

CONSTRUCTS OF PROPHECY IN THE FORMER AND
LATTER PROPHETS AND OTHER TEXTS



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Edited by
Lester L. Grabbe
Martti Nissinen

Society of Biblical Literature
Atlanta

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Dedicated to

EHUD BEN ZVI

Founder of the Prophetic Texts and Their Ancient Contexts Society of Biblical
Literature Group

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CONTRIBUTORS

Pancratius Beentjes is Professor Emeritus of Old Testament and Hebrew in the Faculty of Catholic Theology, Tilburg University.

Jonathan Ben-Dov is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Bible, Haifa University.

Steve Cook is an Adjunct Faculty Member of Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary.

Serge Frolov is Associate Professor and Nate and Ann Levine Endowed Chair in Jewish Studies at Southern Methodist University.

Lester L. Grabbe is Professor of Hebrew Bible and Early Judaism at the University of Hull.

Mark Leuchter is Director of Jewish Studies at Temple University in Philadelphia.

Christoph Levin is Professor of Old Testament at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich.

Jill Middlemas is Research Associate at the Theology Faculty, University of Zürich.

Martti Nissinen is Professor of Old Testament Studies at the University of Helsinki.

David L. Petersen is the Franklin Nutting Parker Professor of Old Testament in the Candler School of Theology at Emory University.

Marvin A. Sweeney is Professor of Hebrew Bible, Claremont School of Theology, and Professor of Religion, Claremont Graduate University.

Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer is Lecturer in Old Testament/Hebrew Bible at the University of Aberdeen.

Peter Matthews Wright is Assistant Professor, Department of Religion, Colorado College, Colorado Springs.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AB	Anchor Bible
<i>ABD</i>	David Noel Freedman (ed.), <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (6 vols.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1992)
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
AnBib	Analecta biblica
<i>ANET</i>	James B. Pritchard, <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> (3rd ed. with Supplement; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>ASR</i>	<i>American Sociological Review</i>
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archeologist</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BCE	Before the Common Era (= BC)
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>BO</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>

BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur <i>ZAW</i>
CBC	Century Bible Commentary
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i> Monograph Series
ConBOT	Conjectanea biblica, Old Testament
CRAIBL	Comptes rendus de l'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
<i>CR: BS</i>	<i>Currents in Research: Biblical Studies</i>
<i>CT</i>	<i>Cuneiform Texts in the Collections of the British Museum</i>
DtrH	Deuteronomistic History
<i>EncJud</i>	<i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i>
<i>EsIr</i>	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
ESHM	European Seminar in Historical Methodology
ET	English translation
ETL	Ephemeridae Theologicae Lovaniensis
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	Forms of Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>HAR</i>	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HK	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>

<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JPSTC</i>	Jewish Publication Society Torah Commentary
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTSup</i>	Supplements to <i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSPSup</i>	Supplements to <i>Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSRC</i>	Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KAT</i>	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>KHC</i>	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
<i>LHBOTS</i>	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
<i>LAS</i>	Simo Parpola, <i>Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal</i> , 2 vols; AOAT 5/1–2, 1970–1983.
<i>LS</i>	Louvain Studies
<i>LXX</i>	Septuagint version of the Old Testament
<i>MT</i>	Masoretic text
<i>NABU</i>	Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires
<i>NCB</i>	New Century Bible
<i>NEB</i>	Neue Echter Bibel
<i>NICOT</i>	New International Commentary of the Old Testament
<i>NJPS</i>	<i>The New Jewish Publication Society Jewish Study Bible</i>
<i>OBO</i>	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
<i>OBT</i>	Overtures to Biblical Theology
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i>
<i>OTL</i>	Old Testament Library
<i>OTS</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>R&T</i>	<i>Religion & Theology</i>
<i>SAA</i>	State Archives of Assyria
<i>SAAS</i>	State Archives of Assyria Studies

SANE	Studies on the Ancient Near East
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLBMI	SBL Bible and its Modern Interpreters
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
SBLSBL	SBL Studies in Biblical Literature
SBLSBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Study
SBLSCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSymS	SBL Symposium Series
SBLWAW	SBL Writings from the Ancient World
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studi epigrafici e linguistici</i>
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East
SHCANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
SWBA	Social World of Biblical Antiquity
<i>TA</i>	<i>Tel Aviv</i>
<i>THAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> (2 vols.; ed. Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann; Munich: Kaiser, 1967)
<i>ThTo</i>	<i>Theology Today</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
<i>TRu</i>	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Bible Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
<i>ZABR</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>
<i>ZAH</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebräistik</i>

<i>ZAR</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die attestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

INTRODUCTION

Lester L. Grabbe

The Prophetic Texts and their Ancient Contexts Group (PTAC), one of the many groups within the Society of Biblical Literature, was founded by Ehud Ben Zvi in 1998. He chaired the steering committee and was the driving force behind PTAC for almost a decade, until he relinquished the chair at the end of 2006, as required by regulations. Since January 1, 2007, Martti Nissinen and Lester Grabbe have served as co-chairs of PTAC, though Ehud Ben Zvi continues on the steering committee and is also available to offer advice from his experience. In tribute to his vision and work we have dedicated this volume to the PTAC founder, Ehud Ben Zvi.

The contents of the present volume come from the PTAC meetings in Washington, D.C. in 2007 (“Constructs of Prophecy in the Former Prophets and Daniel”) and in Boston in 2008 (“Constructs of Prophecy in the Latter Prophets”). As indicated by the overall theme of each session, the emphasis was on the “constructs of prophecy” as found in both the Former and Latter Prophets, but more controversially, the question of prophecy in some other literature (such as Chronicles and the Quran) is also addressed. There is a good reason for broadening the scope of the volume in this way.

When the steering committee chose the themes of the Former and the Latter Prophets for two separate sessions, the main reason was to see how different sections of the Bible may have differed in how prophecy was constructed. But it was recognized that the different types of biblical literature and the different approaches to them were not exhausted by drawing on these two main prophetic sections of the biblical text. Hence, essays on Daniel, Chronicles, and the Qur’an were also accepted for the volume to give this additional perspective.

By “constructs of prophecy” is meant potentially two separate issues. There is the way that the various biblical books construct prophecy, and there is the way in which modern scholars go about constructing prophecy in ancient Israel. Both approaches are valid and important, and both are addressed by the various essays in this volume. This leads to a number of themes cutting through the essays, which are spelled out later in this Introduction. Each contributor was given scope to develop his or her essay as seemed best to the author. This means that there are a variety of methods and a variety of approaches, a plurality that demonstrates the earnest quest for understanding that still goes on in a field so frequently plowed over the past decades.

