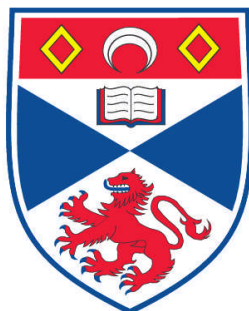


**A NEW GLIMPSE OF DAY ONE : AN INTERTEXTUAL HISTORY
OF GENESIS 1.1-5 IN HEBREW AND GREEK TEXTS UP TO 200
CE**

Samuel D. Giere

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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**A NEW GLIMPSE OF DAY ONE:
AN INTERTEXTUAL HISTORY OF GENESIS 1.1-5
IN HEBREW AND GREEK TEXTS
UP TO 200 CE**

BY
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DEGREE
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SUBMITTED
22 MAY 2006

ST MARY'S COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an unconventional history of the interpretation of Day One, Genesis 1.1-5, in Hebrew and Greek texts up to c. 200 CE. Using the concept of ‘intertextuality’ as developed by Kristeva, Derrida, and others, the method for this historical exploration looks at the dynamic interteconnectedness of texts. The results reach beyond deliberate exegetical and eisegetical interpretations of Day One to include intertextual, and therefore not necessarily deliberate, connections between texts. The purpose of the study is to gain a glimpse into the textual possibilities available to the ancient reader / interpreter. Central to the method employed is the identification of the intertexts of Day One. This is achieved, at least in part, by identifying and tracing flags that may draw the reader from one text to another. In this study these flags are called ‘intertextual markers’ and may be individual words, word-pairs, or small phrases that occur relatively infrequently within the corpus of texts being examined. The thesis first explores the intertextuality of Genesis 1.1-5 in the confines of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint. The second half of the thesis identifies and explores the intertexts of Day One in other Hebrew texts (e.g. the Dead Sea Scrolls, Sirach) and other Greek texts (e.g. Philo, the New Testament) up to c. 200 CE. The thesis concludes with a summation of some of the more prominent and surprising threads in this intertextual ‘tapestry’ of Day One. These summary threads include observations within the texts in a given language and a comparative look at the role of language in the intertextual history of Day One.

For
Amy LuAnn,
Isaac Oban,
and
Shonagh Josephine

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ABBREVIATIONS

JOURNALS, SERIES, AND PUBLICATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>
<i>AJT</i>	<i>Asia Journal of Theology</i>
<i>APOT</i>	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by R.H. Charles. 2 vols. Oxford, 1913.
<i>Aug</i>	<i>Augustinianum</i>
BDB	Brown, F., S.R. Driver, C.A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford, 1907.
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
<i>BIOSCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue biblique
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
ECDSS	Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls
<i>ESLL</i>	<i>Educational Studies in Language and Literature</i>
<i>ExAud</i>	<i>Ex audito</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FOTL	Forms of Old Testament Literature
<i>GTJ</i>	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
<i>HAR</i>	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
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>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
Jastrow	Jastrow, M. <i>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature</i> . 2 nd ed. New York, 1903.

<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods: Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JSSMS	Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>Judaism</i>	<i>Judaism</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LDSS	Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LSJ	Liddell, H.G., R. Scott, and H.S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9 th edition with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996.
NCB	New Century Bible
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>Mils</i>	<i>Milltown Studies</i>
<i>OstSt</i>	<i>Ostkirchlichen Studien</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York, 1983.
<i>OtSt</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLTCS	Society of Biblical Literature Text Critical Studies
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature

<i>Semeia</i>	<i>Semeia</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia post-biblica
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigraphica
<i>Tarbiz</i>	<i>Tarbiz</i>
<i>Text</i>	<i>Textus</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
<i>VD</i>	<i>Verbum domini</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WBC	Word Bible Commentary
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

OTHER

LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis has grown out of my commitment to and interest in the on-going lives of texts in both Synagogue and Church. In 1997, I completed a Masters Thesis at Wartburg Theological Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa, USA, that explored the possibility of a midrashic relationship between Leviticus 19 and the New Testament book of James. While the results of the thesis were not earth-shattering, during the process of writing I began thinking about the hermeneutical process of the engagement of scripture with scripture¹ and engagement of the reader with scripture.² This curiosity about the hermeneutical process was only further peaked during my experience as a parish pastor, in particular reading texts with parishioners and colleagues. To these, my fellow readers, I owe a great deal.

This current project grew out of my own interests in interpretation and conversations with my doctoral supervisor, Dr. James R. Davila, to whom I owe gratitude for his guidance throughout this project and for whom I have great admiration as a scholar who embodies integrity to both text and academy.

I have also benefited from the collegial relationships that I have enjoyed during the writing of this thesis. Over the past two years, I have enjoyed the collegiality of and conversations with colleagues in the Religion Department of Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota, USA, whose hospitality has been most appreciated. Also, my pub chats with the likes of Richard Goodrich, Tony Clark, Bruce Hansen, Tim Gombis, Ed Russell, Andrew Rawnsley, Don Collette and the like have borne some intellectual fruit and granted some intellectual release.

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I owe my greatest gratitude to my wife, Amy Current, for her careful reading, helpful critique, and constant companionship, and to our children, Isaac Oban and Shonagh Josephine. They have endured long hours away,

¹ M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985).

² D. Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990).

uncertainty, and the general grind. To them I extend my heartfelt thankfulness and love, and it is to them that I dedicate this work.

Finally, while the work and ideas of many come together in this study, any and all errors are mine.

Samuel D Giere

22 May 2006

ברוך אושה מעשה בראשית:

Blessed is the one who fortifies the works of creation.

m.Ber. 9.2

“The tracing of intertextual relations is endless, and quite literally, pointless.”

Timothy K. Beal

דבי רי ישמעאל תנא
וכפטיש יפוצץ סלע מזה פטיש זה מתחלק לכמה ניצוצות
אף מקרא אחד יוצא טעמים

In R. Ishmael's school it was taught:

And just as a hammer divides rock – just as [the rock] is split into several pieces,
so too one scriptural text goes forth as several meanings.

b.Sanh. 34a

INTRODUCTION

0.1 Some initial thoughts

To say the least, Genesis 1.1-5 or Day One contains just a small slice of the vastness of language or *langue* (Saussure), though to say ‘contains’ is not altogether accurate. While words that occur inside the boundaries of Gen 1.1-5 are to a degree controlled by syntactical relationships therein, controls that help the reader understand, words are not solely limited to or by their context. Ontologically and epistemologically, words spill out of and into text, all within the mind of the reader – the interpreter.¹ For as much as Gen 1.1-5 ‘contains’ a word, the reader of the word seeks to understand it within the expansive sea of words and texts available.² Words, and the texts which they comprise, ‘live’ in this dynamic, multidimensional, infinite (?) conversation between (con)text, reader, and intertexts.³

This study explores the intertextuality of Genesis 1.1-5 in Hebrew and Greek texts up to c. 200 CE.

0.2 Intertextuality

As exemplified by the epigraph from the pen of Timothy Beal,⁴ intertextuality and (especially) its implementation within a history of interpretation may elicit questions of validity and/or viability. What role can intertextuality play? Is intertextuality a method? How can intertextuality be useful without digressing *ad infinitum*? What follows is an explanation of my understanding of intertextuality and an argument for its viability in such an

¹ H.-G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, (trans. J. Weinsheimer and D.G. Marshall; 2nd revised ed.; New York: Continuum, 1996), thinking about ‘word’ in the context of the relation of the divine and the human word, writes: ‘Whereas God expresses his nature and substance in the Word in pure immediacy, every thought that we think (and therefore every word in which the thought expresses itself) is a mere accident of the mind. The word of human thought is directed toward the thing, but it cannot contain it as a whole within itself. Thus thought constantly proceeds to new conceptions and is fundamentally incapable of being wholly realized in any. This incapacity for completeness has a positive side: it reveals the true infinity of the mind, which constantly surpasses itself in a new mental process and in doing so also finds the freedom for constantly new projects.’ (425-426)

² ‘Reading is an active organization of readers’ awareness of the various elements in the text. Readers use their entire corpus of knowledge (linguistic, cultural, and literary) constructed from previous readings and life experiences that formed the associations and connotations and serve as a basis for intertextual reading.’ I. Elkad-Lehman, “Spinning a Tale: Intertextuality and Intertextual Aptitude,” *ESLL* 5 (2005) 40.

³ ‘...the text is never a complete “work” as such, with a clear unitary meaning implicit in its words. Instead, it always requires interpretation, in each individual encounter. Authorial intent may provide one set of meanings for the text, but these meanings – no matter how clearly they may be conveyed – are always susceptible to revision and reinterpretation, either by the author/editor(s) themselves, or by other redactors and interpreters. Audiences, in turn, may reshape and reconsider the potential meanings of the text, in light of their own needs and ideologies, providing interpretations of “the meaning” of a text that serve their own immediate and pressing concerns at different moments in the history of the text. The result of this sort of literary critical approach is an understanding of textual meaning as something that is fundamentally dynamic, and fundamentally contested, as well.’ M.L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study*, (STDJ 45; Leiden: Brill, 2002) 24.

⁴ T.K. Beal, “Intertextuality,” in *Handbook of Postmodern Biblical Interpretation* (ed. A.K.A. Adam; St Louis: Chalice, 2000) 129.

historically bound literary study.⁵ I begin by offering a broad understanding of intertextuality, followed by my own proposal of a viable use of intertextuality within the history of interpretation.

0.2.1 Intertextuality: A Broad Understanding

Intertextuality is an observation of relationships between texts that places the generation of meaning in the dynamic conversation between text/intertext/reader.⁶ What follows are a few remarks outlining an understanding of intertextuality.

First, intertextuality was a product of the cultural and political upheaval in France in the 1960's. Julia Kristeva, most often identified as the originator of intertextuality,⁷ her teacher, Roland Barthes, and other post-structuralists, attempted to intellectually subvert what they perceived to be the bourgeois, elitist power structures of their context by redefining some of the basic elements of culture, the understanding of 'text' being one such element. Intertextuality at its inception was not an isolated or neutral intellectual observation, but 'a means of ideological and cultural expression and of social transformation.'⁸ It was a tool of revolution. This said, there are those who would like to discredit the observation of intertextuality because of its beginnings (the Marxist, Maoist, Freudian, and generally subversive and revolutionary influences on Kristeva's thought).⁹ Acknowledging the

⁵ In this method and the resulting thesis, I attempt to walk the line between the boundaries set out by D. Boyarin, "Issues for Further Discussion: A Response," *Semeia* 69/70 (1995): Intertextuality is 'neither some sort of game of allusion-hunting which some have taken it for, nor a self-indulgent mode of anything-goes exegesis....' (294)

⁶ Some other definitions of intertextuality: Kristeva's definition, '...tout texte se construit comme mosaïque de citations, tout texte est absorption et transformation d'un autre texte.' J. Kristeva, "Le mot, le dialogue et le roman," in *Semiotiké: Recherches pour une sémanalyse* (ed. J. Kristeva; Paris: Seuil, 1969) 146. Roland Barthes' definition of text in which his understanding of intertextuality is readily apparent: 'The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from innumerable centers of culture.' R. Barthes, "From Work to Text," in *Image - Music - Text* (ed. S. Heath; Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1977) 146. Ellen van Wolde: 'The intertextual approach starts from the assumption that a writer's work should not be seen as a linear adaptation of another text but as a complex of relationships; the principle of causality is left behind. Moreover, in an intertextual analysis or interpretation of a text it is the reader who makes a text interfere with other texts. The writer assigns meaning to his own context and in interaction with other texts he shapes and forms his own text. The reader, in much the same way, assigns meaning to the generated text in interaction with other texts he knows. Without a reader a text is only a lifeless collection of words.' E. van Wolde, "Trendy Intertextuality," in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in honour of Bas van Iersel* (ed. S. Draisma; Kampen: Uitgeversmaatschappij J.H. Kok, 1989) 47. J.W. Voelz: '...from an intertextual perspective...through the presence of a multiplicity of texts, both written and non-written, the meaning of a text arises in the presence of the interpreter.' J.W. Voelz, "Multiple Signs, Aspects of Meaning, and Self as Text: Elements of Intertextuality," *Semeia* 69/70 (1995) 150. [Voelz's emphasis.]

⁷ It is largely thought that the concept of 'dialogicity' in the 1920's thought of Russian Formalist, Michael Bakhtin, may be a precursor to Kristeva's intertextuality. Note especially her own presentation of Bakhtin's thought in a 1966 article - J. Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue, Novel," in *The Kristeva Reader* (trans. A. Jardine, et al.; ed. T. Moi; Oxford: Blackwell, 1986) 34-61. A noted detractor of this is H.-P. Mai, "Bypassing Intertextuality," in *Intertextuality* (ed. H.F. Plett; Research in Text Theory 15; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991) who, among others, argues that 'Bakhtin's relevance for the intertextual debate is rather doubtful.' (33) An introduction to Kristeva's thought can be found in T. Moi's introduction to J. Kristeva, *The Kristeva Reader*, (ed. T. Moi; Oxford: Blackwell, 1986) 1-22.

⁸ G. Aichele and G.A. Phillips, "Introduction: Exegesis, Eisegesis, Intergesis," *Semeia* 69/70 (1995) 9.

⁹ T.R. Hatina, "Intertextuality and Historical Criticism in New Testament Studies: Is There A Relationship?," *BibInt* 7 (1999) charges that intertextuality is 'inimical' to historical criticism of the New Testament because of its roots and, even more so, the 'fashionable' and uncritical use of the term within biblical studies. (28-43) Hatina's critique is largely ideological, possibly echoing piety rather than scholarship. At the same time, his critique of the use of

context and motivation of its genesis, intertextuality is larger than its beginnings and continues to be a useful concept within semiotics, text linguistics, philosophy, and biblical studies. As such, intertextuality appears to be here to stay...at least for some time.

Second, intertextuality at its heart is a broad understanding of text. Given a dialogical or conversational understanding of text/intertext, the question of what a text is broadens *ad infinitum* to include, not merely written texts, but history, culture, art, etc. Life becomes the model for text.¹⁰ As lives lived are inevitably lived in conversation with the other,¹¹ so texts participate in a dialogical existence with the other (intertext/reader/context) in the reading of the reader. Human existence at its very nature is in dialogue with the world around it.¹² As dialogue is at the root of human existence, so it is at the heart of text.

Also along these lines, within the discussion of intertextuality the boundaries of text are always questionable, always permeable. In a sense, all texts are intertexts. This is evident in H.F. Plett's definitions of 'text' and 'intertext':

A text may be regarded as an autonomous sign structure, delimited and coherent. Its boundaries are indicated by its beginning, middle and end, its coherence by the deliberately interrelated conjunction of its constituents. An intertext, on the other hand, is characterized by attributes that exceed it. It is not delimited, but de-limited, for its constituents refer to constituents of one or several other texts. Therefore it has a twofold coherence: an *intratextual* one which guarantees the immanent integrity of the text, and an *intertextual* one which creates structural relations between itself and other texts.¹³

Plett's own distinction between text and intertext both questions whether or not there is such a thing as a text that is not an intertext and stresses what Derrida calls the *débordement*, or the spillage of text in which the borders and divisions commonly ascribed to text are called into question. In Derrida's words:

...a "text" that is henceforth no longer a finished corpus of writing, some content enclosed in a book or its margins, but a differential network, a fabric of traces referring endlessly to something other than itself, to other differential traces. Thus the text overruns all the limits assigned to it so far (not submerging or drowning them in an undifferentiated homogeneity, but rather making them more complex, dividing and multiplying strokes and lines) – all the

intertextuality without some knowledge of its philosophical baggage may be on the mark. van Wolde, "Trendy Intertextuality," takes up a similar argument without the baggage of Hatina's historical-critical piety. (43-49)

¹⁰ 'Being that can be understood is language,' Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 474.

¹¹ 'Language is not an instrument that I can pick-up and put down at will; it is always there, surrounding and invading all I experience understand, judge, decide, and act upon. I belong to my language far more than it belongs to me, and through that language I find myself participating in this particular history and society.' D. Tracy, *Plurality and Ambiguity: Hermeneutics, Religion, Hope*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

¹² Tracy, *Plurality and Ambiguity*, writes about 'reality' in a similar way: 'Reality is neither out there or in here. Reality is constituted by the interaction between a text, whether book or world, and a questioning interpreter.' (48)

¹³ Heinrich F. Plett, "Intertextualities," in *Intertextuality*, Heinrich F. Plett, ed. (RTT 15; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991): 5. The trajectory of Plett's comments are to play with the paradoxical relationship of text and intertext, proposing a continuum between text and intertext with a sliding scale of intertextuality. The extreme ends of this continuum he describes thus: '...a text which is no intertext, and an intertext which is not text. What does this mean? The text which has no interrelations with other texts at all realizes its autonomy perfectly. It is self-sufficient, self-identical, a self-contained monad – but is no longer communicable. On the other hand, the intertext runs the risk of dissolving completely in its interrelations with other texts. In extreme cases it exchanges its internal coherence completely for an external one. Its total dissolution makes it relinquish its beginning, middle and end. It loses its identity and disintegrates into numerous text particles which only bear an extrinsic reference. It is doubtful that such a radical intertext is communicable at all.' (6)

limits, everything that was to be set up in opposition to writing (speech, life, the world, the real, history, and what not, every field of reference – to body or mind, conscious or unconscious, politics, economics, and so forth).¹⁴

Derrida points out that without the broader context of language, individual words, sentences, even whole texts are meaningless. Without a context in the language world of the reader, the text is meaningless. It follows, then, that all texts in as much as they are a part of a broader language world are intertexts and products of and participants in ‘various cultural discourses.’ (Barthes)

Third, another aspect of intertextuality is the placement of meaning or the generation of meaning in the conversation between text/intertext/reader. Because of the conversational nature of meaning, it follows that meaning is fundamentally not static.¹⁵ In the words of G. Phillips, ‘...there is no eschatological reader who at some point in time and space will read the text right, will critique the text without the possibility of another word, a remainder.’¹⁶ Insofar as intertextuality is an exploration of meanings or mosaic of meanings with the working assumption that there is no one meaning, it follows the deconstructionist line of thought that pushes language and words to the edge of ‘meaning’ – especially when this means *the* meaning.

Rather, intertextuality places an emphasis on the readers of texts and their dynamic interaction with the intertextual mosaic encountered/perceived in a text. If a text is an intertext, and an intertext is a mosaic of other texts, it follows that it is the reader’s place to trace the meaning of a text by interpreting the text’s intertextuality.¹⁷ G. Phillips proposes a term for this interaction – ‘intergenesis’ – an understanding that the space between texts is the place from which meaning emerges. ‘Meaning does not lie “inside” texts but rather in the space “between” texts.

¹⁴ J. Derrida, “Living On: Border Line,” in *Deconstruction and Criticism* (trans. J. Hulbert; ed. H. Bloom, et al.; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979) 81-82. Also quoted by G.A. Phillips, “Sign/Text/Différance: The Contribution of Intertextual Theory to Biblical Criticism,” in *Intertextuality* (ed. H.F. Plett; Research in Text Theory 15; Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991). I find Phillips’ description of Derrida’s motive helpful here: ‘Derrida makes the outlandish claim that the text overruns everything established as a limit to its working, be that limit defined in traditional terms as the textual corpus, the reader’s intended meaning, or even the historical context itself. Derrida attempts to defamiliarize the “natural” distinction between the textual and the extratextual; his aim is to compel reflection upon the taken-for-grantedness of the boundary conditions and their relationship to the various “analytico-referential” interpretive strategies used to read texts today.... [Derrida’s] effort is to direct slumbering attention to the border and the fact of the border as a way of lifting a corner of the camouflage so as to draw attention to the natural, unreflected-upon distinction that allows the modern critic to so neatly separate text from context from reader from the extratextual and to discover the ‘truth’ of the text, i.e., its meaning, its referent, its world-of-meaning, etc.’ Phillips, “Sign/Text/Différance,” .

¹⁵ Grossman, *Reading for History*, asserts three observations about text: (1) ‘texts are not fixed entities and... their meanings depend on how they are interpreted,’ (2) ‘that interpretations of even the most authoritarian texts can change over time, depending on the audiences’ expectations and agendas,’ and (3) ‘that competing interpretations of a text may arise even in a single interpretive community.’ (ix) Also along these lines, D.R. Blumenthal, “Many Voices, One Voice,” *Judaism* 47 (1998) in his “(re)writing” of Genesis 1 from the perspective of Medieval Jewish commentators, Ramban, Rashi, Rashbam, and Ibn Ezra, attempts to show the ‘competing interpretations’ (Grossman) and what Blumenthal calls the ‘multivocal, plurisignificant’ nature of the text. (468)

¹⁶ Phillips, “Sign/Text/Différance,” 92. Derrida, “Living On: Border Line,” makes a similar observation: ‘...no one inflexion enjoys absolute privilege.’ (78)

¹⁷ ‘...there is one place where this multiplicity [intertextual mosaic] is focused and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author. The reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed...’ Barthes, “From Work to Text,” 148.

Meaning is not an unchangeable ideal essence but rather variable, fluid, and contextual depending upon the systematic forces at work that bind texts to one another.¹⁸

Finally, intertextuality is an observation not a method. It is an observation of the nature of text and of the relationship of text/intertext/reader. While intertextuality is a fuzzy concept, maybe intentionally so, in its purest form it cannot be a methodology. Critiques of the improper methodization of intertextuality come from Hatina,¹⁹ Aichele and Phillips,²⁰ van Wolde,²¹ and Beal,²² noting especially the confusion of ‘agency’ and ‘influence’ for intertextuality among contemporary biblical scholars. Rather, intertextuality is an observation of a broad notion of ‘text’ and the integral role of the reader/reading community in the production of meaning.

To summarize, the study of intertextuality leads down a plethora of winding paths of complex relationships and multi-layer conversations between texts/intertext/reader. All the while, texts are in conversation with other texts/intertexts, loosely comprising an intertextual mosaic (referred to as a ‘tapestry’ in this study) extending *ad infinitum* into a blurry horizon, portions of which are picked up and digested by the reader in the creation of meaning. For the reader, meaning happens in the conversation between text/intertext/reader, acknowledging both the influence of a broad understanding of text that includes culture, history, art, etc., and the reader’s varied awareness of the text’s intertextuality.

0.2.2 A Viable Intertextuality and the History of Interpretation

The question, now, is whether or not such an *ad infinitum* observation is useful within the study of the history of interpretations, contra Timothy Beal. And if so, how might intertextuality be employed? I argue that intertextuality can be harnessed to provide insight into the mosaic of interrelated texts within a given corpus. The harnessed observations that intertextuality provides can be particularly helpful within the history of interpretation as they provide a glimpse of the intertextual tapestry from which later readers/interpreters drew their interpretations.

Following the lead of biblical scholar Ellen van Wolde, I assert that intertextuality is a window that ‘makes a special perception of the text possible²³ with some limitations, artificial though they may be. Though not a method, the observation of intertextuality is employable in that it provides an understanding of the relationship between texts that opens avenues of perception outside the bounds of the questions of source, *Sitz im Leben*, author, authorial intentions, etc. Given the broad sense of intertextuality, that is the *débordement* [Derrida] of text *ad infinitum*, some modification and/or limitation of the concept is both necessary and possible.

¹⁸ Aichele and Phillips, “Exegesis, Eisegesis, Intergesis,” 14-15. Similarly, D. Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990) suggests that ‘...midrash is literature, but all serious literature is revision and interpretation of a canon and a tradition and is a dialogue with the past and with authority which determines the shape of human lives in the present and future. The rabbis were concerned with the burning issues of their day, but their approach to that concern was through the clarification of difficult passages of Scripture.’ (19)

¹⁹ Hatina, “Intertextuality and Historical Criticism,” 28ff.

²⁰ Aichele and Phillips, “Exegesis, Eisegesis, Intergesis,” 11-12.

²¹ van Wolde, “Trendy Intertextuality,” 43ff.

²² Beal, “Intertextuality,” 129.

²³ E. van Wolde, “Texts in Dialogue with Texts: Intertextuality in the Ruth and Tamar Narratives,” *BibInt* 5 (1997) 1.

Van Wolde employs a metaphor of the relationship between a drop of water and a river to both explain and critique the ‘usefulness’ of the Kristeva, Barthes, Derrida, etc. school of intertextuality within biblical studies:

Their standpoint might be compared to a river: elements from other texts are incorporated in a text like drops of water in a river. In addition, they find that it is not the writer who is determinative of the intertext, but the reader. Expressed in the images of metaphor: it is the writer who determines where the drop ends and river begins, but the reader who distinguishes particular drops within the unfathomable quantity of water.²⁴

Van Wolde finds this broad understanding of intertextuality unhelpful because of the inherently vague nature of the concept and the uselessness of an observation that deals with the droplet-level observation of something as large as a river. She echoes W. van Peer's critique of Kristeva's intertextuality as having ‘little analytical power.’²⁵ While I am not convinced that Kristeva would say that intertextuality is meant to be analytical, van Wolde sees enough value in Kristeva's intertextuality to offer a modification of it that proves useful within her exegetical goals.

Within van Wolde's complex literary analysis, she proposes a limited utilization of intertextuality that ‘starts from an acknowledgement of the autonomous value of each of the compared texts on their own, and continues with the explication of the textual markers shared by the texts.’²⁶ She goes on to propose specific criteria for intertextual study of the Hebrew Bible for purposes of exegesis: (1) study the texts on their own; (2) compile an inventory of repetitions in the compared texts; and (3) analyse the ‘new network of meaning originating from the meeting of the two texts.’²⁷ These criteria can prove useful within the history of interpretations with some modification.

For the ancient interpreter, namely ancient rabbinic sages but presumably ancient interpreters in general, scripture was a dynamic revelation of the divine. That is, revelation was not a completed event. Each generation was present again at Sinai and charged with understanding and inwardly digesting Torah²⁸ (at least within Zadokite or Mosaic Judaism).²⁹ Writing about rabbinic midrash, Daniel Boyarin continues this thought:

The rabbis, as assiduous readers of the Bible, developed an acute awareness of these intertextual relations within the holy books, and consequently their own hermeneutic work consisted of a creation process of further combining and recombining biblical verses into new texts, exposing the interpretive relations already in the text, as it were, as well as

²⁴ van Wolde, “Texts in Dialogue with Texts,” 3.

²⁵ E. van Wolde, *Word Become Worlds: Semantic Studies of Genesis 1-11*, (Biblical Interpretation 6; Leiden: Brill, 1994) quoting W. van Peer, “Intertextualiteit: traditie en kritiek,” *Spiegel der Letteren* 29 (1987) 16.

²⁶ van Wolde, “Texts in Dialogue with Texts,” 7. By ‘textual markers’ van Wolde is referring to a broad range of characteristics including words, semantic fields, larger textual units, theme, genre, analogies in character type, and similarities in narrative style.

²⁷ van Wolde, “Texts in Dialogue with Texts,” 7-8.

²⁸ Two theologians of undoubtedly more who have worked constructively with this idea are: E.L. Fackenheim, *God's Presence in History: Jewish Affirmations and Philosophical Reflections*, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1970), from the perspective of post-Holocaust Judaism, and J. Plaskow, *Standing Again at Sinai: Judaism from a Feminist Perspective*, (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990), from a contemporary Jewish Feminist perspective.

²⁹ M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985) places the interpretation of scripture early in Israel's history. Looking at inner-biblical exegesis he notes that the biblical text itself was subject to ‘redaction, elucidation, reformulation, and outright transformation....They [biblical texts] are, in sum, the exegetical voices of many teachers and tradents, from different circles and times, responding to real theoretical considerations as perceived and anticipated.’ (543)

creating new ones by revealing linguistic connections hitherto unrealised. This recreation was experienced as revelation itself, and the biblical past became alive in the midrashic present.³⁰

Such a realization about the ancient rabbis, along with ancient biblical interpreters in general,³¹ is reason enough for the use of a limited intertextuality in the history of interpretations. If it is true that the ancient scribe/rabbi/interpreter had a concordance-level knowledge of their sacred texts, then intertextuality is a sound observational tool for reconstructing the scriptural mosaic that was foundational to subsequent interpretations. Within the history of interpretations, then, intertextuality serves as a window into the textual/language world of the ancient interpreter.

A modification of van Wolde's proposed criteria for intertextual study is then in order for use within the history of interpretation. The first step in this method (1) remains similar, beginning with the study of the primary text under consideration. This means that the initial text placed under the microscope is the text whose intertextuality is to be studied. For this study, the primary text is Genesis 1.1-5.

Step two (2) involves identifying intertexts within a predetermined corpus of similar texts, in the case of this thesis, the Hebrew Bible (ch.1), the Greek equivalents of the text of the Hebrew Bible (ch.2),³² and Hebrew (ch.3) and Greek (ch.4) texts from before 200 CE that fall outside those covered in the first two chapters. A means to this end is identifying intertextual markers, that is individual words, minor phrases, or word-pairs within the primary text whose recurrence elsewhere in the corpus might spur interest in the primary text. These are words that occur infrequently and/or are central to the primary text. In such an atomic-level study of the corpus, these words are examined thoroughly in the variety of meanings they bear and the variety of contexts in which they appear. In effect, a mosaic of usage/meaning is sketched for each intertextual marker. This atomic level study is useful in identifying the variety of understandings of a given intertextual marker in subsequent interpretations.³³

Step three (3) is the identification of texts that have a significant repetition of intertextual markers from the primary text and bear its theme(s). The primary goal of this step is to provide a collection of identifiable intertexts. Commonality is most important. As such, while intertextual markers are the initial draw to a given text, and the

³⁰ Boyarin, *Intertextuality*, 128. Also, M. Fishbane, *The Exegetical Imagination: On Jewish Thought and Theology*, (Cambridge: Harvard, 1998) 20.

³¹ Rowan Greer would say similar things about early Christian interpreters of scripture prior to Irenaeus, though from a perspective of 'transformation'. Early Christian interpreters were of a similar mind to their early Jewish counterparts that scripture was divine revelation. Their interpretation was a transformation of the Hebrew scriptures to 'disclose their true significance' in light of their accepted messiah, Jesus. J.L. Kugel and R.A. Greer, *Early Biblical Interpretation*, (LEC 3; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986) 126ff. Also, pre-rabbinic texts exist that point to the importance of interpretation, as noted by James Kugel, especially the book of Daniel in which Daniel is the interpreter of revelation and in Ben Sira's understanding of the role and importance of the sage in *Sir* 39.1-6. (58, 62-63)

³² The issue of 'canon' is a sticky wicket in a study such as this. Just whose canon ought to be employed to delineate texts, if one should be used at all? Since this study begins with the Hebrew text of Gen 1.1-5, which is undoubtedly the most 'original', the Hebrew canon, a.k.a. the Hebrew Bible or Tanakh, is used as a benchmark throughout this study. While this may not be an ideal solution, it is a solution nonetheless. E. Ulrich, "Our Sharper Focus on the Bible and Theology Thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls," *CBQ* 66 (2004) based on the texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls draws a clear picture of the 'shadowy beginnings' of the Hebrew Bible. (1-24)

³³ These intertextual sketches of individual intertextual markers can be found in Appendices A and B.

more the better, also included in this equation are theme and other words common to both the primary text and the intertext. In this stage, then, as intertextual markers function as a beacon, theme and the wider commonality maintain the attention of the interpreter. It should be noted here that intertextuality and influence are two different, some would say opposed, observations. Intertextuality is concerned with relationships but not with direction, causality, and thus influence. The intertexts identified in step two, then, need only be demonstrably similar to the primary text in vocabulary and theme. No inference of direction should be made at this point.

Step four (4) examines the material compiled in step three with the goal of drawing thematic lines among the intertexts, that is, getting a broad look at the intertextual tapestry. This provides another view of the tapestry and hence another lens through which subsequent interpretations can be studied. Again, direction and causality are not an issue here. Rather, the analysis is based on thematic similarities among the intertexts identified in step three.

Step five (5) is similar to van Wolde's step three, with the difference being the locus of the new meaning being in the subsequent interpretations rather than in contemporary exegesis. Van Wolde's concern is utilizing a limited intertextuality as an exegetical tool leading to 'new' observations. The usefulness of intertextuality within the history of interpretations, then, is as a foundational lens through which to make 'new' observations of 'old' exegesis – seeing not new exegesis but intertextual 'afterlives' of the primary text. The tapestry that intertextuality serves to illuminate provides a glimpse of the language world(s) within which the ancient reader worked.

It is my hope, then, that this method will provide a new glimpse at old material – and in particular a new glimpse of Day One in this intertextual history of Gen 1.1-5 up to 200 CE.

0.3 History, Tapestry, and Lacunae

History

This thesis attempts to contribute to the body of work that can be called the history of interpretation of biblical texts.³⁴ In defense of this attempt at history via intertextuality, I look to Maxine Grossman. In response to Philip Davies' assertion that reader response approaches³⁵ 'do not produce history,'³⁶ Grossman asserts:

It is [*sic*] possible to 'produce history' while working from a literary critical perspective. A history of this sort may look unfamiliar, but its very difference will provide insights that are not revealed by a more standard historical analysis...³⁷

Indeed, this study is an attempt at history that does not look familiar. It sketches intertextual relationships between texts based on common vocabulary in an attempt to see wider interpretive matrices, to gain new glimpses of old material. It is not interested in wading into the questions of agency, influence, causality, allusion, etc..., but it is

³⁴ From among the many works in this corner of the academy, two pioneering works are J.P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature*, (Leiden: Brill, 1968); and S.D. Fraade, *Enosh and His Generation: Pre-Israelite Hero and History in Postbiblical Interpretation*, vol. 30, (SBL Monograph Series; Chico, CA: Scholars, 1984); and from a post-modern perspective Y. Sherwood, *The Biblical Text and its Afterlives: The Survival of Jonah in Western Culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) explores the interpretation within tradition, 'science,' art, and culture.

