

PRIESTS AND CULTS IN THE BOOK OF THE
TWELVE

SBL Press

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Number 14

SBL Press



PRIESTS AND CULTS IN THE BOOK OF THE TWELVE

Edited by
Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer

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Atlanta

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Tiemeyer, Lena-Sofia, 1969- editor. | Krispenz, Jutta. Idolatry, apostasy, prostitution : Hosea's struggle against the cult. Container of (work):

Title: Priests and cults in the Book of the Twelve / edited by Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer.

Description: Atlanta : SBL Press, [2016] | ©2016 | Series: Ancient Near East monographs ; number 14 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016005375 (print) | LCCN 2016005863 (ebook) | ISBN 9781628371345 (pbk. : alk. paper) | ISBN 9780884141549 (hardcover : alk. paper) | ISBN 9780884141532 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Priests, Jewish. | Semitic cults--Biblical teaching. | Bible. Minor Prophets--Criticism, interpretation, etc. | Semites--Religion.

Classification: LCC BS1199.P7 P758 2016 (print) | LCC BS1199.P7 (ebook) | DDC 224/.906--dc23

LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2016005375>

Printed on acid-free paper.



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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (ed. David Noel Freedman <i>et al.</i> ; 6 vols: New York: Doubleday, 1992).
ABGe	Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte
ABRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
ACCS	<i>Ancient Christian Commentary Series</i>
AcBib	Academia Biblica
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
ALBO	Analecta Lovaniensia biblica et orientalia
ANEM	Ancient Near Eastern Monographs
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOTC	Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ASV	<i>American Standard Version</i>
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AzTh	Aufsätze und Vorträge zur Theologie und Religionswissenschaft
BBET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BBR	<i>Bulletin of Biblical Research</i>
BDB	<i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (ed. Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907/1953).
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BibS(N)	Biblische Studien
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BT	Book of the Twelve
BThSt	Biblisch Theologische Studien
BZAW	Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>

<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
<i>CCS</i>	Continental Commentary Series
<i>DDD</i>	<i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> (ed. Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter Willem van der Horst; 2nd extensively rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1999).
<i>DOTP</i>	<i>Dictionary of the Old Testament Prophets</i> (ed. Mark J. Boda and J. Gordon McConville; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2012).
<i>EBib</i>	Etudes Bibliques
<i>ESV</i>	<i>English Standard Version</i>
<i>FAT</i>	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
<i>FOTL</i>	Forms of Old Testament Literature
<i>FRLANT</i>	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>HBM</i>	Hebrew Bible Monographs
<i>HBS</i>	Herders Biblische Studien
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
<i>HCOT</i>	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>HCSB</i>	<i>Holman Christian Standard Bible</i>
<i>HeBAI</i>	<i>Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel</i>
<i>HSM</i>	Harvard Semitic Monographs
<i>HThKAT</i>	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>ICC</i>	International Critical Commentary
<i>ITC</i>	International Theological Commentary
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
<i>JPS</i>	Jewish Publication Society
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSJSup</i>	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTS</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KAT</i>	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>KHAT</i>	Kurzer Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>KJV</i>	King James Version
<i>KTU</i>	Keilalphabetische Texte aus Ugarit
<i>LD</i>	Lectio divina
<i>LHBOTS</i>	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
<i>LSTS</i>	Library of Second Temple Studies

MT	Masoretic Text
NASB	<i>New American Standard Bible</i>
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NIBCOT	New International Biblical Commentary Old Testament series
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIV	New International Version
NKJV	New King James Version
NOSTER	Nederlandse Onderzoekschool voor Theologie en Religiewetenschap
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OG	Old Greek
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OTE	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTM	Old Testament Monographs
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
Pesah.	Pesahim
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature: Dissertation Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SEÅ	Svensk exegetisk årsbok
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East
SHBC	Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary
SJSJ	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
SOTSMS	Society for the Old Testament Study Monograph Series
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SymS	Symposium Series
ThStKr	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TUAT	Otto Kaiser, Bernd Janowski, Gernot Wilhelm and Daniel Schwemer (ed.), <i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments</i> (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1982–2001).
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
VWGTh	Veröffentlichungen Der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft Für Theologie
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WEB	<i>World English Bible</i>

WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZSTh	<i>Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie</i>
ZThK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

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INTRODUCTION

The current volume focuses, as the title suggests, on the depictions of the cult and its personnel—primarily but not limited to priests and Levites—in the Book of the Twelve. The contributing authors do not share one methodological approach and they do not always reach conclusions that are mutually compatible. This variety is intentional insofar as it reflects contemporary scholarship. The current volume further seeks to showcase different scholarly traditions. In this volume, scholarship from continental Europe, Scandinavia, the United Kingdom, North America, and Australia is represented. What holds these scholars together is their interest in the so-called Book of the Twelve. Most of the individual contributions focus on a single prophetic book, but they also all place their research and their findings in the wider context of the Book of the Twelve. Due to their content, the books of Hosea and Joel, as well as the Haggai-Malachi corpus, have received the most attention. Other books, where the cult is at most a peripheral topic, have accordingly received less. While there has been no conscious effort to cover all the twelve books in the Twelve, this volume has sought to discuss all the key cultic texts in the Book of the Twelve.

The articles are organized in accordance with the order of the Book of the Twelve. Jutta Krispenz's article on idolatry, apostasy and prostitution in the book of Hosea opens the volume. She surveys the uses of cultic vocabulary (i.e., nouns associated with cultic personnel and places of cultic performances and verbs associated with cultic acts) throughout the text. She begins by noting that cultic vocabulary is unevenly distributed throughout the book, with a higher frequency in chapters 4–11 than in the surrounding material. Based on her survey and accompanying discussion, she notes, among other things, that the priests (כהנים) are not connected with actual cultic actions; instead this is the realm of the people, as well as of the כמרים and the קדושות. Krispenz further observes that cultic acts take place in a multitude of cultic places. While this might suggest a “thriving religious life which permeated the people’s daily life,” the prophetic voice in Hosea regards all of this as merely idolatry and apostasy.

Mark Leuchter's article explores the exodus mythology employed in the book of Hosea within its wider context of the Book of the Twelve and argues that Hosea has a pivotal role in the overall Levitical redaction of this collection of texts. Leuchter begins by highlighting the differences between the two northern Exodus traditions that are preserved in the Hebrew Bible: one state-supported myth which saw the establishment of the Northern kingdom as a mythic rehearsal of the exodus, and another, Levitical, counter-tradition that emphasized the earlier, prestate mythical exodus traditions. Turning to Hosea, Leuchter demonstrates that the prophet not only adhered to the latter Levitical

tradition but also added mythical motifs to it. Adhering to the Levitical critique of the official cult of the Northern Kingdom, Hosea sought to distinguish between the actual tradition of the exodus and those traditions which related to ancestral worship that had come to be embedded in the state-version of the exodus. Finally, Leuchter suggests that the editing of the Book of the Twelve—with Hosea's Exodus mythology at its opening statement—served as a Levitical challenge to the Aaronide interests of combining prophetic texts with imperial ideology (as seen, for example, in Ezra-Nehemiah).

Mark Boda looks wider afield and investigates the concept of “penitential priests” in the book of the Twelve, with focus on Joel and the Haggai-Malachi corpus. He begins by noting their shared structural diversity: they all begin with a description of a local crisis / matter and they all end on a cosmological / international note. They further all combine the prophetic message with a concern for priestly figures. Boda proceeds by surveying the portrayal of priests in Joel and Zechariah and how they can fruitfully be read together. Joel 1–2 presents the priests as the key players within the community at the time of crisis, calling the people to repentance. In contrast, Zech 7–8 shows their failure to take that call to repentance on board. The same emphasis on the priestly leadership in penitential response is also attested in Haggai and Malachi. In their pivotal positions at the beginning and at the end of the Book of the Twelve, Joel and the Haggai-Malachi corpus together highlight the importance in the Twelve to challenge the priests to take up their role as “penitential catalysts” within the postmonarchic community.