The rest of this Introduction will be devoted to the papers offered on those two occasions. The first part gives a summary of the individual articles. Part two integrates the articles by addressing common themes and also some of the main points arising from the individual studies.

The reader may wonder why the volume lacks a contribution by one of the editors, Martti Nissinen. The reason for this is that his essay on the very topic of the volume will appear in another context.¹

SUMMARY OF PAPERS

In one of the essays on prophecy outside the Former and Latter Prophets **Pancratius Beentjes** examines “Constructs of Prophets and Prophecy in the Book of Chronicles.” Because of differences from the books of Samuel and Kings and the small number of addresses adopted from those books, it appears that the Chronicler had a particular view of prophets and prophecy. The “classical prophets” are presented in a completely different way from other parts of the Hebrew Bible: seldom if ever are the classical prophets central characters and many prophets in the Chronicles not found elsewhere in the Bible (these are probably the Chronicler’s invention, but it is suggested that here is the place to look for the Chronicler’s own theological conventions and accents). There is a distinction between speakers with a prophetic title and those introduced by “possession formulae” but not title. The former normally speaks to the king; the latter, to the people. The former gives the interpretation of events; the latter, inspired interpretation of authoritative texts. The Chronicler’s view should be apparent in prophetic passages with no parallel elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, as follows: 2 Chr 12:5–8 introduces the theme of abandoning the Torah and also

¹ Martti Nissinen, “Prophecy as Construct: Ancient and Modern,” forthcoming in *Thus Speaks Ishtar of Arbela: Prophecy in Israel, Assyria and Egypt in the Neo-Assyrian Period* (ed. Robert P. Gordon and Hans M. Barstad; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2012).

uses the words “treachery” (מַעַל) and “humble themselves” (נִכְנַע). Second Chronicles 15:1–7 employs the “possession formula” to show the divine authority of the prophet. A mosaic of prophetic texts is placed in Azariah’s mouth. The notions of “seeking” YHWH and “being found” occur, though also “forsaking” YHWH. Azariah (as the Chronicler’s spokesman) makes a number of statements from the Latter Prophets but almost entirely without verbal quotation. In 2 Chr 20:14–17 is a quotation from Exod 14:13–14 in which both display a similar narrative structure. In Chronicles the prophets are also characterized as keepers of the royal archives, with many references to prophets in connection with documents (2 Chr 9:29 uses “prophecy” with reference to a written document). Thus, the Chronicler does not use explicit quotes from the Former and Latter Prophets, refuses to make classical prophets central characters, and uses the verb “to prophesy” in a special way to refer to liturgical functions (1 Chr 25:1–3 should be read as having the verb rather than the noun).

In “Some Precedents for the Religion of the Book: Josiah’s Book and Ancient Revelatory Literature,” **Jonathan Ben-Dov** explores the mutual relationship between prophecy, law, and authoritative books. Moshe Weinfeld argued that Josiah initiated a new “religion of the book.” Deuteronomy combines two key concepts of the later monotheistic religions: writtenness and revelation. The Josiah narrative uses the same building blocks that were later used to construct canonical awareness: the concepts of prophecy, law, and divine authority of the written word. Yet these concepts existed long before in the book culture of the ancient Near East. As argued in an earlier article, Josiah’s reform takes place in two distinctive settings: the oracular process of the court that supported the king’s religious reform and the legal-canonical setting in which Deuteronomy became part of the legal document that made up the Torah. The composition of the narrative of Josiah’s reform has been much debated, but the assumption that a book find must be Deuteronomistic needs to be contested. In the original story the book was not Deuteronomy or the book of the law. The story in its original form intended to legitimate Josiah’s religious reforms. It reaffirmed the divine instructions to the king by providing a cross check in another divinatory medium. A number of examples are known from the ancient Near East in which texts are used as oracular media. In the passage the book sometimes referred to as *sēper hattôrāh* and sometimes as *sēper habbērit*. The latter is used when specifically Deuteronomistic concepts (e.g., the reading of the law; a centralized Passover) are referred to, but in the former the word *tôrāh* has the prophetic-divinatory meaning of “instruction, oracle” (a similar meaning to its Akkadian cognate *tērtum*). The finding of a text is exemplified in Second Plague Prayer of Mursili, in which two old tablets with religious messages were found. He tested their messages by means of oracular queries and then implemented their messages. The two different modes by which Assyrian

prophetic texts have come down to us are the short format for notes, reports, and the like to record oral utterances but not meant for preservation, and a more formal multi-column format for long term storage. It may be that Josiah's book was a short report (only short sections of Deuteronomy) in its original form but was later expanded to a more extensive and permanent form. Precedents for a "religion of the book" can be found in Ashurbanipal and Nabonidus, both of whom had the astrological series *Enūma Anu Enlil* copied onto ivory writing boards so that they could consult them (cf. Deut 17:18). This was revealed authoritative literature that occasioned reflection, devotion, and even kingly attention to be understood. It served as an early laboratory for developing a "religion of the book"; indeed, *Enūma Anu Enlil* was authored "by the mouth of (the god) Ea" and was transmitted to humanity through the sage Enmeduranki. To conclude, reflection on the concepts of writtenness, revelation, and scribal authority reached its peak in Mesopotamia in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. These illustrate a parallel (though not necessarily a borrowing) with the acculturation of writing and scholarly habits in ancient Judah. Religion under the monarchy was not a "religion of the book," but Josiah's book created a transition point rather than a revolution.

Steve Cook ("The Weberian Construct of Prophecy and Womanist and Feminist Recuperative Criticism") notes that scholars have constructed ancient Israel according to various paradigms. The purpose of this essay is to interact with womanist and feminist recuperative critics' points of contact with a Weberian model of prophecy, recognizing the value of this model for promoting women in religious leadership. Like Weber, recuperative scholars have operated with ideas that prophets achieve their status on the basis of charisma, preach or articulate religious doctrine, and have enduring social importance. This essay draws upon recuperative criticism from the nineteenth century (Jarena Lee, Maria Stewart, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton) to the present (Phyllis Bird, Lisa Davison, and Wilda Gafney). Recuperative hermeneutics has been appreciated and critiqued in the *Postmodern Bible*. This essay concludes by providing further thoughts on the gains derived from recuperative attention to women prophets in the Hebrew Bible and exploring possible "blind spots" in this work.

