There are even more instances of the logical conclusion function than there are instances of the two inquiry functions. In contrast, today's speakers use the two inquiry functions of the word HOW with the greatest frequencies.

Though the uses of HOW in the Tanakh are not unfamiliar — because we use HOW in similar ways in our modern languages — the frequencies of the various uses are not what we might expect from books in which there is considerable dialogue among speakers. Nor is it clear just why there is less use of HOW than WHY in that both words can seek an explanation when used in the inquiry manner and both can be used to express emotional tones when used in the expressive rhetorical manner.[8] In short, HOW appears in several variations in the Tanakh, with six main linguistic functions, and with frequencies unlike those in modern language usage. Perhaps this fact is but one small indication of the subtle ways in which our use of language has changed over time.

7   There are two minor uses of HOW. In Song of Songs 1:7 and II Kings 6:13 HOW appears to be used as a synonym for WHERE. In Genesis 26:9 it can be argued that Isaac responds to Abimelech's HOW question as if it were a WHY question. On the other hand, it is also possible to show that the logical conclusion HOW is what Abimelech intended.

8   For more on WHY see Ronald T. Hyman, "Questions and the Book of Ruth," *Hebrew Studies* 24 (1983):17–25; "Fielding WHY Questions in Genesis," *Hebrew Annual Review,* 11(1988):73–83.

THREE NUANCES OF SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

ידע — בא אל — שכב עם

BY J. P. van der WESTHUIZEN

INTRODUCTION

The object of this study shall be to determine if the moral connotation of the terms יָדַע, בָּא־אֶל and שָׁכַב־עִם implies the legal status of the feminine (or second) partner in a sexual relationship and what that status is.

Apparently there were certain sexual relationships, not only between two male partners, but also between a male and a female partner, which were regarded as wrong. As an example we quote I Chr. 5:1 ...*Reuben the first-born of Israel for he was the first-born; but, because he polluted his father's couch, his birthright was given to the sons of Joseph, the son of Israel, so that he is not enrolled in the genealogy according to the birthright.*

To bring us into the sphere of the theme of this study, in which we shall treat the three basic terms used to indicate the sexual act, as well as to verify the fact that there is a sexual relationship approved by the Lord, we would cite the following text (Gen. 1:28): *And God blessed them and God said to them, be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it.*

The implication of this command is that there should be a method of fulfilling it. The method, that is the sexual act, which results or could result in this multiplication of the human race, is commonly expressed by the following three terms יָדַע to know, בָּא־אֶל to go in, שָׁכַב עִם to sleep with. The non-sexual connotations these terms may have are not pertinent to our enquiry. Although the three words correspond in meaning in the general sense of sexual intercourse and are often translated by the same English word, it would appear that certain nuances exist by which one term should be distinguished from the other.

In order to determine the precise nature of these nuances, we shall investigate a

Prof. J. P. van der Westhuizen is Associate Professor in the Department of Semitics at the University of South-Africa in Pretoria. Responsibilities include the teaching of Biblical Hebrew to graduate and post-graduate students, Akkadian / Assyriology and Sumerian to post-graduate students.

few representative examples in context of each of these terms as found in the Bible. The method of approach shall be to first give the examples selected for each of the terms, with some preliminary brief comments, and then discuss the observations and draw some conclusions.

HE KNEW — ידע

    a)   Gen. 4:1, 17 and 25

        1) *Now Adam knew Eve his wife, ...*יָדַע אֶת חַוָּה

        2) *Cain knew his wife and she bore Enoch, ...*וַיֵּדַע אֶת

        3) *And Adam knew his wife again* [1], וַיֵּדַע אֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ

According to present-day concepts יָדַע could be interpreted as a "euphemistic" use for sexual intercourse but whether this was the case with the different biblical authors cannot be confirmed without a doubt. [2]

It is also a fact that יָדַע implies more than just merely sexual intercourse. [3]

b) Gen. 19:8 *I have two daughters who have not known man...* לֹא יָדְעוּ אִישׁ. In this incident we have a case of proposed sexual aberration which Lot attempted to prevent by offering his two daughters to the men of Sodom for sexual relationships. [4] It is apparent that some of the citizens of Sodom gathered around Lot's home with the obvious intent of sexually abusing the visitors so as to satisfy their homosexual desires, and that Lot was willing to jeopardize the honor and purity of his own two daughters. [5]

c) Gen. 38:26 (cf. also Gen. 38:8, 9, 16, and 18 below): *Then Judah acknowledged them and said, she is more righteous than I... and he did not lie with her again* ולֹא יסף לדעתה. It is quite clear that at this stage Tamar's pregnancy by Judah is sanctioned, the reason for the use of לְדַעְתָּה from יָדַע It is important to note that after Judah had accepted full personal responsibility for

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  1 Skinner, John, 1969, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis,* ICC, Edinburgh, T & T. Clark, p. 101.

  2 Von Rad, Gerhard, 1972. *Das Erste Buch Mose, Genesis, Göttingen,* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, at Gen. 4, 1, 17 and 25.

  3 Aalders, G. Ch. 1981. *Genesis Vol. I* Grand Rapids, Michigan. (Transl. William Heynen) pp. 117f. and 129.

  4 Skinner, op. cit. p. 307 and Von Rad, op. cit. at Gen. 19:5 and 8.

  5 Aalders, op. cit. Vol. II, p.15; Rahlfs, op. cit. at Gen. 19:5 and 8.

Tamar's unborn child, any future actual or potential sexual relationship between them is referred to by using a form of the verb יָדַע[6].

d) I Kings 1:4 (Abishag the Shunamite with David), *But the king knew her not* — לֹא יְדָעָהּ. The fact remains, so it would seem, that because the king (David) had no sexual intercourse with Abishag, she never became a wife to the king. It is therefore clear that Solomon used Adonijah's request, viz., to have Abishag as wife, as a justified excuse for him to get rid of Adonijah (I Kings 2:17–24).[7]

Other texts referred to, but not discussed, where the same connotation of the verb is revealed, are Gen. 24:16; Num. 31:17 and 18; Jud. 21:11 and 12 and I Sam. 1:19.

From all the texts considered in context as well as from scholarly views it would appear that wherever the verb יָדַע is used to describe the sexual relationship between a man and a woman, it refers to a sexual relationship accepted and approved by the community. The exception is Gen. 19:5, in which יָדַע refers to sexual relationships not approved, and to which we will return later (Observations: e).

בֹּא אֶל – GO–IN

a) Gen. 16:2: *Go in to my maid* (Hagar) בֹּא־נָא אֶל שִׁפְחָתִי.

The fact that the female partner in this proposed sexual relationship is a maid שִׁפְחָה could be a determining factor in the use of the term בָּא־אֶל to indicate this relationship.

It would appear that שִׁפְחָה originally had the connotation of slave-concubine, and the question is whether the purpose of presenting a newly-married woman with a שִׁפְחָה may not have been a "justified" accepted means to provide for the event of the marriage being childless. In this case, however, there is no question of אהב or any other type of affection.[8]

6 Von Rad, op. cit p. 295, Skinner, op. cit. p. 455 and Aalders, op. cit. p. 196.

7 Brongers, N. A. 1967, I Konigen, *De Prediking van het Oude Testament,* Uitgeverij G. F. Callenbach, N. V. Nijkerk, p.21; Gray, John, 1970 I & II Kings, A Commentary, *The Old Testament Library,* SCM Press Ltd. London, at I Kings 1:1–5.

8 Skinner, op. cit. p. 206, Van Rad, op. cit. p. 148 also Keil, C. F. and Delitzsch, F. 1951. *Biblical Commentary on the Penteauch,* (Transl, James Martin), Grand Rapids, Michigan, at Gen. 16:2.

b) Gen. 19:31 (The daughters of Lot): *And there is not a man on earth to come in to us after the manner of all the earth* — לָבוֹא עָלֵינוּ.

Note that on the occasion when Lot wanted to present his daughters to the men of Sodom he said of them that they had not known (ידע) a man (Gen. 19:8). The daughters, however, when describing their own prospects of any sexual experience or relationships in general, use בָּא־עַל (for בָּא־אֶל).

c) Gen. 29:23 (Jacob and Leah): *and he went in to her* — ויבא אליה.