³⁵ Intertextuality is related to reader response criticism in that intertexts are intertexts not because of their juxtaposition on paper but because of their (potential) juxtaposition within the mind of the reader.

³⁶ P.R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (BJS 94; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 11.

³⁷ Grossman, *Reading for History*, ix.

interested in relationship. Few of the texts examined are deliberate re-tellings of Gen 1.1-5. The vast majority of texts are held together by the commonality of words or intertextual markers. As a result, the reality of this intertextual history is that it is both messy and modest. There are many loose ends – texts that are obvious inclusions are viewed together with texts barely connected with the larger whole.

The scope of this study is necessarily limited. For this study the words come from the bounds of the Hebrew and Greek versions of Gen 1.1-5, a.k.a. Day One in the First Creation Story. While it is with Day One that this study begins and to which it returns again and again, it is the intertextuality of Day One that is of primary interest. What are the intertextual relationships of Day One? How does Day One spill over into the intertextual vastness and vice versa? The texts in this study are also limited in that they all share a creation theme, a common denominator organic with Gen 1.1-5. Finally, all of the texts in this study were produced prior to 200 CE. As with any specific date on the sea of global history, this date could likely be abandoned in favor of a more important and/or meaningful date. The reasons for using 200 CE as a cutoff are (1) that this is the approximate date of the compilation of the Mishnah, and (2) that it draws an historical line before Origen and his *Hexapla* come into play.

Tapestry

The primary objective of this study is to gather a glimpse of the intertextual tapestry of Gen 1.1-5. The hand-woven textile art known as a ‘tapestry’ is used throughout this thesis as an image for the broader intertextuality of Gen 1.1-5. The image in mind is a tapestry in an incomplete state still tied to the loom.³⁸ That is, it is an image of threads woven together, with the boundaries not entirely clear. It is an image with spindles of thread hanging off the edge and loose threads not completely tied in. Some threads are bright and distinct, others are dull and common. Some threads appear at one spot and another with no trace of the thread that runs beneath the surface linking the two. Some threads come together to provide a certain picture in one corner of the whole, while another corner may look completely different – though they are ultimately of the same work. While the employment of any image brings with it its own limitations, the image of tapestry-in-progress provides a metaphorical conception of the intertextuality of Gen 1.1-5.

Lacunae

The fragments from the Dead Sea Scrolls that are examined in chapter three, important pieces of the intertextual history of Gen 1.1-5 as they are, are as much illustrative of text and the project as a whole. In their present state, these fragments are broken and partial. Barring some future discovery of a complete or more complete manuscript, these fragments are all we have, their *lacunae* fertile ground for the scholarly imagination. While only a portion of the texts covered in this study are physically broken, our knowledge and understanding of all of them is fragmentary and partial. Given the historical, cultural, linguistic distance with ancient texts, the danger with having a full manuscript is to assume that it is completely accessible or monolithic, absent any *lacunae*. In addition, the

³⁸ I myself am not a weaver. I draw this image from trips to Stirling Castle in 2002-2003, during which I observed the slow and careful progress of the weaving of a recreation of ‘The Unicorn in Captivity,’ a South Netherlandish tapestry woven from 1495-1505, now part of the collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, New York. [http://www.metmuseum.org/Works_of_Art/department.asp?dep=7]

corpus of texts available to study is limited by the accidents of history. Were it not for the arid climate and lack of a curious canine in search of a play-thing, the Masada fragments of Ben Sira could be forever unknown. One must wonder what other texts remain hidden to us by the accidents of time. Finally, I must also mention the accidents of the author. Two eyes helped by spectacles, a certain set of ideological assumptions (some conscious, others not) about text, history, current scholarship, etc... Needless to say but important to note, the results of this study are limited by the limitations of its author.

All of this is to say that as the texts (some more than others) of this study are fragmentary so are the results. But lest limitation lead to apathy, let the weaving begin.

CHAPTER ONE

THE INTERTEXTUAL TAPESTRY OF GEN 1.1-5 IN THE TEXTS OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to sketch a portion of the intertextual tapestry or *débordement* of Gen 1.1-5¹ within the corpus of the Hebrew Bible / Tanakh. Chapter two is a parallel exploration of the Greek equivalents. These first two chapters provide images of the tapestries to and upon which subsequent interpretations are woven. Again, the long view of this thesis is that the boundaries between text and tradition are semi-permeable and that language plays a central role in the afterlives of a biblical text, in this case the first five verses of Genesis.²

This chapter begins with a discussion of the criteria used for establishing intertextuality, followed by an examination of the primary text, MT Gen 1.1-5, both as a structural whole and by verse. The largest portion of the chapter follows with a text-by-text look at the intertexts of MT Gen 1.1-5. Finally, the chapter concludes with a sketch of some of the more prominent threads in the broader intertextual tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5 by analyzing some common thematic threads.

1.1.2 Considering Commonality: Criteria for Establishing Intertextuality

In order to achieve a level of commonality upon which to build the claim of intertextuality, certain parts of the whole are identified as words that, when read/heard in another (con)text, may indicate or trigger an intertextual link between texts – in this case between the primary text (Gen 1.1-5) and its intertexts. I call these individual parts intertextual markers. Ideally, intertextual markers occur with relative infrequency within the larger corpus.³ The likelihood that the occurrence of an intertextual marker might signal an intertextual relationship increases with the presence of a creation context and additional words from the primary text in proximity.⁴ The intertextual markers for this examination of Gen 1.1-5 are:

¹ Given that in these first two chapters I am looking at two different, though very similar texts, I distinguish between MT Gen 1.1-5 and LXX Gen 1.1-5, following this distinction through to all the intertexts I examine.

² Y. Hoffman, “The First Creation Story: Canonical and Diachronic Aspects,” in *Creation in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (ed. H.G. Reventlow and Y. Hoffman; JSOTSup 319; London: Sheffield, 2002) has taken a similar look at the whole of Gen 1.1-2.3 (First Creation Story) within the Hebrew Bible. The aim of his study is to contrast the central status placed upon the First Creation Story by generations of readers in comparison to its place among the 100+ creation texts within the Hebrew Bible. He explores this relationship with searches for citation, reference, and allusion of the First Creation Story in these other biblical texts. His search yields strikingly little evidence. (32-53) While Hoffman's method is similar to my own appropriation of intertextuality, his trajectory differs from that of this examination in that Hoffman is testing the tradition of interpretation in light of the biblical witness, whereas this study examines the intertextuality of Gen 1.1-5.

³ For example, נָצַח, which in MT Gen 1.3 is central to the first creative action of the First Creation Story, occurs 4300+ times in the Hebrew Bible and thus impractical and of little use in identifying intertexts of MT Gen 1.1-5.

⁴ An abundantly clear example of intertextuality and an exception to this idea about the context of an intertextual marker is m.*Hul* 5.5, in which the infrequently occurring וַיִּבְרָא in Lev 22.28, a text with no creation theme, sparks a connection with MT Gen 1.5 in the interpretation of the rabbis.

words – תהום, רוח, מרחפת, בדל, ראשית, ברא, תהו, בהו, חשך –
 minor phrases⁵ – יום אחר, כִּי־טוב, רוח אֱלֹהִים –
 word-pairs⁶ – אור and חשך, בהו and תהו, שמים and ארץ –

As noted above, these intertextual markers serve as a control group of ‘flags’ for identifying texts with a significant intertextual commonality with Gen 1.1-5. For these first two chapters, there are appendices that explore the occurrences of the intertextual markers throughout the whole of the Hebrew Bible⁷ and the Greek equivalents.⁸ In addition to a commonality of intertextual markers, a second basic criterion for identifying an intertext is that it has a creation or creation-related theme. Both of these controls, intertextual markers and creation theme, facilitate a viable use of intertextuality.

1.2 A Look at MT Gen 1.1-5

The interest of this chapter is the intertextual tapestry that MT Gen 1.1-5 and its intertexts comprise. In this section my goal is two-fold: first, to make a few observations about the structure of MT Gen 1.1-5; and second, to look at MT Gen 1.1-5 by verse, paying attention to the use of the intertextual markers in their primary context.

1 בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ:
 2 וְהָאָרֶץ הִיְתָה תְהוֹ וּבְהוֹ וְחֹשֶׁךְ עַל־פְּנֵי תְהוֹם וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל־פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם:
 3 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי אוֹר וַיְהִי־אוֹר:
 4 וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאוֹר כִּי־טוֹב וַיִּבְדֵּל אֱלֹהִים בֵּין הָאוֹר וּבֵין הַחֹשֶׁךְ:
 5 וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְאוֹר יוֹם וּלְחֹשֶׁךְ קִרְא לַיְלָה וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם אֶחָד:

- ¹ When God began to create the heavens and the earth,
- ² The earth being formless and void, darkness upon the face of the deep, and the breath of God hovering upon the face of the waters,
- ³ God said, ‘Let there be light.’ And there was light.

⁵ The minor phrase functions like an individual word in that the words are intimately and grammatically connected in the primary text. These pairs function as an independent reality, i.e., when combined the way they are in the primary text they take on a grammatical unity. Conversely, the individual parts of these word pairs have little if no weight as intertextual markers by themselves, e.g. אֶ carries little intertextual interest when separated from טוֹב. The same criteria apply when looking at the intertexts of LXX Gen 1.1-5.

⁶ A word-pair functions as a unit within the primary text as a circumlocution for a larger whole, e.g. heaven and earth comprise the larger cosmos. [See the discussion of heaven and earth in Gen 1.1 by U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis; Part I - From Adam to Noah*, (trans. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1961), 20] A word-pair is admittedly more subjective than individual words and minor phrases as their relationship to one another in the secondary text must be evaluated before their relationship with the primary text can be considered. Take for example, שָׁמַיִם and אָרֶץ. In MT Gen 1.1 these two words function as a pair, two hemispheres of the same cosmos. Their appearance in a secondary text alone, however, is not sufficient to determine intertextuality. Other parameters must be taken into consideration. The first (1) is that the pair ought to be functioning as a pair. This can mean that the two words are separated by a conjunction functioning as a collective subject/object/etc. (e.g. MT Gen 2.4, 2 Kgs 19.15) or a slightly wider separation in parallel ideas (e.g. MT 2 Sam 22.8, Jer 4.23). This parameter rules out occurrences that, while in close proximity to one another, do not function as a pair (e.g. MT Exod 10.22, 32.12). A second parameter (2) is that the pair occurs in a creation context. This rules out occurrences that have a locative function (e.g. MT Gen 9.2, Jer 7.32) and occurrences that represent or personify the cosmic framework of heaven and earth (e.g. MT Deut 30.19, Isa 1.2). A third (3) parameter is that the pair occurs in close proximity to other Gen 1.1-5 vocabulary, further substantiating the possibility of intertextuality. Finally, (4) when a word-pair occurs verbatim from the primary text theoretically it carries more intertextual weight (e.g. MT Exod 20.11).

⁷ Cf. Appendix A

⁸ Cf. Appendix B

- ⁴ And God saw that the light was good; and God separated the light from the darkness.
- ⁵ And God called the light day, and the darkness he called night – There was evening, there was morning, day one.

The debate is well worn over how the verses of Gen 1.1-5 relate to one another,⁹ with vv. 1-2 being especially problematic. The business of this study is not to prove the unity of Gen 1.1-5. Rather, the modest goal for this study is to establish the possibility that Gen 1.1-5 can be seen as a unit by the reader, whether ancient or modern.

With the structure of MT Gen 1.1-5, two things are clear – the creative speech of God begins in vs. 3, when God speaks light into existence, and vv.4-5 continue the creative action of v.3. The unity of MT Gen 1.1-5, then, rests on the relationship of vv.1-3.

One argument for the unity of MT Gen 1.1-5 is based on a reading of the first letter of the text, ׀, as 'when,'¹⁰ introducing a dependent clause (v.1) that moves into a parenthetic clause (v.2)¹¹ with the thought completed by the main clause (v.3).¹² The creative action of v.3 is extended by the creative actions in vv.4-5 and only concludes with the declaration of the day. Another vantage point on the unity of Gen 1.1-5 is from the wider literary structure of the First Creation Story (Gen 1.1-2.4a). MT Gen 1.5 concludes with the same formulaic declaration that is used to declare the end of each of the first six days.¹³ The literary pattern of the First Creation Story uses this declaration of the day as a full stop, a natural break in the narrative.¹⁴ From this it follows that Day

⁹ Cf. J.E. Atwell, "An Egyptian Source for Genesis 1," *JTS* 51 (2000) 451.

¹⁰ N.M. Sarna, *Genesis*, (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: JPS, 1989) notes that the creation texts in Gen 2.4, 5.1, begin with 'when'. (5)

¹¹ C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11: A Commentary*, (trans. J.J. Scullion; London: SPCK, 1984) suggests that there is a traditional pattern for beginning ancient cosmologies in the 'When not yet,' a pattern that reappears in MT Gen 1.2 and is common specifically to the Babylonian *Enuma Elish*. (102) Also, B.S. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament*, (2nd ed.; SBT 17; London: SCM, 1962)42. Atwell, "Egyptian Source," concurring with Westermann's general observation, convincingly argues that the most pertinent parallel is not with *Enuma Elish* but with Egyptian cosmology attributable to the priestly cult at Hermopolis. (449-467) The connection with Hermopolis was previously noted by R. Kilian, "Gen. I 2 und die Urgötter von Hermopolis," *VT* 16 (1966) 420-438, especially 429ff.

¹² The varied arguments for the relationship of the first three verses of Genesis help to illustrate the impossibility in coming to any decisive conclusion. Arguments generally begin with the interpreter's understanding of v. 1. These can be separated into three general categories of interpretation: (1) v. 1 is an independent clause with v.2 and v.3 describing subsequent acts of creation – A. Caquot, "Brèves remarques exégétiques sur Genèse 1, 1-2," in *In Principio: Interprétations des premiers versets de la Genèse* (Études Augustiniennes 8; Paris: Centre d'Études des Religions du Livre, 1973) 13-15; Childs, *Myth and Reality*, 31-43; G.J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, (WBC 1; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987) 11-13; (2) v. 1 is an independent clause that functions as a title for the creation account of vv. 2-31 – Cassuto, *Genesis*, 20, S.R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, (London: Methuen & Co., 1904) 3, G. von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, (trans. J.H. Marks; OTL; London: SCM, 1961) 51, Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 94, Atwell, "Egyptian Source," 451; and (3) v. 1 is a temporal clause completed by v. 3 with v. 2 as a parenthetic clause – J.D. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence*, (2nd revised ed.; Princeton: Princeton University, 1988 & 1994), Sarna, *Genesis*, 5, J. Skinner, *Genesis*, (2nd ed.; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1930) 12-14, E.A. Speiser, *Genesis*, (AB 1; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964) 12-13.

¹³ : (number) וַיְהִי עֶרְבַּי וַיְהִי בֹקֶר יוֹם

¹⁴ F.H. Polak, "Poetic Style and Parallelism in the Creation Account (Genesis 1.1-2.3)," in *Creation in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (ed. H.G. Reventlow and Y. Hoffman; JSOTSS 319; London: Sheffield, 2002) in the midst of an argument for reading MT Gen 1.1-2.3 as a poetic 'Hymn of Creation' (5, 31) suggests that MT Gen 1.1-5 is the first 'stanza' of the creation poem. (11)

One includes the material that precedes the declaration. Thus, the whole of the First Creation Story is divided into seven days with the first seventh of the whole occurring in MT Gen 1.1-5.¹⁵

The ambiguity of the relationship of MT Gen 1.1-2 to the subsequent verses likely will never be completely resolved. It is the position of this author that it is at least reasonable to think that an ancient reader (along with his/her 21st century counterparts) could read the Hebrew text of Gen 1.1-5 as a unit. Though the above points are far from conclusive, the unity of the first five verses of Genesis remains a viable enough possibility to move on to examining parts of the larger whole.

1.2.1 MT Gen 1.1

The function of בְּרֵאשִׁית¹⁶ is temporal; whether it is relative or absolute is debatable and ought to be left open given the various grammatical and pointing¹⁷ possibilities. Stemming etymologically from רָשָׁא,¹⁸ it follows that the range of possible understandings of the word is limited to some indication of beginning. In any case, it both begins the narrative and places the narrative at a beginning. בָּרָא both begins the action of v.1, stating that God created the heavens and the earth, and puts the beginning that בְּרֵאשִׁית signals in context – it is a creative beginning. While there are other words used to explain God's creative action,¹⁹ within the Hebrew Bible בָּרָא (*qal*) is only used with God as the subject and God's creative work as the object.²⁰ The object(s) of this first creative verb is the merism, אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ. Forming two halves of the cosmos, the circumlocution of the heavens and the earth describe the overarching totality of God's creative venture – a totality that is fleshed out throughout the rest of the First Creation Story.²¹ The function of אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ is drawn out in Wenham's paraphrase of Gen 1.1, 'In the beginning God created everything,'²² though I would temper this by understanding MT Gen 1.1 as, 'When God began to create everything....' in line with reading בְּ as 'when.' To translate as Wenham is to misplace the genesis of *creatio ex nihilo*.

¹⁵ Cassuto, *Genesis*, has documented 'numerical harmony' based on the use of the number seven that permeates the First Creation Story. (12-15) Cassuto, though he sees Gen 1.1 as an introductory verse, also notes that the Masoretes placed the first paragraph marker after v.5. (13)

¹⁶ For a mapping of the usage and contextuality of each IM, see Appendix A.

¹⁷ Origen's Greek transliteration being just one example.

¹⁸ BDB, s.v. When considering occurrences of בְּרֵאשִׁית in the intertexts of MT Gen 1.1-5, I also strongly consider מְרֵאשִׁית, in line with W. Eichrodt, "In the Beginning," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (ed. B.W. Anderson and W. Harrelson; New York: Harper and Row, 1962) 3f.

¹⁹ E.g., עָשָׂה, יָצַר, קָנָה, נָטָה.

²⁰ W.R. Garr, "God's Creation: בָּרָא in the Priestly Source," *HTR* 97 (2004) attempts to define God's creative action as described by בָּרָא in the Priestly Source as both constructive of the good and counteractive of the 'turbulent land' and 'sea monsters'. (88)

²¹ Cassuto, *Genesis*, 20.

²² Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, 15. Also, M. DeRoche, "Isaiah XLV 7 and the Creation of Chaos?," *VT* 42 (1992). Against this position, Cassuto, *Genesis*, is of the opinion that the concept of the totality of the universe was not known to the Hebrews at the origin of Genesis 1, only entering the Hebrew worldview in a later period. (20)

1.2.2 MT Gen 1.2

תהו and בהו function together as the simple predicate²³ that describes the proto-earth. Exactly what the pair mean is unclear, though either ‘chaos’²⁴ or ‘desert/emptiness’²⁵ seem sufficient guesses. Whichever meaning is ascribed to תהו ובהו in MT Gen 1.2,²⁶ it seems clear that this ambiguous pair describe the proto-earth as present yet undeveloped.

In the second phrase, תִּשְׁחָךְ is an integral element of the proto-earth, the conditions in which the creator begins forming everything else.²⁷ Westermann makes an opposite and sweeping judgment about the occurrence of תִּשְׁחָךְ in MT Gen 1.2, to which I cannot subscribe based on the ambiguity of תִּשְׁחָךְ throughout the Hebrew Bible. He claims that darkness in MT Gen 1.2 is ‘the opposite of creation...[not] a phenomenon of nature but rather... something sinister.’²⁸ While תִּשְׁחָךְ certainly occurs with negative connotations elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, to make such a conclusion about MT Gen 1.2 smoothes out bumpy inconsistencies, including the use of תִּשְׁחָךְ to describe the presence of the divine.²⁹ And, the three other occurrences of תִּשְׁחָךְ in the First Creation Story are similar in that they do not invoke a good/evil metaphor but rather matter-of-factly contrast the basic elements of light and dark, day and night (MT Gen 1.4, 5, 18). Given the consistent juxtaposition of light and darkness, day and night in these three occurrences, it seems reasonable to assert that תִּשְׁחָךְ throughout the First Creation Story simply means darkness, nighttime, or the absence of light, acknowledging, as does Driver, that light and darkness each have their place in the ordering of the cosmos.³⁰

²³ Childs, *Myth and Reality*, notes the superfluous nature of תִּשְׁחָךְ since it is assumed in a nominal clause. (33)

²⁴ Cassuto, *Genesis*, ‘...that is to say, the unformed material from which the earth was to be fashioned was at the beginning of its creation in a state of *tōhū* and *bōhū*, to wit, water above and solid matter beneath, and the whole, a chaotic mess, without order or life.’ (23)

²⁵ Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, translates ‘a desert waste.’ (76) D.T. Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters in Genesis 1 and 2: A Linguistic Definition*, (JSOTSup 83; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), elaborates: ‘...the phrase *tōhū wā bōhū* in Gen 1.2 has nothing to do with ‘chaos’ and simply means ‘emptiness’ and refers to the earth which is an empty place, i.e., ‘an unproductive and uninhabited place.’ Thus the main reason for mentioning the earth as *tōhū wā bōhū* in this setting is to inform the audience that the earth is ‘not yet’ the earth as it is known to them.’ (43) Atwell, “Egyptian Source,” based on his observation that Gen 1.2 is a description ‘*in toto*’ of the primordial world suggests that Tsumura’s (and Westermann’s) reading of תהו ובהו misses the immediate ‘not yet’ context of Gen 1.2. (452)

²⁶ Childs, *Myth and Reality*, suggests an appealing hypothesis for understanding the relationship of this word pair: ‘The root of the word is uncertain, but the *tōhū* seems to be a many-sided *bōhū*...’ (33) Such an explanation is a sufficiently vague description of this ambiguous pair.

²⁷ I. Blythin, “A Note on Genesis I 2,” *VT* 12 (1962): ‘In Gen i 2 it has perhaps been too lightly assumed that [תִּשְׁחָךְ] is parallel in meaning to [תהו ובהו], for if there is reasonable certainty that [רוח אלהים] means the spirit of God, a power ‘extension’ of the Godhead, then it is possible that [תִּשְׁחָךְ] is parallel to this phrase.’ (121)

²⁸ Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 104. Also, Childs, *Myth and Reality*, makes a similarly sweeping judgment about darkness in the Hebrew Bible saying that it is ‘closely related to death’ and ‘remains a sphere opposed to life, and land of non-being.’ (34)

²⁹ See MT Exod 14.20; 4.11, 5.23; 2 Sam 22.12; Isa 45.3; Ps 18.12(11), 139.12.

³⁰ Driver, *Genesis*, 5-6. On this point Cassuto, *Genesis*, wants it both ways – darkness as bad and darkness as an integral part of creation. Commenting on MT Gen 1.4: ‘This verse, unlike the corresponding verses, specifies the thing that is good – the *light* – to prevent the misconception that darkness is also good... It was not the Creator’s intention that there should be perpetual light and no darkness at all, but that the light and the darkness should operate consecutively for given periods and in unchanging order.’ (26)

The next intertextual marker is תְּהוֹם, the primordial, watery abyss.³¹ One issue that arises repeatedly, especially in arguments for or against echoes of ancient Near Eastern myth, is whether or not the lack of a definite article with תְּהוֹם is cause for reading it as a proper name.³² It has been pointed out that the lack of a definite article is more likely in poetry rather than prose,³³ though given that the First Creation Story is prose, this observation is of little value here. More noteworthy is the fact that תְּהוֹם occurs without a definite article in 33 of 35 occurrences in the MT,³⁴ suggesting at least the quality of a proper noun, and other significant nouns, notably רוּחַ, are used throughout MT Genesis 1 without the definite article.³⁵

The final phrase of MT Gen 1.2 includes רִיחַ. While the choice of ‘breath’ in the above translation is not widely supported by modern scholars,³⁶ my aim in translating it thusly is to highlight the ambiguity of רִיחַ in MT Gen 1.2. Plausible arguments have been made for all three major renderings of רִיחַ, underscoring the division of opinion of how MT Gen 1.2c ought to be understood.³⁷ One important feature of רִיחַ in MT Gen 1.2 is the construct relationship of רִיחַ with אֱלֹהִים. It is possible that אֱלֹהִים רִיחַ functioned idiomatically, as a formal title, giving a specificity, otherwise illusive, to רִיחַ – a specificity that may be lost.³⁸ The lack of further creation texts

³¹ Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters*, argues that while תְּהוֹם may have common linguistic roots with the Akkadian *Tiamat*, there is no proof that תְּהוֹם in MT Gen 1.2 is a demythologisation of the same. (158-159) Also, R.J. Clifford, *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible*, (CBQMS 26; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1994) 140-141.

³² Gunkel began this speculation, perpetuated by Skinner, *Genesis*, with his comment, ‘The invariable absence of the art[icle] (except with pl. in MT Ps 106:9, Isa 63:13) proves that it is a proper name, but *not* that it is a personification.’ (17) Skinner’s emphasis.

³³ A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis: The Story of Creation*, (2nd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1942 & 1951) 99.

³⁴ The exceptions are בְּתֵהוֹמוֹת in MT Isa 63.13 and Ps 106.9.

³⁵ Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 104-105; Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters*, 57-58.

³⁶ For a rendering of רִיחַ as ‘breath’, see N.H. Ridderbos, “Genesis I 1 and 2,” *OtSt* 12 (1958). Also, O.H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1975). For ‘spirit,’ see Cassuto, *Genesis*, 24. For ‘wind,’ see H.M. Orlinsky, “The Plain Meaning of *Ruah* in Gen. 1.2,” *JQR* 48 (1957): 174-182; von Rad, *Genesis*, 47; Speiser, *Genesis*, 5; Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 107f, Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, 16f; Sarna, *Genesis*, 6. There has been some notable, though not persuasive, inquiry into the possibility that אֱלֹהִים functions as a superlative in MT Gen 1.2, rendering an English translation as ‘a mighty wind.’ This notion was first suggested by J.M.P. Smith, “Use of Divine Names as Superlatives,” *AJSL* 45 (1928/1929), and adopted by such notable commentators as von Rad, *Genesis*, 47-48, and Speiser, *Genesis*, 5. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, while acknowledging the possibility that אֱלֹהִים can be used as a superlative, does not concur with this opinion (107-108). D.W. Thomas, “A Consideration of Some Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew,” *VT* 3 (1953), makes a thorough study of possible instances in the Hebrew Bible where a divine name could signal a superlative and, contra Smith, finds no evidence for any such case (i.e., MT Gen 1.2) where the divine aspect is lost, emptying Smith’s argument for ‘a mighty wind.’ (217-219) From a different angle, Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, notes that ‘reducing’ אֱלֹהִים to a superlative is unwarranted in a context that otherwise uses it to mean God. (17) Also, N. Wyatt, “The Darkness of Genesis I 2,” *VT* 43 (1993) 546f.

³⁷ D. Lys, *Rûach le Souffle dans l’Ancien Testament*, (Études d’Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses 56; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962) is a thorough study of the occurrences of רִיחַ in the Hebrew Bible partitioned by traditional Christian canonical divisions with occurrences divided into three categories: wind, God, and humanity.

³⁸ Kilian, “Gen. I 2 und die Urgötter von Hermopolis,” 435-438, and Atwell, “Egyptian Source,” 454-455, both suggest that the tradition-historical root of אֱלֹהִים רִיחַ in relation to the primordial waters is found in the presence of

with רוח אלהים within the Hebrew Bible³⁹ diminishes the possibility for gaining a definitive understanding of its place and full significance in MT Gen 1.2.

The final intertextual marker to address in v.2 is מרחפת. There has been much made of the meaning of מרחפת in MT Gen 1.2 since Gunkel's assertion that it is a derivative of the Syriac, *r-h-p*, connoting the brooding action of a bird upon an egg incubating it in preparation for hatching.⁴⁰ This 'world-egg' theory of MT Gen 1.2c is now regularly dismissed,⁴¹ to the point that Childs and Westermann state that מרחפת is no longer a problem.⁴² Rather, it is to be understood as 'hovering' or 'shaking'.⁴³

One final characteristic of MT Gen 1.2 that requires further attention is the parallel relationship between the second and third phrases, as they both share the prepositional compound, על-פני, followed by a form of water. The way in which these parallel clauses inform each other can be described: $x \rightarrow y$ and $x^1 \rightarrow y^1$, with '→' representing the common element, על-פני.⁴⁴ From this, then, the question arises of the relationship between x and x^1 and y and y^1 . While תהום may be a basic building block of the cosmos, it is paralleled in the equation with the more frequently occurring מים. This raises the question of the influence of ancient Near Eastern myth on MT Gen 1.2. That is, if תהום and מים are equal though different references to water, it is less likely that תהום carries the force or echo of a demythologised ancient Near Eastern god.⁴⁵ This leads directly to the relationship between רוח אלהים and חשך. Given the parallel nature of MT Gen 1.2b and c and the common על-פני, it appears that just as תהום and מים are parallels so it would be for חשך and רוח אלהים. Of course רוח אלהים and חשך could be antithetical, expressing two opposing forces hovering over the two forms of primal waters. Such an option understands darkness as a pre-created substance, a substance with which God deals first by speaking light into being in v. 3. If this

the Egyptian god, Amun or Amun-Re, with the four pairs of gods that bore the qualities of the primordial waters, as were associated with the cult at Hermopolis by the time of the New Kingdom. While this observation may be etiologicaly significant, it does little to explain the use of רוח אלהים in the wider context of the Hebrew canon.

³⁹ Both רוח אלהים and its cognate, רוח יהוה, provide little insight into the use of רוח in MT Gen 1.2, other than a general observation that other occurrences of רוח יהוה/אלהים exhibit a dynamic interaction between YHWH and creation. An exception may be MT Isa 40.13, addressed below. One other notable exception comes in a cognate occurrence in Job 33.4: רוח-אל עשתיני ונשמת שדי תחייני – The spirit of God made me; the breath of the Almighty gives me life. W.H. McClellan, "The Meaning of *Ruah 'Elohim* in Genesis 1.2," *Bib* 15 (1934), in a study of the occurrences of cognates of רוח אלהים, concludes that occurrences that are more likely translated 'wind' refer to YHWH's destructive power and those that are likely translated 'breath' or 'spirit' refer to YHWH's 'vivifying, energizing, beneficent' power. (523)

⁴⁰ Recognized in BDB as a possible meaning, referencing Gunkel. (s.v.) Cassuto, *Genesis*, notes that brooding is at best a secondary meaning of *r-h-p* in Syriac, the primary being 'to fly to and fro, flutter.' (25)

⁴¹ Cassuto, *Genesis*, 24-25; von Rad, *Genesis*, 47; Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, 17.

⁴² Childs, *Myth and Reality*, 34; Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 107.

⁴³ In line with occurrence in MT Deut 32.11 and Jer 23.9.

⁴⁴ Cassuto, *Genesis*, 25; Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 106.

⁴⁵ B. Lang, *Wisdom and the Book of Proverbs: An Israelite Goddess Redefined*, (New York: Pilgrim, 1986) makes a similar argument about Wisdom (חכמה) in Prov 1, 8, and 9.

reading is possible, the description of the pre-created earth consists of a watery nothingness with the dark, mysterious presence of God upon it all.⁴⁶

1.2.3 MT Gen 1.3

As was noted earlier, the creative speech of God begins in v.3. The intertextual marker of interest in v.3 is אֵרָא, the first creation of this creation narrative.⁴⁷ The creation of light by divine speech establishes a pattern that drives the narrative of the First Creation Story by signalling the creative action at the beginning of each day,⁴⁸ a pattern only interrupted by its repetition on the sixth day for both the living creatures and humankind and its absence from the seventh day.

1.2.4 MT Gen 1.4

The culmination of the creation of light begins v.4 and leads to the intertextual marker, כִּי־טוֹב. With this positive self-evaluation, a second pattern is established whereby the First Creation Story punctuates creative actions by declaring them good.⁴⁹ It should be noted that light alone is declared good at the beginning of v.4. Darkness has been left out, at least in this instance.⁵⁰ However, darkness does come back into play, as the next action is God's separation of light from dark. The action of the second phrase of v.4 comes in the verb בָּדַל. As with the merism, אֶרֶץ and שָׁמַיִם in v.1, there is a concern apparent in the narrative for opposites, and in the case of v.4, בָּדַל is the verb that draws this concern into focus as a creative action of separation.⁵¹ This separation highlights another intertextual marker, אֵרָא and הָאֵשׁ.