Serge Frolov's "1 Samuel 1–8: The Prophet as Agent Provocateur" argues that there is substantial tension between the concepts of prophecy and the prophet's role emerging from Deut 18, which contains the only block of prophecy-related commandments in the Torah, and the first few chapters of 1 Samuel, which feature the first biblical character consistently referred to as a prophet. In Samuel's first prophetic experience (1 Sam 3), he receives a message that is entirely redundant, because it does not go beyond what is already known to both Eli and the audience; accordingly, the main purpose of the theophany is to lay the foundation of his prophetic reputation. This ensures that the people heed Samuel's call to confront Philistine rule (1 Sam 4:1a); yet, the oracle leads

to two defeats and loss of the ark. He consequently acts here as *agent provocateur*, making it possible for YHWH to settle scores with Eli and his wayward sons. A similar pattern is found in 1 Sam 8. In this case, God warns Samuel of the disaster that will follow the appointment of a human king, but tells Samuel to heed the people's wishes, nevertheless. God's command to attack the Philistines in 1 Sam 4 and to appoint a king in 1 Sam 8 can be seen as real-life tests of the Deuteronomic model of prophecy in Deut 18. There are the sinister aspects to this model: first, it may land the people in a Catch-22 situation, with obedience failing to bring the rewards promised in Deut 28; second, Deuteronomy's identification of true and false prophecy (18:22) would make Samuel seem a false prophet, even though he faithfully spoke God's words. First Sam 1–8 may thus be offering an alternative to the Deuteronomic concept of prophecy. Two lines of investigation appear promising. One sees 1 Sam 1–8 as an extension and refinement of Deuteronomic thought: the people suffer for their own sins, even if it is the result of following the prophet's instructions. Another approach is to see 1 Sam 1–8 as directed polemically against the Deuteronomic concept of prophecy. It could be an anti-Deuteronomic addition to a largely Deuteronomistic base narrative of the Former Prophets (the views on the cult, priesthood, monarchy, and ark in this section are also anti-Deuteronomic). The clash between Deut 18 and 1 Sam 1–8 may exemplify the change that developed historically in which God's communication ceased to be the word of the prophet and became the written Torah.

Lester L. Grabbe asks, "Daniel: Sage, Seer ... and *Prophet*?" He begins by making the point that there is a difference between prophetic literature and the persona of a prophet. He then examines Amos and compares the book with the book of Daniel. They both contain oracles against other nations ("oracles against the nations" in Amos and prophecies against Near Eastern empires in Daniel). Both contain symbolic visions that indicate God's plans for the future. Daniel seems to embody the statement in Amos 3:7: "For the Lord YHWH will do nothing except that he reveals his purpose to his servants the prophets." Of course, there are differences between Amos and Daniel—some very large differences—but there are also big differences between Amos and Nahum and between Daniel and the apocalypse *4 Ezra*. Similarly, there are some fundamental parallels between Jeremiah and Daniel, and many of the characteristics of Jeremiah's life are paralleled in Daniel's. Daniel looks as much like a prophet as Jeremiah. Apocalypses are often put in the mouth of an ancient patriarch, but the material in prophetic books may be as pseudonymous, with much material that did not stem from the prophet named in the title. On the other hand, the content of both prophecies and apocalypses may be the result of visions or ecstatic experiences. In most cases, we do not know for sure, but the

possibility is there. Much can be explained if we accept that prophecy is a form of divination (spirit or possession divination) and that apocalyptic is a subdivision of prophecy.

In looking at the “Cult of Personality: The Eclipse of Pre-Exilic Judahite Cultic Structures in the Book of Jeremiah,” **Mark Leuchter** notes the “antonymic” character of Jeremiah: it makes statements and undertakes activities that are mutually contradictory. This makes it difficult to place him within a specific social or religious context. Yet this is the key to its survival, because the book’s authors created a model for survival that placed the prophetic personality above and beyond the cult. Three major themes within the book of Jeremiah lay the foundations for this authorial strategy. The first theme is the Levitical cult. Jeremiah came from the Mushite Levites of Anathoth, and there are Levitical motifs in his call narrative, including the important Levitical figures of Moses and Samuel. Jeremiah 34 represents a Levite proclaiming *torah*. Yet several passages also go against this Levitical heritage. One is 11:21–23, against the men of Anathoth; the imagery of the Song of Moses (Deut 32) is used against the Levites, as also in Jer 2–6. The message is that this Levitical cult and lineage are to be cut off, i.e., that the Mushite Levites in Anathoth would no longer compete with the prevailing Deuteronomistic ideology. In another passage, Jeremiah is forbidden to marry and have offspring, which symbolizes the debilitation of the Levitical cult. A further passage concerns the “new covenant” oracle in Jer 31:31–34, which to a significant degree empowers the laity with regard to sacred knowledge. The traditional duties of the Levite to teach (Deut 33:8–11) are negated, since all will know the *torah*. In the context of Jer 30–31 the passage affirms covenantal blessings on the Levites but redirects their role to supporting the new Josianic theological enterprise. The second theme is royal and family cults. The attitude to these in Jeremiah is largely negative. Only two kings receive sympathy: Josiah and Jehoiachin. A major reason seems to be that both are separated from the royal cult in Jerusalem. This is part of the Deuteronomistic assault on family religion, and many Jeremiah oracles critique family (e.g., 7:16–20). The cult of “the Queen of Heaven” is a good example of a practice condemned by Deuteronomy, though not mentioned by name there. The term in Jeremiah has a deliberate ambiguity, to condemn any numinous female concept. Similarly, “Baal” in Jeremiah represents any religious practices condemned in Deuteronomy. Jehoiakim and Zedekiah are condemned by the prophetic word because of the royal family cult. Regional shrines and family-based religious structures throughout the country imitated the royal cult; hence, the oracle of 8:1–3, in which the practice of the family cult leads to being cut off from the family in the afterlife. The third theme is the Deuteronomistic cult. Surprisingly, Jeremiah subjects the Deuteronomistic cult to the same critique as the Levitical and family cults, especially the temple sermon of 7:(1–2)3–5. The temple is regarded as legitimate (28:6), especially as Jeremiah supports Deut 12

which is central to the Josianic reform. But instead of a dwelling place for God, it is a dwelling place for the people (7:3), a symbolic locus of social and ethical values. Unlike the one Mosaic prophet (Deut 18:15–18), Jeremiah (and Kings) mentions several prophets as Deuteronomic advocates. Jeremiah is mostly unsupportive of these prophets (Hananiah being a prime example). In conclusion, Jeremiah promotes an alternative cult, the prophetic literary *persona*, of which Jeremiah is the outstanding example. Jeremiah's rhetoric dismantles all dominant cultic and theological traditions from pre-exilic times. The personality of Jeremiah became the symbol to which exiled Judahites could look as a model of faith.