It should be noted that even with Rachel, Jacob's sexual relationship is described by the term בא־אל (v. 30). This is so because the author of this first love story in the Bible could not interpret Jacob's sexual acts with the two sisters as of such a nature that he could use the term ידע. In the case of Leah the 'love factor' was absent altogether (Gen. 29:18) and in the case of Rachel, she was regarded as the 'second wife'.[9]

d) Gen. 30:3 and 4 (Rachel's barrenness):

1) *Here is Bilhah; go in to her* — בא אליה

2) *and Jacob went in to her...* ויבא אליה and Bilhah bore Jacob a son (v.5). The situation is similar to the one in Gen. 16:2 where the slave-concubine is a type of surrogate mother.[10]

e) Gen. 38:8, 9, 16 and 18 (Tamar and the levirate obligation). Cf. also to 38:2b above.

1) *Go in to your brother's wife* — בא אֶל אֵשֶׁת אָחִיךָ.

2) *When he went in to his brother's wife* — אִם בָּא אֶל אֵשֶׁת אָחִיו.

3) *Let me come in to you... ...that you can come in to me* אָבוֹא אֵלַיִךְ... כִּי ...תָבוֹא אֵלָי.

4) *And went in to her and she conceived by him* — וַיָּבֹא אֵלֶיהָ.

This episode in Genesis could be regarded as the most complete working out of the motif of sexual mis-taking. Regarding the Levirate obligation, the fact is that the widowed woman is not the brother's actual wife and therefore there is no question of אהב.[11]

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9 For a more detailed discussion of this episode of Jagendorf Zvi. 1984. "In the morning behold it was Leah" *Prooftexts — A Journal of Jewish Literary History, p. 189;* Aalders, op. cit. p. 115.

10 Von Rad. op. cit. p. 237 and Aalders, op. cit p. 117.

11 Jagendorf. op. cit. pp. 190f, Aalders, op. cit. pp. 193–195, Von Rad, op. cit. pp. 290–293 and Skinner, op. cit. pp. 451–452.

We observe that whilst Tamar is thought to be a prostitute, the term used for a man having a sexual relationship with her is בָּא־אֵל. However, as soon as Judah accepts full personal responsibility for his conduct with her, this sexual relationship is by implication regarded as that of "knowing a woman sexually (יָדַע) because it is said *and he no more... knew her* (Gen. 38:26).   ...וְלֹא יָסַף לְדַעְתָּהּ.[12]

f) Deut. 22:13, *If a man takes a wife and goes in to her,* — וּבָא אֵלֶיהָ.

It would perhaps be better to translate "If a man takes a woman and goes in to her/has intercourse with her" considering the two acts executed by the man, viz going in to her and then afterwards spurning her by calling her "this woman". All the facts relating to this incident show that it was not a marriage in the true sense of the word.[13]

g) Deut. 25:5 *...Her husband's brother shall go in to her* יָבֹא עָלֶיהָ.

The legislation regarding the levirate marriage, a very old practice in the Ancient Near East, is peculiar to the presentation of the law in Deuteronomy, whence it is given legal authority in the covenant community of Israel. It is an obligation prescribed by law which must be adhered to. This implies that most probably there is no question of marriage as such and neither did the brother have any say in the matter.[14]

h) II Sam. 16:21 (Absalom and the concubines of David). *Go in to your father's concubines...* — בֹּא אֶל־פִּלַגְשֵׁי אָבִיךְ.

Regarding the term בּוֹא אֶל read as "lie with," it actually has the connotation "to cohabit with." The lying with the king's concubines, meant taking over the royal harem, and as such, the appropriation of the throne. It is, however, neither a case of marriage based on אָהַב nor is it a case of actual prostitution.[15]

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12   Cf. also to Jagendorf, op. cit. p. 191 who propounds that Tamar knew how to exploit the natural weakness of her man by playing the degrading part of a loose woman at the roadside.

13   Craigie, Peter, 1976, *The Book of Deuteronomy,* Grand Rapids, Michigan, at Deut. 22:13 and Thompson, J. A. 1974. *Deuteronomy — An Introduction and Commentary,* Inter-Varsity Press, London.

14   Craigie, op. cit. pp. 313–314 and Thompson, op. cit. pp. 250–251.

15   Keil, C. F. and Delitzsch, F. 1950. *Biblical Commentary — The Books of Samuel.* Grand Rapids, Michigan, pp. 301 and 428.McKane William, 1963. *I and II Samuel, Introduction and Commentary,* SCM Press, London p. 257.

LIE WITH – שכב

a) Gen. 19:23, 33.

   1) *Come let us make our father drink wine, and we will lie with him* וְנִשְׁכְּבָה עִמוֹ.

   2) *And the first-born went in and lay with her father...* וַתִּשְׁכַּב אֶת אָבִיהָ .

It is clear that Lot's two daughters devised a plan whereby they would be able to have sex with their father, in this way hoping to have children to carry on the family. This implies participating in a sexual relationship entirely immoral, neither based on any type of affection nor prescribed by any law.

b) Gen. 30:15, 16.

   1) *Then he may lie with you* – יִשְׁכַּב עִמָּךְ

   2) *So he lay with her* – וַיִּשְׁכַּב עִמָּה.

It is obvious, on reading v. 17 וַתַּהַר וַתֵּלֶד בֵּן and she conceived and bore a son, that the term שָׁכַב עִם in the above instance refers to sexual intercourse.

c) Gen. 35:22 (Reuben and Bilhah). (Cf. also Lev. 18:8, 20:11 and Deut. 23:1). ...*Reuben went and lay with Bilhah his father's concubine*– וישכב את בלהה.

Considering Lev. 18:8, 20:11 and Deut. 23:1, it is quite clear that Reuben's conduct in this case could not be approved of.[16]

d) Gen. 39:7, 10, 12 (Joseph and the wife of Potiphar).

   1) *Lie with me* – שִׁכְבָה עִמִּי.

   2) *To lie with her to be with her* – לִשְׁכַּב עִמָּה לִהְיוֹת אֶצְלָה.

   3) *Lie with me* – שִׁכְבָה עִמִּי.

We here have a description of how the unfaithful wife attempted to seduce a handsome young male slave, who strongly resisted her enticement. Joseph found it unthinkable to give in to the seduction of his master's wife because in doing so he would sin against God. Though Potiphar's wife continued to lure Joseph to make love to her, he did not succumb. There existed no legal or moral approval for such a sexual relationship.[17]

e) Ex. 22:15 (Laws concerning the property of a neighbor).

...*If a man seduces a virgin... and lies with her* וְשָׁכַב עִמָּה. In this case, since a man has taken a girl (the property of her father), without paying the bridal price,

16 Von Rad, op. cit. p. 278. Jacob, B., 1974. *Genesis*, Ktav Publ. House, Inc. New York, U.S.A, p. 239 and

17 Aalders, op. cit. p. 202; Skinner, op. cit. p. 458 and Von Rad, op. cit. p. 299.

he is compelled to pay this price. In addition, he must acknowledge and take the girl as his wife. [18]

f) Lev. 18:22 and 20:13.

You shall not lie with a male as with a woman וְאֶת זָכָר לֹא תִשְׁכַּב מִשְׁכְּבֵי אִשָּׁה

If a man lies with a male as with a woman — וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכַּב אֶת זָכָר מִשְׁכְּבֵי אִשָּׁה.

The above two texts are the only ones which specify that homosexual acts between males are prohibited; 20:13 also stipulates the punishment for this prohibited sexual relationship. [19]

g) Deut. 22:22, 23, 25, 28, 29 deals with sexual relation with married woman, young girl in city or field engaged / not engaged. In each of these cases the term שכב — lie with — is used. Adultery and rape are the offences discussed in this section.

Once again there is no question of אָהַב or any type of affection accompanying the sexual relationships or acts scrutinized in these texts in Deut. [20]

h) II Sam. 13:11 and 14 (Amnon's abuse of Tamar):

1) *Come lie with me* (my sister) — שִׁכְבִי עִמִּי.

2) (he forced her), *and lay with her* וַיִּשְׁכַּב אֹתָהּ.

The incident described in this section, particularly noting Tamar's plea when she calls such a deed "wanton folly" and asks "Where could I carry my shame?" is a clear-cut case of rape. [21]

With this we come to the end of this section in which we have quoted and commented on examples of the uses of the three terms in a sexual connotation.

OBSERVATIONS

a. We introduce this section by referring to several biblical records which

18   Cole, Alan R., 1973. Exodus — *An Introduction and Commentary*, Tyndale Press, London, at Ex. 22:15. Childs, Brevard S. 1962. *Exodus — A Commentary*, B SCM Press, London, at Ex. 22:16.