Jason LeCureux, continuing with the book of Joel, challenges the common view that its portrayal of the cult is wholly positive. He begins with an overview of scholarship on Joel's relationship with the cult, before turning to a discussion of all references to the cult in the book. He argues that nothing in the text demands the view that the author was part of the cultic elite or that he was a so-called cultic prophet. This (negative) impression is strengthened when approaching the book of Joel as part of the Book of the Twelve. Read on its own, the command in Joel 2:12–14 is ambiguous: is the notion of שׁוּב a call to repentance or a more general call to turn back to God in supplication? Read within the wider context of the Twelve, however, situated in between the two “cult-critical” books of Hosea and Amos, Joel 2:12–14 suggests the former sense. Furthermore, when Joel is being read together with Jonah, the non-cultic overtones of the envisioned repentance become even clearer: the king of Nineveh enacts Joel's call to repentance apart from a functioning temple setting. Thus, when understood as an integral part of the Book of the Twelve, Joel challenges rather than supports the priestly and sacrificial system.

Deborah Rooke offers yet another comparative study—this time between Joel and Malachi—with focus on the close relationship between sacrifices and

food. Beginning with Joel, Rooke highlights the interplay between the natural disaster which has caused famine and the dual roles of the priests not only to give what little food there is to God as a sacrifice but also to call the community to a fast. These actions will, in turn, serve as a plea to God to restore fertility in the land. A similar connection between priests, sacrifices, and food exist in Malachi. Yet, while Joel portrays the priests as an exemplary model of faithful servants, Malachi presents the opposite scenario where the priests, by their lack of proper teaching and by their acts of defiling the altar through faulty sacrifices, have actually caused the current crisis. Rooke further explores the notion of sacrifices as a meal which is prepared for the deity in his honor and which serves as a means of communication between the community and the divine. If God receives his due at his “table,” then the people will also receive their due in the form of a good harvest. Rooke concludes that Joel and Malachi agree on the priests’ vital role in the community: “faithful priests mean reliable food supplies.”

Göran Eidevall’s article asks whether the book of Amos has a consistent attitude towards the cult. Eidevall opens with a survey of past scholarship on both sides of the Amos-debate: was Amos an antiritualistic prophet or was he rather a cultic prophet? Eidevall, however, argues that this quest is methodologically unsound insofar as the book of Amos does not yield data about a historical prophet named Amos. Rather, our aim should be to investigate the attitudes towards the cult in the *book* of Amos. Eidevall proceeds by examining all passages in the book which refer to the cult. In each instance, he seeks to determine whether or not a given passage expresses a general attitude towards the cult (and, if so, whether negative or positive), or whether it articulates a view on a specific (geographic) place of worship or a particular group of worshippers. Eidevall concludes that it is “time to say farewell to Amos, the anti-cultic prophet.” Rather, the book of Amos claims that YHWH has abandoned all northern cultic sites (as part of its theological explanation of the fall of the Northern Kingdom in 722 BCE). Furthermore, its silence about the Jerusalem temple can be interpreted as a tacit approval of its temple cult, in line with the general positive approach in the postmonarchic era.

Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer explores the (sparse) references to the cult in the book of Jonah. Her investigation takes place on three levels. She begins by discussing the extant cultic behavior (praying, casting lots, sacrificing, vow-taking, and fasting) in the book of Jonah as carried out by three set of actors (the sailors, Jonah, and the Ninevites), and highlights that all key characters are involved in activities that can be categorized as belonging within the cultic sphere. Turning to the Book of the Twelve, Tiemeyer argues that when read together with Joel and Malachi especially, its existing references to the cult are strengthened and new connections are being forged (cf. LeCureux). The same tendency reaches its

peak in the writings of the Sages and the mediaeval Jewish commentators. Looking at material including *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer*, the Jewish-hellenistic sermon *On Jonah*, *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, and *Pesiqta de-Rab Kahana*, Tiemeyer concludes that they all, each in different ways, bring the biblical text of Jonah closer to Jerusalem, the temple, and its cult.