Christoph Levin ("Zephaniah: How this Book Became Prophecy") argues, contrary to long scholarly tradition, that prophetic books came into being by *Fortschreibung*. That is, they did not begin with the preaching of an individual prophet but developed by literary growth of a non-prophetic writing. In Zephaniah individual sayings are mostly closely linked, with few independent sayings. *Fortschreibung* requires a nucleus: in Zephaniah this is found in ch. 1. An analysis of 1:1–2:3 indicates seven main layers. The superscription (1:1) is editorial, probably composed by interbiblical combination. A sort of motto follows in 1:2–3, alluding to Gen 6–8, and seems to be a later insertion. The "sin of Manasseh" (1:4–6) draws on language and detail from the book of Ezekiel, Jer 19, and 2 Kgs 23; the language of v. 6 is that of late piety, no earlier than the Persian period. The theophany of 1:7 is couched as a cultic proclamation and is not a part of the original prophetic saying. Zephaniah 1:8–13, which explains the coming of the catastrophe, is often ascribed to the prophet. From the literary form and syntax, this is probably an insertion. It constitutes a threat, expanded by the futility curse of v. 13, while the topographical details in v. 10 are those of Persian-Period Jerusalem. The Day of YHWH (1:14–16a) seems to have been originally a positive celebration: a comparison with Ps 97 shows the cultic origin of the terminology here. But the allusion to Amos 5 in v. 15 changes it into a prophecy of doom. In 1:16b–2:3 the eschatological focus of the motto (1:2–3) is applied to the Day of YHWH, expanding it to a cosmic catastrophe, using the idea of late eschatology as found in the Isaiah Apocalypse and the book of Joel. In sum, the first step in the growth of the book was a cultic proclamation relating to the Day of YHWH in 1:7, 14, and 15.

In the "Shape of Things to Come: Redaction and the Early Second Temple Period Prophetic Tradition," **Jill Middlemas** investigates the form of editorial additions to prophetic states, using Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 as a test case. Much of the discussion has followed the lead of Peter Ackroyd who distinguished editorial additions from the words of the prophet and Willem Beuken who assessed the circles that gave rise to the editorial additions, arguing that the framing material has linguistic characteristics in common with

Chronicles. Middlemas finds that the editorial material in Haggai and Zech 1–8 falls into four different categories. First, an intermediary formula in which an individual is represented as one conveying a divine message. This may be the prophet himself but, as in Zechariah, may be an interpreting angel. Second, a formula with historical information, such as a dating formula. Third, a formula in which the two are combined, as in Hag 2:1. The combination of intermediary, dating, and historical information is sometimes referred to as the *Wortereignisformel* (“word-event formula”), as in Hag 1:1–2 and Zech 7:1–3. Fourth, the editorial formula provides interpretative detail. Large blocks of editorially added interpretative material appear alongside the visions in Zechariah (e.g., Zech 3:6–10). This editorial activity has a variety of functions: to preserve historical context, to give legitimacy to the prophet and authority to his tradition, to link books, to clarify and explain, and to indicate the immediacy of the words transmitted. Reassessments of the rhetoric of Haggai and Zech 1–8 suggest different approaches to understanding the nature of the prophetic book than by separating out the editorial material, however. Michael Floyd has argued, for example, that much regarded as editorial activity is actually an integral part of the oracles themselves, sharing language and viewpoint with the oracles. The framework and speeches in Haggai are inextricably intertwined, forming a unified composition in outlook and purpose. Moreover, Carol and Eric Meyers have identified a concentric structure in Zech 1–8, in which the fourth and fifth visions form the core (and focus attention on the temple and leadership in the community), with the first three paralleling the last three. Middlemas builds on this suggestion by noting that a concentric structure is found more widely than the night visions and encompasses the whole of Zech 1–8. A concentric structure is identifiable elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. For instance, the prophecies of Isa 56–66 (Trito-Isaiah) are thought to have a concentric shape, in which a series of explanatory details gather around a core of Isa 60–62. This core links to Deutero-Isaiah by recapitulating the main prophecies of Isa 40–55, which makes it function like an attributive or chronological framework. It allows the editor to comment on the core text by the editorial additions arranged concentrically around it. A similar arrangement has been suggested for Amos, Lamentations, Proverbs, and Job. An examination of the editorial strategies in Haggai and Zechariah (along with a brief look at Trito-Isaiah) suggests limitations as well as the importance of literary shaping as an editorial strategy. Greater attention to the rhetorics of the prophetic books indicates new ways of analyzing the editorial material, especially highlighting how further work needs to be done on concentric composition and editing.

David L. Petersen (“Israel and the Nations in the Later Latter Prophets”) examines the oracles against the nations in the last six books of the Twelve (Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi) to ask how the context affected the nature of prophecy and literature. In the first half of the

Minor Prophets, the oracles against the nations are specific but there are also general comments on “the nations” (probably redactional). The oracles against the specific nations are not like those in Amos and the major prophets, except in Zephaniah and Zechariah. They tend to be vague, and the oracles against specific nations are clearly less prominent in the latter half of the Twelve. The language of references to “peoples” or “nations” is different from that used of individual nations. In the last six books are references to (1) YHWH fighting against the nations and (2) to the nations venerating YHWH (found in Zephaniah, Zechariah, and Malachi but not used in reference to individual nations) in various modes: (a) from a distance, (b) by pilgrimage to Jerusalem, (c) by other means of veneration. How is one to explain this new language and views with regard to the nations? The oracles against the nations were rooted in the theo-political world of Jerusalem, with YHWH’s rule of Zion and the prophetic utterances in the David court and chapel (i.e., the temple). In the Persian period, however, there was no longer a royal court in Jerusalem, but foreign nations were still important because of the diaspora of Judahites. Also, even though the court had disappeared, the temple still existed, and prophecy was associated with temple ritual in this period (e.g., the Levitical singers). The Psalms have some of the themes known from prophetic literature, supporting the view that the language of late prophetic literature comes from the sphere of worship. This leads to several conclusions: (1) The oracles against the nations are primarily phenomena of the monarchic period (the David court), with little positive comment; (2) The oracles against the nations become less important in prophetic literature at the end of Judah as a state and are replaced by more general references to “the nations”; (3) Post-exilic prophetic discourse about the nations includes diverse traditions: judgment, pilgrimage, and veneration; (4) Veneration of YHWH is a new element in the later Latter Prophets, with the closest literary parallels in the Psalms, suggesting connections with the ritual world. International discourse is “de-historicized” and becomes more general; (5) Further study is needed on the Major Prophets and first half of the Twelve to confirm or qualify this perspective.