19   Maarsingh, op. cit. p. 157 and Gispen, op. cit. pp. 270 and 295.

20   Craigie, op. cit. pp. 293–295 and Driver, S. R. 1960. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, Edinburgh, Scotland, pp. 257–258.

21   Goslinga C. J. 1962. *Het Tweede Boek Samuel*, Commentaar op het Oude Testament, Kampen, Nederland, pp. 237 and 238 and Vonk, C. 1976. *I en II Samuel*, Barendrecht, Nederland, p. 354.

further illustrate our theme. In Gen. 19:8 it is stated that the daughters of Lot have not known man לֹא יָדְעוּ אִישׁ. When we read of the next stage in their lives in Gen. 19:31, they express concern that they might not have any descendants because there is no man *to come on* [in] *to them* לבוא עלינו. And in the first act of the final stage of their life story, Gen. 19:32–35, they decide, so as to provide offspring for themselves, to take matters into their own hands and to sleep with their father (ונשכבה עמו). Thus, also in this instance where a prohibited act or relationship with reference to sexual intercourse is concerned, שכב with עם or את is used.

b. Next we turn to the Sarai-Hagar incident in Gen. 16:2. Although it is not specifically stated, it may be assumed that Abram *knew his wife Sarai* (ידע את אשתו) but she bore him no children. Sarai, so as to rectify this in her own way, does not propose that Abram should know her maid, but tells him to go in to her maid בא נא אל שפחתי.

c. Then there is the Judah-Tamar episode. In each instance, whilst Tamar pretended to be a harlot, whenever reference was made to sexual relationship between Judah and Tamar, i.e. Gen. 38:16 and 18, the term בא־אל is used. The expected term, however, in the case of prostitution, should have been שכב עם/את. But due to the actual circumstances of this case, which lead to the action taken by Tamar, the author was persuaded not to regard this as a real or actual case of prostitution. Yet, when her actions were "legalized", i.e. Judah admitting parental responsibility, any further possible potential sexual relationship between her and Judah, now a widower, (in 38:12 it is stated that his wife had died), was indicated by the term ידע as in Gen. 38:26.

d. On referring to the Leah-Rachel controversy, we note that in all the cases where a sexual relationship between Jacob and his wives or their personal slaves is mentioned, viz, Gen. 29:23, 30; 30:3, 4, (when Rachel gives her maid Bilhah to Jacob for the sake of procreation), the term בוא אל is used. However, in the case where a price is involved for the opportunity to have a sexual relationship with Jacob, Gen. 30:15 and 16, the incident being on a par with prostitution, the term שכב is used. Also when Reuben has a sexual relationship with Bilhah, his father's concubine, the term שכב is used. This is so because the son may not take his father's wife or concubine as a wife or concubine to himself whilst his father is still alive, even though she may be a maid (Deut. 22:30).

e. In Genesis 19:5 we observe the term ידע — ונדעה אותם... *where are the men who came to you... that we may know them...* being used for an obvious act of sexual aberration. However, in the laws concerning this type of sexual relationship (cf. Lev. 18:22, 20:13) the term שכב־עם is used. Thus for the same malpractice two different terms are used. How is this to be explained? The only possible answer we could give to this question is that sodomy, as practised by the inhabitants of Sodom was regarded as a justified, acknowledged practice and was therefore indicated by the term ידע by the author of this incident as recorded in Genesis. On the other hand, sodomy was denounced in the Torah as a great sin, being illegal and immoral and consequently condemned in Israel, hence the use of the term שכב את/עם to describe this act is recorded in Leviticus.

THE TESTAMENT OF JACOB
AN ANALYSIS OF GEN. 49:18

BY HERBERT RAND

Jacob, a many-sided man, had lived an eventful life. *Few and evil have been the days of my life,* he confided to the Pharaoh on arriving in Egypt.

At the instigation of his mother, Jacob, then a young man, had donned a disguise to resemble his elder brother, Esau. He perpetrated a cruel hoax on his aged, nearly-blind father in obtaining the blessing intended for Esau (Gen. 27:1–38). In Genesis 49, it is Jacob who has reached old age and is terminally ill. His twelve sons are gathered round his bed waiting to hear his testament and to receive his final blessing.

AN OBSCURE SENTENCE:

His declaration consisted of a complex poem of twenty-seven verses: it has been compared with The Song of Deborah and The Blessing of Moses.[1] Powerful in its symbolism and lyrical in style, the poem is so markedly different from Jacob's usual speech pattern that it presents a residual mystery. It reflects the outpouring of pent-up emotion, resentment against three of his sons, and the tension arising from his newly-acquired prophetic power to fortell the future of his sons as eponymous founders of the Twelve Tribes. Speiser states that the interpretation of that poem is "beset with great difficulties — replete with unfamiliar expressions and allusions."[2]

The greatest challenge to interpretation is to be found in verse 18. It appears in a hiatus sandwiched between the predictions for Dan and for Gad. The insertion reads: לִישׁוּעָתְךָ קִוִּיתִי ה', *I wait for your deliverance, O, Lord!*

The insertion is an abrupt change in the rythmic pattern of the poem and in the

1 Compare Gen. 49 with Judges 5 and Deut. 33.
2 Anchor Bible: Genesis, Speiser, p. 371.

Dr. Rand is an attorney-at-law who resides in Highland Park, New Jersey, U.S.A. He is the author of the monograph "Figure Vases in Ancient Egypt and Hebrew Midwives" (Israel Exploration Journal 1970). His articles on biblical interpretation, archaeology, and Judaica have appeared in Dor Le Dor and other publications.

continuity of its theme. In the prologue (verse 1), Jacob assembles his sons to tell them what will befall them in later days. But the insertion is unrelated to the prologue: it is a direct, dramatic plea to God on Jacob's own behalf.

Various commentators have suggested that Jacob at that point felt his strength fading and the need for a short break to recover; or that the insertion is a prophetic reference to sightless Samson and his agonized plea for strength to pull down the Philistine temple on himself and his tormentors; or as Jacob's prayer for the successful outcome of Dan's future conflicts; or as an allusion to the ultimate deliverance of the children of Israel. The insertion may also be perceived as a prophetic allusion to the deliverance from Egypt at the crossing of the Red Sea (Ex. 15:2).

Various Hebraists and exponents of the "Higher Criticism" have insisted that verse 18 makes sense only as a marginal note inserted in the exilic or post-exilic period and regard the insertion as a significant witness to critical biblical interpretation.

Since Rabbi Akiba taught that every word and letter in the Torah has a special meaning, I will propose yet another interpretation and suggest what may well have been Jacob's reasoning and motivation for the three (Hebrew) words which make up the insertion.

AN ETHICAL WILL: WEIGHING THE ALTERNATIVES

Jacob was faced with a difficult decision. He bore resentment against all his sons except Joseph and Benjamin. The brothers had been forgiven by Joseph but they had never sought a pardon from their father for the grievous wrong they had committed against him.

Right after the abduction, they had fabricated blood-stained evidence of Joseph's "death" and they were unmoved by their father's grief. Reuben, the first-born, should have exercised his authority to stop the violence to Joseph even before it began; and he could have dissociated himself from the act by informing his father so that Joseph could have been ransomed from slavery. In Jacob's eyes, all the sons of his concubines and of Leah were culpable; only Joseph had been loyal, keeping the interests of the family uppermost. But for Joseph, the family might not have been able to survive the famine in Canaan where they dwelt before coming to Egypt. Thanks to him, the family was settled on the choicest land, in Goshen, and were employed in the service of Pharaoh. Joseph's

magnaminous response to his brothers' expressions of remorse and his rejection of their offer to be his slaves marked him to be the best choice for leadership of the tribes.

Besides, Reuben had turned out to be a sleazy character; he had an illicit affair with Bilhah, Jacob's concubine, and tried to hide his misconduct from his father (Gen. 35:22). Simon and Levi were not to be trusted; their fierce and deceitful response to the marriage arrangement between Hamor and their sister, Dinah, marked them as uncontrollably violent and bloodthirsty (Gen. 34:1–31). Surely, Jacob had sufficient cause to cut them all out of his will and to limit the tribes to Joseph, and his two sons, and to Benjamin. In this, he would be following the pattern set by his grandfather, Abraham, who disregarded his other children to found his line on Isaac. Therefore, at a private session, Jacob formally adopted Ephraim and Manasseh so that they and their father, Joseph, could be the primary objects of his bounty. At the same time, he would be validating the youngsters as his direct heirs, their mother being the daughter of an Egyptian priest.