⁴⁶ This view is shared by B.D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66*, (Contraversions: Jews and Other Differences; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998) who states that before God begins the creative acts starting in MT Gen 1.3, 'formless matter, including chaos, water, darkness, and the abyss, already existed.' (142) This view is similar to that of Skinner, *Genesis*, though Skinner's reading begins with the 'Chaos-come-again' of Jer 4.23-26, only then moving to MT Gen 1.2. He states that 'the idea here [Gen 1.2] is probably similar [to Jer 4.23-26], with this difference, that the distinction of land and sea is effaced, and the earth, which is the subj. of the sentence, must be understood as the amorphous watery mass in which the elements of the future land and sea were commingled.' (17)

⁴⁷ H.G. May, "The Creation of Light in Genesis 1.3-5," *JBL* 58 (1939) in an attempt to reconcile the creation of light prior to the creation of the sun, asserts that the redactor of MT Gen 1.3-5 would have understood God to be the source of a 'non-solar divine light.' (211) While this is similar to the allegorical thrust of Philo's interpretation, cf. *Opif* 26-35 (see below, pp. 145-150), such a possibility seems to have been dropped by recent commentators.

⁴⁸ MT Gen 1.6, 9, 14, 20, 24, 26.

⁴⁹ Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, draws a connection between the Creator's positive self-evaluation and subsequent human praise/worship given to the Creator because of these 'good' works. (113) In addition to Westermann's example of morning stars and heavenly beings giving praise to God (MT Job 38.7) one could reasonably add MT Ps 136.1ff where there is a repetition of the 'good' punctuation, כִּי־טוֹב, this time beginning a litany of praise for God's wonderful acts including creation and liberation from Egypt. See below.

⁵⁰ It may be included in the Creator's all-inclusive declaration, MT Gen 1.31.

⁵¹ Also, Gen 1.6, 7, 14, 18.

1.2.5 MT Gen 1.5

While it is true that אֶחָד is not included in the כִּי־טוֹב declaration of v.4a, the first phrase of v.5 places darkness, along with light, under the Creator's control by the creative act of naming.⁵² An intertextual marker of concern appears in this act of naming, לְיָהּ and יוֹם, another contrast of opposites. The final intertextual marker comes in the numbering or ordering of the days that completes each of the first six days of creation, which in this case is יוֹם שֵׁשֶׁת. This declaration that both separates the first act of creation from the rest and includes it within the seven-day framework serves as a natural full-stop to the first day. With the separation and naming of day and night, יוֹם שֵׁשֶׁת can conclude with the formula that will indicate the conclusion of all of the first six days.

1.2.5 A Note on the Stability of the Hebrew Text of Gen 1.1-5

As is generally true of the Masoretic Text, the text of MT Gen 1.1-5 is quite stable. There are no textual variants in the Masoretic tradition. Earlier than the MT are the texts of Genesis from the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁵³ While neither of the two manuscripts of Gen 1.1-5 are complete (4QGen^{b&g}),⁵⁴ the text that is extant mirrors the MT with one exception. In 4QGen^g line 4 reads:

ויקרא אלהים לאור יומם ולחשך קרנא

The variant here is יוֹמִים, where the MT reads יוֹם.⁵⁵ According to Davila, this variant does not persist where the text is referring to a specific day in which case יוֹם is used;⁵⁶ it does persist, however, where the word is used in an 'abstract' sense.⁵⁷ Notably, this variant is perpetuated in the Targumim and the Peshitta.⁵⁸

1.3 Creation Intertexts of MT Gen 1.1-5

What follows is a sketch of the individual parts of the intertextual tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5 within the Hebrew Bible. The intertextual relationships of these texts with MT Gen 1.1-5 are evaluated on the similarity of vocabulary, illustrated in Table 1.1, and the presence of a creation theme. In descending order of commonality, the intertexts are based on the number of individual words common to both texts (e.g. if אֶחָד occurs three times in a given text, for this criterion it is only counted once). This is column A in Table 1.1. The second criterion is what I call the *frequency ratio*, this is simply the total number of common words divided by the total number of verses in a

⁵² Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, here speaks of the relationship between the power of naming and the place of אֶחָד in the narrative. He makes a distinction between the darkness of v.2 and the darkness of v.5 because in effect the darkness of v.2 has now been tamed by the action of naming. (114-115) Such a bifurcation of two darknesses is ambiguous if not unlikely within the context of Gen 1.1-5, given the possible positive use of אֶחָד in v.2. See argument above.

⁵³ For a list of the Genesis manuscripts found at Qumran see: D.L. Washburn, *A Catalog of Biblical Passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (SBLTCS 2; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002) 11-19; also, J.R. Davila, "Text-Type and Terminology: Genesis and Exodus as Test Cases," *DSD* 16 (1993) 4 n.3.

⁵⁴ J.R. Davila, *DJD* XII.33, 58.

⁵⁵ The equivalent portion of 4QGen^b has a lacuna where one would expect to find יוֹם or יוֹמִים.

⁵⁶ Gen 1.5c, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31, 2.2, 3

⁵⁷ Gen 1.5b, 14, 16, 18

⁵⁸ All the Targumic texts (Onqelos, Noefiti, Pseudo-Jonathan, Palestinian, and the Fragmentary Targum) perpetuate this variant. Davila, *DJD* XIII.59.

given pericope (e.g. if there are four words common to MT Gen 1.1-5 in a pericope that is two verses long it receives a rating of 2.00). This ratio serves to identify the concentration of common vocabulary between an intertext and the primary text. This is column B in Table 1.1. The third criterion is the total common words, including repetitions (e.g. if אֱלֹהִים occurs three times in a given text, it is counted three times). This is column C in Table 1.1. A fourth criterion for ordering the intertexts is the pericope's place in the canon, which in this case is the order used in BHS. It bears mentioning that these are artificial criteria.

What follows, then, are brief accounts of each intertext's significant similarities and differences with MT Gen 1.1-5.

Analysis of MT Gen 1.1-5 Intertexts				
Intertexts		A. Individual Common Words ⁵⁹	B. Frequency Ratio	C. Total Common Words
1	Ps 104.1-35	10(5)	0.60	21
2	Job 38.4-38	8(4)	0.60	21
3	Isa 42.5-9	7(4)	1.40	7
4	Ps 148.1-14	7(4)	1.00	13
5	Job 26.5-14	7(3)	1.00	10
6	2 Sam 22.7-20	7(3)	0.86	12
7	Ps 18.7-20	7(2)	0.86	12
8	Isa 40.12-31	7(4)	0.70	14
9	Amos 5.8	6(3)	6.00	6
10	Prov 8.22-31	6(2)	1.30	13
11	Isa 44.24-45.8	6(3)	0.86	12
12	Ps 136.1-9	6(1)	0.67	6
13	Isa 45.18-19	5(4)	4.00	8
14	Jer 4.23-28	5(2)	1.50	9
15	Ps 33.6-9	5(2)	1.25	5
16	Isa 51.4-16	5(2)	0.85	11
17	Prov 30.4	4(1)	4.00	4
18	Jer 10.11-13	4(2)	3.00	9
19	Jer 51.15-16	4(2)	3.00	6
20	Ps 135.5-7	4(3)	1.67	5
21	Job 3.3-10	4(2)	1.38	11
22	Ps 74.12-17	4(1)	0.83	5
23	Amos 4.13	3(2)	3.00	3
24	Zech 12.1	3(2)	3.00	3
25	Amos 9.5-6	3(1)	2.50	5
26	Isa 48.12-13	3(1)	2.00	4
27	Prov 3.19-20	3(2)	1.50	3
28	Job 28.12-14	2(1)	0.67	2

Table 1.1 - MT Gen 1.1-5 Intertexts within the Hebrew Bible

⁵⁹ The second number in parentheses is the number of intertextual markers that appear in the pericope, whereas the first number of column A is the number of individual words common between the pericope and MT Gen 1.1-5.

1.3.1 Psalm 104.1-35

An ode to the creator of the universe, MT Psalm 104 contains many of the intertextual markers of MT Gen 1.1-5 (אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא, לְיָמֵהּ, חָשָׁךְ, תְּהוֹמוֹת, אֲרָץ, מַיִם, רִיחַ, אֲרָץ, תְּהוֹמוֹת, חָשָׁךְ, לְיָמֵהּ, בָּרָא).⁶⁰ While including the whole of MT Ps 104 may seem like casting a very wide net in search of intertextual markers, in the case of Psalm 104 the creation theme runs throughout,⁶¹ necessitating the inclusion of the entire psalm.

There is a common recognition that Psalm 104 bears a striking resemblance to the Egyptian *Hymn to Aten*. As noted above, it has been suggested by Kilian and Atwell that Genesis 1 is also rooted in Egyptian cosmology. Whether or not the First Creation Story and Psalm 104 share a common tradition heritage, based on shared vocabulary, there is at least an intertextual relationship. J. Levenson suggests three main points of similarity between MT Psalm 104 and MT Gen 1:⁶² (1) a theological similarity insofar as Leviathan is created by YHWH in both texts;⁶³ (2) the ‘impressive’ correlation of the order of both passages; and (3) the substantial overlap in vocabulary.⁶⁴ While Levenson's larger argument is of interest, his third point is most pertinent to this study.

The first point of contact with MT Gen 1.1-5 comes in God's wrapping godself with light (אֱלֹהִים) as a garment. As light is the first thing that is created in Genesis 1, so at the beginning of the creation account in Psalm

⁶⁰ The link between MT Gen 1.1-5 and MT Ps 104 is not a simple repetition one of the other. A. Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary*, (trans. H. Hartwell; 4th ed.; OTL; London: SCM, 1962) describes the relationship between MT Gen 1.1-5 and MT Ps 104 as ‘like that of a coloured picture to the clear lines of a woodcut.’ (666) While both contain poetic characteristics, MT Ps 104 is deliberately metaphorical in its use of language. For an argument on the poetic character of MT Gen 1.1-2.3, see Polak, “Poetic Style and Parallelism,” 2-31.

⁶¹ E.S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 2 and Lamentations*, (FOTL 15; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001) identifies the main body of the psalm as vv.2-30. The personal introduction (v.1) and conclusion (v.35c) along with the wishes (vv.31-32), vows (vv.33-34), and imprecations (v.35a-b) he attributes to the liturgical, call-response between liturgist and congregation. (221-227)

⁶² Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, ch.5, ‘Creation without Opposition,’ pp.53-65. Levenson also sees a connection between MT Ps 104 and the 14th century BCE Egyptian ‘The Hymn of Aten’ (Short Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, 57-65) to which he attributes the developmental influence that moves toward a ‘creation without opposition’ that he sees fully materialized in MT Gen 1. He sees influence here in a linear fashion from ‘The Hymn to Aten’ to Ps 104 to Gen 1. (59-65) Also, Clifford, *Creation Accounts*, while noting Levenson's argument for a similarity with ‘The Hymn of Aten,’ stresses the theological differences between Aten and Ps 104. (114-116) Also noting an Egyptian background to Ps 104 is Atwell, “Egyptian Source,” who suggests that Ps 104 and Genesis 1 are based on a common cosmology rooted in Hermopolis in Egypt, with Genesis 1 being the ‘purer witness’ based on the absence of conflict in Genesis 1, and that Ps 104 can help ‘to understand the inspiration and motivation behind the Genesis narrative.’ (461)

⁶³ Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, sees הַתַּיִתִּים in MT Gen 1.21 as a demythologized reference to the same Leviathan of MT Ps 104.26. (54)

⁶⁴ Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, 53-57. Levenson also notes the difference between the MT Gen 1 and MT Ps 104 creation accounts: ‘Ps 104 is not a depiction of the process of creation at all. It is a panorama of the natural world, conducted with a view of praising the creator for his superlative wisdom in conceiving and producing such an astonishing place.’ (57) Levenson's argument is heavily weighed on reading הַתַּיִתִּים in MT Gen 1.21 as further demythologisation of the Leviathan that is created as YHWH's plaything in MT Ps 104.26 with his ‘suspicion’ heightened by the ‘fact that more than one sea monster is created, and that only the generic name is mentioned....’ (54) While Isa 27.1 provides a precedent for reading הַתַּיִתִּים as a synonym of Leviathan, what Levenson calls the ‘most persuasive factor’ in his argument for a connection between MT Ps 104 and MT Gen 1 ought to be taken with at least a little caution. J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea*, (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 35; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) also notes the strong similarity of vocabulary between Gen 1 and Ps 104. (51) Also on the similarity of ordering both texts, see von Rad, *Genesis*, 52. Contra this perspective, Hoffman, “First Creation Story,” sees no organic connection between MT Gen 1 and MT Ps 104 outside of some common vocabulary. (43)

104 one of the first statements about God is that God is wrapped in light.⁶⁵ The two occurrences of רִיחַ (MT Ps 104.3-4) may also draw attention to MT Gen 1.1-5. The first occurrence is similar to MT Ps 18.11 and MT 2 Sam 22.11, where God is envisioned riding upon the wings of the wind, and similar is the use of רִיחַ in MT Ps 104.4, where the winds are God's messengers. The next intertextual marker that draws attention is תְּהוֹם in MT Ps 104.6, in which the deep is 'as a garment' clothing the primeval earth, a marked difference from simple declarative nature of MT Gen 1.2b. Another similarity with MT Gen 1.2 is the juxtaposition of תְּהוֹם and מְיִם in MT Ps 104.6. The next intertextual marker is אֲשֶׁר in v. 20, where it recalls the creation of the great lights (cf. MT Gen 1.14-18).⁶⁶ It is in relation to the ordering of night and day via the heavenly lights that אֲשֶׁר is mentioned as a created element of the cosmic order.⁶⁷ It is reasonable to say that in the context of MT Psalm 104, אֲשֶׁר is one of the many aspects or elements of creation for which YHWH is given praise.⁶⁸ It is also fair to say that while in a creation context, אֲשֶׁר is used generically, meaning nighttime, as it is throughout MT Genesis 1. As with the first two, the second two occurrences of רִיחַ appear together. In MT Ps 104.29-30 there is a parallel that allows insight into the use of רִיחַ in this context. The occurrence in v.29 occurs in reference to human beings. רִיחַ is human breath, the breath without which there is death. The occurrence in v.30, then, is reciprocal in that it explains that YHWH is the source of the human רִיחַ in v.29. In comparing רִיחַ in MT Psalm 104 and MT Gen 1.1-5, the diversity of usage has to be acknowledged. In vv. 3 and 4, the use of רִיחַ can be seen to describe a servant-like heavenly creature, something separate from YHWH, a tool or vehicle, so to speak, possibly reflecting MT Gen 1.2. In v. 29 and 30, however, the use is different, describing the relationship between the breath of the Creator and that of the created, more in line with MT Gen 2.7.

Finally, there are two elements of MT Ps 104 that, though they fall outside the direct intertextual scope of MT Gen 1.1-5, need to be mentioned because they appear in the larger intertextual tapestry in chapter three. The first is the line עֲשֶׂה מְלֶאכֶיךָ רוּחֹת (v.4a). The use of רִיחַ qualifies as an intertextual marker as noted above, but also important is the statement that God makes the winds his messengers – a hint of angelology. A second element of MT Ps 104 of note is the statement in v.24 that the entirety of what God has made has been made with wisdom (בְּחָכְמָה). This combination of wisdom and creation is a hallmark that will show its head again throughout this study.

⁶⁵ See Cassuto, *Genesis*, 50-51; Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, 55.

⁶⁶ M. Dahood, *Psalms*, 3 vols. (AB 16-17a; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965-1970), asserts that this is not a nominal but a verbal occurrence of אֲשֶׁר, a scribal mistake perpetuated in the MT. With the motivation of maintaining a third person voice until v. 24, he argues that the first two words of 104.20 should be read as one - אֲשֶׁר הָאֲשֶׁר - a perfect, third person singular of the *ishtaphel* conjugation. (3:43)

⁶⁷ A.A. Anderson, *Psalms*, 2 vols. (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972) makes explicit the connection to MT Gen 1.2. (723). It should also be noted that שִׁיר has more of a connotation of ordering or arranging than creating.

⁶⁸ See J. Limburg, *Psalms*, (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2000) 354.

1.3.2 Job 38.4-38

This sprawling intertext is the start of God's first response to Job.⁶⁹ The beginning of God's argument is creation-based and filled with intertextual markers (אֱלֹהִים, יוֹם, שָׁמַיִם, אֶרֶץ with אֱלֹהִים/הַשָּׁמַיִם in v.19 and אֱלֹהִים/אֶרֶץ in v.33). God sarcastically jabs at Job with questions like, 'Where were you when I laid the foundation of the earth?' (v.4), and 'Have you entered into the springs of the sea, or walked in the recesses of the deep?'⁷⁰ This creation argument runs throughout vv.4-38, turning in v.39ff to the wild kingdom. Given the length of the pericope an outline is in order, using that of Habel.⁷¹

vv.4-7	The Earth
vv.8-11	The Sea
vv.12-15	The Dawn
vv.16-18	The Waters ⁷² and the Netherworld
vv.19-21	Light and Darkness
vv.22-30	Weather Forces
vv.31-33	Constellations
vv.34-38	The Thunderstorm

Each section substantiates God's argument that God has constructed and/or controls these elements of the cosmos, and Job does not.

The first hint of an intertextual connection with MT Gen 1.1-5 comes with God's initial question in v.4. God asks Job if he was there when God laid the foundations of the earth (בְּיִסְדֵי־אֶרֶץ). While there is no vocabulary common to MT Gen 1.1-5 in the following section (vv.8-11), it should be noted that the sea (יָם) is tamed here⁷³ and that there is seed for angelology when the morning stars (כִּוְכָבֵי בֹקֶר) sing and the sons of God (בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים) shout for joy. Vv.12-15 is about the genesis of the morning (בֹּקֶר), an idea unique to this passage in the Hebrew Bible, with the possible exception of God's transitioning of deep darkness (צִלְמֹת) into morning in MT Amos 5.8. V.16 relates both יָם and אֶרֶץ to death (v.17).⁷⁴ V.19 contains the pair, אֱלֹהִים and אֱלֹהִים, and speaks of them as each having

⁶⁹ MT Job 38.1-39.30

⁷⁰ N. Habel, *The Book of Job: A Commentary*, (OTL; London: SCM, 1985) refers to God's questioning of Job as a rhetoric that makes its point with a 'biting sarcasm.' (541) E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, (trans. H. Knight; London: Nelson, 1967) suggests that 'Yahweh reduces the problem to a question of origins. In order to understand the things that happened in the world and to apprehend the divine 'counsel' (v.2), it would be necessary to have been present at the origin of things.' It is only at the origin of everything, the beginning, that Job would have been able to apprehend wisdom and understanding. (567)

⁷¹ Habel, *Job*, 530-531. A similar order is suggested by R.E. Murphy, *Wisdom Literature: Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther*, (FOTL 13; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), though I choose to break with Murphy's order pericope (38.4-39.30) at v.38, (42-43) given the focus changes to the wild kingdom with little cosmogonic language.

⁷² Habel labels vv.16-18 as 'The Netherworld.' It seems appropriate to add 'The Waters' as they are an integral part of the description of the netherworld in v.16, and they play a primary role in MT Gen 1.2.

⁷³ Habel states that these verses 'focus on the confinement of the chaos waters of the sea to protect the newly constructed earth. The sea is personified as a primordial chaos monster that God had to bring under control as a phase of the creation program.' (538) While I don't necessarily disagree with Habel's understanding of the sea in vv.8-11, this personification of יָם does not seem to mesh with a lack of personification אֶרֶץ in v.16, where it is coupled with יָם.

⁷⁴ The combination of יָם and אֶרֶץ is also found in MT Ps 33.7, 135.7, and Isa 51.10, each text asserting God's control and/or dominance thereof.

their own dwelling.⁷⁵ Though light is mentioned first, there is no value judgment about either. At the same time it must be said that צְלִמְנוֹת,⁷⁶ often translated 'deep darkness,' is coupled with death in v.17, though there appears to be no transfer of the connotation of death to the use of חֹשֶׁךְ in v.19. אֶצְרוֹת (v.22), though not found in MT Gen 1.1-5, appears elsewhere in the intertextual tapestry. In this case, the storehouse is used to store snow and hail, with no mention of תְּהוֹם or רִיחַ as in other texts.⁷⁷ Vv.22-30 describe meteorological phenomena all centered on water. In the final verse of the section, the claim that it is God who freezes the waters (מַיִם) and the face of the deep (וּפְנֵי תְהוֹם) is reminiscent of MT Gen 1.2c (וַחֲשָׁךְ עַל-פְּנֵי תְהוֹם).⁷⁸ Also as in MT Gen 1.2, the waters and the deep come in parallel succession, though in the opposite order. Vv.31-33 address the stars of the sky, with the particular notion that God arranged the constellations in the heavens. This concludes with a general question that includes the word-pair אֲרָץ/שָׁמַיִם. God simply asks Job if he knows the ordinances of heaven (הַקְּוֹת שָׁמַיִם) and can make them work on earth (אֲרָץ). The final section, Habel's 'Thunderstorm', has bits of MT Gen 1.1-5 language (שָׁמַיִם, מַיִם) but is more important for its inclusion of wisdom (חָכְמָה). The rhetoric of the entire pericope is centered on the question of Job's knowledge (see דַּעַת in v.2). The conclusion of this portion of God's speech is that it is God who gives wisdom, a wisdom which Job, *à la* v.2, does not have.⁷⁹ After the long list of cosmic things that God, not Job, has created, the exclamation point on this section is wisdom.

1.3.3 Isaiah 42.5-9

This is the first of six creation texts in this chapter from Deutero-Isaiah.⁸⁰ This particular text, which comes just after the first Servant Song,⁸¹ is a description of God as the creator of the world.⁸² With vocabulary common to MT Gen 1.1-5 (חֹשֶׁךְ, אֹר, רִיחַ, אֲרָץ, שָׁמַיִם, בְּרֵאשִׁית שָׁמַיִם/אֲרָץ in v.5)⁸³ and a creation theme, MT Isa 42.5 fits

⁷⁵ M.H. Pope, *Job*, (AB 15; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965, 1973) suggests that light and dark have their own dwelling because they were separated on the first day of Creation, citing MT Gen 1. (296) Such a direct connection with Gen 1.4 is difficult to maintain given the wealth of common vocabulary but lack of any other direct connection between MT Job 38.4-38 and MT Gen 1.1-5.

⁷⁶ Cf. MT Amos 5.8; Job 3.5

⁷⁷ For תְּהוֹם see MT Ps 33.7; for רִיחַ see MT Ps 135.7, Jer 10.13, 51.16. Dhorme, *Job*, suggests that the use of אֶצְרוֹת in both MT Job 28.22 and MT Ps 33.7 has more of a connotation of a reservoir where the elements are stored for God's disposal. (585)

⁷⁸ Dhorme, *Job*, notes the parallel of מַיִם and תְּהוֹם with no mention of MT Gen 1.2.

⁷⁹ Job's admission in MT Job 42.2-3 that he does not understand further validates the point of God's speech.

⁸⁰ On the debated place of creation in the context of Deutero-Isaiah, see R.J. Clifford, "The Unity of the Book of Isaiah and Its Cosmogonic Language," *CBQ* 55 (1993) 1-17, DeRoche, "Isaiah 45.7 and the Creation of Chaos?," 11-21, D.M. Gunn, "Deutero-Isaiah and the Flood," *JBL* 94 (1975) 493-508, P.B. Harner, "Creation Faith in Deutero-Isaiah," *VT* 17 (1967) 298-306, T.M. Ludwig, "The Traditions of the Establishing of the Earth in Deutero-Isaiah," *JBL* 92 (1973) 345-357, B.C. Ollenburger, "Isaiah's Creation Theology," *ExAud* 3 (1987) 54-71, C. Stuhlmueller, "First and Last' and 'Yahweh-Creator' in Deutero-Isaiah," *CBQ* 29 (1967) 495-511.

⁸¹ Isa 42.1-4

⁸² C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary*, (trans. D.M.G. Stalker; OTL; London: SCM, 1969) refers to a 'general agreement' on the unity of 42.5-9 (98) and is of the opinion that MT Isa 42.5-9 resembles Trito-Isaiah more so than Deutero-Isaiah and as such is a later expansion on MT Isa 42.1-4. (101)

⁸³ K. Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40-55*, (trans. M. Kohl; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001) recognizes the 'cardinal catchwords' of Genesis 1 in Isa 42.5. (131) Also, Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 99; B.S. Childs, *Isaiah*, (OTL; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001) 326.

nicely into our intertextual tapestry. The primary point of contact with MT Gen 1.1-5 comes in v.5, in which God creates (בֹּרֵא) and stretches out (נוֹטֵיחַם) the heavens and spreads out (רִקְעַ) the earth and all its produce (צִיָּצֵי־אֲרֶץ).⁸⁴ A significant point of difference is the use of רִיחַ, which in MT Isa 42.5 is the breath of life for all human beings.⁸⁵ So, while connected to MT Gen 1.1-5 via vocabulary and creation context, the use of רִיחַ in MT Isa 42.5 is a marked difference, suggesting that there is no dependence of one text upon the other.⁸⁶ Finally, with the parallel use of אֹר/חֹשֶׁךְ in MT Isa 42.7-8,⁸⁷ a light/dark theme similar to that of the first day of creation, is used as a metaphor for the relationship of Israel to the rest of the world. However, this light/dark metaphor is likely a simple reference to a natural phenomenon only bringing MT Gen 1.1-5 into the picture because of the intertextual markers concentrated in v.5. The focus of MT Isa 42.5 is a description of God's creative actions, and unlike MT Gen 1.2 there is no speculation about the state of a primordial earth, noting especially the use of רִיחַ with reference to human life and the absence of any primordial elements/creatures.

1.3.4 Psalm 148.1-14

In a psalm calling the breadth of creation to give praise to YHWH, a significant shared vocabulary (רִיחַ, תְּהוֹמֹת, רִיחַ) along with אֲרָץ/שָׁמַיִם in v.13) draws attention to MT Gen 1.1-5. As with MT Psalm 104, the whole of MT Psalm 148 is included in this list because the intertextual markers and the creation theme run throughout. While there is no similarity of literary structure,⁸⁹ there is a similarity of cosmic structure between the MT Psalm 148 and the wider context of Genesis 1, most notably in the ordering of the sun, moon, and stars in MT Ps 148.3 and the greater and lesser lights and the stars in MT Gen 1.16. An interesting difference between the two texts is the juxtaposition of תְּהוֹמֹת and תַּגְּיִימִים.⁹⁰ Both תְּהוֹמֹת and תַּגְּיִימִים, whether containing echoes of ancient Near Eastern myth or not, are creatures called to worship their creator, not (or no longer) mythic combatants of the divine. In the call to praise YHWH, the emphasis is that YHWH dominates, that YHWH is creator and all else is created. The use of רִיחַ in MT Ps 148.8 may be interpretive of MT Gen 1.2 offering

⁸⁴ In 1QM x.13, there is a similar use of צִיָּצֵי־אֲרֶץ in relation to the earth. See below, pp. 98-102.

⁸⁵ The use of רִיחַ in MT Isa 42.5 is closer to its use in MT Gen 2.7.

⁸⁶ It could be that Deutero-Isaiah is drawing a connection between רִיחַ in MT Gen 1.2 and נְשָׁמָה of MT Gen 2.7. This assertion is made by Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, not only about the occurrence of רִיחַ but also about the introductory name, אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה, unique in the Hebrew Bible: 'Behind the link between 'the God' and 'Yahweh' is the hermeneutical decision to put together the names used for God in Genesis 1 and 2. It is the same God who created both the world and human beings.' (131) Cf. Childs, *Isaiah*, 326. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, makes passing comment regarding Genesis 1 though not in relation to רִיחַ. (98-99). Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, on the other hand, sees MT Isa 42.5-9 as an allusion to MT Jer 31.31-36, never mentioning a connection to MT Genesis 1 or 2. (46-49)

⁸⁷ Note this use of אֹר/חֹשֶׁךְ is not technically an IM.

⁸⁸ This use of בֹּרֵא is a *niphal*.

⁸⁹ As is arguably present between Gen 1 and Ps 104, see von Rad, *Genesis*, 52.

⁹⁰ תַּגְּיִימִים does not appear until MT Gen 1.21.

an understanding of רַיָּח אֱלֹהִים in MT Gen 1.2, though this is at best speculative.⁹¹ One final note is that the mention of all angels/messengers (כָּל־מַלְאָכָיו) and hosts (כָּל־צְבָאוֹ) in MT Ps 148.2 provides another intertextual touchstone in the conversation of angelology and creation.

1.3.5 Job 26.5-14

This text is the major portion of a slightly larger speech (MT Job 26.2-14), in its current form attributed to Job, which recalls God's creativity⁹³ and has an intertextual commonality with MT Gen 1.1-5 (שָׁמַיִם, רַיָּח) Job, which recalls God's creativity⁹³ and has an intertextual commonality with MT Gen 1.1-5 (שָׁמַיִם, רַיָּח), along with אֱלֹהֵי אֲרָץ, אֱלֹהֵי אֲרָץ, אֱלֹהֵי אֲרָץ, along with אֱלֹהֵי אֲרָץ in v.10).⁹⁴ Whether or not the text of Job has MT Gen 1.1-5 specifically in mind,⁹⁵ the strong similarity of vocabulary and the cosmic flavor of the text warrants its inclusion as an intertext with MT Gen 1.1-5.⁹⁶ As portrayed in this speech, God is very active and at times violent. In creating, God subdues those primordial elements that run contrary to and threaten the created order, which in this text is largely established by God's limitation of certain elements.

The first intertextual marker of note is תְּהַדֶּה in v.7a. Here God stretches (נָטָה) Zaphon / 'the north' over the תְּהַדֶּה. With the use of נָטָה one might expect the object to be the heavens, especially given the parallel occurrence of earth in v.7b; rather, it is Zaphon that is stretched out. A clue to this may come from MT Job 37.22, where God's majesty is associated with 'the north,' which would undoubtedly have the power to cover the תְּהַדֶּה as it occurs in MT Gen 1.2. In vv.8 and 10a, the waters are harnessed. While this is similar to the second day in the First Creation Story,⁹⁷ there is a significant resemblance of the waters in MT Gen 1.2 with those in v.10a, in the use of the phrase, עַל־פְּנֵי־קִיָּם, the only difference being the lack of the definite article in Job. This is too striking to ignore,⁹⁸

⁹¹ Among recent commentators on this verse, Weiser, *Psalms*, alone acknowledges a hint of MT Genesis 1, though not directly connected to the occurrence of רַיָּח. (838) Others (Dahood, Anderson, Limburg) are silent.

⁹² This is the *kethib*, whereas the *qere* is אֱלֹהֵי אֲרָץ.

⁹³ Murphy, *Wisdom Literature*, identifies vv.5-14 as a 'hymn in praise of God's power,' and concurs with the general opinion that this speech is misplaced and ought to be attributed to Bildad rather than Job. (36) Also, Dhorme, *Job*, xlvi-xlviii, Habel, *Job*, 364ff, and Pope, *Job*, 180ff.

⁹⁴ The integrity of the MT and thus the meaning of this text are the subject of much debate, especially around the connection of MT Job 26 to ancient cosmogonies; see, N.H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job: A New Commentary*, (Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher, 1957): 383-384; Dhorme, *Job*, 374-375; Pope, *Job*, 185-186; and Habel, *Job*, 373-374. Germane to this study is the observation that the above commentators, while occupied with the pursuit of parallels with ancient extra-biblical texts, pay no attention to striking similarities with MT Genesis 1.

⁹⁵ Dhorme, *Job*, asserts that while previous uses of תְּהַדֶּה in MT Job (6.18, 12.24) simply have the meaning 'desert', 26.7 is 'the void' of MT Gen 1.2. (372) Habel, *Job*, on the other hand, suggests that MT Job 26.7 does not refer to the same thing as MT Gen 1.2, but sees the use of תְּהַדֶּה here in a more generic sense as the nothingness over which God pitches God's tent (371). Similarly, S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job*, (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921): 220-221.

⁹⁶ Habel, *Job*, notes the cosmic nature of MT Job 26.10-14, entitling his comment dedicated to it, 'The Establishment of the Cosmic Order.' Seeing similarities with MT 2 Sam 22.8, Ps 18.8, and Ps 104, interestingly he never draws his comment back to MT Gen 1 (372-373).

⁹⁷ MT Gen 1.6-8

⁹⁸ Another point of comparison is a second occurrence of the same phrase in MT Job 24.18, the only other occurrence of the phrase in MT Job. While not a creation context, v.18 does follow upon the heels of a light/dark discourse about those who rebel against the light and take refuge in the dark (vv.13-17). This said, it should be noted that there is considerable opinion that the text of ch. 24 (among others) has been shuffled out of order. Along these lines, Pope, *Job*, places v.18 nowhere near vv.13-17. (187-196)

especially when one considers that the circle that God is drawing upon the face of the waters is at the extreme boundary between light and darkness. This occurrence of the intertextual marker, **הַשֶּׁדֶה/סוּר**, more closely reflects Day One rather than the later creation of sun/moon/stars,⁹⁹ especially given the close proximity of other language (**עַל־פְּנֵי־מַיִם**) from MT Gen 1.2. As there is trembling at the beginning of the pericope, so the pillars of heaven (**עַמּוּדֵי שָׁמַיִם**) tremble at God's creative actions in v.11. God's creative power to subdue is exercised against the opposing forces of the sea (**הַיָּם**), Rahab,¹⁰⁰ and the fleeing serpent (**נִהְיֶה בְּרִיחַ**)¹⁰¹ in vv.12-13. The instrumental use of **רוּחַ** in v. 13a is intriguing in that it could reflect a similar idea to that of **רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים** of MT Gen 1.2, though **רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים** in MT Gen 1.2, while present, is not given any instrumentality in the creative acts.