Marvin A. Sweeney considers “Samuel’s Institutional Identity in the Deuteronomistic History.” His institutional identity is unclear in that he functions as a visionary prophet, a cultic priest, and a judge in the narratives. It is true that 1 Samuel always refers to Samuel as a prophet and never as priest or judge. A key passage for the prophetic identity is 1 Sam 3:20–21 in which Samuel is referred to as a “prophet” (*nābî*), he experiences a vision to inaugurate his career, and his visionary experiences overcomes the dearth of prophecy in Israel at the time. In the context of anointing Saul as king, he is referred to as “seer” (*rô’ēh*) and “man of G-d” (1 Sam 9–10). A number of other passages also make him a prophet. Although he is never referred to by the noun

“judge,” the verbal form (“he judged”) is used in 1 Sam 7:6, 15, 17, and he also appoints his sons as “judges” (1 Sam 8:1–3). His role as judge also has priestly overtones, as when he sacrifices and calls on YHWH before battle but does not actually lead troops into battle. Thus, his functions as a judge coincide with those of priest. As with “judge,” the term “priest” or “Levite” is never used of him, but he frequently functions as a priest. He presides over several sorts of sacrifice, including the “whole burnt offering” (*’ōlā*), the “sacrifice” (*zeva*), and the “well-being offering” (*šēlāmîm*). Saul, on the other hand, is condemned for offering some of these same offerings. But Samuel’s role as visionary is also an indication of his priestly status. Visionary experiences were not exclusively associated with prophets but often occurred in a temple context. The high priest entered the Holy of Holies once a year, where he might have a vision of God, and his garments contained the ephod. Samuel’s initial visionary experience took place in Shiloh where he had access to the temple and the ark of the covenant. The Chronicler resolves the potential conflict by making Samuel’s father Elkanah a Levite. So why does 1 Samuel label Samuel only as a prophet but not priest? There are three considerations: (1) Northern traditions often give leading figures, such as Abraham and Jacob, prophetic features; (2) Numbers 3 shows awareness that the first-born functioned as priests before the tribe of Levi was designated in this role, as do other passages requiring the first-born to be redeemed; (3) The DtrH seems to have taken an earlier Samuel narrative in which he functions as a priest and edited it to characterize him as a prophet. To sum up, Samuel follows the model of priest in Northern Israel, where the first-born still functioned in this pre-Levitical role.

Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer (“Ezekiel—A Compromised Prophet in Reduced Circumstances”) looks at the literary persona of Ezekiel in the MT of the book (without addressing historical questions). First, Ezekiel appears as “God’s appointed marionette.” Ezekiel seems to be God’s ultimate tool, yet there are hints that he is uncomfortable with this role. In contrast to many other prophets, Ezekiel speaks little with YHWH in the vision reports but instead falls to the ground, seems to have no control over his body or outward show of feelings, and is described as more like a robot. Although described as without initiative or independence, here and there are references to Ezekiel’s feelings, suggesting his reluctance to be so controlled by God. Second, Ezekiel appears as God’s appointed spokesman. With Ezekiel the prophetic office is redefined: previous prophets commonly had the task of intercession, even those of the sixth century BCE, and Ezekiel was modelled on Moses for whom intercession was a key duty. But Ezekiel is not an intercessor. Two key themes contribute to this redefinition: first is his call to be a watchman, which entails conveying God’s will verbatim. The second is Ezekiel’s being rendered mute: he is not permitted to speak beyond what God tells him. He is reduced to a one-sided signpost. There are hints that Ezekiel understands this and is frustrated that he cannot speak or

intercede for Israel. Ezekiel is willing to intercede for his people but is not allowed to (9:8). God's mind is made up (ch. 11) and attempts for Ezekiel to intercede are rejected. Although God calls for an intercessor (22:30), he does not allow Ezekiel to fulfill that function. Indeed, the lack of reference to prophetic language in 40–48 suggests that Ezekiel gave up the prophetic office. Who gains from this change of the prophetic role? It can be argued that all lose: God, the people, and Ezekiel himself. Ezekiel's persona is one of mute protest. Is the "I" of the book of Ezekiel a protest by its author against God, against the theodicy of the book?

In the second paper going outside the Former and Latter Prophets, **Peter Matthews Wright** considers "The Qur'anic David." A current dispute concerns the Qur'anic appropriation and "correction" of prior sacred revelations and how to evaluate them. Muslims usually see this as evidence that the Qur'an has superseded earlier writings. Yet the Qur'an states in several places that it "confirms" prior scriptures. To "correct" is not the same as to supersede. The original context is very important. This shows that the Qur'anic corrections of biblical material is only an example of a wider Near Eastern rhetorical mode that is also attested in the Bible. The Qur'an is part of a religious literary tradition beginning perhaps as early as the twelfth century BCE and draws not only on Old Testament and New Testament prophecy but also that from the wider ancient Near East. It belongs to a "super-canon" that includes Zoroastrian literature and the Tanakh. The Qur'anic David illustrates how the Qur'an corrects prior sacred traditions but also confirms them. David appears as a prophetic figure. He also appears as a penitent, though the nature of his sin is not spelled out. But 1 Chronicles is also silent on David's sin. Thus, both 1 Chr 20 and the Qur'an use allusion to show that they are aware of the tradition but are passing on an existing tradition while also revising it. The revisionist interpretation of 1 Chronicles was only the beginning of a long process. The rabbis of the Babylonian Talmud continued to sanitize the Davidic tradition and the Qur'an brought it to a state of "prophetic impeccability." Indeed, the interpretation of early prophecy is a post-exilic prophetic mode. This "rehabilitation" of David is part of a larger literary activity in the ancient Near East ("the rehabilitation of kings?"), as is illustrated by the development of the Alexander legend.

THEMES AND TOPICS

This section discusses various major themes and topics that arise from the essays. In some cases, an important topic is confined to one essay, whereas sometimes a theme cuts across several essays. In either case, though, the topic or theme is an important one to which attention needs to be drawn. Please note that

reference to essays in the present volume are referred to by citing the AUTHOR'S NAME IN SMALL CAPS.

Prophets and Books

We tend to think of prophecy as an oral phenomenon, but most of what we know about prophets is related to the written word: much of our knowledge is from prophetic books, including the record of possible prophetic words themselves; communication in writing rather than orally is a feature of many prophetic pronouncements (cf. Jer 29; 30:1–2; 36). A number of the contributors brought up issues relating to books and written prophecies.