As he neared the close of his life, Jacob probably was thinking seriously of restricting his blessings to Joseph, his two sons, and to Benjamin. But he wondered, on further consideration, whether he should be the instrument to fulfill Joseph's dream that his brothers would bow down to him. As long as they continued to live in Egypt, his brothers would be subservient to Joseph; but what would happen when, as God had promised, the family would return to Canaan? Would it not then be torn by intrigue as the old jealousy resurfaced? Should he be the one to repeat the mistake he had made when he gave his favorite a coat of many colors and provoked a rift in the family? He recalled that at Beth-el, God had promised that his offspring would become a company of peoples; but was it within God's plan to exclude Joseph's brothers from being progenitors of the tribes? The revelation at Beth-el did not provide Jacob with a clear answer to that troubling question.

CONDEMNATION, PRAISE, AND INTROSPECTION

Finally, Jacob decided to condemn his three elder sons and to pick Judah, the next in line, to head the tribes. As spokesman and apologist for his guilt-laden brethren, Judah had argued manfully and with sincerity for the family before the Egyptian overlord (Joseph). Judah's earlier escapade with his daughter-in-law,

Tamar, who was disguised as a prostitute, showed that he was a man of his word; and he could be flexible when it appeared that his harsh decree was unjust (Gen. 38:1–26).

The moment of truth was at hand. Jacob began by excoriating his first-born, Reuben, — something he had been waiting to do for more than seventeen years. *Unstable as water, you do not possess the excellency; you went up to your father's bed and defiled it* (Gen. 49:3). Pointing his trembling finger at Reuben, he voiced his horror at the forbidden act: *He went up to my couch.*

Then he turned to confront Simon and Levi. Instead of a blessing, he gave them his malediction. He cursed their fierce anger, violence and self-will and predicted that they would be scattered in Israel.

Judah's turn was next. Jacob had nothing but praise for this son. He reversed the cycle of Joseph's preeminence and prophesied that all of the brothers would bow down to Judah.

RECALL AND REPENTANCE

In his predictions for Zebulun and Issachar, he used certain words that may have triggered recall in Jacob's memory of past events. In verse 13, the word ירכתו "his flank" could have served as a reminder of the blow to his hip sustained at the River Jabbok in his mysterious encounter with the "man" in the dead of the night.[3] And, when he described Issachar as one who crouches by the sheepfolds, a servant under taskwork, it echoed Jacob's hard life as a shepherd for Laban. In blessing Dan, the words issuing from Jacob's mouth could have prodded him into remembering long-forgotten events: the *snake that bites the 'horses' heel* עקבי־סוס contained the core of his own name, meaning "heel" or "supplanter": he had been born holding fast to his brother's heel (Gen. 25:26). *Dan shall judge his people,* he intoned. That statement was a warning that he himself would shortly be judged by the One whom his grandfather Abraham had referred to as *The Judge of all the earth.*

Subconsciously, Jacob may have identified himself with his father and his strong-minded mother. He had a dark side to his own nature which he had suppressed and kept long forgotten for more than one hundred years. Jung observed that "to cherish secrets and to restrain emotions are psychic

3   See "Twins in transition", Rand, *Dor Le Dor* Vol. XII No. 3:pp. 166–173.

misdemeanors for which we are finally visited with sickness. Part of the psychic cure is to find out once more what has been repressed and forgotten."[4]

Neither Jacob nor his father had ever spoken to the other afterwards about Jacob's brazen deception and the theft of Esau's blessing. Now, as Jacob thought to transfer the fruit of that misdeed to Joseph, an innocent beneficiary, his long-forgotten fraud, recalled from the hinterland of his mind, had returned to haunt him.

A CURE FOR SPIRITUAL SICKNESS

The words of Jeremiah aptly describe his predicament.

I was ashamed, even confounded because I did bear the reproach of my youth... The heart is deceitful above all things and exceedingly weak — who can know it? I, the Lord, search the heart; I try the reins, even to give every man according to his ways, according to the fruit of his doings (Jer. 31:1–18; 17:9, 10).

Remembering his transgressions, Jacob, who had grappled with God and with man, found it hard to grapple with death. His anxious quest for self-knowledge when his end was near resembles the Psalmist's elegy of the eternal sufferer:[5]

And now, Lord, for what do I wait? My hope is in thee... Deliver me from my transgressions; don't make me the reproach of the degraded... regard me not closely that I might take comfort before I go hence and cease to be.

Gathering his ebbing strength, Jacob cried: *I wait for thy deliverance, O, Lord,* the words he needed to relieve his soul of guilt and to pray for forgiveness. He continued with the benediction for Gad ending with the words יגד עקב *he shall droop upon their heel.* The word "heel" reminded him that misdeeds may be forgiven but not forgotten.

Just as a candle flickers wildly before it dies, Jacob was infused with just enough energy go finish blessing the rest of his sons. He reduced the role of Joseph to that of "prince among his brothers". He charged his sons to bury him in Canaan, lay back on his bed, and expired.

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4   *Modern Man in Search of a Soul.* C G. Jung. Eng. Trans. New York. 1933, p. 33 ff.
5   Ps. 39:8, 9, 14.

TRIED AND FORGIVEN

Jacob's plea for mercy and forgiveness had been granted. On the heavenly scales of justice, his responses to the other demands of his life outweighed his youthful peccadillo. The prior judgment given in his middle years at the River Jabbok: *You have struggled with God and men and have prevailed,* was merely interlocutory; it became the final decree at the end of his life.

REPETITIVE EVENTS AND PARALLELS

Literary analysis of the Jacob saga reveals a pattern of wrongful conduct, punishment, contrition, and forgiveness. That format has its parallel in the history of the Israelites during the time-frame covered by the Bible. Some of the salient features of Jacob's life foreshadow later events in the life of David.

David was a warrior: Jacob fought successfully with the sword and the bow (Gen. 48:22). David's three older sons, Amnon, Adonijah, and Absalom, were passed over or eliminated in choosing Solomon to succeed: Jacob bypassed his three older sons and picked Judah to lead the tribes. The motif of the rape of Dinah has its counterpart in the rape of David's daughter, Tamar, by her half-brother, Amnon. The story of Absalom supplanting his father in the harem echoes the sexual intimacy between Reuben and his father's concubine. David's favorite son was Absalom who could do no wrong in his father's eyes: Jacob had his darling Joseph. The accession of Solomon to the throne was engineered by his mother: Jacob's mother conceived the plot and directed the action by which her husband was fooled into preferring Jacob to Esau in the matter of the birthright; and neither David nor Jacob could control the violent propensities of their older sons.

Jacob's deathbed prayer (verse 18) is reflected in the daily life of his descendants. The traditional Siddur contains a prayer inherited from Jacob: לישעתך קוינו כל היום *Every day we wait for your salvation (deliverance).*

WERE JOB'S FRIENDS GENTILES?

BY YOSEF FREUND

The "gentileness" of Job's friends is assumed by Professor L. Corey (c.f. "The Paradigm of Job" *Dor Le Dor* XVII-2, Winter 1988/89) as a self-evident truth, based on several pillars:

1. The geographical setting of the narrative and the friends' speeches — the land of Edom.

2. The genealogy of the names of the three first friends.

3. The Edomites were gentiles and as such worshipped their local, tribal, or national deities.

4. The typical characteristics of the gentiles' religion are idolatry and polytheism.

5. According to the list of the Edomite dignitaries (Genesis, Chapter 36) these gentile Edomites are regarded as "descendants of Esau" (Corey, op. cit. p. 124), "the arch-enemy of Jacob from whom Job the Jew descended." (p. 126).

6. The Deity challenged by Job is termed, "El, Eloha" — אֵל אֱלֹהַ (i.e. God); the use of YHWH is sparse in this "wisdom book," and only appears in the prose narrative and in sporadic redactional remarks. Hence emerged the hypothesis that the Book of Job is an Edomite (i.e. non-Israeli) book. Among these hypotheses prominently figures the theory of an Aramaic original from which a Hebrew translation was prepared and later included in The Writings (i.e. Hagiographic).