Jason Radine's article seeks to uncover the identity of the so-called "idoltrous priests" (כמרים) in Zeph 1:4. First, Radine argues that, given that (1) it is an Aramaic word, (2) in Aramaic this word has no specific "idoltrous" connotations, and (3) the normal Hebrew word כהן is often used in idoltrous contexts, the term in Zeph 1:4 refers to priests of Aramaic background and/or priests involved in Aramaic rites. Radine's analysis of the contexts of the three biblical occurrences of the term (Zeph 1:4; Hos 10:5; 2 Kgs 23:5) suggests the latter, as there is no evidence to suggest that the כמרים were foreigners. Further, it appears that they were a special group of royally appointed religious practitioners and formed part of Judah's state policy towards Assyria. Radine then explores the relations between the content of Zechariah and Josiah's reform (with focus on the relative chronology of Zeph 1:4–6 and 2 Kgs 23), as well as the character, historicity, and extent of that reform. Turning to matters of dating, Radine dates the book of Zephaniah to the time shortly after the fall of Jerusalem. Its message, however, is to be read as given to a prophetic character at the time of Josiah who, like Huldah, foresaw and announced Jerusalem's imminent fall, a fall which was in part due to Judah's false leadership which included the כמרים.

Lester Grabbe's article opens a series of studies which investigate the cult and the priesthood in the final three books in the Book of the Twelve. Grabbe surveys the material in Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi which deal with the priesthood, and he highlights the high probability that all three men were associated with the cult, possibly being both prophets and priests. Grabbe further compares the depictions of the priesthood in the Haggai-Malachi corpus with the rest of the Book of the Twelve (as well as with Kings and Ezra-Nehemiah) and notes several shared points of contact. First, the priests are described as men invested with political power. Secondly, a division between altar clergy and lower clergy is presupposed in many texts. Thirdly, priests possess a body of legal material (torah), and they were held responsible for giving rulings which related to cult and temple and their associated practices. Grabbe concludes by listing how the Haggai-Malachi corpus can help us to reconstruct the priesthood in Yehud in the Persian period.

Paul Redditt's study is also devoted to the Haggai-Malachi corpus, with the aim of elucidating the depicted relationship between priestly and royal power. Redditt proceeds systematically through the corpus and notes a roughly linear development. The material from the early postmonarchic period in Yehud (especially Haggai but also, albeit in a different way, Zech 1–8) attests to a close con-

nection between temple, priest, and king. The authors expressed the hope for a Davidide who could make Yehud into an independent kingdom again. In the later Zech 9–14, however, these hopes appear to have disappeared and given rise to a new view point. While chapter 9 speaks of a king, this humble new king is markedly different from the royal prophecies in the earlier Haggai-Zech 1–8. The subsequent chapters 10–14 make no mention of earthly kings and in parallel condemn the priestly leaders. The concluding chapter 14 envisions an eschatological scenario when God has become king. Likewise, Malachi criticizes the current priesthood and further speaks only of divine kingship (Mal 1:14). These depictions stand in sharp contrast to the approach to clergy and kingship in Ezra and Nehemiah. Both books differentiate between royal power (which belongs to the Persian authorities) and clerical leadership (which belongs strictly to the returnees).

Jakob Wöhrle's contribution continues on the same topic and offers a more detailed study of the material in Haggai and Zech 1–8. It explores the attitudes towards the political power of the high priest as expressed in the various textual layers. Beginning with Haggai, Wöhrle highlights that Hag 2:23 anticipates the reestablishment of the Davidic kingdom under Zerubbabel. Turning to the material in Zech 1–8, Wöhrle detects a three-stage development. The earliest material envisions a royal-priestly diarchy where the high priest and the Davidic king share equal power. This view is found in, among other places, Zech 4:14 where the image of the two "sons of oil" symbolizes Joshua and Zerubbabel, and in an early version of Zech 6:9–14* which, like Zech 4:14, depicts a royal-priestly diarchy consisting of the Davidic king and the high priest. In contrast, the final form of Zech 6:9–14 is a later version, written at the time where Zerubbabel was no longer a political persona. In this version, all references to Zerubbabel have been erased and all political power is instead assigned to Joshua. The material in Zech 3:1–7 stems, according to Wöhrle, from the same time and likewise portrays the crowning of the high priest and, as such, the establishment of a hierocracy. Yet an even later textual layer exists which anew seeks to correct Zechariah's political vision. In Zech 3:8, the political power of the high priest is diminished and the expectation of a Davidic king, present in concrete form in the first layer, resurfaces in the expectation of the future coming of the "branch."