1.3.6 2 Samuel 22.7-20

1.3.7 Psalm 18.7-20 [EV 6-19]

In the midst of a larger ‘royal song of Thanksgiving,’¹⁰² these parallel poetic accounts of the Creator's theophanic intervention in the midst of battle contain significant MT Gen 1.1-5 vocabulary (MT 2 Sam 22 – **אֶרְצִי, שָׁמַיִם, רוּחַ, הַשֶּׁדֶה מַיִם**, along with **שָׁמַיִם/אֶרְצִי**¹⁰³ in v.8; Ps 18 – **אֶרְצִי, שָׁמַיִם, רוּחַ, הַשֶּׁדֶה מַיִם**).¹⁰⁴ The three intertextual markers that draw attention to these texts are **רוּחַ** (2 Sam 22.11,16; Ps 18.11[10], 16[15]), and **הַשֶּׁדֶה** (2 Sam 22.12; Ps 18.12[11]), and **שָׁמַיִם/אֶרְצִי**, in 2 Sam 22.8.

The use of **עַל־כַּנְפֵי־רוּחַ** in v.11 is in relation to YHWH and parallel with **עַל־כַּרְוֹב**, giving the use here of **רוּחַ** a similarity, if not an equation, with a divine creature.¹⁰⁵ The use of **רוּחַ** (v.16) differs significantly from v.11 as it describes God, in particular God's nostril-flared blast. Neither occurrence of **רוּחַ** resembles MT Gen 1.2. Of

⁹⁹ MT Gen 1.16

¹⁰⁰ A similar divine defeat of Rahab is found in MT Ps 89.11. MT Isa 51.9 also has the defeat of Rahab though parallel with the subduing of the sea.

¹⁰¹ MT Isa 27.1 equates Leviathan with the serpent.

¹⁰² The identification of vv.7-17 as a pericope is based upon the structural analyses of A.A. Anderson, *2 Samuel*, (WBC 11; Dallas: Word, 1989) who sees vv.7b-17 as inclusive of God's theophany (262); Weiser, *Psalms*, who sees vv.7-15 as inclusive of the theophany and vv.16-19 as the 'deliverance' (189-191); Limburg, *Psalms*, who sees vv.7-19 as a 'detailed telling of the entire story' which is driving the psalm (56); and F.M. Cross and D.N. Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18," *JBL* 72 (1953) who place the theophany in vv.8-16. (21) While the inclusion of v.7, either in whole or in part, in the theophany is not shared by all (P.C. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, (WBC 19; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1983) 172ff), it is an interesting commingling of creation and temple language given the content of v.7b. On the psalm as a whole, there is a split over whether it was redacted from two earlier poems (see Anderson, *2 Samuel*) or comes from a single source. See H.W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, (trans. J.S. Bowden; OTL; London: SCM, 1964), P.K. McCarter, *II Samuel*, (AB 9; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984). For the purposes of this study, the question will be left alone and remain open along the lines of Cross and Freedman, "Royal Song of Thanksgiving," 21.

¹⁰³ The occurrence of **שָׁמַיִם/אֶרְצִי** is likely a later addition, as the second half of the MT of 2 Sam 22.8 is not found in MT Ps 18.8 or in the LXX, Peshitta, or Targumim.

¹⁰⁴ While the intertextual relationship based on common vocabulary seems strong, there is a lack of any acknowledgement of this by modern commentators (Dahood, Anderson, Weiser, Craigie). Weiser, *Psalms*, pursues a different proposal, establishing a connection between MT Ps 18 and the Sinai theophany. (189-191)

¹⁰⁵ MT Ps 104.3 also has God riding **עַל־כַּנְפֵי־רוּחַ**. J.J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (LDSS; London: Routledge, 1997) notes that the Canaanite god, Baal, is often described as 'the rider of the clouds.' (13)

interest is that אֶשֶׁר, in both these poetic contexts, is fashioned by YHWH as a dwelling.¹⁰⁶ There is little direct resemblance of these texts with MT Gen 1.1-5. In fact, there is more affinity with MT Ps 104.3 with God riding on the wings of the wind, and with MT Job 26.5-14 insofar as the creative presence of YHWH causes the earth to tremble. Finally, these texts share in the tradition of stretching of the heavens (v.10),¹⁰⁷ though the stretching here is less about creation and more about God's entry onto the battlefield.¹⁰⁸

1.3.8 Isaiah 40.12-31

This rather lengthy pericope is a grand hymn to the majestic creator of the world,¹⁰⁹ with vocabulary common to MT Gen 1.1-5 spread throughout MT Isa 40.12-31 (בְּרֵאשׁוֹת, תְּהוֹהוּ, אֶרֶץ, שָׁמַיִם, אֶרֶץ, תְּהוֹהוּ, along with שָׁמַיִם/אֶרֶץ). The pericope begins with God limiting the primal elements of creation – the heavens are measured and boundaried and portions of the earth are measured. Among the occurrences of רִיחַ, the occurrence in v.13 is the only possible cognate to אֶלֶּהֵם רִיחַ in MT Gen 1.2 that occurs in a creation context. Whether or not רִיחַ יְהוָה can be seen in light of אֶלֶּהֵם רִיחַ of MT Gen 1.2 is questionable.¹¹⁰ The creation context, if nothing else, leaves the possibility open, especially considering that MT Isa 40.12-31 contains a significant amount of other Day One vocabulary.¹¹¹ The same can be said for the occurrences of תְּהוֹהוּ in vv.17 and 23.¹¹² In v.21 one encounters the question, ‘Has it not been told to you from the beginning (בְּרֵאשׁוֹת)?’ This cognate of בְּרֵאשׁוֹת is of interest even

¹⁰⁶ Wyatt, “Darkness,” recognizes this use of אֶשֶׁר as divine dwelling and argues for a stronger link for these texts to MT Gen 1.2 than MT Deut 4.11 and 5.23: ‘This passage [2 Sam 22.12 and Ps 18.12(11)] paradoxically makes darkness the locus of the invisibility, and therefore perhaps the spiritual essence, of the deity. Furthermore, it links darkness explicitly with the waters, and, I suspect, with the primordial waters in mind, as the extra terrestrial location of God.’ (547) Limburg, *Psalms*, commenting on MT Ps 18.1-30, takes a slightly different tack, interpreting אֶשֶׁר in MT Ps 18.6b-15 as a tool or companion of YHWH: ‘The Lord was in his temple, heard the psalmist's cry, and came to rescue, accompanied by earthquake and darkness, wind and hail, thunder and lightning, and storms at sea.’ (56) On the difficulty of v.12, see also Anderson, *2 Samuel*, 263.

¹⁰⁷ MT Isa 40.22, 42.5, 44.24, 51.3; Jer 10.12, 51.15; Zech 12.1; Ps 104.2.

¹⁰⁸ MT Ps 144.5, and though it lacks נִטָּה, MT Isa 63.19. Cf. Cross and Freedman, “Royal Song of Thanksgiving,” 24 n.23.

¹⁰⁹ On MT Isa 40.12-31, Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, argues that this portion of ch. 40 is a unity that outlines three specific threats to Israel – 1) the nations and isles [vv.12-17]; 2) princes and rulers [vv.18-24]; 3) heavenly hosts/counterparts [vv.25-26] – with the culmination of the hymn coming in vv.27-31 where God's place as creator of the universe is intimately linked with God's place as savior of Israel. (48-49) Also, Stuhlmüller, “‘First and Last’ and ‘Yahweh-Creator’ in Dt-Isa,” 191; and W. Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40-66*, (WBC; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998) 22. Of note, Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, divides the chapter differently, differentiating two units, 40.9-20 and 40.21-31, the first being ‘a message about the shepherd's triumphal procession,’ (61f), and the second an antiphonal hymn. (77f)

¹¹⁰ R.N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975) prefers to read רִיחַ יְהוָה as ‘the mind’ of YHWH. (54) Similarly, Childs, *Isaiah*, reads ‘mind,’ but does recognize the similarity of traditions with MT Genesis 1 in v. 12. (309). Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, however, might be more open to reading the connection with MT Gen 1.2, as he sees the empowering/anointing spirit one and the same with the creative spirit. (68-69) Hoffman, “First Creation Story,” sees a more likely connection of MT Isa 40.13 with MT Proverbs 8 than with MT Genesis 1. He identifies a debate with wisdom literature in MT Isa 40.13, substantiated by vocabulary shared by both MT Isa 40.12-14 and MT Proverbs 8. (42) Intertextually, both relationships are plausible.

¹¹¹ M. Barker, “Beyond the Veil of the Temple: The High Priestly Origins of the Apocalypses,” *SJT* 51 (1998), reads MT Isaiah 40 as a ‘reconstruction of the world beyond the veil,’ that is the holy of holies. In her estimation MT Isaiah 40 is a place where the elements of the ‘hidden tradition’ of the pre-exilic temple cult are visible. (19)

¹¹² Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, goes so far as to see an allusion in MT Isa 40.17 to MT Gen 1.2. (72)

though it does not formally figure as an intertextual marker.¹¹³ Finally, there are two uses of בָּרָא, the first of which comes in a rhetorical question in v.26. After telling the hearer to look around, the question is asked, ‘Who created (בָּרָא) these?’ The second in v.28 is titular and confessional, saying, ‘The everlasting God is YHWH, the creator (בֹּרֵא) of the ends of the earth.’

1.3.9 Amos 5.8-9

The titular apostrophe of YHWH in MT Amos 5.8-9 has a significant concentration of vocabulary common to MT Gen 1.1-5 (אָרָץ, מַיִם, אֲרָזִים, קָרָא, חֲשֵׁה, לַיְלָה, יוֹם, בִּקְרָה, יוֹם, לַיְלָה/יוֹם), all of which occurs in v.8. In this verse, YHWH makes constellations, turns night into day and day into night, calls forth the waters of the sea, and pours them upon the face of the earth. Part of MT Amos 5.8 that strengthens the commonality is the phrase, עַל־פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ, which resembles the phrases of MT Gen 1.2, עַל־פְּנֵי תְהוֹם and עַל־פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם. Of course there is an incongruity between the antecedents of the phrases – the waters of the sea in MT Amos 5.8, and darkness and the breath of God in MT Gen 1.2. While MT Amos 5.8 most certainly fills the criteria for an intertextual relationship, any deliberate relationship with MT Gen 1.1-5 remains unclear if present at all.¹¹⁴

1.3.10 Proverbs 8.22-31

This pericope is part of Wisdom's first-person speech¹¹⁵ in which she extols her pre-eminent, though subordinate, place in the creation of the cosmos.¹¹⁶ It contains significant vocabulary common to MT Gen 1.1-5 (רָאשִׁית, אֲרָץ, תְהוֹם, מַיִם, שְׁמַיִם, יוֹם). While the creation/wisdom theme appears elsewhere (MT Ps 104.24, Job 28.14, and earlier in Proverbs 3.19-20),¹¹⁷ MT Prov 8.22-31 personifies or fleshes-out the relationships of YHWH, Wisdom, and creation. As such, the agenda of MT Proverbs 8 differs from that of MT Genesis 1. The motivation of

¹¹³ It seems that בָּרָא and רָאשִׁית are used synonymously in MT Prov 8.22-23. Also of interest is Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, who proposed change of foundations (בְּנוֹתָה) in BHS to since the earth was founded (בְּנוֹתָה). (78) In parallel with בָּרָא, then, both would be temporal references to the beginning of creation. It would also parallel similar statements about laying the foundations of the earth in MT Job 38.21 and Ps 104.5.

¹¹⁴ H.W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, (trans. W. Janzen, et al.; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) observes that there are three ‘hymnic’ passages throughout Amos – 4.12, 5.6-8, 9.5-6 – and suggests that these may be additions from the final stages of redaction. (215-217) This is of interest because all of these to varying degrees bear intertextual relationships with MT Gen 1.1-5. M. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 2 vols. (Berit Olam; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2000), does not follow this line of thought but sees MT Amos 5.8 as a punctuation of v.7. To those who desecrate justice and righteousness (v.7) he sees v.8 as a call to turn to YHWH as ‘the essential power of the universe and thus...the true source of justice and righteousness....’ (235) What is of interest in this study are the similarities between the individual texts (Amos 4.13, 5.8, and 9.5-6) and their intertextual relationships with MT Gen 1.1-5.

¹¹⁵ Murphy, *Wisdom Literature*, identifies Prov 8.22-31 as a unit (‘Her eternal origins, begotten of God’) within Wisdom's larger speech, 8.1-36. (61)

¹¹⁶ N. Habel, ‘The Symbolism of Wisdom in Proverbs 1-9,’ *Int* 26 (1972) 155.

¹¹⁷ R.N. Whybray, *Proverbs*, (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), suggests that MT Prov 8.22-31 is an expansion of MT Prov 3.19. (121) Also, J. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs - Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs?: Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs*, (VTSup 69; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 212-218.

MT Genesis 1 is to offer a theological, monotheistic understanding of the creation of the world, whereas MT Proverbs 8 is concerned with placing wisdom at the beginning of a genesis of the cosmos.¹¹⁸

It is difficult not to see an allusion to MT Gen 1.1-5 in the use of רִאשִׁית in v.21, which places (קנה) wisdom at the beginning of God's work, especially given the infrequent use of רִאשִׁית in a creation context.¹¹⁹ תְּהוֹם occurs three times throughout the pericope,¹²⁰ the first of which places the genesis of Wisdom prior to the existence of תְּהוֹם.¹²¹ This could suggest that MT Proverbs 8 and MT Genesis 1, in which תְּהוֹם is pre-existent, represent parallel traditions that utilize similar images evident by the common vocabulary. The second two come in the same section of the pericope (vv.27-29),¹²² which describes God's creative actions that Wisdom was present to witness. Among these actions are those that portray creation by limitation of primordial waters. In v.27, the second occurrence of תְּהוֹם resembles verbatim MT Gen 1.2 in that God limits the deep by drawing a circle (גָּחַ) upon the face of the deep (עַל-פְּנֵי תְהוֹם).¹²³ Also limited is the sea (יָם) in v.29, with the explanation, 'so that the waters (מַיִם) never transgress his command.' Other actions in vv.27-29 are the establishment of the heavens, the establishment of the fountains of the deep (תְּהוֹם), and the marking-out of the foundations of the earth.¹²⁴

While it is not the business of this study to assert direct relationships between texts, if it were, there appears to be significant evidence to suggest a deliberate relationship between MT Gen 1.1-5 and Prov 8.22-31. Intertextually, they are most certainly linked, with MT Prov 22-31 figuring in a discernible 'wisdom' thread running through the tapestry.

¹¹⁸ Lang, *Wisdom and the Book of Proverbs*, suggests convincingly that Wisdom, as personified in Prov 1, 8, and 9, is a remnant of Israelite polytheism, is the 'school goddess' who then becomes a demythologised 'personification' of wisdom in light of later monotheistic revisions of the cult. (126-131) Looking at the cosmological framework of MT Proverbs 8 or the Hebrew Bible in general, the idea that Wisdom is a 'shadow', to borrow a term used by Lang, of Israel's polytheistic past is of particular interest, especially when one looks ahead to intertexts in which λόγος becomes something of an interpretation of the personified חָכְמָה in Proverbs 8.

¹¹⁹ Whybray, *Proverbs*, on originality in the MT Proverbs 8 creation account: 'Prov. 8:23-9 is clearly following a particular type of creation tradition which has features in common with other Old Testament as well as Near Eastern traditions, but is not, as far as is known, actually dependent on any given text.' (129) He takes this a step further when addressing the occurrence of תְּהוֹם in MT Prov 8.24 is 'probably not an allusion to the primeval ocean of Gen. 1:2,' preferring to read it as 'the existing terrestrial ocean.' (132)

¹²⁰ MT Prov 8.24, 27, 28

¹²¹ M.V. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, (AB 18A; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 282. L.G. Perdue, *Wisdom & Creation: The Theology of Wisdom Literature*, (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994), noting similarities with ancient Near Eastern creation texts, suggests that what is being described here does not resemble *creatio ex nihilo*, but 'that the present order of life was shaped out of an unformed, lifeless chaos.' (90) Whybray, *Proverbs*, suggests that תְּהוֹם does not here reflect MT Gen 1.2, but is a reference to the 'existing terrestrial ocean.' (132)

¹²² These come after vv.23-26, which describe what did not exist prior to Wisdom's genesis.

¹²³ While creation by inscribing a גָּחַ upon the face of the deep is unique to MT Prov 8.27b, the idea of creation by encircling, more generally boundrification, also occurs in MT Job 26.20 (מַיִם). Related to this is the idea that God dwells on the other side of the גָּחַ, cf. MT Isa 40.22 (יִרְאֶה) and Job 22.14 (מַיִם).

¹²⁴ The marking out of the foundations of the earth may also be considered creation by limitation, especially given the verb is קָקַח, the nominal form of which is used in v.29 for the 'limits' of the sea. The alternative reading in the apparatus of BHS, as attested by the LXX (ισχυρὰ ἐποίει τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς) steers away from creation by limitation, however. It reads, וְיָקַח, 'when he made strong....'

1.3.11 Isaiah 44.24-45.8

Amidst the creation imagery that is interwoven throughout much of Deutero-Isaiah,¹²⁵ this pericope is an oracle by which God announces the call of Cyrus as God's anointed.¹²⁶ With a common vocabulary (אור/חשך, שמים/ארץ; אור, חשך, שמים, ארץ, ברס), this pericope bears an intertextual connection to MT Gen 1.1-5.

In justification for the unusual event of anointing a foreign king as Israel's savior, YHWH's voice begins this pericope with a proclamation of creative power. It is YHWH who stretched out the heavens and spread out the earth. Of note at this point is the idea that the renewal of creation, which will be brought about by Cyrus' anointing, will include a re-founding of the Temple (וּבְחִיכָל הַתְּיָסֵד). In v.3, there is an interesting use of חשך, in that YHWH declares to Cyrus directly that YHWH will give him the treasures of darkness (אוצרות חשך).¹²⁷ The idea that YHWH is giving away the treasures of darkness as a means to prove his supremacy to Cyrus means that these treasures are good. From this use of חשך we move to MT Isa 45.7, where, contrary to MT Gen 1.2, YHWH asserts that along with light he created darkness. The creative scope of YHWH in this verse is the widest in the Hebrew Bible, with two merisms used to give both scope and force to YHWH's creative power: light/dark and peace/evil. MT Isa 45.7 has been seen as both a polemic against the possibility that there was pre-existent matter, a step toward a doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*,¹²⁸ and a rhetorical proclamation of YHWH's place as supreme creator within a prophetic oracle.¹²⁹ Finally, in MT Isa 45.8, what Brueggemann calls a 'doxological interlude'¹³⁰ in the commissioning of Cyrus, Deutero-Isaiah uses the same merism as MT Gen 1.1. MT Isa 45.8 is a celebrative refrain intimately linking God's creative action with the abundance that will come forth from Cyrus' anointing. While the primary image employed is that of fertility,¹³¹ given the declaration of God's all-encompassing creative action and the common vocabulary with MT Gen 1.1, MT Isa 45.8 fits well with the creation themes that occur throughout MT Isa 44.24-45.7, and concludes with the exclamation point, אֲנִי יְהוָה בְּרֵאשִׁיתִי - I, YHWH, have created it.

1.3.12 Psalm 136.1-9

This creation-portion of the Great *Hallel* has significant intertextual commonality with MT Gen 1.1-5 (אור, חשך, שמים, ארץ, ברס, אור, יום, לילה) along with כִּי־טוֹב in v.1; שמים/ארץ in vv.5-6; יום/לילה in vv.8-9). MT Psalm 136 is not exclusively concerned with creation. Rather, while vv.4-9 serve as a remembrance of God's

¹²⁵ B.W. Anderson, *Creation versus Chaos*, (Reprint ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) has a helpful list of creation verbs (ברס, עשה, צר) used by Deutero-Isaiah. (124-126)

¹²⁶ Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, sees 44.24-45.7 as a complete oracle with an exclamation point (my term) of the hymn in 45.8 as the 'ending.' (152-163)

¹²⁷ Treasuries (אוצרות) are found elsewhere in the intertextual tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5 – MT Jer 10.13, 51.16; Ps 33.7, 135.7; Job 38.22 – though Isa 45.3 alone associates them with darkness.

¹²⁸ Cf. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, 124; M. Weinfeld, "God the Creator in Genesis 1 and in the Prophecy of Second Isaiah," *Tarbiz* 37 (1968) 122f. Cassuto, *Genesis*, in an aside on MT Gen 1.4 claims that MT Isa 45.7 is a polemic directed against 'the dualistic doctrine of the Persians.' (26)

¹²⁹ DeRoche, "Isaiah 45.7 and the Creation of Chaos?," argues that MT Isa 45.7 reflects a similar worldview to MT Gen 1.1-5 in its use of merisms to convey the idea of totality. However, he disagrees with Weinfeld and Levenson that there is a polemic here against the possibility that MT Gen 1 portrays pre-existing chaos. (11-21)

¹³⁰ Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 77.

¹³¹ Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, points out the sexual imagery employed in MT Isa 45.8. (228)

creative activity/power, the flipside of MT Ps 136 (vv.10-22) is a recollection of the Exodus event.¹³² In MT Ps 136.1 there is a unique use of כִּי־טוֹב. Used throughout MT Genesis 1 as a positive punctuation of God's acts of creation,¹³³ it is not outside the realm of possibility that its use in MT Ps 136.1 is in deliberative conversation with its use in MT Genesis 1 – a reflection of God's initial declaration of goodness that in retrospect becomes an action of human praise of the creator.¹³⁴ From the first three verses which name YHWH as supreme, vv.4-9 deal with God's creative actions. The first of these actions (v.5) is the making of the heavens by his understanding (בְּתִבְיֹנָה).¹³⁵ While there is no explicit mention of wisdom, the idea that God made the heavens by understanding is akin.¹³⁶ The mention of earth in v.6 resembles the formation of the firmament in the second day of creation (MT Gen 1.6-8) given that the verb used is רָקַע and that that which is being covered is the waters. The conclusion of the pericope, while bearing an intertextual resemblance to MT Gen 1.1-5, bears a more deliberate resemblance to the fourth day (MT Gen 1.14-19), the creation of the great lights. Intertextually, then, there is a connection to Day One, however the breadth of this pericope most closely resembles days two and four in the First Creation Story.

1.3.13 Isaiah 45.18-19

This pericope uses creation imagery and vocabulary (בְּרָא, שָׁמַיִם, אֲרֶזֶן, תִּהְיֶה, חֲשֵׁךְ) to establish the superiority of YHWH over and against any other deity¹³⁷ using a series of participles to ‘express the importance of Yahweh's commitment to the world.’¹³⁸ In MT Isa 45.18, תִּהְיֶה comes in the midst of a rhetorical statement (לֹא־תִהְיֶה בְּרָאָה) - ‘he did not create it a chaos’), followed by a positive theological resolution (לְשִׁבְתָּ יִצְרָה) - ‘he formed it to be inhabited’), the antecedent being the earth (הָאָרֶץ).¹³⁹ This occurrence and usage of תִּהְיֶה solidifies the intertextual relationship with MT Gen 1.1-5. The relationship with MT Isa 45.19 is less clear but also

¹³² This creation/Exodus pattern is also used in MT Ps 135.

¹³³ MT Gen 1.4, 6, 7, 14, 18.

¹³⁴ Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, describes the relationship this way: ‘During the process of creation it remains dependent on the regard of God, but with the completion of creation it becomes the praise of the creator which is echoed by all creatures...’ (113)

¹³⁵ The *Hymn to the Creator* 8 (11QPs^a xxvi.14) has God stretching out the heavens by his understanding (בְּתִבְיֹנָה), though there is a closer resemblance of this text with MT Jer 10.12c, 51.15c, both of which also have God stretching out the heavens by his understanding. See below, p. 121.

¹³⁶ E.g., MT Ps 104.24.

¹³⁷ Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, treats vv.18-19 as a unit, though he suggests a closeness to vv.14-17, with a specifically new action beginning in v.20. (245) Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, also treats the verse independently though says that they ‘cannot be called an independent unit’ as it is dependent on surrounding material (45.20-25, 46.1-13, and possibly 44.24-28). (172)

¹³⁸ Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 245.

¹³⁹ Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, situates the occurrence of תִּהְיֶה in MT Isa 45.18 within the ‘echoes [that Genesis 1.2] had for the people of Israel.’ (103) Also, Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 111; and Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 246. Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters*, on the other hand, downplays the connection to MT Gen 1.2, preferring to give MT Isa 45.18 a more generic, less cosmic translation of ‘desert-like place’. (319) Interestingly, Tsumura misreads, I think, Westermann on this point, seemingly quoting Westermann in favor of his more generic reading, while Westermann clearly refers to MT Isa 45.18 within the echoes of MT Gen 1.2, even translating in ‘chaos’ (Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 103). The strongest connection between these two texts comes from Weinfeld, “God the Creator,” who argues that Deutero-Isaiah is having a polemical conversation with Gen 1 asserting that there was no תִּהְיֶה before God's creative work began. (105-132) Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, agrees with and utilizes Weinfeld's understanding. (142ff.)

likely. The structure and content of v. 19 strengthen its intertextual relationship with MT Gen 1.1-5. The verse is tripartite:

לֹא בְסֵתֶר דִּבַּרְתִּי בְּמָקוֹם אֲרָץ חֹשֶׁךְ
 לֹא אָמַרְתִּי לְזַרְע יַעֲקֹב יִשְׁקֹב תְּהוֹ בְּקִשְׁוֹנֵי
 אֲנִי יְהוָה דַּבֵּר צְדָקָה מִגִּיד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל:

I did not speak in secret, at a place in a land of darkness;
 I did not say to the seed of Jacob, 'Seek me in emptiness';
 I, YHWH, speak what is right, I declare what is true. (Isa 45.19)

The first two cola are parallel rhetorical statements expecting a negative response with the third bringing resolution to the first two. Parallel elements of the first two cola are the action of speaking (I did not speak/say) in the first portion followed by that which the speaker did not say. In both cases the second portion includes vocabulary from MT Gen 1.1-5. The second colon, as noted above, contains תְּהוֹ, while the first contains חֹשֶׁךְ,¹⁴⁰ both of which are places where YHWH is not present. The occurrence of תְּהוֹ in MT Isa 45.19 can be read as an exaggerated, sarcastic, rhetorical remark to the dullard who has forgotten just who this YHWH is or more likely as an exaggerated reference to the proto-earth of MT Gen 1.2.¹⁴¹ The close juxtaposition of these two words in both MT Gen 1.2 and MT Isa 45.19 coupled by the occurrence of תְּהוֹ and other supporting vocabulary in MT Isa 45.18-19 provide strong footing for an intertextual relationship, if not an example of innerbiblical interpretation as Sommer suggests.¹⁴²

1.3.14 Jeremiah 4.23-28

Cosmic regression not creation is the context for this pericope,¹⁴³ as it describes a collapse of the created order propelling the earth back into its pre-created state. The culmination of this cosmic regression comes in YHWH's speech (vv.27-28). The intertextual relationship is borne on shared vocabulary (אֲרָץ, תְּהוֹ, בְּהוֹ, שָׁמַיִם, אֹרֶךְ), along with תְּהוֹ וְבְהוֹ and אֲרָץ/שָׁמַיִם). The presence of תְּהוֹ and בְּהוֹ¹⁴⁴ in the same fashion as MT Gen 1.2 along

¹⁴⁰ Regarding חֹשֶׁךְ in MT Isa 45.19, Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, on a different tack suggests that בְּסֵתֶר and אֲרָץ חֹשֶׁךְ are 'allusions to the mysterious and ambiguous divinatory and oracular practices of the ancient world, and of the Babylonians in particular,' and that אֲרָץ חֹשֶׁךְ 'probably alludes to the practice of conjuring up messages from the underworld.' (111)

¹⁴¹ Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, argues for the connection on the reoccurrence of the תְּהוֹ alone (111). D.T. Tsumura, "Tohû in Isaiah XLV 19," *VT* 19 (1988), would probably disagree with any intertextual connection given his locative translation of תְּהוֹ and that he places it outside of direct speech, translating MT Isa 45.19b, 'I did not say to Jacob's descendants (in a land of) desolation, "Seek me!"' (363)

¹⁴² Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 124ff. Childs, *Isaiah*, similarly makes room for a connection to MT Genesis 1, stating: 'The prophetic introduction [presumably MT Isa 44.24-28 - SG] expands on the creative power of God in a hymnic style, but now ties the power of God to his purpose in creation. He formed the heavens and the earth, not as chaos, but rather to be inhabited. The message is actually not different from that of Genesis 1, but it now has been given a polemical, disputational form.' (355)

¹⁴³ On the literary integrity of the pericope, see J. Bright, *Jeremiah*, (AB 21; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), R.P. Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, (OTL; London: SCM, 1986), W.L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary on the Book of Jeremiah 1-25*, (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986).

¹⁴⁴ V. Eppstein, "The Day of Yahweh in Jeremiah 4.23-28," *JBL* 87 (1968), argues that תְּהוֹ וְבְהוֹ was not a part of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX, but rather a later scribal addition (96). K.M. Hayes, "Jeremiah IV 23: *tohû* without *bohû*," *VT* 47 (1997), on the other hand, argues that תְּהוֹ was a part of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, with וְבְהוֹ being a later amplification of the original in light of MT Gen 1.2. (248) Also, W. McKane, *Jeremiah*, 2 vols. (ICC; Edinburgh:

with **וַיִּבְרָא** provides a firm intertextual bridge to MT Gen 1.2.¹⁴⁵ The connection with MT Gen 1.1-5 is noted by R.P. Carroll: ‘The poem [Jeremiah 4.23-26] could be a meditation on the creation story but supplemented by the experience of catastrophe and emanating from circles where the exegesis of texts or traditions was an important element in visionary descriptions.’¹⁴⁶ Whether or not the connection between the two texts is strong enough to claim one is a ‘meditation’ on the other, vocabulary and a similar theme provide evidence enough for an intertextual relationship.

1.3.15 Psalm 33.6-9

Within a wider communal ‘petitionary hymn,’¹⁴⁷ vv.6-9 address the origins of the world, in particular the genesis of the world by divine fiat.¹⁴⁸ The intertextual connection with MT Gen 1.1-5 is apparent in the shared vocabulary (**שָׁמַיִם**, **תְּהוֹמֹת**, **רִיחַ**, **וַיִּבְרָא**) and strengthened by the theological statement of v. 9 **כִּי הוּא אֱמַר וַיִּהְיֶה**, which is similar to God’s creative speaking throughout MT Genesis 1. While there is a confessional statement about the word of YHWH in v.4,¹⁴⁹ the first assertion of creation via the word of YHWH comes in v.6. The heavens as well as all of their hosts¹⁵⁰ were made by YHWH’s word and by the breath (**רִיחַ**) of his mouth. While v.6 has creation by word, v.7 has creation by limitation, where the sea (**יָם**) is gathered up in a heap, and the deep (**תְּהוֹמֹת**) is put in a storage shed (**אֶצְרוֹת**).¹⁵¹ There is also an intertextual connection with MT Ex 15.8 in v.7a, evident in the similar descriptions of the waters piling up like a hill in MT Ps 33.7a (**כַּפְּסִים כְּפִיגְרָה מֵי הַיָּם**) and MT Exod 15.8b (**וַיִּצְבּוּ כַּמִּזְיָה נְזִלִים**).¹⁵² The most striking similarity with MT Gen 1.1-5, then, is the creation by word.¹⁵³ At the

T&T Clark, 1986) 1.106. The critical apparatus of BHS suggests the deletion of **וַיִּבְרָא**, citing its absence in LXX. Whatever the Hebrew background of the Greek text of Jer 4.23, the Greek version of this text is not included in chapter two of this thesis in large part because **οὐθεν**, as opposed to **תְּהוֹמֹת וַיִּבְרָא**, bears no intertextual commonality with LXX Gen 1.1-5.

¹⁴⁵ McKane, *Jeremiah*, sees a connection between MT Jeremiah 4 and MT Genesis 1. He argues that it should not be based on the presence of **תְּהוֹמֹת** and **בְּהוֹ** on the basis of the aforementioned discrepancies. (1.108)

¹⁴⁶ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 169. Bright, *Jeremiah*, writing in the midst of the Cold War comments that the reversal of creation of which Jeremiah here speaks is ‘a ruin of ‘atomic’ proportions.’ (33) McKane, *Jeremiah*, is more direct in his claim of reversal in that MT Jer 4.23-26 is ‘an antitype which presupposes the existence of its type.’ (1.108)

¹⁴⁷ Gerstenberger, *Psalms 2 and Lamentations*, 146.

¹⁴⁸ On the unity of vv.6-9, see Weiser, *Psalms*, 291-292; Gerstenberger, *Psalms 2 and Lamentations*, however, does not distinguish vv.6-9, considering vv.5-7 as ‘praise of Yahweh,’ and vv.8-11 as ‘exhortation and confession.’ (143-144) The creation elements that run throughout vv.6-9 support Weiser in this case.