These points will be examined here:

1. The geographical setting of the book is Edom, around Seir (Genesis 32:3 4, 36:8 et al.), a land bordered by the Arava Valley and the Israeli Negev in the west, the Valley of Zared and Moab in the north, one of the dry riverbeds sloping from the desert to the north-eastern shore of the Gulf of Eilat in the south (near the Saudi-Jordanian boundary of our days). The eastern outposts of the Edomite

Yosef Freund holds an M.A. (summa cum laude) degree in history from Tel Aviv University. For more than three decades he has published in "Beth Mikra" and in the Literary Supplement of "Davar". In 1985 he was elected to serve as the General Secretary of the Society for Biblical Research in Israel.

settlements were situated on the fringes of a vast desert. This eastern boundary was, in fact, never fixed nor stable. Shortly before the Exodus an Edomite kingdom was established in the Mount of Seir. Its inhabitants earned their livelihood from agriculture and the use of the vast pasture-lands for raising livestock herds; Edom also exploited its position astride the "Kings' highway" (Numbers 20:17), one of the most frequented international trade routes of the region. An additional important means of Edomite income was mineral resources. Copper ore concentrated in various spots off both sides of the Arava valley was mined and smelted. The book of Job abounds in references to these diverse occupations. Edomite epigraphy, not to speak of historiography, are non-existent. Hence the particular importance of archeological evidence, garnered and defined in the last three decades by our scientists in the Edomite mining centers of the Arava Valley.

2. Not all of Job's friends can be termed Edomites. Eliphaz the Temanite (Job 14:1) is named as Esau's firstborn among the "dukes of Edom." Teman was Eliphaz's son. (Genesis 36:10, 11; 15). Teman was an important town in Edom. (c.f. *Enc. Biblica* [Hebrew] VIII, p. 524-5). Proposals exist to identify Bildad the Shuhite with Bedad, one of the latter descendants of Esau (Genesis, 36:35). Attempts to identify the territorial connection between Edom and Zophar the Naamathite have brought unsatisfactory results.

The name of the youngest participant in the discussion (not used in Prof. Corey's argument) outrightly defies the gentile extraction theory of Job's friends.

The name of Elihu, son of Berachel the Buzite is spelled in two versions: אליהו, אליהוא meaning "the Lord is my God." The name of this speaker as well as his harsh, outspoken manner of speech suggest comparison with the great opponents of polytheistic practices in Israel. It is worthwhile to remember that the "Buzite" corresponds to the name of Ezekiel's father, Elihu, son of Barachel was certainly not a gentile.

3-4. Polytheism and idolatry are not an issue in the argument so thoroughly elaborated in the Book of Job. It is from their speeches that we learn that all of Job's friends were monotheists, although God did not approve of their kind of theology. They are not chastised on account of polytheism or idolatry, in sharp contrast to the Torah or the Books of the Prophets, where polytheistic (i.e. gentile) practices are a widely treated issue. This issue does not exist in the Book of Job. Those who diligently look for signs of polytheistic mythologies in our

Bible have discovered traces of such themes in the Book of Job in allusions to primeval forces worshipped as deities by some of the peoples who inhabited the lands of the Fertile Crescent; the sea-deities (Job 7:12, 26:12–13) or Tehom (ibid, 28:14). It should be pointed out that these allusions occur only in Job's lament and in God's answer (eg. 38:8,31; 39:25). Rather than faint traces of obsolete beliefs, these allusions should be regarded as figures of speech traditionally used.

God's disapproval of the friends is turned towards the narrow conception of true faith; no accusation against polytheistic practices is uttered. Job centers his argument upon divine conduct over man's fate. Here he asks his penetrating questions; the friends' speeches, in contrast, are expressions of their quite shallow orthodox brand of monotheism.

5. Was Esau the "arch-enemy of Jacob"? Is he, according to the evidence of the Bible, the typical representative of gentile hatred towards the Children of Israel? The testimony of Genesis, Deuteronomy, and Amos should be mentioned here.

In Deuteronomy 23:7–8 Moses admonishes Israel:

לא תתעב אדומי כי אחיך הוא *You shall not abhor an Edomite for he is thy brother,* and so singles out the Edomites among other nations, living east of Jordan. These nations worshipped their peculiar deities; Ammon and Moab and Edom were Hebrew-speaking and used the same script. Family connections existed in the times of the Judges and many year; later. (Ruth 1:1–16; I Samuel 22:3). Nevertheless, only the Edomites are referred to as brothers. Even as late as in the times of Amos of Tekoa, the Edomites were regarded as brothers, although — sadly and disappointingly — sinning ones.

This brotherhood is stressed in Genesis: Esau and Jacob were twins (not so Jacob's children who were born of the four mothers). Genesis portrays Esau as a devoted son who was the victim of a ruse. On Jacob-Israel's return to the Promised Land, a tearful, brotherly conciliation between the two brothers takes place.

In a later generation the relations between the twin nations were not always what can be termed brotherly and amiable. David's ascendancy over Edom was cemented by the harshness with which its rule was administered by Joab, David's most trusted officer. In Solomon's times signs of an Edomite rebellion were suppressed; the leader of the rebels found asylum in Egypt (I Kings 11:14-ff). So

did the leader of the Israeli rebellion, Jeroboam, who later founded the Northern Kingdom of Israel.

Apparently the heavy burden of taxes together with the peculiar difficulties of mining and smelting copper gave the Edomites grounds for bitter grievances, and thus, hatred and lasting enmity germinated.

From our history another important process can be inferred. David's conquest enabled Israelite emigration and colonization of the acquired territories. The same trend may be seen in the reigns of other strong Davidic kings (I Chronicles 4:41–43). The gradual absorption of the border lands occured in the former Philistine districts, as well as those in the central coastal plain, formerly ruled by the Tyrians. In this respect, Edom was no exception. In all these districts Israeli monotheism was accepted.

After Solomon's death, various degrees of self-rule and independence from the suzerainty of the House of David were achieved by the Edomites, viz. the task of the King of Edom in the campaign against Mesha the Moabite (II Kings, Chapter 3).

Proximity, common language, economic and political ties strengthened the Israeli presence in Edom. This trend culminated in wide acceptance of the Israeli faith and its culture, literary expression not excluded. The extent of the Israeli element in the population of Edom cannot be exactly defined, but it certainly was considerable. This does not preclude outbursts of grievances and of political rivalry between the House of David and the local leaders, of Israel or those of the ancient Edomite stock. The general picture of these fluctations may be compared with the ups and downs in the relations between Judah and Israel (II Kings, Chapter 3, as well as 14:7; I Chronicles 20:10–11, 20–26; 28:11).

6. In the present writer's opinion, the Israelite Book of Job was composed by a Jewish sage who probably lived in Edom. In this "book of wisdom" a forceful insight into the true nature of monotheistic faith is presented by a poetic talent whose erudition and command of his Hebrew mother tongue can hardly be surpassed in richness and sheer beauty.

In closing: Job's friends were not gentiles. Their monotheism should not be regarded as just a theology of merely four wise individuals. They represented the religion of a considerable part of the population of Edom. These were the Edomites, whom Deuteronomy, as well as Amos, termed as "brothers." In the midst of this Hebrew-speaking community the origins of the Book of Job should be sought.

THE CONCUBINE OF GIBEAH
(Judges 19–21)

BY MIRIAM SCHNEID-OFSEYER

Dedicated to the blessed memory of Chaim Abramowitz z"l

We sometimes find a surprising connection in the concluding parts of two books of the Bible. In this article we will focus on two such chapters and study their unusual connections.

The story of the "Concubine of Gibeah" is the final episode recorded in the Book of Judges. Characteristically it ends with the verse: *In those days there was no king in Israel, every man did that which was right in his own eyes* (Judges 21:25). On the surface it seems that this oft-repeated verse throughout the Book of Judges could provide an explanation of how such a macabre event could have occurred. The first book of Samuel concludes with the final heroic battle of king Saul, the defeat of Israel and the victory of the Philistines. The death of Saul and his three sons is described and the consequent fastening of their bodies to the wall of Beth-shan. This is followed by the courageous removal of the bodies by the men of Jabesh-gilead, their burial under a tamarisk tree and seven days of mourning for this national catastrophy.

USING THE SAME TACTICS

We now ask whether there could be a connection between these two episodes. Let us start by examining the circumstances that caused that special relationship between King Saul and the men of Jabesh-gilead.