The final two articles investigate matters in the book of Malachi. James Nogalski's article deals with the so-called "Book of Remembrance" in Mal 3:16–18. Nogalski begins by challenging the common Christian interpretation which equates this book with a "book of life" which contains the names of those who have survived the (coming) "Day of YHWH." Rather, the book, written in the presence of YHWH, is given to the survivors and contains information for their benefit: teaching them to differentiate anew between the righteous and the wicked. The "remembrance" thus refers to the consequences of YHWH's actions

and serves to remind the *people*. This book may contain the book of Malachi but it does not need to be limited to it. In fact, it is possible to regard it as some form of the Book of the Twelve. Nogalski continues by exploring scribal culture, with the aim of determining the specific background to the formation of this “Book of Remembrance” / Book of the Twelve. Who became a scribe? Where were they trained? What texts were available to them during their training and in what form (oral or written)? What did they do once they were trained? Who employed them? How did their situation change in the postmonarchic period? Furthermore, what is the connection between the work of these scribes and the creation and formation of what later became the Canon? Also, what role did the Levites have in this scribal enterprise (cf. Leuchter)? Nogalski concludes that Mal 3:16–18 offers a snapshot into the world of scribes and into the scribal processes that ultimately culminated in the publication of an authoritative and didactic book.

Aaron Schart’s source-critical study of Mal 1:6–2:9 concludes the collection. Schart proceeds systematically through the pericope and detects, by noting its changing terminology, four different textual layers: the “lay people-layer,” the “priest-layer,” the “Levi-layer,” and the “nation-layer.” In addition, he argues that Mal 1:9a, 2:7, and 2:9b are later individual interpolations. Schart subsequently defines the key message of each textual layer, as well as the historical setting of its composition. He concludes by analyzing the different layers within the context of the Book of the Twelve. The primary lay people-layer alludes to Mic 2:1–2 and Amos 5:22. These allusions show that the author of this layer wished to display continuity with earlier prophetic texts, yet they do not constitute sufficient grounds for postulating that this layer was part of a wider Book of the Twelve. Turning to the priest-layer, the situation is similar. There is clear affinity between Mal 1:6–2:9 and Hos 4, yet this affinity cannot prove that the priest-layer was part of a wider multi prophets-corpus. The Levi-layer provides no information on this issue. In contrast, the dependency of Mal 1:11 upon the book of Jonah, as well as its allusion to Zech 14:9, 16, suggests that by the time of the composition of the nation-layer, the formerly independent text of Malachi had become incorporated into the final version of the Book of the Twelve that included the book of Jonah and Zech 9–14.

Several people have helped to make this volume a better volume. In particular, I am grateful to the SBL group “The Book of the Twelve” for their insight and support throughout the process of creating this book. An earlier version of five of the articles in the present volume were presented in a session devoted especially to “Priests and Cult in the Book of the Twelve” at the Annual Meeting of the SBL in San Diego in 2014. My heartfelt thanks also go to Ms. Amy Erickson, a graduate student at the University of Aberdeen, who proof-read all the articles in this volume. Last but not least I would like to thank the series editors

for accepting this volume into the Ancient Near Eastern Monograph series of the Society of Biblical Literature. I am also very grateful to Prof. Alan Lenzi for the excellent and prompt help and support on the way towards producing a camera-ready copy. In producing this book, I have become convinced in the benefits associated with Open-Access Publication. It is my hope that this series will go from strength to strength and that its scholarship will reach a wide audience.

Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer
Aberdeen, December 2015

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