¹⁴⁹ **כִּי הוּא אֱמַר וַיִּהְיֶה** - For the word of Yhwh is right. MT Ps 33.4a

¹⁵⁰ Here again, there is seed for angels present at the creation. Also, MT Judg 5.20, Ps 104.4, Job 38.7.

¹⁵¹ There is another similarity worth noting between MT Ps 33.7 and MT Jer 10.13, 51.16, and MT Ps 135.7, each of which uses a MT Gen 1.2 term as an object or commodity which God is able to place in **אֶצְרוֹת**/storehouses.

¹⁵² Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, notes another similarity between the fear evoking quality of God’s actions in MT Ps 33.8 and MT Exod 15.14-15 in humans. (273) Dahood, *Psalms*, disagrees with seeing any connection with MT Exod 15, arguing more for a connection with MT Job 38, Ps 105, Isa 45, and Jer 10, where he sees similar mention of storehouses. (1:201) In reality, both Craigie and Dahood may be correct, in that intertextual conversations need not be mutually exclusive of the other.

¹⁵³ Creation by word was not unique to YHWH in the ancient world as there was in ancient Egyptian theology at Memphis a transcendent god, Ptah, who created first in heart and then by word all that is. See, Anderson, *Creation versus Chaos*, 44-45.

same time there is a confluence of ideas, the most prominent being the thread from the Exodus crossing of the Reed Sea in Exodus 15.

1.3.16 Isaiah 51.4-16

Continuing with the creation sub-theme of Deutero-Isaiah, MT Isa 51.4-16¹⁵⁴ utilizes creation language (שָׁמַיִם/אֲרָץ, אֵר, and אֲרָץ/שָׁמַיִם) and imagery to undergird YHWH's place as redeemer. The first encounter with MT Gen 1.1-5 vocabulary comes in v.4 where YHWH gives a teaching (תּוֹרָה) and declares that YHWH's justice will be a light (אֵר) to the peoples. While חָכְמָה is not mentioned *per se*, the flavor of wisdom is present in the mention of torah, to the point that Baltzer raises the possibility that MT Isa 51.4 represents a tradition parallel to MT Prov 8.22-31, each text asserting that Torah/wisdom respectively is the first of all.¹⁵⁵ In v.6, שָׁמַיִם/אֲרָץ is used in the context that contrasts the evaporation of all that is created with the eternal existence of YHWH's salvation of deliverance.¹⁵⁶ In vv.9-10, creation by subduing appears again in a rhetorical recollection of days of old (כִּי־יָמֵי קִדְמָה). In v.9, Rahab is hacked to pieces, and the dragon (תַּנִּינִי)¹⁵⁷ is pierced.¹⁵⁸ In v.10a, the primordial waters, אֵל and תְּהוֹמוֹת, are dried up, with v.10b serving to recall God's redemptive intervention at the Reed Sea. Deutero-Isaiah effectively interweaves the divine warrior's victory over the chaos monsters, creation of the heavens and the earth, and God's redemptive intervention at the Reed Sea (v.10).¹⁵⁹ The final points of contact with MT Gen 1.1-5 come in the twice-repeated formulae in vv.13 and 16, that God has stretched out the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth.

1.3.17 Proverbs 30.4

This final verse of the riddle from the Oracle of Agur (MT Prov 30.1-4)¹⁶⁰ contains a concentration of vocabulary common to MT Gen 1.1-5 (אֲרָץ, מַיִם, רוּחַ, רִגְמָה, אֵר, אֲרָץ). The point of the riddle is to tease out the conclusion that the actions depicted are those of God – a God who is identified by having prominence over primary elements of the world – heaven, wind, waters, the entire earth. While there is shared vocabulary with MT Gen 1.1-5 and a creation theme, MT Prov 30.4 bears a closer resemblance to other portions of the intertextual tapestry. The first colon speaks of the one who ascends to and descends from heaven, along the lines of MT 2 Sam 22.10-11/Ps 18.10-

¹⁵⁴ Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, sees three sections in this pericope: vv.4-8 – ‘Divine speech on the law,’ vv.9-11 – ‘Revelatory speech by the Servant of God,’ vv.12-16 – ‘An Antiphonal Speech by God and the Servant of God.’ (349-364)

¹⁵⁵ Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 351. Of course, Sirach 24 exemplifies the tradition of a first-created personified wisdom and the equation of wisdom and Torah. See below, pp. 161-164.

¹⁵⁶ Akin to, though more hopeful than MT Jer 4.23-28.

¹⁵⁷ Dragons do not appear in the First Creation Story until MT Gen 1.21.

¹⁵⁸ Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 356.

¹⁵⁹ Gunn, “Deutero-Isaiah and the Flood,” would add an allusion to the Flood, equating תְּהוֹמוֹת רַבָּה in MT Isa 51.10 with the unique verbatim occurrence of the same in MT Gen 7.11. (502) While possible within the realm of intertextuality, Gunn's claim of allusion is a stretch.

¹⁶⁰ There are a variety of opinions of who is speaking in v.4. W. McKane, *Proverbs: A New Approach*, (OTL; London: SCM, 1970) asserts that it is a continuation of Agur's words of vv.1-3 (647), while Whybray, *Proverbs*, asserts that it is God or a representative thereof. (408-409) At this point, who the speaker is does not concern this study since it has no bearing on the relationship with MT Gen 1.1-5.

11, in which God descends as the divine warrior with creative power in a time of need. In cola 2-4, God's creative power is portrayed as limitation, holding the wind in hand,¹⁶¹ wrapping up the waters, and limiting the earth, a creative power seen throughout the tapestry.

1.3.18 Jeremiah 10.11-13

1.3.19 Jeremiah 51.15-16

These near verbatim texts come in the midst of larger poems, the first regarding the customs and idolatry of the nation (MT Jer 10.1-16)¹⁶² and the second the defeat of Babylon (MT 51.1-33).¹⁶³ While supported by common vocabulary (MT Jer 10.11-13 – רִיחַ, שְׁמַיִם, מַיִם, רִיחַ, אֶרֶץ, שְׁמַיִם/אֶרֶץ; MT Jer 51.15-16 – רִיחַ, שְׁמַיִם, מַיִם, רִיחַ, אֶרֶץ, שְׁמַיִם/אֶרֶץ) this relationship is solidified by a common creation theme. The major difference between these two texts is MT Jer 10.11, the only Aramaic portion of Jeremiah.¹⁶⁴ While the place of MT Jer 10.11 is disputed, it does add some weight to the intertextual relationship between MT Jer 10.11-13 and Gen 1.1-5.¹⁶⁵ As in other texts, MT Jer 10.12/51.15 asserts that God stretched out (נִטָּה) the heavens. The use of רִיחַ in MT Jer 10.13, 51.16, while indicating the intertextual relationship with MT Gen 1.2, may additionally indicate an understanding of רִיחַ אֱלֹהִים in MT Gen 1.2, reading it as a possessive relationship (a commodity that can be placed in a storehouse) rather than idiomatically as a way to refer to the presence of God.¹⁶⁶ Also of note is the creation theme common to MT Ps 104.24, Prov 3.19, 8.22ff, whereby the earth is established by God's wisdom. That this is an accident is unlikely. It may in fact highlight an intertextual relationship among MT Gen 1.2, Jer 10.12, 51.15, Prov 3.20, and 8.22ff, a thread to which I shall return in the conclusion to chapter one.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ MT Isa 40.12 portrays God as holding the earth in hand.

¹⁶² There is debate over the integrity of the MT Jer 10.1-16. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 254f, Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 322f, see an integrity of vv.1-16; Bright, *Jeremiah*, however, sees a conglomeration of miscellaneous sayings. (75ff)

¹⁶³ Cf. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 841.

¹⁶⁴ The argument is divided between those who see MT Jer 10.11 as a late post-exilic gloss and those who see it as an organic portion of Jeremiah. On the one hand, Bright, *Jeremiah*, prefers reading Jer 10.11 as 'an obvious gloss' that points to a complex redaction history; ultimately leaving the verse out of his own translation of the text (79); McKane, *Jeremiah*, points to a variance between אֶרֶץ and אֶרֶץ as linguistic evidence for the composition of MT Jer 10.11 in 5th century BCE (218); and finally, Carroll, *Jeremiah*, while less definite in his dating, assumes a general origin of MT Jer 10.11 in the Babylonian or Persian periods. (256-257) On the other hand, Holladay, *Jeremiah*, asserts that there are Aramaic puns used in MT Jer 20.3-6, on the basis of which he argues that MT Jer 10.11 is not a late gloss but part of the original Jeremiah text (325, 544).

¹⁶⁵ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, notes similarities between the 'incantation' against foreign gods of MT Jer 10.11 and the anti-idol portions of Deutero-Isaiah (e.g. MT Isa 40.9-20). He further states that the 'incantation of v.11 is a denial of the cosmic creative powers of the Babylonian gods in favour of Yahweh' (257).

¹⁶⁶ The identical phrase occurs in MT Ps 135.7.

¹⁶⁷ Also of note is the likely dependence of the *Hymn to the Creator* (11QPs^a xxvi.9-15) on these Jeremiah texts. See below, p.124.

1.3.20 Psalm 135.5-7

At the beginning of a rehearsal of YHWH's greatness and mighty acts, comes a statement about YHWH's providence that includes vocabulary common to MT Gen 1.1-5 (שָׁמַיִם, אֲרֶזֶן, תְּהוֹמוֹת הַיָּם, רִיחַ).¹⁶⁸ The occurrence of תְּהוֹמוֹת in v. 6 comes in a recitation of YHWH's domain that contains other primary elements of creation – heaven, earth, and water. The use of יָם parallel to תְּהוֹמוֹת, instead of מַיִם as in MT Gen 1.2, is a marked difference between the two texts. The occurrence of רִיחַ in v. 7 is reminiscent of MT Jer 10.13 and 51.16 in its near verbatim use of the phrase מוֹצֵא רִיחַ מִבְּאֵרוֹתָיו - he releases the wind from his storehouses. What is probable is that in רִיחַ there is an intertextual crossroads between a number of texts – MT Gen 1.2, Jer 10.13/51.16, and Ps 135.7.

1.3.21 Job 3.3-10

The possibility that MT Job 3.3-10¹⁶⁹ is an intertext with MT Gen 1.1-5 rests in its imagery of darkness and light, night and day (יָוֵם, לַיְלָה, with לַיְלָה/יָוֵם). Not unlike MT Isa 51.6 and Jer 4.23-28, the thematic resemblance lies more in a reversal of the created order than a mimicking of any act of creation itself.¹⁷⁰ What compels me to envision this text in a creation context is Job's curse, actually his wish in the midst of his anguish and anger to reverse the created order as he laments the day of his birth.¹⁷¹ Finally, the reference to Leviathan (3.8b), the primordial chaos monster, strengthens the broader intertextual possibilities.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ Gerstenberger, *Psalms 2 and Lamentations*, sees two 'hymnic chants' in vv.4-5 both beginning with יָדָה, and based on this liturgical conclusion separates them from vv.6-12. (377-380) While this may well be true, there is an inner unity in vv.5-7 on the basis of a common creation theme. This is noticed by Weiser, *Psalms*, who sees vv.5-7 as a unit liturgically attributable to a solo voice answering on behalf of the congregation regarding the greatness of God as displayed by God's creative actions. (789-790) In this case, I side with Weiser's judgment.

¹⁶⁹ D.J.A. Clines, *Job 1-20*, (WBC 17; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1989), Habel, *Job*, , and Dhorme, *Job*, xxxvi, see vv.3-10 as unit.

¹⁷⁰ M. Fishbane, "Jeremiah IV 23-26 and Job III 3-13: A Recovered Use of the Creation Pattern," *VT* 21 (1971), provides a convincing argument for a connection with MT Genesis 1. He draws parallels to other ancient Near Eastern cosmogonies and magical texts asserting that 'the whole thrust of the text of Job iii 1-13 is to provide a systematic *bouleversement*, or reversal, of the cosmicising acts of creation described in Gen i-ii 4a. Job in the process of cursing the day of his birth (v. 1), binds spell to spell in his articulation of an absolute and unrestrained death wish for himself and the entire creation.' (153) Clines, *Job 1-20*, takes issue with Fishbane's reading of MT Job 3.4-5 in a magical context, especially his magical reading of דָּרַשׁ in MT Job 3.4. (84) (Cf. Fishbane, "A Recovered Use of the Creation Pattern," 155.) At the same time Clines notes that Job's invocation of darkness in v.4 uses the 'same phrasing exactly as Gen 1.' (84) While Fishbane argues that MT Job 3 resembles MT Genesis 1, V. Forstman Pettys, "Let there be Darkness: Continuity and Discontinuity in the 'Curse' of Job 3," *JSOT* 98 (2002) looks at MT Job 3 through rhetorical and intertextual lenses and sees in Job's use of the creation language of MT Genesis 1 a profound reinterpretation of the ordered language of creation to fit the chaos of Job's experience. (89-104)

¹⁷¹ This is in line with Habel, *Job*, 'In v. 5, Job invokes a reversal of that event [the creation of light] whereby the 'darkness' once more 'reclaims'...Job's day with all the light that gives it existence.' (107) Also, Clines, *Job 1-20*, : 'Job begins his maledictions with a parodic reversal of the first divine word at creation,' also noting the parallel structure of יְהִי אֵוֶר in MT Gen 1.3 and יְהִי חֹשֶׁךְ in MT Job 3.4. (84)

¹⁷² Fishbane, "A Recovered Use of the Creation Pattern," notes the connection of Leviathan to the cosmic context of MT Job 3.4-5 in light of other ancient Near Eastern mythology where such a creature is summoned to combat light and the cosmos in general. (158-161)

1.3.22 Psalm 74.12-17

In the midst of a psalm calling for God's intervention on the side of God's people in trouble, vv.12-17 is a hymnic pause in the argument of the psalm that reminds God who God is.¹⁷³ It is God who created the earth by subduing the primordial creatures, and ordering time via day and night, summer and winter, that can defeat the enemies of the people.¹⁷⁴ The intertextual relationship with MT Gen 1.1-5 is apparent in the shared vocabulary (יָדָה/לִיָּדָה, אָרָץ, מַיִם, יוֹם, לַיְלָה, אֲוֵר) (יָדָה/לִיָּדָה). In the second person, God is confronted by creative deeds. In v.13, there is creation by limitation with the dividing the sea (יָדָה). In v.13b-14 the dragons (תַּנִּינִים)¹⁷⁵ and Leviathans (לַיְוִיָּתָן)¹⁷⁶ are dashed. God is here the divine warrior, a theme repeated elsewhere throughout the tapestry.¹⁷⁷ In v.16 God is told that day and night are God's, as it is God who established the luminaries (מְאֹרֹת) and the sun, similar to MT Gen 1.14-19. And again in v.16, there is creation by limitation in the fixing of the bounds of the earth.

1.3.23 Amos 4.13

MT Amos 4.13 is included in this list because of its common vocabulary (בְּרֵאשִׁית, רִיחַ, אֲרָץ) in addition to its commonalities with MT Amos 5.8-9 and 9.6-8. While doxological in character, this passage provides yet another titular example of YHWH as creator. What differs in this text, say from MT Jer 32.17, is that for which YHWH is lauded. The totality, שְׁמַיִם/אֲרָץ, that is the subject of YHWH's title in MT Jer 32.17, is less complete in MT Amos 4.13 referring to mountains, wind, etc.¹⁷⁸

1.3.24 Zechariah 12.1

In a similar fashion to MT Isa 42.5, MT Zech 12.1 is a titular intertext of MT Gen 1.1-5, based on a rather slim commonality of vocabulary (רִיחַ, אֲרָץ, שְׁמַיִם, אֲרָץ). The creation context is present; however, the

¹⁷³ Gerstenberger, *Psalms 2 and Lamentations*, sees vv.12-17 as a hymn unit within the larger psalm. (77-79)

¹⁷⁴ Anderson, *Psalms*, refers to a difference of opinion among scholars whether MT Ps 74.12-17 is referring to creation, *Heilsgeschichte*, or both. (543) Gerstenberger, *Psalms 2 and Lamentations*, sees vv.12-17 in particular as 'a powerful reminder that God once took seriously his creative potentialities over against the whole world.' (79) Limburg, *Psalms*, prefers to see vv.12-17 as a reference to the Exodus event. (251) Whatever the answer is to this problem on an organic level, intertextually it is likely that MT Ps 74.12-17 is in relationship with both creation and Exodus events. It should be noted that while MT Exodus 15 in particular does not meet the criteria established for intertextuality in this study because it lacks a creation theme, it does contain some vocabulary common with MT Gen 1.1-5 (אֲרָץ, מַיִם, רִיחַ, אֲרָץ).

¹⁷⁵ An example of this can be seen by the one creature/god that the First Creation Story shares with MT Psalm 74, the תַּנִּינִים. Where as MT Ps 74.13 depicts the act of creation as victory over the תַּנִּינִים, Mt Gen 1.21 simply places the great sea monsters among the creatures first created. While both texts effectively put the תַּנִּינִים below God, the Genesis text, by having God create the sea monsters as part of a well-ordered world, subdued by the pen of the Priestly storyteller, a different tack than the dashing of heads in MT Psalm 74. MT Gen 1.21 unquestionably places God before and above the sea monsters.

¹⁷⁶ Dahood, *Psalms*, suggests that the mythological elements in the psalm pervade even the structure. He hypothesizes that the seven statements that utilize אֲרָץ in reference to YHWH function as a symbolic destruction of the seven heads of the Leviathan. (2.205) While an intriguing possibility, it seems just as likely that seven statements reflect the divine perfection of the number seven or nothing at all.

¹⁷⁷ MT Isa 51.9-10, Ps 33.7, 104.26, Job 26.12-13

¹⁷⁸ The MT of Amos 4.13 is corrupt and as a result difficult to comprehend. The corruptions, however, do not affect the vocabulary common to MT Gen 1.1-5.

use of ריח in relation to human beings highlights a difference with MT Gen 1.1-5.¹⁷⁹ Also in this text is another example of God creating by stretching out (נטה) the heavens.

1.3.25 Amos 9.5-6

Similar to MT Amos 5.8, MT Amos 9.5-6 has an intertextual commonality with MT Gen 1.1-5 (שמים/ארץ, ארץ, שמים, מים, קרא, and ארץ/שמים). In addition to common vocabulary the phrase used in v.6, על-פני הָאָרֶץ,¹⁸⁰ closely resembles two similar phrases in MT Gen 1.2. A point of interest comes in v.6 with a discrepancy between the MT, בַּעֲלֹתָיו, and the BHS apparatus *lege*, עֲלֵיהֶוּ - the preferred reading. Sweeney, diverging from the apparatus of the MT, takes the position that the text of the MT is preferable because it maintains the temple imagery, specifically of the Bethel temple.¹⁸¹ This reading of the MT, ‘the one who builds his way up[stairs] to heaven...,’ places MT Amos 9.6 in the company, or at least on the edge, of other creation texts associated with a cosmic temple.

1.3.26 Isaiah 48.12-13

In first-person speech, these verses state that YHWH is creator of earth and heaven. While the common vocabulary is rather slim (שמים, ארץ, קרא, and ארץ/שמים), when seen in the context of Deutero-Isaiah’s rich creation imagery, MT Isa 48.12-13 begs inclusion in this list of intertexts.¹⁸² One similarity with MT Gen 1.1-5 comes in v.13b, in which God calls (קרא) and presumably the earth and heavens stand, possibly a poetic way of saying that they came into existence. There are two possible points of contact between MT Gen 1.3-5 and MT Isa 48.13. The first is that MT Isaiah 48 utilizes קרא as MT Gen 1.3 uses אָמַר, in agreement with Westermann’s suggestion that this is an example of ‘the concept of creation by the word’ that pre-dates MT Genesis 1.¹⁸³ The second is that קרא in MT Isa 48.13 actually mirrors MT Gen 1.5 where the light and darkness are named. The third option, of course, is that there is no deliberate connection whatsoever.

¹⁷⁹ A. Lacocque, *Zacharie 9-14*, (ed. S. Amsler, et al.; Aggée, Zacharie, Malachie; Neuchatel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1981), recognizes here a ‘post-exilic’ development of the meaning of ריח, pointing to MT Gen 2.7 and citing MT Qoh 37.8-10; Job 10.12, 27.3, Ps 104.29-30, etc. (186) While reflecting the creation context, Lacocque solely focuses on the creation of human beings, missing the possible connection to MT Gen 1.1-5. Were this text simply in conversation with MT Gen 2.7, presumably the order of heaven and earth would mimic MT Gen 2.4b – earth and heaven – rather than MT Gen 1.1.

¹⁸⁰ The same phrase occurs in MT Amos 5.8.

¹⁸¹ Sweeney, *Twelve Prophets*, 270-271.

¹⁸² The larger pericope here is MT Isa 48.12-17, throughout which YHWH is reminding Israel that they were called. The first portion of this larger reminder is vv.12-13 in which YHWH summons Israel to listen to what follows. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 199ff. A slightly different division of vv.12-15 is offered by Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, with vv.12-13 being a subdivision thereof. (288-290)

¹⁸³ Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 201.

1.3.27 Prov 3.19-20

The creative action and creation context here is clear, even though the commonality of vocabulary (תְּהוֹם, אֶרֶץ, שָׁמַיִם, and שָׁמַיִם/אֶרֶץ) is slight.¹⁸⁴ There is a fusion here of creation and wisdom. With wisdom YHWH fixed (יָסַד) the foundation of the earth, by understanding (בְּרַב־בִּינָה) the heavens were established (כִּי־ן),¹⁸⁵ by his knowledge the depths (תְּהוֹמוֹת) are burst open (רָקַע),¹⁸⁶ and clouds drop dew.

1.3.28 Nehemiah 9.6

This brief pericope contains the opening words of Ezra's confessional speech (vv.6-37), which recounts a history of the Jews from Abraham and begins with a brief account of creation (v.6). Though the vocabulary common with MT Gen 1.1-5 is quite weak (שָׁמַיִם, אֶרֶץ) in relation to the other texts of this chapter, there is little doubt that the subject of this verse is the creation of the world. It begins with a confessional statement, 'You alone are YHWH.' YHWH's first deeds recalled are the creation of the heaven, the heaven of heavens (שָׁמַיִם הַשְּׁמַיִם)¹⁸⁷ and their entire host,¹⁸⁸ the earth and all that it is in it including the seas (יַם הַיָּם) and everything in them. The verse concludes with a confession that YHWH alone gives life, and that the hosts of heaven worship YHWH.

1.3.29 Job 28.12-14

Admittedly, there is little evidence of creation in this text. I include it on the very tattered fringes of the intertextual tapestry because of its use of תְּהוֹם and its possible relationship with MT Prov 8.24. With the placement of wisdom at the beginning of creation (MT Prov 8.22) and the more specific statement that the genesis of wisdom predates that of the deeps (MT Prov 8.24), it seems likely that the statement – תְּהוֹם אֶרֶץ לֹא בִי־הָיָא – v.14a – is related to MT Prov 8.22f, and thus indirectly to MT Gen 1.1-5.¹⁸⁹ There is a temptation to place a direction on what may be an example of innerbiblical interpretation, though it is safe to say that there is a deep relationship between MT Job 28.14a and Prov 8.24. The connection with MT Gen 1.1-2, teeters precariously on the use of תְּהוֹם and the common tradition in MT Prov 8.24 that is reflected in MT Job 28.14a.

¹⁸⁴ Perdue, *Wisdom & Creation*, argues for a creation motif in MT Prov 3.19-20, stating that these verses describe 'wisdom's place in the creation of the cosmos.' (82) Habel, "Symbolism of Wisdom," also sees a creation motif here. He also notes a possible connection between MT Prov 3.19-20 and Gen. 3, based on the reference to the tree of life in MT Prov 3.18. (151)

¹⁸⁵ Again, the idea of creating the heavens by God's understanding is common with MT Jer 10.12, 51.15; Psalm 136.5.

¹⁸⁶ Of note in Prov 3.19-20 is the connection of תְּהוֹם and the verb, בָּקַע (to split open), the same verb used to describe the action that befalls Tiamat in *Enuma Elish*, Perdue, *Wisdom & Creation*, 83. McKane, *Proverbs*, makes no reference to the creation language of MT Prov 3.20.

¹⁸⁷ שָׁמַיִם הַשְּׁמַיִם is also found in MT Ps 148.4.

¹⁸⁸ The idea of God creating heaven and earth and all their hosts first occurs in MT Gen 2.1, at the conclusion of the first six days of the first creation story. Similar are the creation themes in MT Isa 45.12; Ps 33.6, 148.1-2.

¹⁸⁹ Habel, *Job*, asserts that the background of MT Job 28.14 is in MT Prov 8.22-31 and notes the allusion to MT Gen 1.2 present in the occurrence of תְּהוֹם. (398) Perdue, *Wisdom & Creation*, similarly acknowledges the connection to MT Prov 8. (186) Dhorme, *Job*, notes the allusion to MT Gen 1.2. (407) Pope, *Job*, equates תְּהוֹם with 'the primeval oceans that have their sources in the depths of the earth,' but makes no mention of other textual connections. (203)

1.4 Conclusions – The Larger MT Tapestry

While inevitably limiting the intertextuality of MT Gen 1.1-5, what follows is an attempt to step back for a wider view of the material – a few glimpses of the intertextual tapestry. While it is clear that certain intertexts identified above are stronger than others, a large net is cast in order to see as many connections as possible. In concluding chapter one, I look at four general areas of thematic commonality – common threads woven throughout the tapestry: (1) YHWH's place and/or action in the creative event; (2) some observations on forms among the intertexts; (3) some utilizations of MT Gen 1.1-5 vocabulary; and (4) the place of creative forces external to YHWH within the cosmogonic frameworks. Table 1.2 provides a broad overview of these thematic threads and the tapestry as a whole.

1.4.1 YHWH's place and/or action

It goes without saying that in the creation intertexts of MT Gen 1.1-5 and ancient Israelite cosmogonies of the Hebrew Bible in general, YHWH is at the center. To borrow from J. Levenson, 'mastery' is the quintessence of creation texts throughout the Hebrew Bible, YHWH being the master, the supreme creator.¹⁹⁰ Levenson's critique and modification of Y. Kaufmann's claim that 'mastery' is at the center of all Israelite religion¹⁹¹ is helpful and allows the diversity of creation texts within the Hebrew Bible to be opened up. Nearly all of the intertexts of MT Gen 1.1-5 portray the mastery of YHWH. At the same time, Levenson's definition does not stretch far enough to cover the whole of the tapestry. For example, mastery does not explain YHWH's place in texts such as the two that portray a reversal of the created order, MT Jer 4.23-28 and MT Job 3.3-10. Also, mastery is not adequate to describe YHWH's involvement in the near-verbatim texts of MT 2 Sam 22.5-20 and MT Ps 18.5-20, where the essence of YHWH's actions are better described as deliverance or rescue. Beyond these texts, however, mastery does encompass the general place of YHWH in MT Gen 1.1-5 and its intertexts.

Along with this general observation about YHWH's place in these texts, I offer three more specific observations. The first is of those texts where YHWH's creative actions involve establishing cosmic boundaries either around or between certain elements of creation. Most often YHWH's boundaries are placed around forms of water,¹⁹² but also between light and dark,¹⁹³ between earth and God's dwelling,¹⁹⁴ and between seasons.¹⁹⁵ Outside of these texts, YHWH's creation by boundrification is not present. This allows us to consider YHWH's creation of boundaries as a unique thread in the intertextual tapestry. A second, less prominent thread, which is intimately

¹⁹⁰ Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, 1-13.

¹⁹¹ Levenson borrows the idea of 'mastery' from Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*, (trans. M. Greenberg; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960) who asserts that the basic idea of all Israelite religion is 'that God is supreme over all,'(60) and in turn claims that there are no theogonic myths present in the Hebrew Bible. (60ff) Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, critiques Kaufmann's argument at the point where Kaufmann harmonizes the varied texts about Leviathan to conform with those that 'explicitly state the creatureliness and subordination of the monstrous adversaries of YHWH.' Levenson's critique is summarized as follows: 'To make this assumption...is to harmonize without warrant and to doom ourselves to miss the rich interplay of theologies and the historical dynamics behind the biblical text.'(8)

¹⁹² מַיִם - MT Isa 40.12; Ps 104.9, 148.6; Job 26.10; אֶרֶץ - MT Job 38.10, Prov 8.29; הַיָּם - MT Prov 8.27.

¹⁹³ MT Gen 1.4; Job 26.10, 38.19-20

¹⁹⁴ MT Isa 40.22

¹⁹⁵ MT Ps 74.17

TABLE 2.2 MT GEN 1.1-5 & INTERTEXTS ANALYSIS BY THREAD		YHWH					FORM OBSERVATIONS			ELEMENTS OF MT GEN 1.1-5			EXTERNAL FORCES		TEMPLE IMAGERY
		'MASTERY' OF THE COSMOS	ESTABLISHES BOUNDARIES	CREATION BY SPEECH/VOICE	CREATOR OF ALL (GOOD & EVIL)	WRATH/ANGER AS CATALYST	TITULAR	PRAISE OF THE CREATOR	REVERSAL OF THE CREATED ORDER	ELEMENTS PLACED IN STOREHOUSES	HEAVENS 'STRETCHED OUT'	'DARKNESS' CREATED BY YHWH	PRIMORDIALS (P) AND/OR ANGELS (A)	WISDOM	
	Gen 1.1-5	•	•	•											
1	Ps 104.1-30	•	•				•			•		P/A	•		
2	Job 38.4-38	•	•	•					•		•	A	• ¹⁹⁶		
3	Isa 42.5-9	•					•			•					
4	Ps 148.1-13	•	•	•			•					A			
5	Job 26.5-14	•	•							□ ¹⁹⁷		P	• ¹⁹⁸		
6	2 Sam 22.5-20					•				•	□				•
7	Ps 18.5-20					•				•	□				•
8	Isa 40.12-31	•	•						□	•			□ ¹⁹⁹		•
9	Amos 5.8-9	•					•								
10	Prov 8.22-31	•	•				•					P	•		
11	Isa 44.24-45.8	•			•		•		•	•	•				□ ²⁰⁰
12	Ps 136.1-9	•					•						• ²⁰¹		
13	Isa 45.18-19	•					•								
14	Jer 4.23-28					•		•							
15	Ps 33.6-9	•		•			•		•				• ²⁰²		
16	Isa 51.4-16	•					•		•			P			
17	Prov 30.4	•				• ²⁰³									
18	Jer 10.11-13	•							•	•				•	
19	Jer 51.15-16	•							•	•				•	
20	Ps 135.6-7	•					•		•						
21	Job 3.3-10							•				P			
22	Ps 74.12-17	•	•									P			
23	Amos 4.13	•					•								
24	Zech 12.1	•					•			•					
25	Amos 9.5-6	•		•			•		•						•
26	Isa 48.12-13	•					•								
27	Prov 3.19-20	•												•	
28	Neh 9.6	•					•	•				A			
29	Job 28.12-14	•										P	•		

¹⁹⁶ MT Job 38.36 speaks of God giving humans wisdom; and in v.37 God orders the clouds by wisdom.

¹⁹⁷ Here God stretches Zaphon or the north over the *tohu*.

¹⁹⁸ 'Understanding' in Job 26.12 is similar to 'wisdom'.

¹⁹⁹ In MT Isa 40.14, God gives humans knowledge and understanding.

²⁰⁰ MT Isa 44.28 makes reference to the promise of a post-exile rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple.

²⁰¹ As in Job 26.12, understanding (v.5) is seen as similar to wisdom.

²⁰² 'Word' in Ps 33.6-7 is similar to 'wisdom'.

²⁰³ Prov 30.4 is titular in that the answer implied in the questions throughout is YHWH the Creator.

related to the whole of the First Creation Story, is creation by speech or word. Of the four texts that use creation by the speech or word of YHWH, two speak of creation of the heavens and heavenly host,²⁰⁴ one of waters,²⁰⁵ and the last of morning.²⁰⁶ A third thread comes in the radical idea that YHWH is the creator of everything, including both good and evil. Exemplified in only one text, MT Isa 45.7, this thread is in need of highlighting because of its stark contrast with the greater whole. Without an appearance anywhere else in the intertextual tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5, this bold and unique assertion stands alone as a possible point of influence for subsequent interpretations, in particular those leaning toward an idea of *creatio ex nihilo*. The fourth thread that bears highlighting is the place of YHWH's wrath as a catalyst, not necessarily a creative catalyst. In three texts, the anger of YHWH promotes YHWH's actions. In the first two of these texts, YHWH's wrath is the catalyst for YHWH's actions against the enemies of David,²⁰⁷ and in the third YHWH's anger is the catalyst for a reversal of the created order.²⁰⁸ Here again, it is not so much the prominence of this thread that bears highlighting as the contrast with the rest of the texts, the contrast being that there must be a motivation other than wrath for YHWH's creative actions throughout the rest of the intertextual tapestry.

To sum up, YHWH's actions are most often a description of YHWH's mastery of creation. Occasionally, specific, delimitative actions whereby YHWH establishes boundaries around or between elements of creation and/or YHWH's creation by word are used to express this mastery. And, there are two minor points that bear repeating because they stand out when contrasted with the rest of the intertexts of MT Gen 1.1-5, YHWH as creator of good and evil and YHWH's wrath as catalyst.