Almost immediately after the crowning of King Saul in Mizpah follows the story of messengers sent from Jabesh-gilead. They bring a depressing tale to their new king. It appears that Nahash, the Ammonite, encamped against them; the people were ready to submit to Nahash: *Make a covenant with us and we will*

Mrs. Miriam Schneid-Ofseyer, graduate of Yeshiva Univ. (M.A.) and doctoral candidate, served as Supervisor of the J.J.E., Toronto, taught there in the Teachers' Seminary, and in the Inst. for Continuing Studies. She is the author of seven books of poetry (Hebrew) and received First Prize for poetry from the Society of Composers.

serve thee (I Sam. 11:1). It is obvious that Nahash was aware of the fact that the men of Jabesh-gilead had no great reputation as fighters, having been the only ones who refrained from going to battle against the tribe of Benjamin after the assault of the concubine of Gibeah (Judges 21:8). To add injury to insult Nahash adds the condition *that all your right eyes be put out* (I Sam. 11:2). The men of Jabesh-gilead begged for seven days respite, in order to alert the Israelites. *And then, if there be none to deliver us we will come to thee* (11:3). The reaction of the people *who lifted up their voice and wept* (11:4) had an unexpected affect on Saul. He who had held his peace when the "base fellows" had mocked him saying *How shall this man save us?* (I Sam. 10:27) becomes a brave and inspired leader. Saul, who had come out of the field, following the oxen, on hearing the gruesome tale from the messengers, took a yoke of oxen, cut them into pieces which he sent throughout the borders of Israel declaring: *Whosoever cometh not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so shall it be done to his oxen* (I Sam. 11:4). With this magnificent act, he took up the challenge of Nahash and inspired the Israelite tribes.

It is most significant that the wording is similar to that in Judges 19:25 in the matter of the concubine of Gibeah.

As will be recalled, the concubine died after being sexually assaulted by *worthless ones of Gibeah.* Her husband *divided her into twelve pieces and sent her throughout the borders of Israel* (Judges 19:29).

Saul, who is described as one who *hid himself among the baggage* and is able to ignore personal insults, rises to the occasion. At this crucial moment which called for an immediate decision he remembered the tactics used by the husband of the slain concubine to stir up all the tribes except Jabesh-gilead against the Benjamites, whose number, after a fratricidal war, had been reduced to six hundred men. Saul's implied threat, that went with sending the twelve pieces to all the tribes, succeeded in calling them to the banner. As a unified force the Israelites were able to gain a major victory against Nahash and the Ammonites. By the daring exploit of removing the mustilated bodies of the king and his sons from the wall under the noses of the Philistines the men of Jabesh-gilead repaid their debt to their king and the cycle is completed.

THE SECOND CONNECTION

It is possible to discover other wide-ranging points of contact between these two seemingly unconnected episodes. One is justified in asking why the Jabesh-gileadites came to Gibeath-shaul, the residence of the humble farmer who had just been anointed king? The obvious answer would be that they came to celebrate Samuel's choice of Saul as king of Israel. And, in fact, after the victory over Ammon, Saul is crowned by unanimous agreement. *And all the people went to Gilgal and there they made Saul king before the Lord in Gilgal* (I Sam. 11:15). But, as usual, the biblical narrative lends itself to more than one interpretation. Let us not forget that Gibeath-shaul is the notorious Gibeah of Benjamin, where during the anarchy that prevailed in the time of the Judges the event of the concubine of Gibeah had occurred. It will further be remembered that the biblical account recalls that the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead were annihilated by the Israelites for having failed to join with the other tribes in the battle against the tribe of Benjamin. And, from the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead the Israelites assigned 400 young maidens for the 600 remaining Benjamites so that the tribe of Benjamin would not perish. One can easily see that two thirds of the mothers of the tribe of Benjamin were from Jabesh-gilead. It is now clear why during the time of the Ammonite siege, the Jabesh-gileadites come for help to Gibeath-shaul to Benjamin, to their own family from whose midst the king was chosen.

There is a possibility that Saul himself is a descendent of this strange union. In his first act as king he chooses the same tactics as those used by the husband of the concubine of Gibeah, and rushes to the rescue of his clan. It is therefore not remarkable that the plot concludes with the heroic act of the men of Jabesh-gilead who risked their lives to pay final honor to the tragic king and his sons. We thus see that King Saul, whose roots were in Jabesh-gilead, serves as the connecting link between the concluding passages of Judges and those of the first book of Samuel. The tribe of Benjamin has been revived, Saul's bones are buried there until his successor, King David, reburies them and those of his son Jonathan in their final resting place in the family grave of Kish, Saul's father in the land of Benjamin.

WHO KILLED GOLIATH?
A RESPONSE TO STEVEN MOSS

BY DAVID WOLFERS

I refer to Rabbi Steven Moss' intriguing exposition of the mystery surrounding the identity of the slayer of Goliath (Dor Le Dor, Fall, 1989). There is, I suggest, a less sinister explanation of the discrepancy between the summary accounts in II Sam. 21:18–22 and I Chron. 20:4–8 than the "cover-up" and "reworking" of the true story suggested by Rabbi Moss.

The first proposition to be considered is that, if David did not kill Goliath, the appearance of the giant and his family in the Bible is altogether pointless. The Bible is no comprehensive history, recording every incident in the national saga, but a highly selective collection of pointed and relevant anecdotes. The sole reason for the inclusion of the Goliath incident was that he was slain by David. The entire seventeenth Chapter of I Samuel, 58 verses in length, is devoted to the description of David's slaying of Goliath with a wealth of circumstantial detail. It is perfectly true that the tendency of this description is to glorify David, but without this chapter, no later reference to Goliath in the Bible has any relevance at all.

Next is the fact that both II Sam. 21 and I Chron. 20 contain the same direct quotation from I Sam. 17 — Goliath the Gittite "the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam." Therefore it must be acknowledged that the foundation of both passages is the I Samuel description of the slaying of Goliath *by David.*

Then it is necessary to take into account in its interpretation the introduction to the account in II Samuel. II Sam. 21:16 recounts David's encounter with Ishbi-benab *who was of the sons of the giant,* and how he nearly lost his life, with the result that David's men then swore he should no more go out with them to battle. These events took place many years after the slaying of Goliath. In chronological sequence they occur after the three years of famine which followed the death of Saul, and the bulk of Saul's twenty year reign still remained after the

Dr. Wolfers is a medical practitioner and demographer who, since his retirement in Jerusalem in 1976, has devoted his time to study and translation of the Book of Job. He is the author of numerous scientific articles and co-author of several books on aspects of the international population problem. At present he is assistant editor of Dor Le Dor.

encounter with Goliath. There is thus probably a generation intervening between Goliath's death and that of those described as "of the sons of the giant." Almost certainly "the giant" is Goliath, and what is being recounted in II Samuel is the final wiping out of his family. To accept Elhanan as the slayer of Goliath on the basis of II Sam. 21 is to accept that he slew him perhaps twenty five years after he was already dead!

Finally, a close examination of the discrepancies between the two accounts of the destruction of the "sons of the giant" – II Sam. 21 and I Chron. 20 – reveals several striking coincidences.

The Chronicles version runs: *And Elhanan, the son of Jair, slew Lahmi, the brother of Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.* The Samuel version is: *And Elhanan, the son of Jaare-oregim, the Bethlehemite, slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like weaver's beam.* But in Hebrew:

Chr: .ויך אלחנן בן־יעיר את־לחמי אחי גלית הגיתי ועץ חניתו כמנור ארגים

Sam: .ויך אלחנן בן־יערי ארגים בית הלחמי את גלית הגיתי ועץ חניתו כמנור ארגים

Note: 1. The word ארגים, a weaver's beam, occurs twice in the Samuel passage, once in its proper context and once as a quite meaningless appendage to the parenthood of Elhanan. ארגים, as well as a weaver's beam, means *weavers* (plural), so יערי ארגים cannot mean "Jaare the weaver" (as Rabbi Moss mistakenly alleges the JPS translation records).

2. The parentage of Elhanan in the two passages, if we dispose of ארגים as an erroneous scribal repetition of the same word from the next line, is two spelling variants of the same name יערי—יעיר—, but of these יעיר is a plausible form for a Hebrew name, while יערי in II Samuel is not.

3. The next phrase in Chr., את־לחמי, naming Lahmi as the man slain by Elhanan is remarkably similar to the text in Sam., בית הלחמי, the Bethlehemite, supposedly adding to the identification of Elhanan's father.