A continuing issue of discussion is how the prophetic books originated. Was a collection of originally oral sayings collected as the core, which was later developed and expanded to give the final prophetic book? As pointed out by BEN-DOV, Martti Nissinen has discussed a phenomenon in Mesopotamian literature that may serve as a useful analogy to the recording of prophecies in writing. Nissinen describes the two methods of recording Assyrian prophecies: the *u'iltu* was an initial note or memorandum that was not regarded as permanent and was not usually retained; however, the temporary text of the prophecy might be recorded on an archival tablet (usually with other prophecies) and preserved in a longer format. The prophetic book may have begun in such a way, with a very small amount of text initially but with a later increase as other material was added over time.

While this might explain the origin of some books, the historical situation is likely to have been more complicated. With regard to the book of Zephaniah, LEVIN argues that the process was *Fortschreibung*, which carries the idea of a nucleus that was then developed (often by drawing on other written texts); however, the book did not begin with a collection of “prophetic words” but a non-prophetic writing—in the case of Zephaniah a cultic proclamation (relating to the Day of YHWH). The idea that the core of present prophetic books was not an oral prophecy or collection of such prophecies but another sort of writing is an intriguing one—indeed, a radical one. In Chronicles BEENTJES found a mosaic of earlier prophetic texts placed in Azariah's mouth. There was seldom explicit quotation, but the author had drawn on previously existing prophetic texts, without doubt. This suggests a particular composition technique.

PETERSEN also looks at the growth of prophetic literature, the last books of the Minor Prophets in his case (Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi). He looks specifically at the Oracles against the Nations. These are directed mainly against specific nations in the Major Prophets and Amos. In the last six books of the Twelve, though, the Oracles against the Nations are more general, against “nations” rather than a particular

nation; also, the statements have become more diverse, not only about YHWH fighting against or punishing but also veneration of YHWH by the nations, including pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The difference seems to be due to historical development: the original Oracles against the Nations had their origins in the monarchic period, with the background of the royal court, whereas the six books investigated here are post-exilic and reflect that situation (including influence from the Psalms).

Using Haggai and Zech 1–8, MIDDLEMAS discusses how scribes may have worked in their editorial activity. It has been conventional to make a sharp distinction between (original) prophetic material and editorial additions that provide a variety of interpretative material. Yet Michael Floyd has argued that much of the supposed editorial additions are actually integral to the oracles (including shared language and viewpoint). Floyd's argument that the editorial material in Haggai shares the viewpoint of the prophetic oracles draws attention to the variability of editorial strategies among the prophetic books. MIDDLEMAS, drawing on the theory of concentric construction of Carol and Eric Meyers, argues that the same sort of construction is found in Isa 56–66. In both prophetic collections visions are surrounded by material of a more regulatory nature directed to the community. Concentric structuring has also been suggested for Amos, Lamentations, Proverbs, and Job. The question is of course whether this concentric construction is an indication of an original composition or whether it has been created editorially by additions and the importation of material from elsewhere. The latter seems to be the case with regard to Third Isaiah. If it is persuasive that shaping is an editorial strategy akin to the use of framing material to clarify and explain, the analysis of concentric shapes throughout biblical literature would require more attention in assessments of scribal activity.

FROLOV suggests that the differing concepts of prophecy in Deut 18 and 28 versus 1 Sam 1–8 may be in part a redactional question. He suggests that the largely Deuteronomistic base narrative of 1 Samuel has a particular view of prophecy, the cult, priesthood, monarch, and ark. Yet 1 Sam 1–8 give a different perspective on all these topics. One explanation would see an expansion of Deuteronomistic thought in these chapters, with the people suffering for their own sins, even if following the guidance of a prophet. Another suggestion is rather more radical but entrancing. This is the proposal that this section may be not just a later addition but even a deliberate anti-Deuteronomistic addition, meant to present the prophet as an *agent provocateur* who deliberately misleads the people.

If FROLOV is correct, 1 Sam 1–8 offers a different concept of the prophet from that in Deuteronomy (especially 18 and 28), primarily in the importance assigned to the written word in Deuteronomy, whereas obedience to the oral prophetic word is the main reaction expected in 1 Sam 1–8. The movement from

prophecy as mainly an oral phenomenon to the primary medium of the written book is an interesting development that is often forgotten. The early prophets were mostly preachers, but when we talk about prophecy today, we usually think of books of the Bible. When scholars discuss the phenomenon of prophecy or the prophet, this basic fact is sometimes forgotten. Most of our discussion around prophecy is based on the written word; the oral utterances of prophets are by and large theoretical rather than a part of the actual data.

Prophetic books also seem to have contributed to Judaism's becoming a "religion of the book" (BEN-DOV). According to the present form of the story, a book was found in the temple in the reign of Josiah and became the basis of his reform. The context suggests that this was a form of the book of Deuteronomy. Yet the Josiah story was not the only one which made the discovery of an ancient book an important impetus for new royal measures: parallels from Mesopotamia suggest that the book originally functioned as a means of confirming Josiah's measures by another form of divination. Revealed authoritative literature was a phenomenon for reflection on revelation, writtenness, and scribal authority in Mesopotamia. Reflection on literature and the scribal process is paralleled in Judah, and this helped to develop a sense of authoritative writings and, eventually, canon. The temple was not abandoned, and the Torah did not become the center of worship until much later.² Yet it seems clear that the focus on a holy book is first manifest in diaspora Judaism, perhaps as a substitute or surrogate for the temple. The proximity of the large Jewish community in Babylonia to the ancient Mesopotamian centers may have contributed to this development, however. Also, it can be said that the "religion of the book" had its beginnings under Josiah.

BEENTJES draws attention to the fact that Chronicles associates prophets with archives and documents in a number of passages (1 Chr 29:29; 2 Chr 9:29; 12:15; 13:22; 21:12; 32:32). These passages suggest a number of writings composed by or preserved in the name of various prophets and seers of antiquity, such as the "chronicles [words] of Iddo the seer." We may doubt whether we can take these statements as historically trustworthy descriptions of prophetic figures from the distant past, but they illustrate how the Chronicler saw prophets in his own time and context. Rather than just being preachers and sources of oral statements, they are pictured as scribes and authors.

The importance of writing as a prophetic medium was already noted by Max Weber who emphasized the *sine qua non* (in his opinion) of "emotive

² Cf. Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh* (London: Routledge, 2000), 178–82.

preaching” (*emotionale Predigt*), regardless of whether it was “oral or by pamphlet or revelations spread by written means like the suras of Mohammed.”³

Prophets and the Cult

Traditionally, prophets have been interpreted as anti-cultic. More recently, this has been seen as a caricature, but some of the old attitude still seems to linger. Several of the essays impinged on the cult in one way or another, but usually it was to describe a more positive relationship between prophet and cult.