1.4.2 Observations on Form

The second set of observations concern the form that the intertexts take. The first thread of this set is the titular intertext that introduces or lauds YHWH as creator. Of the nine titular intertexts of MT Gen 1.1-5, six are straightforward texts that announce who YHWH is by stating that YHWH is creator,²⁰⁹ one is YHWH's self-proclamation as first and last and creator,²¹⁰ and the final is a riddle for which the implied answer is YHWH.²¹¹ What is of interest about these texts is that they highlight the idea of creator as central to who YHWH is. Such an idea, focused upon by early Christians who understood the Trinitarian person of Father as creator, is reflected in the early creeds of the church. Another thread that falls under the heading of form comes in intertexts that focus on offering

²⁰⁴ MT Ps 33.6 says that heaven was created by the word of YHWH (בְּדִבְרֵי יְהוָה), and the heavenly host by the breath of his mouth (בְּרִיחַ פִּי). MT Ps 148.5, with reference to the angels and hosts and celestial lights/beings (vv.2-4), says that God commanded (צִוָּה) and they existed.

²⁰⁵ MT Amos 9.6

²⁰⁶ MT Job 38.12 expects a negative answer to God's question, 'Have you commanded (צִוָּה) the morning since your days began?' This implies that YHWH is the one who *did* command.

²⁰⁷ MT 2 Sam 22.5-20; Ps 18.5-20

²⁰⁸ MT Jer 4.23-28

²⁰⁹ MT Isa 42.5, 45.18, 51.13; Amos 4.13, 5.8, 9.5-6; and Zech 12.1.

²¹⁰ MT Isa 48.12-13

²¹¹ MT Prov 30.4

praise to YHWH for YHWH's creative actions. Not surprisingly, all of these texts are psalms,²¹² with the one tangential exception in Wisdom's rejoicing in the presence of YHWH.²¹³ These are of interest as they offer early evidence that creation was a subject within the liturgical texts of ancient Israel. The final thread under the heading of form is the reversal of the created order. While only found in three texts,²¹⁴ the idea of a reversal of YHWH's created order provides enough dissonance with the rest of the intertexts to warrant mention. These three texts are a bright, clashing thread that adds vibrancy to the rest of the intertextual tapestry.

1.4.3 Uses of MT Gen 1.1-5 Vocabulary

The third set of observations center around the vocabulary of MT Gen 1.1-5 and how it is used among the intertexts. The first thread here is the commodification of elements of the cosmic order in association with YHWH's cosmic storehouses (אִצְרוֹתַי). Three of these texts speak of YHWH taking the wind (רוּחַ) out of his storehouses²¹⁵ with a similar wording in two others that speak of the deeps²¹⁶ and snow and hail.²¹⁷ Another text speaks of a gift to Cyrus as the treasures of darkness (אִצְרוֹתַי הַחֹשֶׁךְ). A sixth text differs in that it shares no common language with the others but bears the similarity in that YHWH is portrayed as a shopkeeper measuring and weighing-out the waters, the heavens, the dust of the earth along with mountains and hills.²¹⁸ What is seen in this thread is a distinct marketplace image of the cosmic order, a distinction not seen in other parts of the tapestry. The second thread of interest here is the prevalent portrayal of the heavens being stretched out (נִטָּה). Outside one occurrence in the psalms,²¹⁹ the idea of stretching out the heavens is confined to prophetic texts,²²⁰ most prominently the intertexts of Deutero-Isaiah.²²¹ The theme runs throughout over a quarter of intertextual tapestry making it a prominent thread.²²² The final thread in this set of observations is the creation of אֲשֶׁרֶת by YHWH. Whereas darkness is part of the pre-created earth in MT Gen 1.2 and presumably not a creature of YHWH, there are four texts within the tapestry that

²¹² MT Ps 33.6-7, 104.1-30, 135.6-7, 136.1-9, 148.1-13. On a similar note, Hoffman, "First Creation Story," sees a collection of 'non-Sabbath' references, which for him are few and far between, to the First Creation Story in the places, MT Ps 33, 136, 148, centered around a common idea of creation by word. (40-41)

²¹³ MT Prov 8.30-31

²¹⁴ MT Jer 4.23-38; Amos 9.5; Job 3.3-10

²¹⁵ MT Jer 10.13, 51.16; Ps 135.7

²¹⁶ MT Ps 33.7

²¹⁷ MT Job 38.12

²¹⁸ MT Isa 40.12

²¹⁹ MT Ps 104.2

²²⁰ MT Jer 10.12, 51.15; Zech 12.1

²²¹ נִטָּה is present in MT Isa 40.22, 42.5, and 45.12. A case can also be made, as does the BHS apparatus, that the proper reading of נִטָּה in Isa 51.16 is נִטָּה. Additionally, in MT Isa 48.12-13, the only other MT Gen 1.1-5 intertext in Isaiah, נִטָּה itself is not present, but in v.13 the verb, נִטָּה, is similarly applied to אֲשֶׁרֶת.

²²² N. Habel, "He Who Stretches Out the Heavens," *CBQ* 34 (1972) argues that the idea of stretching out the heavens 'does not seem to be pointing to the creation of the heavens as a structural component of the cosmos, to the construction of the over-arching firmament to hold back the celestial waters, or to the building of the sky as a cosmic storehouse, but rather to the preparation of a unique domain of Yahweh for his heavenly theophanies. The heavens are 'pitched' to be his cosmic tent where he appears in order to create.' He also notes the possibility that 'the sacred tent of David... may be an earthly correlative of Yahweh's cosmic tent.' (430) The possibility of temple imagery will be revisited later on in this study.

portray darkness as something created by YHWH, albeit in different ways.²²³ The first and least ambiguous is MT Isa 45.7 in which YHWH is portrayed as forming light and creating (בָּרָא) darkness. This text leaves little doubt that YHWH is the progenitor of darkness. The other three texts, while similar, differ in that the verb used in all three is שָׂרָה, a verb that has more the connotation of arranging or appointing than creating. In MT 2 Sam 22.12 and MT Ps 18.12[11], darkness is appointed by YHWH as either a booth (סֹכֶה) or a hiding place (סִתְרָה), the connotation of creation being somewhat removed. In MT Ps 104.20 the relationship is also ambiguous. YHWH is said to arrange (שָׂרָה) darkness and it becomes night (וַיְהִי לַיְלָהָה). The sequence of events in MT Ps 104.20 could possibly be a poetic rendering of the same pattern as MT Gen 1.1-5, the difference being that instead of separating (בָּדַל) light from darkness, darkness is arranged/appointed (שָׂרָה). While MT 2 Sam 22.12, Ps 18.12[11], and Ps 104.20 are all ambiguous, they bear the closest resemblance to the creation of darkness by YHWH in MT Isa 45.7. Darkness, then, while a minor figure overall throughout the intertextual tapestry,²²⁴ becomes prominent because of the boldness of MT Isa 45.7 with the three other texts perhaps providing a complement to the creation of darkness.

1.4.4 Creative Forces External to YHWH

This set of thematic observations centers on forces external to YHWH that either pose opposition or provide a helping hand to YHWH's creative actions. The first of these to be addressed are those forces that oppose YHWH's creative actions, what I am calling the 'primordials,' that is לַיְוֹתָן, לַיָּם, רַחֲבֵי הַיָּם, and possibly תְּהוֹמוֹת. While the way in which YHWH and these primordials interact varies, their presence is significant. That MT Gen 1.1-5 has at least the presence of one of the words, תְּהוֹמוֹת,²²⁵ while likely demythologised (consciously or not), opens the door for primordials to be in play in subsequent interpretations. Also, given the presence of such primordials throughout the intertextual tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5, such a survey of the presence of primordials within the intertextual tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5 is warranted. To begin, Leviathan is mentioned in three texts: one portrays Leviathan as being created for YHWH to sport with,²²⁶ a second recalls that YHWH crushed Leviathan's heads and fed it to the animals of the wilderness,²²⁷ and a third places Leviathan as the monster being conjured up as a destructive force meant to help reverse the created order.²²⁸ Rahab is portrayed in two texts: in one YHWH pierces it²²⁹ and in the other pierces it.²³⁰ The Tanninim appear in four texts with a possible fifth: in two texts, including the possible inclusion, they are

²²³ MT 2 Sam 22.12; Isa 45.7; Ps 18.12[11], 104.20

²²⁴ Among the texts of the tapestry, שָׂרָה does not appear in nineteen. Of the other texts where it does appear, it is either the opposite of light (MT Amos 5.8; Job 26.10) or good (MT Jer 4.23, 28; Job 3.4-6) or something from which to be saved (MT Isa 42.5).

²²⁵ It should also be noted that Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, convincingly suggests that the תְּהוֹמוֹת of MT Gen 1.21 are a demythologised representation of the primordial לַיְוֹתָן. (54ff)

²²⁶ MT Ps 104.26

²²⁷ MT Ps 74.14

²²⁸ MT Job 3.8

²²⁹ MT Job 26.12

²³⁰ MT Isa 51.9

pierced by YHWH,²³¹ in another YHWH breaks their heads,²³² in the fourth the Tanninim coupled with Yam proceed to deny that wisdom can be found in them,²³³ and in the final appearance the Tanninim are portrayed as a creature giving praise to God.²³⁴ Yam occurs eight times: while one appearance seems to be demythologised or merely ‘sea’,²³⁵ YHWH acts upon Yam five times – stilling,²³⁶ limiting,²³⁷ drying-up,²³⁸ dividing,²³⁹ and calling.²⁴⁰ It is also conjured as a destructive force to reverse the order of creation²⁴¹ and personified to say that wisdom cannot be found in it.²⁴² The final primordial to be considered is the most questionable and the only one present in MT Gen 1.2 - תַּהוֹמוֹת. Most resembling its appearance in MT Gen 1.2 are three texts in which it functions as an element of creation.²⁴³ It is also personified, once denying that wisdom can be found in it,²⁴⁴ and in another giving praise to YHWH.²⁴⁵ Along slightly different lines, there are three texts with reference to angels and/or heavenly hosts, of these one has God making his angels from the winds,²⁴⁶ another couples angels and hosts in praise of YHWH,²⁴⁷ and the third mentions that the host of heaven worships YHWH.²⁴⁸

To briefly summarize the place of the primordials in the intertextual tapestry, if the primordials are personified or creature-ified, YHWH always takes precedence either by being victorious or by being the object of their praise. While Levenson is correct that there is only one text in which Leviathan is created, leaving room for the pre-existence of at least this primordial,²⁴⁹ YHWH is always portrayed as the victor. And, YHWH has angelic hosts, related to the divine מַלְאָכִים, which worship/praise YHWH.

The presence of wisdom within the intertextual tapestry is also important to consider. While wisdom is personified most explicitly in MT Prov 8.22-31, its intertextual picture is supplemented by three words that function as synonyms – דְּבַר, תְּבוּנָה, דַּעַת. While חֵכְמָה does not occur in MT Prov 8.22-31, wisdom is the speaker describing her genesis prior to YHWH's first creative act and her place with YHWH in the genesis of the world as a master worker/architect (מְבַרָּא). Wisdom occurs in five other texts, all of which describe wisdom as an instrument

²³¹ MT Isa 51.9 and Job 26.13 (the honorable mention) in which the creature pierced is not called תַּהוֹמוֹת but שָׂרָף, which when coupled with the appearances of Rahab and Yam in very close proximity likely falls into the category of primordial, if not a synonym for תַּהוֹמוֹת.

²³² MT Ps 74.13

²³³ MT Job 28.14

²³⁴ MT Ps 148.7

²³⁵ MT Ps 104.25

²³⁶ MT Job 26.12

²³⁷ MT Prov 8.29

²³⁸ MT Isa 51.10

²³⁹ MT Ps 74.13

²⁴⁰ MT Amos 9.6

²⁴¹ MT Job 3.8

²⁴² MT Job 28.14

²⁴³ MT Isa 51.10; Ps 104.6; Prov 8.27, 28

²⁴⁴ MT Job 28.14

²⁴⁵ MT Ps 148.7

²⁴⁶ MT Ps 104.4

²⁴⁷ MT Ps 148.2

²⁴⁸ MT Neh 9.6

²⁴⁹ Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, 53-57.

by which YHWH creates.²⁵⁰ Along similar lines and occasionally paired with wisdom²⁵¹ is YHWH's understanding (תבונה). While understanding is the tool by which YHWH strikes down Rahab in one text,²⁵² it is generally similar to wisdom in that it is a tool by which YHWH creates.²⁵³ Knowledge (דעת) also comes into play in a text where wisdom, understanding, and knowledge are placed in sequence:

¹⁹By wisdom YHWH laid the foundation of the earth; he established the heavens by skill. ²⁰By his knowledge the deeps split open and the clouds drop dew. (Prov 3.19-20)

This text strengthens the relationship between wisdom, understanding, and knowledge as tools of the creator. Though again, it is evident that the personification of wisdom seen in MT Prov 8.22-31 is unique within the intertextual tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5. One final text similar to this wisdom thread bears mention on far looser grounds – a tattered thread of the tapestry perhaps. In MT Ps 33.6 comes a phrase that bears a similarity to MT Ps 104.26 and 136.6 with the substitution of דבר for חכמה and תבונה respectively. Admittedly this is a tattered thread, but one that sticks out only to be noticed.

1.4.5 Creation and Temple

Though not obviously inherent in the text of MT Gen 1.1-5, within the wider intertextual tapestry of Day One there are bits and pieces of temple imagery.²⁵⁴ Deutero-Isaiah speaks of the post-exilic rebuilding of Jerusalem and the earthly Temple.²⁵⁵ There are also at least two, maybe three, texts that speak of a divine, possibly heavenly temple. The first of these is really two – the repeated text of MT 2 Sam 22.7 and Ps 18.7[6]. Here the psalmist calls out to YHWH from his distress, and YHWH from his temple (מִבְּיַד יְהוָה) hears the cry. The idea that this is a heavenly temple is confirmed in MT 2 Sam 22.10 / Ps 18.10 [9] in that YHWH comes down (יָרַד) to deal with the problem. In the opposite direction, MT Amos 9.6 may speak of the building of stairs up to the cosmic temple. The final text comes back to Deutero-Isaiah, where God sits above the circle of the earth and stretches out the heavens like a veil, possibly a description of a cosmic temple.²⁵⁶

One final word, the information compiled above is a reconstruction of the intertextual tapestry from which ancient interpreters working with a precursor of the Masoretic Text would have drawn their interpretations. Utilizing intertextuality, the tapestry sketched above provides a broad base for reading and analysing the ways that Day One (MT Gen 1.1-5) was read and understood by later interpreters and their communities. While there are many threads woven into this grand tapestry, some of clashing colors, others complementary, still others tattered, the

²⁵⁰ MT Jer 10.12, 51.15; Ps 104.24; Prov 3.19; Job 28.12

²⁵¹ MT Jer 10.12, 51.15; Job 28.12

²⁵² MT Job 26.12

²⁵³ MT Jer 10.12, 51.15; Ps 136.5; Prov 3.19; Job 28.12

²⁵⁴ Margaret Barker, *The Great High Priest: The Temple Roots of Christian Liturgy* (London: T&T Clark, 2003), argues that Gen 1.1-5 is a Second Temple description of the Holy of Holies. (155-159) While Barker's argument is rather persuasive, that subsequent Jewish and Christian interpreters of Day One and the Holy of Holies understood that there was a relationship between the two is less circumstantial and has more substance.

²⁵⁵ MT Isa 44.28

²⁵⁶ MT Isa 40.22. Cf. Barker, "Beyond the Veil of the Temple," 19.

portion of the tapestry sketched above is an intertextual view of Day One as it appears in the MT of the Hebrew Bible. The next step, then, is to see what sort of tapestry appears upon a similar examination of the Greek equivalents.

CHAPTER TWO

THE INTERTEXTUAL TAPESTRY OF GEN 1.1-5 IN GREEK EQUIVALENTS OF TEXTS IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

2.1 Introduction

While not a replica of chapter one, this chapter follows the same pattern of inquiry in order to sketch the intertextual tapestry of Gen 1.1-5 in the Greek equivalents of the books of the Hebrew Bible, sometimes called the Septuagint.¹ As with chapter one, the purpose of chapter two is to sketch this Greek intertextual tapestry in order to get a picture of the intertextuality of LXX Gen 1.1-5, to provide a foundation for comparing subsequent interpretations and to trace their interconnectedness within the biblical text of the interpreter. As throughout the thesis, I presume that the specific text one is interpreting and the language world in which that text exists shapes interpretation. Given that the two intertextual tapestries, Hebrew and Greek, are different, it should follow that there are different threads of interpretation based on the language world of text/interpreter. In chapters three and four, this will be tested using the tapestries of the first two chapters as a background against which to read later interpretations.²

The plan for this chapter begins with a brief word about how I define LXX for this study. I then move to a discussion of the criteria used for establishing intertextuality, followed by an examination of the primary text, LXX Gen 1.1-5 both by individual bits and bobs and as a structural whole. As in chapter one, the largest portion of the chapter is the analysis of the individual intertexts as they relate to the primary text in Greek and when necessary in this chapter to their Hebrew equivalents. Finally, I sketch a broader picture of the intertextual tapestry by analyzing some common thematic threads as they appear in the overall tapestry.

2.1.2 “Septuagint”

While it is not necessary for this study to go into all of the complexities of LXX research, it is necessary to outline my basic presuppositions about the LXX in order to understand the inclusion and use of certain LXX manuscripts and texts in this study. To do this, I begin by looking at the question of the origins of the LXX. I then offer a brief examination of some textual issues, concluding with a remark about the critical texts that I use in this study.

The LXX likely dates to the third century BCE, with the translation of the Pentateuch from Hebrew into Greek in Alexandria. This assumes that there is at least a kernel of truth to the *Letter of Aristeas*,³ an apologetic piece from the second century BCE.⁴ *Let.Aris.* is helpful when looking at the origins of the LXX in so far as it

¹ Hereafter, LXX. At odds with the nomenclature of LXX is that this chapter does not include texts such as Sirach and 1-2 Maccabees, which are regularly included in LXX canons. These texts are treated in chapter four.

² J. Dines, “Imaging Creation: The Septuagint Translation of Genesis 1:2,” *HeyJ* 36 (1995), has clearly shown how the differences of the Greek translation open up ‘new possibilities for interpretation’ of Gen 1.2. (448)

³ For a critical Greek text of *Let.Aris.*, see: H.St.J. Thackeray, “Appendix: The Letter of Aristeas,” in *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (ed. H.B. Swete and R.R. Ottley; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914) 533-606; and for an English translation see the translation with an introduction by R.J.H. Shutt, “Letter of Aristeas,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985) 2.7-34.

⁴ S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) surveys opinion about the dating of *Aristeas*, giving a range of opinion between 200 BCE – 33 AD (48 n.1), himself opting for a *terminus ante quem* of

attests to an 'original' translation⁵ of the Torah or Pentateuch in Alexandria in the third century BCE.⁶ Evidence external to *Let.Aris.* for a third century BCE Greek translation of the Pentateuch comes in Demetrius the Hellenist,⁷ who used quotations from a Greek translation of Genesis possibly as early as late-3rd c. BCE.⁸ In all likelihood, then, there was at least one translation of the Pentateuch in the third century BCE, if not more than one, with revisions quick to follow. The remaining books of the Hebrew Scriptures and other writings (e.g. Sirach, Tobit) were likely translated over the next two centuries. In the prologue to Sirach (c.132 BCE), it is reported that the Law, the prophets, and 'remaining books' (τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων) were different in their secondary language of Greek.⁹

c.170 BCE, based primarily on the assumption that it was primarily a Jewish apologetic text written to the Jews of Egypt 'to encourage fidelity to their religion as embodied in the Law' under the spectre of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. (49-50) Cf. K.H. Jobes and M. Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2000) 34. Additionally, H.B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, (2nd revised ed.; London: Cambridge, 1914) notes that the story told in *Let.Aris.* is recounted by Alexandrians Aristobulus and Philo and Palestinian Josephus, which if genuine, attest that the story of *Aristeas* was told in the first half of the second century BCE in northern Africa, per Aristobulus, and in Palestine in the first century CE per Josephus. (12-13) This is of interest at least because it shows that the legend of *Let.Aris.* regarding the origins of the LXX was being told and presumably believed by those using the Greek translation. In short, it points to the fact that communities were using these texts (Pentateuch plus) and thus interpreting and expounding them. Cf. Jellicoe, *Septuagint and Modern Study*, 353.

⁵ Whether or not there was an 'original' translation of the Pentateuch is one of the stickier wickets in the history of LXX research. To avoid leaving the wicket in the open, I stand on the side of a Lagardian understanding that there was an 'original' translation, as opposed to the position of Kahle that there were many competing Greek versions with the *Let.Aris.* arguing for an Alexandrian version. For an outline of Kahle's thought, see Jellicoe, *Septuagint and Modern Study*, 59-63. I accept a general Lagardian picture of LXX origins with the qualifiers articulated by Jobes and Silva, *Invitation*, that there are two distinct translations for some books (e.g. Judges and Esther) and that revision of these original translations began at a very early stage in the development of the LXX. (274-276) Another interesting, though underdeveloped, piece of the puzzle is Jellicoe's suggestion that there may have been a 'rival version' of the Alexandrian Greek Pentateuch originating from Leontopolis (See S. Jellicoe, "The Occasion and Purpose of the Letter of Aristeas: a Re-examination," *NTS* 12 (1966) 144-150; and Jellicoe, *Septuagint and Modern Study*, 50). Given the distance from and present fragmentary nature of the textual witnesses, any theory of LXX origins is incomplete.

⁶ In his survey of scholarly opinion, Jellicoe, *Septuagint and Modern Study*, outlines six generally, though not universally, accepted historically reliable elements of *Aristeas*: (1) Alexandrian provenance; (2) the translation attested to 'was regarded as authentic and unalterable and received the *imprimatur* of the Jewish authorities' and was received well by the Jewish community in general; (3) the Pentateuch was the first part of the Scriptures of Israel to be translated into Greek; (4) the original translation was an official Jewish undertaking possibly with the blessing of civic authorities; (5) the original translation of the Pentateuch likely dates to the first half of the third century BCE; and (6) the translation was made for Jewish liturgical and pedagogical use. (55)

⁷ Not to be confused with Demetrius of Phalerum, the librarian of Alexandria, in the *Let.Aris.*

⁸ On the date of Demetrius, the reference to Ptolemy IV Philopator in the summary by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom* 1.141.1f) of Demetrius' work, Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ Βασιλέων, would place Demetrius in the late third century BCE. Swete, *Introduction*, assumes that the reference to Ptolemy IV is genuine and outlines three examples of Demetrius' use of a Greek Genesis. (17-18). Accepting a late third century BCE date for Demetrius, J. Hanson, "Demetrius the Chronographer," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985), also notes questions that have been raised about the identity of the Ptolemy referenced by Demetrius. (844)

⁹ οὐ γὰρ ἰσοδυναμεῖ
αὐτὰ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς Ἑβραϊστὶ λεγόμενα καὶ ὅταν μεταχθῆ εἰς ἑτέραν γλῶσσαν·
οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα,
ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων
οὐ μικρὰν ἔκει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λεγόμενα.

While it is debatable what is meant by τὰ λοιπὰ, it is likely that the translation effort in Egypt had progressed at least to include the Prophets and some of the Writings. A *terminus ante quem* of the first century CE can be established for most of the books eventually included in the full Greek codices.¹⁰

Given that the primary aim of this study is to explore the intertextual history of Gen 1.1-5 up to the historical boundary of c.200 CE, and in so doing to look at how that history interacts with the wider intertextual tapestries of Gen 1.1-5 and its intertexts, there is a problem of just what texts can be chronologically considered in this chapter. Similarly, there is the issue of the so-called ‘later versions’ of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion along with Origen's additions and corrections in the fifth column of the Hexapla. Origen's (c.182-c.251 CE) fifth column Hexaplaric materials, most likely dating from the first half of the third century CE, are excluded from consideration. This comes into play significantly in the case of Job 26, where a large portion of the chapter is material asterisked by Origen,¹¹ and as such is left out of intertextual consideration.¹² In the case of the texts of Aquila,¹³ Symmachus,¹⁴ and Theodotion,¹⁵ it can be assumed that these texts were in circulation and well known by the time of Origen, especially among Greek speaking Jews. That they are included in the Hexapla seems reason enough to believe that they were texts that Origen felt needed to be addressed for his Jewish – Christian textual dialogue to work.¹⁶ These later versions are included and addressed when bearing specifically on the intertextual relationship with LXX Gen 1.1-5.

From J. Ziegler, ed., *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach, (Septuaginta - Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum., XII,2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965) 125.*

¹⁰ Swete, *Introduction*, argues that, though the evidence is fragmentary, there is reason to think that prior to the 1st century C.E., there was either a complete or nearly complete translation into Greek of the entire Hebrew scriptures. Evidence for this includes the fact that Philo (1st cent. C.E.) quotes from all LXX books except Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Esther, Lamentations, Ezekiel, and Daniel; and the New Testament quotes from all but Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and ‘certain Minor Prophets.’ (25-26) Swete also includes lists of the contents of the major uncials along with canonical lists of the early Church. (201ff.)

¹¹ It is thought that Origen usually corrected his text (*Hexapla*, column five) to Theodotion's (column six), which could place the asterisked materials in Job within the time-frame of this study, the provenance of Origen's asterisked material is largely an open question. See J.M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London: T&T Clark, 2004) 100-102.

¹² See below, pp. 89-92.

¹³ Column three in Origen's Hexapla, Aquila's work falls into my historical time frame, if the completion of his translation of the ‘recently standardized’ Hebrew text can be dated with Jobes and Silva, *Invitation*, 39, at c.140 CE. The effect of Aquila's translation on certain intertextual relationships may be more likely felt in early Jewish texts, if he, a convert to Judaism, was correcting the LXX ‘in so far as it appeared to support the view of the Christian Church.’ Swete, *Introduction*, 31-42.

¹⁴ Column four of the Hexapla, Symmachus' work can be dated to the last half of the first century CE. A. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, (JSSMS 15; Manchester: University of Manchester, 1991), argues for a later date around 200 CE and describes Symmachus work as combining ‘the best Biblical Greek style, remarkable clarity, a high degree of accuracy regarding the Hebrew, and the rabbinic exegesis of his day: it might be described as a Greek Targum, or Tannaitic Septuagint.’ (297) As quoted by Jobes and Silva, *Invitation*, 40.

¹⁵ Column six of the Hexapla is Theodotion's Greek version. There is a debate whether or not Theodotion's version is a translation or a revision of a ‘proto-Theodotion’ or *kaige* recension. Most recently, P.J. Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job*, (SBLSCS 38; Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), argues that Theodotion is an independent translation and that there is much yet to be studied regarding the diversity in the *kaige* group of mss. and its complex relationship with the Old Greek and the later versions. Gentry also suggests that Theodotion specifically in Job dates to the early first century CE, though he carefully does not assume that Theodotionic materials are all of the same date. Significant is his call for a stop to all references to a proto-Theodotion. (495-498)

¹⁶ Gentry, *Asterisked Materials*, 495-496.

Finally, the critical texts that I employ in this chapter are primarily from the Göttingen editions,¹⁷ and when Göttingen are unavailable the Larger Cambridge editions.¹⁸ To these critical editions I differ in matters of punctuation and form (i.e., narrative or poetic presentation). It becomes quickly apparent when working with the LXX that textual matters can take over *ad nauseam*. In the interest of both rigor and sensibility, in LXX matters I attempt to walk the fine line between over-simplification and over-complication.

2.1.3 Considering Commonality: Criteria for Establishing Intertextuality

The criteria for establishing intertextuality in general terms is the same as for chapter one. Differences occur in the specifics of certain words. That is, there is not always a one-to-one relationship between the IMs for the Hebrew and Greek texts. The intertextual markers identified for chapter two are:

words – ἀόρατος, ἀκατασκεύαστος, σκότος, ἄβυσσος, ἐπιφέρω, διαχωρίζω
 minor phrases – ἐν ἀρχῇ, τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, πνεῦμα θεοῦ, ὅτι καλόν, θεὸς καλεῖ, ἡμέρα μία
 word-pairs – οὐρανός and γῆ, φῶς and σκότος, ἡμέρα and νύξ

Two rather glaring omissions from this list are φῶς and the word-pair, οὐρανός and γῆ. Though I do employ φῶς along with σκότος as a word-pair and the verbatim use of τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν from LXX Gen 1.1, I have chosen not to address φῶς and the more general word-pair of οὐρανός and γῆ, along with πνεῦμα, because the frequency of their use in the LXX limits their usefulness.¹⁹

These texts were identified with the aid of concordances, old²⁰ and new.²¹

2.2 A Look at LXX Gen 1.1-5

The Greek and the Hebrew of Gen 1.1-5 are both the same text and different texts. While both texts come at the beginning of their respective texts of Genesis, they live within two very different language worlds, their structure is different, if even slightly, and their vocabularies carry different connotations within the context of their respective language world. While the Greek is a translation of a Hebrew text, these two independent texts have intertextual lives of their own. As such, I treat them in separate chapters with their own analysis. In what follows, I look at both the structure of the whole of the primary text, LXX Gen 1.1-5, and at the IMs in their primary context.

¹Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. ²Ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. ³καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτω φῶς. καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς. ⁴καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν. καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ

¹⁷ From the series *Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht): J.W. Wevers, ed., Genesis (1974), Exodus (1991); J. Zeigler, ed., Isaiah (1939), Jeremiah (1957), the Minor Prophets (1943), Job (1934).

¹⁸ A.E. Brooke, N. McLean, and H.S.J. Thackery, eds., *I and II Samuel, (The Old Testament in Greek, II, 1, London: Cambridge University Press, 1927).*

¹⁹ As with **אור** in MT Gen 1.3, λέγω in LXX Gen 1.3 is also of little use, occurring in 1900+ verses in the Septuagint.

²⁰ E. Hatch and H.A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and other Greek versions of the Old Testament (including the Apocryphal Books)*, (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck - U. Verlaganstalt, 1975).

²¹ BibleWorks for Windows Ver. 5.0, BibleWorks, LLC., and Bible Companion 1.6.4; GRAMCORD Morphological Search Engine 2.4ce, Loizeaux Brothers, Inc.

σκοτόυς. ⁵καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκάλεσεν νύκτα. καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα μία.

¹In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth, ²but the earth was invisible and unformed, and darkness was atop the abyss, and a spirit of God moved atop the waters. ³And God said, 'Let there be light.' And there was light. ⁴And God saw the light that it was good. And God separated between the light and the darkness. ⁵And God called the light day and the darkness he called night. And there was evening and there was morning, day one.

Within the overall structure of LXX Gen 1.1-5, the postpositive use of δέ in v.2 is pivotal.²² Though there is no corresponding μέν in v.1,²³ v.2 can be read as a continuation of v.1. While δέ does signal a change of subject,²⁴ it is likely that the opposition or contrast is so slight between v.1 and v.2, that the μέν is rendered unnecessary.²⁵ The δέ, then, signals a slight opposition or expansion on the state of the earth, especially since v.1 ends and v.2 begins with γῆ. With a similar understanding of vv.1-2, William P. Brown, seeing LXX Gen 1.3-31 as a literary unit, marks a division between vv.1-2 and v.3ff.²⁶ He identifies what is going on in vv.1-3 as a 'double creation,' stating:

Heaven and earth are the created 'aformal' substances from which the entities *named* 'heaven' and 'earth' are fashioned in vv 6-8 and 9-10, respectively, within the formal creation account of six days. The formal structure of 1:3-31, thus, coincides with the content of creation in that creation is given definitive form.²⁷

According to Brown's analysis, then, there is a bifurcation between vv.1-2 and v.3ff. If Brown's analysis is correct, the unity of vv.1-5 is less natural in the Greek than in the Hebrew. It is not hard to see the logic behind seeing vv.3-31 as a unit, given the structural and thematic parallels that run throughout.²⁸ Yet, does an *inclusio* of vv.3-31 preclude altogether a pericope of vv.1-5 in the LXX? There can be little doubt that there is a definite conclusion at the end of v.5, as it is a formula repeated throughout the rest of the chapter.²⁹ Suffice it to say, it is at least possible to see vv.3-5 as the first action on the pre-created earth – the first act of creation by speaking, separating, and naming. Additionally, if someone were looking at 'day one' in the Greek it is unlikely that it would not be juxtaposed with what comes immediately before, that is vv.1-2. While grammatically it is more difficult to see Gen 1.1-5 as a unity in the Greek, especially in such a way that mirrors the structure of the Hebrew (v.1 – dependent clause, v.2 – parenthetical clause, v.3 – main clause), with a bit of (permissible) gerrymandering our pericope can remain inclusive of the first five verses. In short, though it is possible to identify a break between v.2 and v.3 in the

²² There are no textual variations that leave out or substitute something else for the δέ of v.2. Cf. J.W. Wevers, ed., *Genesis, (Septuaginta - Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Acadamiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum, 1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974) 75.*

²³ The use of δέ without μέν is not uncommon in general Classical usage, cf. LSJ, s.v., nor in the LXX, cf. F.C. Coyne and S.G. Stock, *A Grammar of Septuagint Greek*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980) 39.