4. The following phrase in Chr., אחי גלית, in Sam., את גלית, is again in appearance very close in both versions.

The evidence of these textual similarities argues almost irrefutably for a scribal corruption rather than any deliberate falsification. The meaningless repetition of the word ארגים in II Samuel establishes that this is the version which is in error, and rules out the hypothesis of a diabolically disingenuous deliberate corruption.

It should also be mentioned that לחמי, as a man with a physical deformity reappears in the phrase כדוי לחמי — "like the sickness of Lahmi" in Job 6:7, confirming the authenticity of I Chron. over the phrase בית הלחמי in II Samuel.

The only puzzle remaining is the description of Lahmi in Chronicles as "the brother of Goliath" whereas in II Samuel it states that *these four* (presumably Ishbi-bebob, Saph, Lahmi and the unnamed one with extra digits on hands and feet) *were born unto the giant* (mysteriously *להרפה rather than לרפה)*in Gath. In* Chronicles which, perhaps genuinely for the "cover-up" reasons advanced by Rabbi Moss, omits mention of David's unsuccessful encounter with Ishbi-benob, the word "four" is omitted.

The probable true record of events is as follows (slayers in brackets):

GOLIATH (David) ――――――――――――――――― LAHMI (Elhanan)
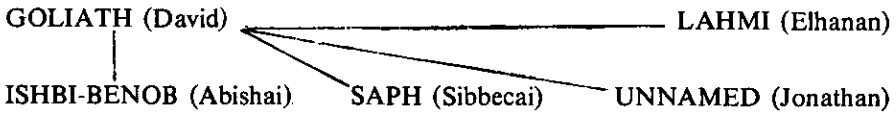
ISHBI-BENOB (Abishai)   SAPH (Sibbecai)   UNNAMED (Jonathan)
but a genuine alternative possibility is that (א)הרפה is not Goliath himself, but the father both of Goliath and all four of the other men mentioned, Goliath being merely by far the oldest of the family.

*   להרפא in Chronicles..

★   ★   ★

Finally it taught that we are not asked to abandon life and to say "farewell" to the world (a philosophy gaining greater and greater popularity in most of today's right-wing religious circles), but rather to embrace it, to transform it by our spirit, in order to make it worthy for God's habitation, and to make us worthy of His proximity.

EXCAVATING THE CARDO AND THE OPHEL

BY ABRAHAM RUDERMAN

Living in Jerusalem gives one the feeling of living in a museum. It is one of the oldest cities in the world, inhabited continuously for more than 4000 years. Here they built homes, market places, temples, and cisterns. They built brick walls for defense and kings built palaces to their glory. One generation built upon the ruins of the previous one. Archeologists have dug deep into the past to the time of the First Temple. Many structures of the past still stand, like the Herodian Tower, the Moslem shrines dating to the 7th century C.E. and the Crusader Church built in the 12th century C.E. You can walk through the water tunnel under the City of David, built by King Hezekiah during the Assyrian siege of Jerusalem in 701 B.C.E. Jerusalem is faced with the problem of preserving the past and yet living comfortably in the present, for Jerusalem is as modern as any city in the world, providing all the comforts of 20th century civilization.

This article will deal with two projects to preserve the remnants of the past and at the same time not interfere with living in the present. It is based upon an article by Rivka Gonen "Keeping Jerusalem's Past Alive" in the Biblical Archeology Review July-August 1980. The first project consisted of preserving the remnants of the ancient Street of the Jews within the restoration of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City. The second consisted of creating an archeological park on the Hill of Ophel, which dates from many ancient periods.

The Street of the Jews runs parallel to and above the ancient Roman Street known as the Cardo. It crosses the Old City from north to south from Damascus Gate to Zion Gate. This street intersects the main east-west artery from Jaffa Gate to the Temple Mount. The north-south street was called by the Romans, the Cardo, and east-west street, the Cecumanus. These streets are featured conspicously on the Madaba Map, a mosaic floor of a 6th century C.E.

Rabbi Abraham Ruderman was ordained at the Jewish Institute of Religion. He served as a Chaplain during W.W.II and was spiritual leader of congregations in Poughkeepsie, Elmont, Hazelton, and South Africa. He came on Aliyah in 1976, and at present is editor of the weekly bulletin of the Jerusalem Rotary.

Byzantine church, discovered at Madaba, Jordan. The southern part of the Cardo is known as the Street of the Jews, the main commercial street of the Old City's Jewish Quarter. When plans were submitted for the restoration of the Jewish Quarter in 1967, the Street of the Jews and Chabad Street running parallel to it were to be arched over and modern apartments built on top. The archeological dig was undertaken by Prof. Nachman Avigad. He uncovered many interesting sites, such as, the paved Roman street, the Cardo of the 4th century including many columns and porticos. The Cardo extended under the Street of the Jews and Chabad St., 75 feet wide. Apartments were built above both streets and the Cardo. Flanking the Cardo, an arcade with numerous shops has been built.

The second restoration is the Hill of the Ophel outside the walls of the Old City adjacent to the southeastern wall of the Temple Mount. The Ophel is the northernmost section of the City of David, the oldest inhabited part of Jerusalem. The name "Ophel" is mentioned in II Chronicles, 27:3. *He built the upper gate of the House of the Lord and did much building on the wall of Ophel.* It is the area lying at the foot of the Temple Mount on the south. The Ophel was excavated by Prof. Benjamin Mazar from 1970–1978. Remains from four periods were discovered. The top level dates from the 7th–8th centuries after the Moslem conquest of Palestine. The Ommayad rulers built the Dome of the Rock and the El Aksa mosque, including the surrounding area at the foot of the mount, the Ophel with remnants of palaces. Under the Ommayad palaces the archeologists uncovered well-preserved houses of the Byzantine period (4th–7th centuries C.E.). Some of these houses still stand. Beneath these structures remains of the Herodian period were found (first century C.E.). King Herod doubled the size of the Temple Mount by building massive retaining walls. After filling in the area behind the retaining walls, he surrounded the Temple Mount with a colonnade and then rebuilt the Temple. Due to the fill, the Ophel, the area on the south was lower than the surrounding area. Two subterranean passages known as Hulda Gates were built in the southern wall of the Mount. Their outline is still visible in the southern wall in the shape of arches. The pilgrims would ascend a flight of monumental steps leading to the Hulda Gates. Beneath the Herodian level were found the scant remains of the Hasmonean period (2nd century B.C.E.), the remnants of a vast subterranean water reservoir. Deeper into the past the Archeologists found a structure from the First Temple period.

One of the tasks of archeologists is to separate structures of different periods which stand side by side. Often these structures are in a poor state and their proximity to earlier structures is confusing. They have resolved this difficulty by removing some unimportant structures and reconstructing others. Stones of different periods are separated and grouped together to distinguish the old from the new. A pedestrian path enables the viewer to wind his way in and around the reinforced and restored structure. Thus, Jerusalem will go on building in the present while at the same time preserving every relic of the past which evokes memories of Israel's glorious history.

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BOOK REVIEW

BY JOSHUA J. ADLER

GEVUROTH HAROMAH: Jewish Studies offered at the eightieth birthday of Rabbi Moses Cyrus Weiler, Mesharim Publishers, Israel Society for Biblical Research and Raphael Haim Hacohen Press, Jerusalem, 1987

One of the most colorful personalities walking the streets of Jerusalem is Reb Moshe Haim Weiler beloved by all, including many orthodox Jews who know him to have been ordained a Reform rabbi. Surely, this Yakir Yerushalayim is deserving of this Festschrift edited by his friend, Professor Zev Falk. Those who contributed to the volume also represent a cross section of the Jewish people from the Orthodox to the secular with twenty seven scholars contributing articles (twenty four in Hebrew and three in English). The volume also contains a fascinating biography of Rabbi Weiler which begins in Eastern Europe and carries him to the United States, South Africa and finally to Zion. Of the three English articles there are essays by Alfred Gottschalk on *Abraham in the Midrash, Kierkegaard and Philo*, Louis Jacobs' on *Attitudes toward Christianity* and David Polish's on *Isaac Abravanel the famous Bible Commentator.*

The most prominent Hebrew essay relating to Bible was written by Haim Gevaryahu, in the spirit of his teacher Yehezkel Kaufman, on Gideon whom Gevaryahu terms not only a great military leader but an untitled prophet. (He cites other "prophets" who also did not receive this title). Amazing resemblances between Gideon, Moses and other biblical personalities are brought to the readers' attention in regards to signs, messages and personal encounters with God or with His representative, angel/man. Gevaryahu also discusses an aspect of Gideon which is often overlooked. It involves Gideon's activity as the builder of a large golden oracle at Ofra where the people went to seek divine guidance and knowledge of the future. In his discussion, the author suggests that the

Dr. Joshua J. Adler, formerly the Rabbi of Chisuk Emuna Congregation in Harrisburg, Pa. lives in Jerusalem since 1972, serves as the managing editor of Dor Le Dor and is the assistant to the Chairman of the World Jewish Bible Society.