With regard to the book of Jeremiah, LEUCHTER is of the opinion that a sustained cultic critique is found in the book: a critique of the Levites (in Jer 11:21–23 Deuteronomy 32 is used to show that the Levitical cult and lineage are to be cut off, specifically the Mushite Levites in Anathoth), a critique of the royal and family cult (a part of the Deuteronomic assault on family religion, including the cult of “the Queen of Heaven” and “Baal,” which in Jeremiah represents any religious practices condemned in Deuteronomy), and a critique of even the Deuteronomic cult (the temple becomes the dwelling of the people rather than God). This does not make the book entirely negative to cult as such, however, since the author instead imposes his own alternative cult: this is the cult of the prophetic literary persona.

As BEENTJES points out, Chronicles uses the term “prophesy” in reference to liturgical functions (1 Chr 25:1–3 [to read *nb*’ as a verb rather than a noun]). The sons of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthan “prophesied” to the sound of various musical instruments. They did so at the king’s direction. The content of their prophesying seems to have been the glorifying of God (1 Chr 25:3–6), not what is normally understood as prophecy. The liturgical intent of *nb*’ in this context seems clear. We might compare the use of *nb*’ in some passages of 1 Samuel in which “prophesy” is used in reference to ecstatic utterances that might be interpreted as praise (1 Sam 10:5–6, 10–11, 13; 18:10; 19:20–21, 23–24).

Prophets, Divination, and Apocalyptic

In my opinion, prophecy can be classified as a form of divination.⁴ Many would no doubt disagree, but the main function of divination is to ascertain the will of

³ Max Weber, “Religionssoziologie,” in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (2d ed; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1925), 254: “durch Rede oder Pamphlete oder schriftlich verbreitete Offenbarungen nach Art der Suren Muhammeds”; cf. *The Sociology of Religion*. Boston: Beacon, 2003.

God/the gods. This might well be information on future events but may rather be finding the basis for making a decision or determining the right direction among several alternatives. The subject is complicated, but many prophets induce a “prophetic ecstasy” by various means, such as singing and music, dance, drugs, physical stress or trauma. The prophetic figure might well respond to requests for information from “clients.” Again, there has been a tendency in Old Testament scholarship to disassociate the “classical” prophets from trance or ecstasy, but there is no good reason to do so.⁵ Some recent studies bear this out.⁶

In Chronicles there is a distinction between speakers who are called “prophet” or “seer” and those introduced by the “possession formula” who are not given a title (BEENTJES). Some prophets are explicitly described as “possessed.” By “possession formula” is meant expressions such as “the spirit of God was upon” or “the spirit enveloped.” He draws attention to five “inspired messengers,” including Amasai (1 Chr 12:19), Azariah (2 Chr 15:1), Jahaziel (2 Chr 20:14), Zechariah (2 Chr 24:20), and Necho (2 Chr 35:21). The speaker with a prophetic title (“prophet” or “seer”) normally has the king for an addressee, but those who are characterized by the possession formula, the “inspired messengers,” normally speak to the people. The former is the usage of the Chronicler, whereas the “possession formula” is also found in other writings relating to the prophets (e.g., 1 Sam 19:20; Ezek 11:5).

Ezekiel is a puppet in God’s hands, as TIEMEYER emphasizes, but this is a phenomenon normal in those experiencing spirit possession. They are taken over by the spirit and cease to have their own will or control of their actions. They

⁴ Evan M. Zuesse, “Divination,” in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 4 (ed. Mircea Eliade et al.; New York: Macmillan, 1987), 376–78; Lester L. Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages: A Socio-historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity, 1995), 139–41; idem, “Prophetic and Apocalyptic: Time for New Definitions—and New Thinking,” in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic, and their Relationships* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Robert D. Haak; JSPSup 46; London: T&T Clark, 2003), 107–33.

⁵ Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages*, 108–12.

⁶ I. M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession* (2d ed. London: Routledge, 1989), 32–58; Nils G. Holm, “Ecstasy Research in the 20th Century—An Introduction,” in *Religious Ecstasy: Based on Papers Read at the Symposium on Religious Ecstasy Held at Åbo, Finland, on the 26th–28th of August 1981*. (ed. N. G. Holm; Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1982), 7–26; Martti Nissinen, “Prophetic Madness: Prophecy and Ecstasy in the Ancient Near East and in Greece,” in *Raising Up a Faithful Exegete: Essays in Honor of Richard D. Nelson* (ed. K. L. Noll and Brooks Schramm; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 3–29.

also do not usually remember what they did or said when under the spirit.⁷ Ezekiel is certainly taken over by the spirit at various times (Ezek 2:2; 3:12, 14, 22, 24; 11:1, 5, 24; 37:1; 40:1). TIEMEYER's contention is a bit different from this, however. She makes the point that Ezekiel is God's ultimate tool in that he lacks a distinct personality. In the vision reports he says little but instead falls to the ground and appears to have no control over his body. Whether Ezekiel is unconscious of his actions and words while under the power of the spirit is not clear, but a protest against the operation of the spirit would be unusual.

One of the issues that many have regarded as settled a long time ago is the clear distinction between prophecy and apocalyptic. Unfortunately, some scholars do not seem to recognize that the matter is dead and continue to irritate sensible folk by claiming that Daniel is prophecy—as I do in this volume (GRABBE). The argument does not deny a genre of apocalyptic literature or a phenomenon of apocalyptic, but it makes this a subdivision of prophecy (which itself is a sub-division of divination). The many important parallels between a book like Amos or a prophet like Jeremiah support this view of Daniel. There are also major differences between these entities, but major differences also exist between prophetic books and, likewise, between apocalypses. By this classification the important resemblances between types of divination, prophecy and prophetic books, and apocalyptic literature can be better understood.

The Prophetic Persona

A number of the essays draw attention to the variety of ways in which the prophetic persona is constructed in different prophetic contexts, and a variety of prophetic personae issue from the essays here:

Max Weber has some important things to say about prophets (though it is interesting that COOK was the only contributor who mentioned Weber). Yet Weber's lack of specialist knowledge sometimes led to unsupportable statements. For example, he distinguished prophets from priests, which is not surprising, but he then commented, "It is no accident that, with minor exceptions, almost no prophets have emerged from the priestly class,"⁸ which is an absurd statement, at least as far as ancient Israel is concerned. This required him to make the further rather silly statement, "Ezekiel ... can hardly be called a

⁷ Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion*, 32–58.