²⁴ J.W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, (SBLSCS 35; Atlanta: Scholars, 1993) 1.

²⁵ LSJ, s.v.

²⁶ W.P. Brown, *Structure, Role, and Ideology in the Hebrew and Greek Texts of Genesis 1:1-2:3*, (SBLDS 132; Atlanta: Scholars, 1993) 31.

²⁷ Brown, *Structure, Role, and Ideology*, 35.

²⁸ Brown, *Structure, Role, and Ideology*, 26-45.

²⁹ LXX Gen 1.5b, 8b, 13, 19, 23, and 31b.

Greek, I continue to use the pericope boundaries of vv.1-5, given there is a full stop at the end of v.5, and that it is unlikely that vv.1-2 would be read without an eye on that which immediately follows.

I now move from the whole to the parts, taking a verse-by-verse stroll through the pericope paying close attention to the intertextual markers.

2.2.1 LXX Gen 1.1

The first words of LXX Gen 1.1 are ἐν ἀρχῇ, which serve as a temporal modification of the remainder of the verse and the story. As was noted above, in light of the postpositive δέ, v.2 can be seen as a continuation of v.1, though there is no dependency of vv.1-2 upon v.3 in the Greek. Similar to the Masoretic pointing of its Hebrew counterpart, ἐν ἀρχῇ is anarthrous.³⁰ The first verb of the LXX, ποιέω, occurs over three thousand times throughout the LXX, and as such does not function as an intertextual marker.³¹ Also as mentioned above, the word-pair, οὐρανός/γῆ, is not used as an intertextual marker given the frequency of its occurrences (250+).³² The major

³⁰ It should also be noted that Aquila, given his tendency to slavishly represent the Hebrew, apparently translates ַאֲרֵכְיָא as ἐν κεφαλαίῳ, reflecting the Hebrew root, אֲרָכָא. Cf. Wevers, ed., *Genesis - Göttingen*, 75. Also, M. Alexandre, *Le Commencement du Livre Genèse I-V: La version grecque de la Septante et sa réception*, (Christianisme Antique 3; Paris: Beauchesne, 1988) 67. Alexandre's is the commentary *par excellence* in its coverage of the text and its interpretations.

³¹ Wevers, *Notes on Genesis*, observes that all eleven occurrences of אֲרָכָא in Genesis are translated with ποιέω. (1)

³² Within LXX Gen 1.1-5, there are possible intertextual connections with the Greek pantheon. In an examination of Hesiod's *Theogony* (8th century BCE) a handful of the primary players in LXX Gen 1.1-5 have prominence in Hesiod's tracing of the Greek cosmology. Following the genealogical structure of *Theog.*, Χάος (chaos), Γαῖα (earth), Τάρταρα (the lowest level of the underworld), and Ἔρος (love) are the first four deities that appear. (*Theog.* 116-122) These first four have no genesis of their own. Χάος (Chaos) gives birth to Νύξ (night) who then gives birth to its opposite, Ἡμέρη (day). (*Theog.* 123-124) The other major branch of the family are the offspring of Γαῖα, who gives birth to her son and husband, Οὐρανός (heaven), who then gave birth to the Titans, Cyclopes, etc. (*Theog.* 133ff)

While much has been made of the parallels between ancient Hebrew and Sumerian, Akkadian, Egyptian, and Canaanite creation accounts, in the case of Greek parallels, at least in the case of Hesiod's account in the *Theogony*, there are a considerable number of commonalities with LXX Gen 1.1-5. When thinking about these parallels in intertextual terms it seems more likely that someone steeped in traditional Greek religion and/or literature who encounters the Greek text of Genesis is likely to see a commonality between the two, that is, an intertextual relationship. With LXX Gen 1.1-5 in mind, one need only read the last of Hesiod's prologues:

Χαίρετε, τέκνα Δίος, δότε δ' ἡμερόεσσαν ἀοιδὴν·
κλείετε δ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰέν ἔοντων,
οἱ Γῆς τ' ἐξεγένοντο καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
Νυκτός τε δυοφερῆς, οὗς θ' ἄλμυρός ἔτρεφε Πόντος·
εἶπατε δ' ὡς τὰ πρῶτα θεοὶ καὶ γαῖα γίνοντο
καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος, οἴδματι θυίων,
ἄστρα τε λαμπετόωντα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθεῖν·
οἱ τ' ἐκ τῶν ἐγένοντο θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἑάων,
ὡς τ' ἄφενος δάσσαντο καὶ ὡς τιμάς διέλοντο
ἦδ' ἐκαὶ ὡς τὰ πρῶτα πολύπτυχον ἔσχον Ὀλυμπον.
Ταῦτα μοι ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,
ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ εἶπαθ' ὅ τι πρῶτον γένητ' αὐτῶν.

Greetings, children of Zeus; grant me lovely son,
And praise the holy race of immortals who always are,
who were born from Gaia and starry Ouranos,

distinction between the MT and the LXX texts of v.1 is that in the Greek there is little room for speaking of the precreated earth. Rather, there is a definite creative action by God in v.1, necessitating the likes of Brown's 'double creation.'³³

2.2.2 LXX Gen 1.2

V.2, then, describes the state of the earth as first created in v.1. As in the Hebrew, v.2 is tripartite. The *waw* conjunctions of the MT are observed in the first phrase with δέ and in the second and third with καί. While discussion regarding the meaning of δέ need not be repeated as it was addressed above, it is worth noting again that there is a choice made to use δέ rather than καί, especially given that there are fourteen occurrences of *waw* in the MT of vv.1-5, only one of which is translated with δέ.³⁴ This is not to say that δέ would be an appropriate translation of them all. Rather, the fact that the LXX often follows the MT closely means that differences need to be looked at very closely. The first phrase of v.2 continues with a rendering of יהוה וְיָבִרָהּ as ἀόρατος (invisible) and ἀκατασκεύαστος (unformed).³⁵ While their Hebrew counterparts occur infrequently, ἀόρατος and ἀκατασκεύαστος occur even less frequently, the latter being a *hapax legomenon* within the LXX. Unlike their Hebrew counterparts, however, their meaning is present, at least in a veiled way, in their roots. The former, ἀόρατος, comes from ὁράω, and with the negating α can be rendered as that which cannot be seen.³⁶ It occurs only three times in the LXX.³⁷

and from dark Nyx, and those salty Pontos raised.
 Tell how at first gods and earth came to be,
 and rivers and vast sea, violent in surge,
 and shining stars and wide sky above,
 [and the gods born from them, givers of good]
 how they divided their wealth and allotted honors
 and how first they held valed Olympos.
 Tell me these things, Muses with Olympian homes,
 from the first, say which of them first came to be.

Theog. 104-115 [Greek text from Hesiod, *Théogonie - Les Travaux et Les Jours Le Bouclier*, (ed. P. Mazon; Paris: Société d'Édition *Les Belles Lettres*, 1967) 35-36; translation by R.S. Caldwell, *Hesiod's Theogony: Translated with Introduction, Commentary, and Interpretive Essay*, (Focus Classical Library; Newburyport, MA: Focus Information Group, 1987) 33.]

This prelude in which the poet asks the Muses for insight into his cosmogonical ponderings provides plenty of intertextual commonality with LXX Gen 1.1-5, namely the idea of the pairing of οὐρανός and γῆ (γαῖα being a form thereof), the presence of νόξ, and Hesiod's appeal for the Muses to tell him about these things ἐξ ἀρχῆς. I am not suggesting here any direct relationship or dependence, only that there is an interesting intersection between these two texts. The translation of Gen 1.1-5 from Hebrew into Greek moves this text into a new tapestry of intertextual relationships, this Greek cosmology being a striking one.

³³ Brown, *Structure, Role, and Ideology*, 35.

³⁴ This, of course, makes the assumption that the Hebrew text with which the translator was working looked a lot like the MT.

³⁵ Alexandre, *Le Commencement du Livre Genèse I-V*, makes the observation that Theodotion maintains the rhyming nature of יהוה וְיָבִרָהּ with his translation, ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν θὲν καὶ οὐθὲν. (77)

³⁶ Intertextually, the use of ἀόρατος by Plato to refer to the invisible world of ideas (*Phaedo* 85E; *Sophist* 246AB, 247B; *Theaetetus* 155E; *Timaeus* 51A) is notable. Plato's understanding of the word and its use in the LXX come to an intersection in Philo's understanding of LXX Gen 1.2 as 'an essential quality of the incorporeal and intelligible

The latter, ἀκατασκευάστος, is derived from κατασκευάζω and with the negating α carries the meaning of something that has not yet been prepared for building or rough materials.³⁸ The picture of the earth given in this first phrase of v.2 is invisible or nondescript and rough in the sense of raw material.³⁹

The second phrase of v.2 further describes the earth at this first stage of creation by stating that darkness (σκότος) was above (ἐπάνω) the abyss (ἄβυσσος). Because v.2 is describing what has already been created in v.1, σκότος can be read as the absence of light, a situation possibly reflected in the translator's choice of ἀόρατος and rectified by the creation of light in v.3. The use of ἄβυσσος is curious in that it carries no mythological baggage like that which may be attached to אַבְיִס.⁴⁰ Rather, as Dines points out, in ἄβυσσος the translator likely creates a neologism, given that prior to the third century BCE there are no feminine nominal uses of what was previously a general adjective meaning ‘unfathomable, boundless, enormous.’⁴¹ Additionally, Dines highlights another interesting possibility, that the translator created the nominal use of ἄβυσσος in order to establish an alliterative function tying together ἀόρατος, ἀκατασκευάστος, and ἄβυσσος as descriptions of the earth in its first created state.⁴² Finally, in place of ἐπάνω for אֲרָצָה in phrases two and three one might have expected something along the lines of ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, as is the case the recensions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus⁴³ and in Job 26.10.⁴⁴

The third and final phrase of v.2 runs parallel to the second, placing the πνεῦμα θεοῦ moving (ἐπιφέρω) upon (ἐπάνω) the waters (τοῦ ὕδατος). Like the Hebrew, πνεῦμα θεοῦ is anarthrous, which lends to an understanding of a divine wind or breath rather than spirit.⁴⁵ The use of the middle imperfect of ἐπιφέρω for the Hebrew participle, מְפַתֵּחַ, both displays a continuous action and leaves ambiguous whether the breath of God is moving or being moved. While the general connotation of the verb is to strike or attach, there are variations that speak of the relation of water to a ship.⁴⁶ Illustrative of this is the occurrence of the verb in Gen 7.18 (ἐπεφέρετο ἡ κιβωτὸς ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος), which bears two striking similarities to LXX Gen 1.2 – the use of ἐπιφέρω in the third person middle imperfect and the relation to the phrase, ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, verbatim with LXX Gen 1.2. While there is at least cause for intertextual interest in the relationship of 1.2 and 7.18, it seems unlikely that because of the connection the

creation (*Opificio Mundi* 29-34). Brown, *Structure, Role, and Ideology*, 48 n.33; also Dines, “Imaging Creation,” 442-443.

³⁷ See Appendix B.

³⁸ LSJ, s.v.

³⁹ Caldwell, *Hesiod's Theogony*, in his explanation of the Greek meaning of chaos in conjunction with the presence of Χάος at the beginning of *Theog.*, makes the assertion that chaos is not disorder and confusion, signifying ‘a void, an abyss, infinite space and darkness, unformed matter...an impenetrable and immeasurable darkness, an opacity in which order is non-existent or at least unperceived.’ He goes on to suggest parallels to the Egyptian ‘watery waste called Nun...and the formless void and abyss’ in Genesis. (33)

⁴⁰ Wevers, *Notes on Genesis*, 2.

⁴¹ Dines, “Imaging Creation,” 446. The general adjectival meanings are taken from LSJ, s.v.

⁴² Dines, “Imaging Creation,” also notes the possibility that a similar alliterative relationship exists between אֲרָצָה, אֲרָצָה, and אֲרָצָה. Further, she suggests English translations of the Greek as ‘unseen, unsorted, and unfathomable.’ (445)

⁴³ Wevers, ed., *Genesis - Göttingen*, 75.

⁴⁴ MT Job 26.10 has, אֲרָצָה מְפַתֵּחַ, the LXX of which reads, ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ὕδατος. A similar example is Amos 5.8, where the MT has the water of the sea being poured אֲרָצָה מְפַתֵּחַ and the LXX reads ἐπὶ προσώπου τῆς γῆς.

⁴⁵ Brown, *Structure, Role, and Ideology*, 48-50 n.36; Wevers, *Notes on Genesis*, 2.

⁴⁶ LSJ, s.v.

verb ought to be limited to 'movement'.⁴⁷ Taking into account the larger semantic nature of the verb, it seems likely that there is a violent connotation.

In short, v.2 describes the earth as first created (cf. v.1) and thus in an incomplete state. It is a dark, rough, water mass with a wind from God violently moving over it. The earth at this stage is in need of further work, work that begins in v.3.

2.2.3 LXX Gen 1.3

The first act of creation comes in v.3 with the speaking into existence of light by God. As the first element of creation other than heaven and earth, the presence of light (φῶς) begins to shape the σκοτός that exists atop the earth of LXX Gen 1.2. Presumably, the creation of light also begins to counteract the ἀόρατος.

2.2.4 LXX Gen 1.4

God sees in v.4 that the light was good (ὅτι καλόν),⁴⁸ replicating the Hebrew כִּי טוֹב. Harl points out that the LXX here uses καλόν rather than ἀγαθός because of the aesthetic, moral, and ordered intent of the word.⁴⁹ The next intertextual marker, διαχωρίζω, begins the process of differentiation of the unformed (ἀκατασκεύαστος) earth. Light is separated from darkness. In the ordering of the raw materials of vv.1-2, light is separated from darkness.⁵⁰ There is another intertextual marker in the word-pair, φῶς/σκοτός, which is a valuable intertextual marker for two

⁴⁷ Brown, *Structure, Role, and Ideology*, 50 n.37; Dines, “Imaging Creation,” 447-448.

⁴⁸ While not intertextually significant enough to warrant inclusion in the list of intertexts of LXX Gen 1.1-5, the use of ὅτι καλόν in LXX Gen 3.6 is of interest:

καὶ εἶδεν ἡ γυνὴ ὅτι καλὸν τὸ ξύλον εἰς βρώσιν καὶ ὅτι ἀρεστὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
 εἶδεν καὶ ὡραῖόν ἐστιν τοῦ κατανοῆσαι καὶ λαβοῦσα τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ ἔφαγεν·
 καὶ ἔδωκεν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς μετ’ αὐτῆς καὶ ἔφαγον.

And the woman saw that the tree was good for food and that it was pleasing for the eyes to see and beautiful to ponder; and having taken of its fruit she ate and gave to her husband [who was] with her, and they ate.

The connection between this text and LXX Gen 1.1-5, comes in a parallel phrase in LXX Gen 1.4. The relation of these two texts rests on a slim commonality of vocabulary – ὅτι καλόν and εἶδεν.

καὶ εἶδεν ἡ γυνὴ ὅτι καλὸν τὸ ξύλον εἰς βρώσιν Gen 3.6a
 καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν Gen 1.4a

This said, there are two things about this slim commonality that are intriguing. The first is that this simple sentence construction is repeated nearly verbatim about both God in LXX Gen 1.4 and about the woman in LXX Gen 3.6, one in an act of creation, another in an act of challenging the created order. Also, given the fact that throughout the Old Testament Greek text the εἶδεν + ὅτι καλόν combination happens six times, and given the fact that the first five all repeat the same formula about God within the first creation story (vv.4,8,10,12,18), the fact that the only other time that this occurs is in Gen 3.6 is of interest. The second thing is the close juxtaposition. Taking canonical shape/textual shape into consideration, it can be assumed that at a relatively early date (3rd cent. BCE), the shape of LXX Genesis was largely established. Therefore, with just two short chapters between them, two chapters that deal with very similar content, these two verbatim statements, one about the creator, one about a denigrator of creation (at least in the early theological imagination), are placed next to one another.

⁴⁹ M. Harl, *La Bible d'Alexandrie: I. La Genèse*, (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1986) 88.

⁵⁰ Wevers, *Notes on Genesis*, notes that the LXX usually renders the Hebrew prepositions כִּי... כִּי with ἀνὰ μέσον.
 (3)

reasons: (1) when looked at together, φῶς/σκότος is a more significant intertextual marker than the individual words,⁵¹ and (2) φῶς/σκότος are more likely to signal an intertextual connection to LXX Gen 1.1-5 together as they symbolize the totality of 'day', especially 'day one'.

2.2.5 LXX Gen 1.5

The first day ends with the naming of day and night, as the Hebrew שָׁרָא is translated with καλέω. Another intertextual marker comes into play in v.5, ἡμέρα/νύξ.⁵² The unformedness (ἀκατασκεύαστος) of the earth in its first created state is shaped into its most basic components, that of light and dark, night and day. One could say that both elements of v.2a, ἀόρατος and ἀκατασκεύαστος, are addressed in this first day. In the creation of light, all is no longer dark and invisible, and in the separation of light and darkness and in the naming of day and night things begin to take form. What was initially rough begins to reflect the creator's design. The pericope ends with the formula that is to be repeated throughout chapter one, καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί. Finally, there is the pronouncement of day one, ἡμέρα μία. Like the Hebrew, the Greek maintains the use of the cardinal number on the first day, using ordinals for the remaining days.⁵³

2.3 Intertexts of LXX Gen 1.1-5

What follows is a sketch of the individual pieces of the intertextual tapestry of LXX Gen 1.1-5. The intertextual relationships are analyzed on overall commonality, the most basic thread of which is that they all share a creation theme. In descending order of commonality, the intertexts are based on the number of individual words common to both texts (e.g. if σκοτός occurs three times in a given text, for this criterion it is only counted once). This is column A in Table 2.1. The second criterion is what I call the *frequency ratio*, this is simply the total number of common words divided by the total number of verses in a given pericope (e.g. if there are four words common to LXX Gen 1.1-5 in a pericope that is two verses long it receives a rating of 2.00). This ratio serves to identify the concentration of common vocabulary between an intertext and the primary text. This is column B in Table 2.1. The third criterion is the total common words, including repetitions (e.g. if σκοτός occurs three times in a given text, it is counted three times). This is column C in Table 2.1. A fourth criterion for ordering the intertexts is the pericope's place in the canon, which in this case is the order as set out in Rahlfs' LXX. It bears mentioning again that these are artificial criteria. I do not presume to be able to guess how my ordering might reflect the importance given to these intertexts by subsequent interpreters of LXX Gen 1.1-5, and I acknowledge that my ordering places these texts into a wholly new matrix, in a real way creating an entirely new text.

⁵¹ Individually, φῶς occurs 176 times and σκοτός 120 – σκοτός is treated as an intertextual marker individually, and φῶς only in the word-pair.

⁵² Given that ἡμέρα occurs over 2,500 times and νύξ, 295, it is only as a word-pair that they are manageable.

⁵³ Cf. Wevers, *Notes on Genesis*, 3.

Analysis of LXX Gen 1.1-5 Intertexts				
Intertexts		A. Individual Common Words ⁵⁴	B. Frequency Ratio	C. Total Common Words
1	Ps 103.1-35	9(1)	0.69	24
2	Isa 42.5-9	8(2)	1.60	8
3	Prov 8.22-31	8(2)	1.50	15
4	Isa 44.24-45.8	8(4)	1.00	14
5	Isa 51.9-16	7(3)	1.57	11
6	Ps 148.1-14	7(2)	0.86	12
7	Isa 40.12-26	6(1)	0.79	11
8	Job 38.4-38	6(4)	0.62	21
9	Ps 17.7-18	6(1)	0.71	10
10	2 Kgdms 22.7-18	6(1)	0.64	9
11	Jer 10.11-13	5(1)	4.33	13
12	Jer 28.15-16	5(1)	4.00	8
13	Amos 5.7-9	5(1)	2.00	6
14	Ps 32.6-9	5(1)	1.25	5
15	Ps 73.12-17	5(1)	1.00	6
16	Isa 45.18-19	4(1)	3.50	7
17	Ps 134.5-7	4(2)	1.67	5
18	Exod 20.11	3(1)	3.00	3
19	Exod 31.17	3(1)	3.00	3
20	Zech 12.1	3(1)	3.00	3
21	Amos 9.5-6	3(1)	2.50	5
22	Job 3.3-10	3(2)	1.63	13
23	Ps 76.17-21	3(1)	1.20	6
24	Job 37.15	3(1)	3.00	3
25	Job 33.4	2(1)	2.00	2

Table 2.1 - Intertexts of LXX Gen 1.1-5

Additionally, I offer two comments about the relationship between chapters one and two. First, when pericope boundaries for an individual intertext remain the same for both the MT and LXX, I do not repeat my argument in this chapter. This is simply a practical space-saver. Second, another difference that the reader will notice is that in chapter two there are comparisons of the LXX text(s) with the MT, in order to highlight changes between the Greek and Hebrew intertextual tapestries. These comparisons are not what can be called ‘Masoretic fundamentalism,’⁵⁵ that is a judgment always in favor of the integrity of the MT over the LXX. This is not a text-critical study. Rather, these comparisons of the LXX text with the MT are meant to point out possible intertextual differences.

I should also state that the Greek text and my own translation of each pericope are included. While this adds substantially to the girth of this chapter, the critical editions of the LXX are far less accessible than *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. It is for the ease of the reader that text and translation are included.

⁵⁴ The second number in parentheses is the number of IMs that appear in the pericope, whereas the first number of column A is the number of individual words common between the pericope and LXX Gen 1.1-5. Again, it should be noted that the specific intertextual markers function as beacons within a larger context of commonality. One intertextual marker, then, can draw attention to a much wider context and commonality.

⁵⁵ I borrow this term from my doctoral supervisor, Dr. James R. Davila.

2.3.1 Psalm 103.1-35 (MT Ps 104)

¹τῷ Δαυιδ
 εὐλόγει, ἡ ψυχὴ μου, τὸν κύριον.
 κύριε ὁ θεός μου, ἐμεγαλύνθησ σου σφόδρα,
 ἐξομολόγησιν καὶ εὐπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσω
²ἀναβαλλόμενος φῶς ὡς ἱμάτιον,
 ἐκτείνων τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡσεὶ δέρριν·
³ὁ στεγάζων ἐν ὕδασι τὰ ὑπερῶα αὐτοῦ,
 ὁ τιθεὶς νέφη τῆν ἐπίβασιν αὐτοῦ,
 ὁ περιπατῶν ἐπὶ πτερύγων ἀνέμων·
⁴ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα
 καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον·
⁵ἔθεμελίωσεν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῆς,
 οὐ κλιθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος.
⁶ἄβυσσος ὡς ἱμάτιον τὸ περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ,
 ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων στήσονται ὕδατα·
⁷ἀπὸ ἐπιτιμῆσεώς σου φεύζονται,
 ἀπὸ φωνῆς βροντῆς σου δειλιάσουσιν.
⁸ἀναβαίνουσιν ὄρη καὶ καταβαίνουσιν πεδία
 εἰς τόπον, ὃν ἔθεμελίωσας αὐτοῖς·
⁹ὄριον ἔθου, ὃ οὐ παρελεύσονται,
 οὐδὲ ἐπιστρέψουσιν καλύψαι τὴν γῆν.
¹⁰ὁ ἐξαποστέλλων πηγὰς ἐν φάραγγιν,
 ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὀρέων διελεύσονται ὕδατα·
¹¹ποτιοῦσιν πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ,
 προσδέξονται ὄναγροι εἰς δίψαν αὐτῶν·
¹²ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατασκηνώσει,
 ἐκ μέσου τῶν πετρῶν δώσουσιν φωνήν.
¹³ποτίζων ὄρη ἐκ τῶν ὑπερῶων αὐτοῦ,
 ἀπὸ καρποῦ τῶν ἔργων σου χορτασθήσεται ἡ γῆ.
¹⁴ἐξανατέλλων χόρτον τοῖς κτήνεσιν
 καὶ χλόην τῇ δουλείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 τοῦ ἐξαγαγεῖν ἄρτον ἐκ τῆς γῆς·
¹⁵καὶ οἶνος εὐφραίνει καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου
 τοῦ ἰλαρῦναι πρόσωπον ἐν ἐλαίῳ,
 καὶ ἄρτος καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου στηρίζει.
¹⁶χορτασθήσεται τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πεδίου,
 αἱ κέδροι τοῦ Λιβάνου, ἃς ἐφύτευσεν·
¹⁷ἐκεῖ στρουθία ἐννοσσεύουσιν,
 τοῦ ἐρωδιοῦ ἡ οἰκία ἡγείται αὐτῶν.
¹⁸ὄρη τὰ ὑψηλὰ ταῖς ἐλάφοις,
 πέτρα καταφυγὴ τοῖς χοιρογρυλλίοις.
¹⁹ἐποίησεν σελήνην εἰς καιροῦς,
 ὁ ἥλιος ἔγνω τὴν δύσιν αὐτοῦ.
²⁰ἔθου σκότος, καὶ ἐγένετο νύξ,
 ἐν αὐτῇ διελεύσονται πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ δρυμοῦ,
²¹σκύμνοι ὠρυόμενοι ἄρπάσαι
 καὶ ζητῆσαι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βρῶσιν αὐτοῖς.
²²ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ συνήχθησαν
 καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάνδραις αὐτῶν κοιτασθήσονται·
²³ἐξελεύσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ
 καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ ἕως ἑσπέρας.
²⁴ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη τὰ ἔργα σου, κύριε·
 πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας,

ἐπληρώθη ἡ γῆ τῆς κτήσεώς σου.
²⁵ αὕτη ἡ θάλασσα ἡ μεγάλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος,
 ἐκεῖ ἔρπετά, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμός,
 ζῶα μικρὰ μετὰ μεγάλων·
²⁶ ἐκεῖ πλοῖα διαπορεύονται,
 δράκων οὗτος, ὃν ἔπλασας ἐμπαίζειν αὐτῷ.
²⁷ πάντα πρὸς σὲ προσδοκῶσιν
 δοῦναι τὴν τροφήν αὐτοῖς εὐκαιρον.
²⁸ δόντος σου αὐτοῖς συλλέξουσιν,
 ἀνοίξαντος δέ σου τὴν χεῖρα τὰ σύμπαντα πλησθήσονται χρηστότητος.
²⁹ ἀποστρέψαντος δέ σου τὸ πρόσωπον ταραχθήσονται·
 ἀντανελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκλείψουσιν
 καὶ εἰς τὸν χοῦν αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψουσιν.
³⁰ ἔξαποστελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμά σου, καὶ κτισθήσονται,
 καὶ ἀνακαινιεῖς τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.
³¹ ἦτω ἡ δόξα κυρίου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,
 εὐφρανθήσεται κύριος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ·
³² ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τρέμειν,
 ὁ ἀπτόμενος τῶν ὀρέων καὶ καπνίζονται.
³³ ἄσω τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου,
 ψαλῶ τῷ θεῷ μου, ἕως ὑπάρχω·
³⁴ ἠδυνθείη αὐτῷ ἡ διαλογία μου,
 ἐγὼ δὲ εὐφρανθήσομαι ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ.
³⁵ ἐκλίποισαν ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
 καὶ ἄνομοι, ὥστε μὴ ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῦς.
 εὐλόγει, ἡ ψυχὴ μου, τὸν κύριον.

¹For David.

Bless the Lord, my soul.
 O Lord my God, you are very great,
 You are clothed with praise and dignity,
² Wrapping [yourself] with light as with a garment,
 stretching out the heavens as though a curtain;
³ Who covers his chambers in waters,
 who makes the clouds his chariot,
 who walks upon the wings of the wind,
⁴ Who makes his angels spirits
 and his ministers a flaming fire.
⁵ He laid the foundation of the earth upon her certainty,
 it shall not be moved forever.
⁶ The abyss, as a garment, is his covering,
 waters stand upon the mountains;
⁷ From your rebuke they shall flee,
 from the voice of your thunder they shall fear.
⁸ They go up to the mountains and come down to the plains,
 to a place that you founded for them.
⁹ You set a boundary, one which they shall not pass over,
 neither shall they turn around to cover the earth.
¹⁰ He sends forth fountains among the ravines,
 the waters shall run between the mountains.
¹¹ They shall give drink to all the wild animals of the field,
 all the wild animals of the field will drink.
¹² By them the birds of heaven shall make their home;
 in the midst of the rocks they shall utter a sound.
¹³ While he waters the mountains from his chambers:
 by the fruit of your works the earth shall eat its fill.

¹⁴ He causes grass to grow for the flocks,
 and green plant[s] for the service of people,
 in order to bring bread out of the earth;
¹⁵ and wine gladdens the person's heart,
 to make his face cheerful with oil:
 and bread strengthens a person's heart.
¹⁶ The trees of the plain shall eat their fill,
 the cedars of Lebanon which he planted.
¹⁷ There the sparrows will build nests;
 and the house of the heron takes the lead among them.
¹⁸ The high mountains are for deer,
 rock is refuge for the rabbits.
¹⁹ He made the moon for seasons:
 the sun knows its setting.
²⁰ You set up darkness, and night became;
 in it all the wild beasts of the forest will move about,
²¹ young lions roaring for prey,
 and to seek meat for themselves from God.
²² The sun arises, and they shall be gathered together
 and lie down in their dens.
²³ A person shall go out for his work
 and for his labor until evening.
²⁴ How great are your works, O Lord,
 in wisdom you have made them all.
 The earth is filled with your possessions.
²⁵ This is the sea, great and wide;
 in that place are beasts innumerable,
 small animals and large.
²⁶ There go ships;
 this dragon that you formed to sport in it.
²⁷ All expect you
 to give them food in due season.
²⁸ When you have given [it] to them, they will gather [it],
 and when you have opened your hand, they will all be filled with goodness.
²⁹ But when you turn your face away, they will be troubled;
 you will take away their breath, and they shall [be] forsaken,
 and they will return to their dust.
³⁰ You will send out your Spirit, and they will be created;
 and you will renew the face of the earth.
³¹ Let the glory of the Lord be forever,
 the Lord will rejoice in his works;
³² who looks upon the earth, and makes it tremble;
 who touches the mountains, and they smoke.
³³ I will sing to the Lord with my life;
 I will play [an stringed instrument] for my God while I exist.
³⁴ May my ponderings be sweet to him,
 and I will rejoice in the Lord.
³⁵ May the sinners [be] forsaken from the earth,
 and transgressors, so that they will be no more.
 Bless the Lord, O my soul.

This is a psalm rich in creation language and content. As in the Hebrew, the Greek is peppered with words common with Gen 1.1-5 (φῶς, οὐρανός, ὕδωρ, πνεῦμα, γῆ, ἄβυσσος, σκότος, νύξ). In addition to these words, the psalm contains many verbs with creation connotations,⁵⁶ not least of which is its relatively frequent use of ποιέω.⁵⁷

The pervasive nature of the creation theme and LXX Gen 1.1-5 vocabulary throughout the whole of LXX Ps 103 make it unnecessary to argue for its place in this list. Rather, I offer some observations about what is happening within the confines of the psalm itself.

First, I offer an outline of LXX Ps 103. While God's creative force and providence is the overarching theme, there are some more specific observations to be had from looking at the flow of the whole.

v.1a	Blessing
vv.1b-6	Who God is as Lord of the Universe, Lord of the Temple
vv.6-9	God's relation to the 'waters'
v.10	God provides waters of life
vv.11-16	Growth and life are the results of God's taming of the 'waters'
vv.17-18	Good that results from God's watering of the earth
vv.19-23	God's ordering of seasons/time
vv.24-26	Praise of God's creative work of taming the 'waters'
vv.27-30	God provides for all life
v.30	Renewal by God's spirit/breath
vv.31-32	Recounting of who God is as Lord of the Universe
v.33	Intentions of psalmist
vv.34-35a	Hopes of psalmist
v.35b	Blessing

What can be seen by a closer look at LXX Ps 103 is that the creative concerns of the psalmist center around God's relationship with the 'waters,' that is a combination of ὕδωρ (first appearing in v.3), ἄβυσσος (v.6), πηγή (v.10), and θάλασσα (v.25). Within the description of who God is as Lord of the Universe (vv.1b-6) the waters play a primary, though not an ultimate, role. The waters (ὕδωρ) are described as the roof of God's chambers in v.3; followed in v.6 with a statement that God's clothing (ἱμάτιον) is the abyss (ἄβυσσος). Vv.6-9 follow this with a description of God's ordering of and control over the waters, ultimately placing a boundary (ὄριον) around them. From the sending forth of the fountains (πηγή) in v.10, the now tamed waters are a means by which God providentially cares for the world, including everything from habitation for the birds to wine for the merriment of humanity.

From vv.11-18, there is little LXX Gen 1.1-5 vocabulary present.