Golden Calf built by the Israelites during Moses' absence for forty days may
have been an oracle. He tells us not to be too surprised at this hypothesis since
other ancient oracles were found to have been in the form of animals. His essay
attacks also some of the theories of Bible critics who claim that the Gideon story
should be dated to the seventh century B.C.E. However, the fact that after
Samuel no "prophet" resorted to an oracle for his revelation is proof that the
Gideon story is an early and not a late one.

Other interesting essays in this volume deal with such diverse subjects as
Military Exemptions for Yeshiva Students; Spiritual Aspects of Judaism;
Conversion in Ancient Times; The Meaning of Torah Mi-Sinai; A Contemporary
Egyptian Moslem Preacher; and a host of articles on talmudic themes and
medieval Hebrew literature.

It is unfortunate, that the non-Hebrew reader cannot share in the pleasure that
I have found in reading the Hebrew essays in this Festschrift. Perhaps someday,
someone will be willing to publish an English translation of most of the essays
and especially of the fascinating biography of Rabbi Weiler.

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appeal for extra funds beyond our annual subscription. but we were compelled to
do so this time for reasons which were explained in that letter. The satisfactory
result from well over one hundred donors is an indication of support for this
Journal and a source of warm encouragement for our work.

Your responses have not only helped our offices financially, but has also
revealed the large percentage of our subscribers who are dedicated to the past,
present, and future of our journal.

We also received many heart-warming personal notes, attached to the
contributions. Some were from retired persons, who gave within the limitations of
their own personal budgets.

<div align="right">

CHAIM PEARL
Associate Editor

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

As regards the article on the "Akeda" by Julius B. Moster, I have always felt that Abraham had no intention to sacrifice his son. When he left his father's house, God said: — לֶךְ לְךָ לַהֲנָאָתְךָ וּלְטוֹבָתֶךָ. When he was commanded to sacrifice Isaac, God also said לֶךְ לְךָ — which would have the same meaning — for your own benefit. This agrees with your thesis that Abraham, while he went along with God's commandment even to take wood, and fire, and a knife, was confident that everything would come out well. He just didn't know how the Almighty would work it out, even though he predicted that an animal-substitute would be provided.

Isadore M. Cass
Toronto, Canada

Sir,

I was very impressed with the article, "The Testing of Abraham," by Dr. Julius Moster (Vol. XVII, No. 4, Summer 1989 issue of Dor Le Dor). However, permit me to offer still another reason for the "Akeda" episode.

I like to think that this incident in the life of our patriarch, Abraham, was that God was indeed testing Abraham — so that Abraham could prove to himself that he was obedient to God's will. This is in a large measure instilling a sense of discipline in Abraham, a discipline that we, the progeny of our father Abraham, practice even to this day, i.e. Kashrut and many other disciplines which are classified as *Chukim,* laws of Torah which cannot be explained rationally, but which we committed Jews practice faithfully, even though we do not understand their full impications.

Robert Chernoff
Silver Spring, Maryland

עשה תורתך קבע

THE TRIENNIAL BIBLE READING CALENDAR
IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF
CHAIM ABRAMOWITZ

Dec. 1989-January 1990

29	F	Genesis 41-44:17
30	שבת	Haftarah: I Kings 7:40-50
31	S	Ezekiel 23
		January
1	M	Ezekiel 24
2	T	Ezekiel 25
3	W	Ezekiel 26
4	Th	Ezekiel 27
5	F	Genesis 44:18-47:27
6	שבת	Haftarah: Ezekiel 37:15-28
7	S	Ezekiel 28
8	M	Ezekiel 29
9	T	Ezekiel 30
10	W	Ezekiel 31
11	Th	Ezekiel 32
12	F	Genesis 47:28-50
13	שבת	Haftarah: I Kings 2:1-12
14	S	Ezekiel 33
15	M	Ezekiel 34
16	T	Ezekiel 35
17	W	Ezekiel 36
18	Th	Ezekiel 37
19	F	Exodus 1-6:1
20	שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 27:6-28:13
21	S	Ezekiel 38
22	M	Ezekiel 39
23	T	Ezekiel 40
24	W	Ezekiel 41
25	Th	Ezekiel 42
26	F	Exodus 6:2-9
27	שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 66

January-February 1990

28	S	Ezekiel 43
29	M	Ezekiel 44
30	T	Ezekiel 45
31	W	Ezekiel 46
		February
1	Th	Ezekiel 47
2	F	Exodus 10-13:16
3	שבת	Haftarah: Jeremiah 66:13-28
4	S	Ezekiel 48
5	M	Hoseah 1
6	T	Hoseah 2
7	W	Hoseah 3
8	Th	Hoseah 4
9	F	Exodus 13:17-17
10	שבת	Haftarah: Judges 4:4-5:3
11	S	Hoseah 5
12	M	Hoseah 6
13	T	Hoseah 7
14	W	Hoseah 8
15	Th	Hoseah 9
16	F	Exodus 18-20
17	שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 6-7:30
18	S	Hoseah 10
19	M	Hoseah 11
20	T	Hoseah 12
21	W	Hoseah 13
22	Th	Hoseah 14
23	F	Exodus 21-24
24	שבת	Haftarah: II Kings 11:17
25	S	Joel 1

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26 M   Joel 2
27 T   Joel 3
28 W   Joel 4

March

1   Th Amos 1
2   F   Exodus 25-27:14
3   שבת Haftarah: I Kings 5-26-6:13
4   S   Amos 2
5   M   Amos 3
6   T   Amos 4
7   W   Esther 1-2
8   Th Esther 3-4
9   F   Exodus 27:20-30:1
10 שבת Haftarah: I Samuel 15:1-34
11 S   Esther 5-7
12 M   Esther 8-10
13 T   Amos 5
14 W   Amos 6
15 Th Amos 7
16 F   Exodus 30:11-34
17 שבת Haftarah: I Kings 18:1-39
18 S   Amos 8
19 M   Amos 9
20 T   Obadiah
21 W   Micah 1
22 Th Micah 2
23 F   Exodus 35-40
24 שבת Haftarah: Ezekiel 45:16-46:18
25 S   Micah 3
26 M   Micah 4
27 T   Micah 5
28 W   Micah 6
29 Th Micah 7

30 F   Leviticus 1-5
31 שבת Haftarah: Isaiah 43:21-44:23

April

1   S   Nachum 1
2   M   Nachum 2
3   T   Nachum 3
4   W   Habakkuk 1
5   Th Habakkuk 2
6   F   Leviticus 6-8
7   שבת Haftarah: Malachi 3:4-24
8   S   Song of Songs 1-2
9   M   Song of Songs 3-4
10 T   Passover Exodus 12:21-41
        Haftarah: Joshua 5:2-6:1
11 W   Leviticus 22:26-23:44*
        Haftarah: II Kings 23:1-25*
12 Th Song of Songs 5-6
13 F   Exodus 33:12-34:26
14 שבת Haftarah: Ezekiel 37:1-14
15 S   Song of Songs 7-8
16 M   Exodus 13:17-15:26
        Haftarah: II Samuel 22
17 T   Deuteronomy 14:22-15:17
        Haftarah: 10:32-12:6
18 W   Habakkuk 3
19 Th Zephariah 1
20 F   Leviticus 9-11
21 שבת Haftarah: II Samuel 6:1-7:17
22 S   Zephaniah 2
23 M   Zephaniah 3
24 T   Haggai 1
25 W   Haggai 2

* in the Diaspora

WE MOURN THE LOSS OF
MOSHE DORF ז"ל
Antwerpen, Belgium

Moshe Dorf was a man deeply devoted to the Jewish Bible; a supporter of our Society, he believed that it was prophecy that kept Israel as the "Eternal People."

By a prophet the Lord brought	ובנביא העלה ה׳
Israel forth out of Egypt	את ישראל ממצרים
And by a prophet was he kept	ובנביא נשמר

Hosea 12:14

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