⁸ Weber, "Religionssoziologie," 250: "Es ist kein Zufall, daß mit verschwindenden Ausnahmen, kein Prophet aus der Priesterschaft auch nur hervorgegangen ist"; cf. Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 46.

prophet.”⁹ He does not seem to comment on such individuals as Jeremiah and Samuel nor the whole question of cultic prophecy.¹⁰ A number of his other statements could be challenged.

Yet Weber recognized the importance of the personal call for all prophets, which some have denied.¹¹ He had further emphasized the importance of charisma as an essential feature of prophetic individuals. This of course tied in with his wider perspective on charisma in relation to individuals in positions of authority and leadership.¹² COOK treated the subject of prophetic charisma in the context of feminist recuperative scholars. In this case, the expression of prophetic charisma as “emotive preaching” was seen as a particularly useful model for this section of scholarship. That preaching could come by various media, including literary compositions.¹³

Another possible persona is the prophet as *agent provocateur* (FROLOV). By this is meant that the prophet says things that cause Israel to sin or omits to mention things that might deter them from sinning. For example, in 1 Sam 4 the prophet Samuel encourages the people to fight the Philistines for the first time in a long time. The implication is that there was a divine promise of victory. In actual fact, God was planning to use this occasion to punish Eli’s sons, but Israel had to be defeated to bring this about. The prophet had, in effect, misled the people. Similarly, in 1 Sam 8 YHWH tells Samuel that for the people to ask for a king is rejection of his own divine kingship (1 Sam 8:7); nevertheless, his message to the people omits this fact. The reason is that God wants the people to go astray so he can punish them for their acts of requesting a human king.

In discussing cultic criticism, LEUCHTER puts forward the view that in the book of Jeremiah the prophet is presented as a cultic alternative. Instead of the cults critiqued in the book (the Levitical cult, the family and royal cult, and even the Deuteronomic cult) the author of the book cultivates the cult of the literary

⁹ Weber, “Religionssoziologie,” 253: “Hesekiel ... kaum noch Prophet zu nennen”; cf. Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 51.

¹⁰ On this last, see Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages*, 112–13 and references there, especially Sigmund Mowinckel, “III. Kultprophetie und prophetische Psalmen,” Volume 3, pages 4–29 in *Psalmenstudien*, Parts 1–6. Skrifter utgit av Videnskapsselskapets i Kristiania II: Hist.-Filos. Klasse. Oslo: Dybwad, 1921–24 (1922).

¹¹ Weber, “Religionssoziologie,” 250; cf. idem, *The Sociology of Religion*, 46.

¹² Weber, “Charismatismus,” in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (2d ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1925); cf. idem, “Charisma and its Transformation,” in *Economy and Society*. (ed. G. Roth and C. Wittich; Berkeley: University of California, 1978).

¹³ Cf. Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 53.

persona of the prophet. LEUCHTER argues that this created a model for survival by placing the prophetic personality above the cult of exterior objects, rituals, and social structures. It promotes an alternative cult where this literary persona forms the authoritative basis for devotion different from the old standards. The figure of Jeremiah stands in isolation from and in opposition to all previous categories of religious practice and experience, even as he draws from these categories in offering the oracles that take them to task. This must be seen in distinction from other major prophets such as Isaiah and Ezekiel who maintain the unwavering legitimacy of particular ancient traditions (the Zion tradition for Isaiah; the Zadokite tradition for Ezekiel). By contrast, Jeremiah's rhetoric dismantles all dominant cultic and theological traditions from the pre-exilic period, orchestrating the remnants of these thought structures into an ideology and foundation for belief in which the sanctity of older institutions are affirmed as the basis for discourse and yet persistently challenged.

It has long been pointed out that Samuel appears to occupy several roles, but SWEENEY examines the question in deliberate detail. Samuel is explicitly labelled a prophet (1 Sam 9:9), but the text implies that he also functions as a judge (in the sense of the ruler figures in the book of Judges) and as a priest. SWEENEY argues that, although Samuel is never explicitly referred to as judge, he does "judge" (use of the verbal form in 1 Sam 7:6, 15, 17) and appoints his sons as judges (1 Sam 8:1–3). Even more emphasis falls on the priestly activities of Samuel. He regularly offers sacrifices, which is one of the main traditional activities of a priest. Yet he seems to be a priest in the tradition of northern Israel where the first-born son had the job of carrying out priestly duties, a model that was later superseded by the Levitical tradition in which only members from a particular tribe could be priests (Samuel was an Ephraimite). A further priestly indication is Samuel's role as a visionary. Although this is seen as a prophetic activity (including in the Samuel tradition of the DtrH), priests in fact had a number of visionary functions, including control of the ephod which was a priestly form of communication with God.

More than any other prophet, Ezekiel fulfils the role of "God's appointed marionette" (TIEMEYER), though there are indications that he is not comfortable in this role. The "I" of the book of Ezekiel may be a protest by its author against God; if so, this has the intriguing effect of making him both puppet and divine passive resister. Previous prophets commonly had the task of intercession, but Ezekiel is not an intercessor. He is willing to intercede for the people but is not allowed to (9:8). Instead, he is mute: he is not permitted to speak beyond what God tells him. It can be argued that this new role causes all to lose something, whether God, the people, or Ezekiel himself. But this is an image of the prophet that sets Ezekiel apart in many ways from other prophets.

Prophets in Hermeneutical Perspective

The hermeneutical side is one that interests many people who are engaged with the prophets, yet most of the contributors here did not deal with that specific issue. One essay addressing the hermeneutical issue was that of COOK. The question of women and prophecy was raised by COOK who discussed the use of Weber's model by feminist recuperative critics. These scholars drew on the Weberian construct of charisma as the main characteristic of prophecy, in order to argue for women's contribution to the religious community as preachers. As with all hermeneutic encounters with the text, there is the question of what one does with aspects of the text that would be seen as problematic by modern readers (e.g., slavery).

In discussing the "Qur'anic David," WRIGHT draws attention to how the Israelite king was progressively "sanitized" to remove his sins and weaknesses. This is readily apparent in the Islamic tradition (which includes many characters from the Hebrew Bible). This "sanitizing" was a process known earlier, however, not only in the Babylonian Talmud but even in the Bible itself. The David of Chronicles has omitted some of the less desirable characteristics described in 2 Samuel, a prime example being the episode relating to Bathsheba and his subsequent murder of Uriah the Hittite.