From vv.19-23, water gives way to the ordering of seasons and time. In this section, particularly v.20, there is an intertextual encounter with light and dark, day and night. Darkness (σκότος) is set-up (τίθημι) and the result is that night (νύξ) comes to be. Throughout the psalm, there is no mention of day or its creation. Unlike LXX Gen 1.1-5, light is not the first act of creation, rather light is something of a divine property, as it is the divine

⁵⁶ Note ἀναβάλλω (v.2), ἐκτείνω (v.2), στεγάζω (v.3), τίθημι (vv.3, 9, 20), θεμελιόω (vv.5, 8), ἐξαποπέλλω (vv.10, 30), ποτίζω (v.13), ἐξαναπέλλω (v.14), φυτεύω (v.16), πλάσσω (v.26), δίδωμι (vv.27, 28), κτίζω (v.30), ἀνακαινίζω (v.30). There is a cross pollination of creative and providential verbs throughout the psalm. Given that the final verb with 'creative' force is ἀνακαινίζω in v.30 with a renewing/recreating force to it, one could argue that there is little value in attempting to distinguish between the creative and the providential actions of God as set out in LXX Ps 103. What is of more interest for this study is the pervasive creative/re-creative thread that runs throughout the psalm.

⁵⁷ See LXX Ps 103.4,19,24,32.

cloak.⁵⁸ In LXX Ps 103, as in the Hebrew, light is possibly preexisting and darkness is created, apparently opposite of LXX Gen 1.1-5.

Vv.24-26 is an argument for the praise of the Lord of creation, the Lord of the universe. While ποιέω is the only LXX Gen 1.1-5 word in these verses, there are plenty of other words with creation baggage. In v.24 the psalmist states that it is in wisdom (σοφία) that the Lord has created (ποιέω). In v.25, water comes back into focus with the sea (θάλασσα) as the place where many creatures live (only a tamed sea could harbor such creation), where ships pass, and where the dragon (δράκων) – a plaything/playmate of the Lord's – lives.⁵⁹ So, while there is little LXX Gen 1.1-5 content, given the importance of the waters previously displayed (vv.3-18) and the additional presence of the sea and the dragon, the intertextual significance of this section ought not be underrated.

Vv. 27-30 focuses more on God's providential care for creation. The idea that all life is dependent on God's favor is present. The main connection with LXX Gen 1.1-5 is v.30, where God sends (ἐξαποπέλλω) his spirit (πνεῦμα) to create (κτίζω) them (arguably all life – πάντα of v.27) and God renews (ἀνακαινίζω) the face of the earth. In v.30 there is an intertextual connection with LXX Gen 1.2. When God's spirit moves upon (ἐπιφέρω) the face (πρόσωπον) of the waters (LXX Gen 1.2) the language and ideas are very similar to that of LXX Ps 103.30. As I have argued elsewhere, a viable Greek translation of וַיָּרִיחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרִחֶפֶת עַל-פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם (MT Gen 1.2c) could be καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῶν ὑδάτων. While this is an intangible, it can be said that the 'upon the face of' idea of MT Gen 1.2 and LXX Ps 103.30 are similar. This coupled with the presence of God's πνεῦμα as a creative force in the least adds to the intertextual possibilities of LXX Ps 103.

The final verses of the psalm, vv.31-35, serve as a conclusion. Vv. 31-32 both call for a perpetual glorification of the Lord and a recounting of who God is as Lord of the Universe. The psalmist's intentions are displayed in v.33. Following the call for perpetual glorification of the Lord in v.31a, v.33 is the psalmist's statement

⁵⁸ See LXX Ps 103.2.

⁵⁹ The use here of δράκων for what reads לְיָתֵיף in MT Ps 104.26 changes the intertextual possibilities from the Hebrew to the Greek. While the לְיָתֵיף carries connotation from the cosmologies of the Ancient Near East, such baggage does not necessarily translate into the Greek intertextual world. In the correspondence of the MT and the LXX, δράκων is used to translate a range of terms: יָתֵיף (LXX Exod 7.9, 10, 12; Deut 32.33; Ps 73.13, 90.13, 148.7; Job 7.12; Mic 1.8; Isa 27.1; Jer 9.10, 28.34; Lam 4.3; Ezek 29.3, 32.1), לְיָתֵיף (LXX Ps 73.14, 103.26; Job 40.25; Isa 27.1), and שָׂרָף (LXX Job 26.13; Amos 9.3). In extra-biblical texts δράκων shows up as a snake (e.g. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* 4.1541; Homer, *Iliad* 22.93) and a mythical creature (e.g. Homer, *Iliad* 2.308, 11.39). While there may be similarities between the mythical uses in Classical literature and the mythical status of יָתֵיף, δράκων as a mythical creature in Classical Greek literature is less entangled in the cosmic framework and more just a nasty creature, like the one with the blood-red back (ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφουινός) that Zeus sends to gobble-up the little sparrows as a sign to Odysseus and company of their impending struggle. (*Iliad* 2.308ff) Two tangential remarks are in order: (1) A. Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*, (HDR 9; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), when looking at parallels for the dragon of Rev 12 (76ff), does not mention the possible connection between the red dragon of Rev. 12.3 and that of *Iliad* 2; and (2) Philo, *On Husbandry*, 21, dealing with Moses' response to the death of the riders in the Reed Sea suggests that he prays for their complete salvation (εὐχεται σωτηρίαν παντελῆ), a prayer that he finds in LXX Gen 49.16-17, which in context comes from Jacob's last words to Dan. In turn, Philo uses LXX Gen 3.1ff and LXX Num 21.1ff to allegorically understand the place of ὄφις in LXX Gen 49.17. Germane to this study is the fact that in his explanation Philo uses ὄφις and δράκων interchangeably, while the three biblical texts in the mix use only ὄφις. Also, Philo's use of ὄφις is exemplary of the point of this thesis. Where there is commonality, there is intertextuality. Where there is intertextuality, there is dialogue between texts and interpreter.

of intent. The psalmist will sing the Lord's praises forever. Vv.34-35a are the psalmist's hope for the trajectory of their praise. The optatives here signal something unrealized.⁶⁰ The concluding blessing (v.35b) draws the psalmist back to the initial blessing.

One final observation on LXX Ps 103 is the commingling of creation and Temple language in the psalm's early verses. The description of God as Lord of the Universe in vv.1b-6 likely refers to who God is as Lord of the Universe and Temple. The language of clothing pervades the pericope and raises three particular points of interest. The language of 'clothing' starts in v.1b, where God puts on praise and dignity. The first point of interest with the 'clothing' language, however, comes in v.2a, where God wraps godself in light (φῶς). Here the intertextual tapestry suggests a crossroads between the psalm and Gen 1.3f, where God creates light. As was noted above, there is no concern in the psalm to convey that light was created. Rather, it is darkness that is created in v.20, contra LXX Gen 1.2. Instead, light is portrayed as God's clothing, not something specifically created. A second point of interest is the second half of v.2 in which God is understood to be the one who stretches out (ἐκτείνω) the heavens (οὐρανός) as a curtain (δέρις). The primary clue to the presence of temple language here is the presence of δέρις, a word used to describe the curtains used to cover the tabernacle in the Tent of Meeting (Exod 26.7-13). While this differs from the primary curtain separating the Holy of Holies from the rest of the Temple,⁶¹ it is a significant element of Temple imagery. If God is stretching out the heavens as a δέρις, the intertextual link with the Temple/tabernacle is at least possible. A third and final point of interest here comes in v.6a where God is portrayed as putting on another cloak (ἱμάτιον), this time it is the abyss (ἄβυσσος). Coupled with the presence of the waters (ὕδωρ) in v.6b, the water imagery, particularly that of Gen 1.2, is here present.

From the first few verses on, LXX Ps 103 there is strong intertextual relationship between the psalm and LXX Gen 1.2. While there are major differences (e.g. the creation of light and darkness), the language and the obvious creation context lend themselves to allow the reader to see and hear connections between the two.

2.3.2 Isaiah 42.5-9

⁵οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ πῆξας αὐτόν, ὁ στερεώσας τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ διδοὺς πνοὴν τῷ λαῷ τῷ ἐπ' αὐτῆς καὶ πνεῦμα τοῖς πατοῦσιν αὐτήν· ⁶ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐκάλεσά σε ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ κρατήσω τῆς χειρὸς σου καὶ ἐνισχύσω σε, ἔδωκά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους, εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, ⁷ἀνοιξάι ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλῶν, ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ δεσμῶν δεδεμένους καὶ ἐξ οἴκου φυλακῆς καθημένους ἐν σκότει. ⁸ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν τὸ ὄνομα· τὴν δόξαν μου ἐτέρῳ οὐ δώσω οὐδὲ τὰς ἀρετάς μου τοῖς γλυπτοῖς. ⁹τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἰδοὺ ἤκασι, καὶ καινὰ ἃ ἐγὼ ἀναγγελάω, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι ἐδηλώθη ὑμῖν.

⁵Thus says the Lord God, the maker of heaven and solidifier of it, the one who firmed up the earth and that which is in it, and gives breath to the people upon it and spirit to those who walk on it; ⁶I, the Lord God, called you in righteousness and will hold your hand and strengthen you; I gave you as a covenant of a race, as a light of nations ⁷to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out of fetters those who are bound, and out of prison those who sit in darkness. ⁸I am the Lord God, this is my name. I will not give my glory to another nor my praise to graven images. ⁹That which is

⁶⁰ Regarding MT Ps 104, it should again be noted that E.S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 2 and Lamentations*, (FOTL 15; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001) sees a possible liturgical pattern in vv.31-35.

⁶¹ More likely the καταπέτασμα of Exod 26.31ff; Lev. 4.6; Matt. 27.51; Heb 9.3; Josephus, *B.J.* 5.212.

from the beginning, behold, it has already been and what is new I will tell you, and before it comes to light it will be made known to you.’

This pericope completes what is commonly referred to as the First Servant Song. A creation theme runs throughout these verses, though it is a commingling of the creation of the cosmos and the creation of the chosen people. The intertextual relationship with LXX Gen 1.1-5 is evident in the wealth of common vocabulary (ποιέω, οὐρανός, γῆ, πνεῦμα, καλέω, φῶς, σκότος, ἀρχή with the word-pair οὐρανός/γῆ in v.5). Regarding the relation of the Hebrew and the Greek, Isa 42.5-8 translates the Hebrew similarly to LXX Gen 1.1-5, especially concerning vocabulary common to both.

The pericope begins with a titular announcement that the Lord is the maker (ποιέω) and solidifier (πήγνυμι)⁶² of heaven, the one who firms up (στερεόω)⁶³ the earth and all that is in it and gives breath (πνοή, πνεῦμα) to the people. Similar to LXX Gen 1.1-5, the initial creative action is ποιέω followed by a coupling of heaven and earth, albeit with other creative verbs included. While πνεῦμα does occur here, as in the MT it is not to be understood as divine breath but the breath of life that God gives to people.

Vv.6-9 contain a direct quotation in which the Lord speaks. The focus here moves away from who God is as creator of the cosmos to what God will do in creating a chosen people. While there is undoubtedly a change of focus, there are intertextual connections between the creation language of LXX Gen 1.1-5 and LXX Isa 42.6-9 that weave together these two ‘creations’. For instance, in v.6 God calls (καλέω) in righteousness, whereas in LXX Gen 1.5 God orders day one by calling/naming night and day. Also, the people are created as a light of the nations (φῶς ἐθνῶν) with one purpose being to bring those out who sit in darkness (σκότος). The final intertextual touchstone between LXX Isa 42.5-8 and LXX Gen 1.1-5 comes in the use of ἀρχή in v.9, speaking specifically of things that are from the beginning.⁶⁴

2.3.3 Proverbs 8.22-31⁶⁵

²² κύριος ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ,
²³ πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἔθεμελίωσέν με ἐν ἀρχῇ
²⁴ πρὸ τοῦ τὴν γῆν ποιῆσαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τὰς ἀβύσσους ποιῆσαι,
 πρὸ τοῦ προελθεῖν τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων,
²⁵ πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη ἐδρασθῆναι,
 πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾶ με.
²⁶ κύριος ἐποίησεν χώρας καὶ ἀουκίτους
 καὶ ἄκρα οἰκούμενα τῆς ὑπ’ οὐρανόν.
²⁷ ἦνίκα ἠτοιμάζειν τὸν οὐρανόν, συμπαρήμην αὐτῷ,

⁶² One might have expected ἐκτείνω, similar to LXX Zech 12.1.

⁶³ The use of στερεόω bears an intertextual connection with στερεώμα or firmament in LXX Gen 1.6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20. Cf. R.R. Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1906) 2.307.

⁶⁴ This may be a case where the Greek of Isa 42.9 is more closely connected to Gen 1.1 than the Hebrew, as the Hebrew has תְּחִלָּתָא. While related to תְּחִלָּתָא, it is more of an interpretive leap from תְּחִלָּתָא to תְּחִלָּתָא than it is from the dative of ἀρχή in LXX Gen 1.1 to the genitive in LXX Isa 42.9.

⁶⁵ As there is not a Göttingen or Larger Cambridge edition of Proverbs, the text and versification is taken primarily from A. Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta*, 2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935 & 1979) with reference to the text of J. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs - Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs?: Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs*, (VTSup 69; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 218-234.

καὶ ὅτε ἀφώριζεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θρόνον ἐπ' ἀνέμων.
²⁸ ἤνικα ἰσχυρὰ ἐποίει τὰ ἄνω νέφη,
καὶ ὡς ἀσφαλεῖς ἐτίθει πηγὰς τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανὸν
²⁹ καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ἐποίει τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς,
³⁰ ἤμην παρ' αὐτῷ ἀρμόζουσα,
ἐγὼ ἤμην ἢ προσέχαιρεν·
καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ εὐφραίνομην ἐν προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ
³¹ ὅτε εὐφραίνετο τὴν οἰκουμένην συντελέσας
καὶ ἐνευφραίνετο ἐν υἱοῖς ἀνθρώπων.

²² The Lord created me, the first of his ways for the sake of⁶⁶ his works,

²³ Before the ages, he established me in the beginning,

²⁴ Before the making of the earth,
and before the making of the abysses,
and before the fountains of water burst forth,
²⁵ before the mountains were placed,
before all the hills he begot⁶⁷ me.

²⁶ The Lord made places and uninhabited places
and the highest habitable place which is under heaven.

²⁷ When he prepared heaven, I was present with him,
also when he distinguished his throne upon [the] winds.

²⁸ When he made strong the clouds above,
and when he placed the unfailing fountains which were under heaven

²⁹ And when he made strong the foundations of the earth,
³⁰ Being suitable, I was with him,
I was the one in whom he rejoiced.

By day I rejoiced before him all the time,

³¹ when he rejoiced in the completion of the earth
and [when] he rejoiced in the sons of men.

Given the common vocabulary with LXX Gen 1.1-5 (ἐν ἀρχῇ, γῆ, ἄβυσσος, ὕδωρ, οὐρανός, ἡμέρα) and the common creation context the intertextual relationship is unmistakable. What is of interest, then, are the significant though subtle changes between the Hebrew and Greek versions. As an overarching difference, I concur with J. Cook that there are in the Greek version clarifications of the relationship between God and Wisdom and Wisdom's role in creating.⁶⁸

The intertextual relationship with LXX Gen 1.1-5 is first seen in v.22, where Wisdom claims that she is the first (ἀρχή) that God created (κτίζω).⁶⁹ The intertextual connection is strengthened in v.23 with the occurrence of ἐν ἀρχῇ. While ἐν ἀρχῇ is not a unique turn of phrase in the LXX, occurring thirty times,⁷⁰ there are only three occurrences in a creation context – LXX Gen 1.1; Prov 8.23; and Isa 51.9. Of these three, Isa 51.9 is a marginal inclusion as it deals more with the creation of Jerusalem/Israel than the cosmos. The occurrence of ἐν ἀρχῇ in Prov

⁶⁶ I concur here with the rendering of εἰς by Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, as showing purpose. (220-221) Also, LSJ, s.v.

⁶⁷ While 'beget' is a theologically charged word, it is the most fitting rendition of γεννάω, the causal of γίνομαι.

⁶⁸ Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 201ff. It should be noted that Cook understands the translator of LXX Proverbs as a 'conservative Jewish-schooled scribe, who was anti non-Jewish, especially Hellenistic, interpretations of the creation.' (246) Also, he sees this translator as an interpreter of the Hebrew text as much as a translator, referring to the end product as an 'exegetical/theological' and 'religious' work. (317)

⁶⁹ In the above translation, I rendered κτίζω as 'brought into being' so as not to confuse it with ποιέω, even though the semantic domain of κτίζω surely contains the meaning 'to create'.

⁷⁰ See Appendix B.

8.23, then, is unique in its reminiscence of LXX Gen 1.1, especially given the list of things in the following verses before which Wisdom was created. In vv.22-25 there are a series of πρό phrases which function both to situate the genesis of Wisdom and to place the act of creating not with Wisdom but with God.⁷¹ Included in this series of ‘πρό + a substantive infinitive’ phrases are the earth (γῆ), the abysses (ἄβυσσοι), the fountains of water (τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων), mountains, and hills. All of these are created secondarily to Wisdom. This series ends differently in the Greek than in the Hebrew. The climax of the list in the MT is יָרַדְתָּ לָהֶן, a rare passive *Polal* of לָהֶן,⁷² whereas in the LXX reads γεννῶ με,⁷³ an active indicative. This shift to the active voice further reinforces Cook's assertion that the translator of LXX Proverbs is here strengthening the understanding that it is God who is the primary and sole creator. The rest of the pericope, vv.26-31, continues to strengthen the place of God as creator by subtly clarifying that Wisdom was a passive observer and active worshipper of God's larger creative activity. In this section much of God's creative forming of heaven and earth is attested. One final difference between MT and LXX of note comes in v.31. Here the Hebrew participles that continue Wisdom's worshipping of God's creative activity in v.30 of the MT become active third person singular verbs with God as the subject. Again, the ambiguity of who is doing the creating is lessened by the Greek's use of active third person verbs.⁷⁴

A possible intertextual connection with LXX Gen 1.2 comes in v.26a: κύριος ἐποίησεν χώρας καὶ ἀοικήτους. Given the infrequency of ἀόρατος and ἀκατασκεύαστος in LXX Gen 1.2, it is not out of the question that LXX Prov 8.26a is an attempt at understanding the equally obscure יָרַדְתָּ לָהֶן of the MT. Given the fact that in surrounding verses, God creates the earth, the abysses, the fountains, and prepares the heavens, it would not be out of line for God to create the יָרַדְתָּ לָהֶן as well. Also in favor of this possibility is the vague nature of both χώρα and ἀοίκητος. Leaning against this possibility is the above argument for the closeness between LXX Genesis and LXX Proverbs at the point of ἐν ἀρχῇ in v.23. While impossible to prove, such a connection between the two texts is at least intertextually possible given the strength of the vocabulary common to LXX Gen 1.1-5 and LXX Prov 8.22-31.

2.3.4 Isaiah 44.24-45.8

^{44.24} οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ λυτρούμενός σε καὶ ὁ πλάσσω σε ἐκ κοιλίας, Ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ συντελών πάντα ἐξέτεινα τὸν οὐρανὸν μόνος καὶ ἐστερέωσα τὴν γῆν. ²⁵ τίς ἕτερος διασκεδάσει σημεῖα ἐγγαστριμύθων καὶ μαντείας ἀπὸ καρδίας ἀποστρέφων φρονίμους εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν μαρῶν ²⁶ καὶ ἰσθῶν ῥήματα παιδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ ἀληθεύων; ὁ λέγων Ἱερουσαλημ, Κατοικηθήσῃ, καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι τῆς Ἰουδαίας, Οἰκοδομηθήσεσθε, καὶ τὰ ἔρημα αὐτῆς ἀνατελεῖ. ²⁷ ὁ λέγων τῇ ἀβύσσῳ, Ἐρημωθήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς ποταμούς σου ξηρανῶ. ²⁸ ὁ λέγων Κύρω, φρονεῖν, καὶ Πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου ποιήσει· ὁ λέγων Ἱερουσαλημ, Οἰκοδομηθήσῃ, καὶ τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἅγιόν μου θεμελιώσω. ^{45:1} οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ χριστῷ μου Κύρω, οὐ ἐκράτησα τῆς δεξιᾶς ἐπακοῦσαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἔθνη, καὶ ἰσχὺν βασιλέων διαρρήξω, ἀνοίξω ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ θύρας, καὶ πόλεις οὐ συγκλεισθήσονται. ² Ἐγὼ ἔμπροσθέν σου

⁷¹ Cf. Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 223-224.

⁷² For creative connotation, see also LXX Ps 51.7, Job 15.7, and possibly LXX Job 26.5, though BDB, s.v., prefers to read LXX Job 26.5 as to ‘be made to writhe,’ in line with the primary meaning of the verb.

⁷³ Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, states that there are mss with a passive form of γεννάω in v.25. (225) As there is no critical edition of LXX Proverbs, on this point I must rely on Cook's analysis of the mss.

⁷⁴ Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 233-234.

πορεύσομαι καὶ ὄρη ὄμαλιῶ, θύρας χαλκᾶς συντρίψω καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συγκλάσω ³καὶ δώσω σοι θησαυροὺς σκοτεινοῦς, ἀποκρύφους ἀόρατους ἀνοίξω σοι, ἵνα γινῶς ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ καλῶν τὸ ὄνομά σου, θεὸς Ἰσραηλ. ⁴ἔνεκεν Ἰακωβ τοῦ παιδός μου καὶ Ἰσραηλ τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ μου ἐγὼ καλέσω σε τῷ ὀνόματί σου καὶ προσδέξομαί σε, σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσ με. ⁵ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτι πλὴν ἐμοῦ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἦδεις με, ⁶ἵνα γινῶσιν οἱ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν πλὴν ἐμοῦ· ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτι. ⁷ἐγὼ ὁ κατασκευάσας φῶς καὶ ποιήσας σκότος, ὁ ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ κτίζων κακὰ· ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα πάντα. ⁸εὐφρανθήτω ὁ οὐρανὸς ἄνωθεν, καὶ αἱ νεφέλαι ῥανάτωσαν δικαιοσύνην· ἀνατειλάτω ἡ γῆ ἔλεος καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἀνατειλάτω ἅμα· ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος ὁ κτίσας σε.

^{44.24}Thus says the Lord who redeemed you and who formed you out of the womb, 'I the Lord, who accomplishes all things stretched out the heavens alone and firmed up the earth. ²⁵What other will reject the signs of ventriloquists and prophecies from hearts [of people] while turning the wise backwards and making their counsel foolish ²⁶and standing on the word of his child and proving the counsel of his messengers? He is the one who says to Jerusalem, 'You shall be settled,' and to the cities of Judea, 'You shall be built,' and her desert places shall grow up; ²⁷the one who says to the abyss, 'You will be desolated and I will dry up your rivers'; ²⁸the one who says to Cyrus, 'Be wise and do all my wishes;' the one who says to Jerusalem, 'You shall be built and I will establish the foundation of my holy house.'

^{45.1}Thus says the Lord God to my anointed Cyrus, whose right hand I held that the nations might listen before him, and I will burst the strength of kings, and I will open doors before him, and cities shall not be closed. ²I will go before you, and I will level mountains, crush copper doors, and break iron bars ³and I will give to you treasures of darkness, I will open for you hidden [and] unseen things, in order that you might know that I, the Lord God, who called you by name, am the God of Israel. ⁴For the sake of Jacob my child and Israel my chosen, I will call you by your name and I will accept you; but you did not know me. ⁵For I am the Lord God, and there is no other god besides me, and you have not seen me, ⁶in order that those from the east and from the west might know that there is none except me. I am the Lord God, and there is no other. ⁷I am the one who constructed light and made darkness, the one who made peace and built evil. I am the Lord God, the maker of all these things. ⁸Let heaven give praise above, and let the clouds rain righteousness; let the earth bring forth compassion, and righteousness let it bring up likewise. I am the Lord, the one who created you.

This text includes most of Cyrus' commissioning, the whole of which extends through v.13. While primarily dealing with Cyrus, there is a creation theme along with vocabulary common with LXX Gen 1.1-5 woven throughout (οὐρανός, γῆ, ἄβυσσος, ποιέω, σκότος, ἀόρατος, καλέω, φῶς with the word-pairs οὐρανός/γῆ in 44.24, 45.8 and φῶς/σκότος in 45.7). Creation in this text is bound to Deutero-Isaiah's argument that it is God, the creator of all (45.7b), who can do something as absurd as using Cyrus, a foreign king who does not know God (45.4b, 5b), to liberate the chosen people (44.24) and rebuild the land and the temple (44.26-28).⁷⁵ The creation language solidifies God's place as supreme creator, exemplified by the titular references to God as creator of heaven and earth (44.24, 45.8). This is also extended to include light (φῶς) and darkness (σκότος), peace and evil, and everything else (45.7)

⁷⁵ As in LXX Isa 42.5, ἐστερέωσα is used in conjunction with earth, resembling LXX Gen 1.7ff.

There are (at least) two additional points of interest specific to the intertextual relation between LXX Gen 1.1-5 and LXX Isa 44.24-45.8. The first of these is the presence of ἄβυσσος in 44.27.⁷⁶ In the Hebrew of this verse⁷⁷ is the *hapax legomenon*, אֲבִיטָה,⁷⁸ which draws no intertextual comparison with MT Gen 1.1-5. One might assume that a form of βάθος would have been used to translate אֲבִיטָה. The use of ἄβυσσος, however, brings LXX Isa 44.24-28 into relationship with LXX Gen 1.1-5, specifically LXX Gen 1.2. A second point of interest is the use of ἀόρατος in 45.3. Of the occurrences of ἀόρατος in the LXX, one is LXX Gen 1.2, a second is LXX Isa 45.3, and a third is in 2 Macc 9.5 describing the blow/illness with which the Lord struck down Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The scarcity of ἀόρατος alone raises the readers attention to LXX Gen 1.2. In addition, the fact that ἀόρατος is found in this Isaiah pericope and אֲבִיטָה is not found in its Hebrew counterpart again increases the intertextual connections between LXX Isa 44.24-45.8 and LXX Gen 1.1-5. Two final points of contact are worthy of brief mention. The first are the similar uses of καλέω in LXX Gen 1.5 and LXX Isa 45.4, the former God's creative naming of night and day and the latter God's calling of Cyrus by name. The second is the use of the word-pair, φῶς/σκότος, in 45.7. As in the Hebrew this is the one point where God takes credit for the creation of light *and* darkness.

2.3.5 Isaiah 51.9-16

⁹ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου, Ιερουσαλημ, καὶ ἔνδυσαι τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ βραχίονός σου· ἐξεγείρου ὡς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἡμέρας, ὡς γενεὰ αἰῶνος. οὐ σὺ εἶ ¹⁰ἡ ἐρημοῦσα θάλασσαν, ὕδωρ ἄβυσσου πληθός; ἢ θεῖσα τὰ βάθη τῆς θαλάσσης ὁδὸν διαβάσεως ῥυομένοις ¹¹καὶ λελυτρωμένοις; ὑπὸ γὰρ κυρίου ἀποστραφήσονται καὶ ἤξουσιν εἰς Σιων μετ' εὐφροσύνης καὶ ἀγαλλιάματος αἰωνίου· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν ἀγαλλίασις καὶ αἴνεις, καὶ εὐφροσύνη καταλήψεται αὐτούς, ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός. ¹²Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ παρακαλῶν σε· γινώθι τίνα εὐλαβηθεῖσα ἐφοβήθης ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου θνητοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου, οἱ ὡσεὶ χόρτος ἐξηράνθησαν. ¹³καὶ ἐπελάθου θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ θεμελιώσαντα τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐφόβου αἰεὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θλίβοντός σε· ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ἐβουλεύσατο τοῦ ἀραῖ σε, καὶ νῦν ποῦ ὁ θυμὸς τοῦ θλίβοντός σε; ¹⁴ἐν γὰρ τῷ σώζεσθαί σε οὐ στήσεται οὐδὲ χρονιεῖ· ¹⁵ὅτι ἐγὼ ὁ θεός σου ὁ ταράσσω τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἠχῶν τὰ κύματα αὐτῆς, κύριος σαβαωθ ὄνομά μοι. ¹⁶θῆσω τοὺς λόγους μου εἰς τὸ στόμα σου καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν τῆς χειρὸς μου σκεπάσω σε, ἐν ᾗ ἔστησα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐθεμελίωσα τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἔρει Σιων λαός μου εἶ σύ.

⁹Awake, awake, Jerusalem, and put on the strength of your arm. Awake as in the beginning of days, as a generation of old. Are you not ¹⁰the one who dried up [the] sea, the great water of the abyss, who made the depths of the sea a way of passage for [the] delivered ¹¹and [the] ransomed? For by the Lord they shall be returned and come into Zion with merriment and everlasting worship. For exaltation and praise are upon their head, and merriment has taken hold of them. Pain and grief and groaning flee. ¹²I am I-am, the one who comforts you. Know who you are. While wary, you fear from mortal man and from the son of man, who shall dry up as grass. ¹³And you have forgotten God, your maker, the maker of heaven and the one who laid the foundations of the earth; yet you continually fear the days before the wrath

⁷⁶ Alexandrinus alone omits ἄβυσσος, cf. J. Ziegler, ed., *Isaias, (Septuaginta - Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum.*, XIV, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939) 290.

⁷⁷ MT Isa 44.27 אֲבִיטָה לְצִוְיָהּ הָרַבִּי וְנִבְרַחְתִּי אֶבְיָשׁ:

Who says to the depths, 'Be dry, and I will dry up your rivers'?

⁷⁸ This means something akin to 'ocean-deep.' BDB, s.v.

of the one who afflicted you. For he counseled you on the way up, and now where is the wrath of the one who afflicted you? ¹⁴For when you are delivered he will neither stand nor delay. ¹⁵For I am your God, the one who stirs up the sea and its waves [to] roaring. The Lord Sabaoth is my name. ¹⁶I will put my words in your mouth, and I will cover you with the shadow of my hand with which I erected the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth. And he will say to Zion, ‘You are my people.’

Another creation intertext from Deutero-Isaiah substantiated by strong common vocabulary (ἐν ἀρχῇ, ὕδωρ, ἄβυσσος, ποιέω, οὐρανός, γῆ, with the word-pairs, ἐν ἀρχῇ, in v.9 and οὐρανός/γῆ in vv.13, 16), this text makes even more explicit the connection between who God is as creator and the deliverance of an exiled people. It is God who whipped the sea (θάλασσα) and the great waters of the abyss (ὕδωρ ἀβύσσου πλήθος) who will bring the people/Jerusalem back into joy and worship. The people are asked if they have forgotten, not the God of deliverance, but the God who made them, the heaven and the earth (v.13). It is this God who controls the sea (θάλασσα), though concerning both θάλασσα and ἄβυσσος, it seems unlikely that they bear any baggage from Ancient Near Eastern cosmologies. One angle from which to view this demythologizing is the transliteration of $\text{קְיָוִיִּם} \text{קְיָוִיִּם}$ / κύριος σαβαωθ in v.15. Could not the translator have also transliterated קְיָוִיִּם and קְיָוִיִּם from vv. 10 and 15 in order to retain any connection with ancient Near Eastern cosmologies? One final intertextual note is the occurrence of ἐν ἀρχῇ in v.9, the Gen 1.1-5 equivalent, בְּרֵאשִׁית , is not present in the Hebrew ($\text{קְיָוִיִּם} \text{קְיָוִיִּם}$). This said, Isa 51.9-16 has more intertextual commonality with Gen 1.1-5 than its Hebrew counterpart.

2.3.6 Psalm 148.1-14

¹ Ἀλληλοῦια· Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου.
 αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν,
 αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.
² αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν, πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ·
 αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν, πάσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ.
³ αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν, ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη·
 αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν, πάντα τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὸ φῶς.
⁴ αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν, οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν
 καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἄνω τῶν οὐρανῶν.
⁵ αἰνεσάτωσαν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου,
 ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν, καὶ ἐγενήθησαν,
 αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο, καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν.
⁶ ἔστησεν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος·
 πρόσταγμα ἔθετο, καὶ οὐ παρελεύσεται.
⁷ αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον ἐκ τῆς γῆς,
 δράκοντες καὶ πάσαι ἄβυσσοι·
⁸ πῦρ, χάλαζα, χιὼν, κρύσταλλος,
 πνεῦμα καταιγίδος, τὰ ποιοῦντα τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ·
⁹ τὰ ὄρη καὶ πάντες οἱ βουνοί,
 ξύλα καρποφόρα καὶ πάσαι κέδροι·
¹⁰ τὰ θηρία καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη,
 ἔρπετά καὶ πετεινὰ πτερωτά·
¹¹ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντες λαοί,
 ἄρχοντες καὶ πάντες κριταὶ γῆς·
¹² νεανίσκοι καὶ παρθένοι,
 πρεσβῦται μετὰ νεωτέρων·
¹³ αἰνεσάτωσαν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου,
 ὅτι ὑψώθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μόνου·

ἡ ἔξομολόγησις αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ.
¹⁴καὶ ὑψώσει κέρασ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ·
 ὕμνος πᾶσι τοῖς ὁσίοις αὐτοῦ,
 τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραηλ, λαῶ ἐγγίζοντι αὐτῷ.

¹Alleluia. Of Aggaius and Zachariah.
 Praise the Lord from the heavens,
 Praise him in the highest.
²Praise him, all his angels,
 Praise him, all his powers.
³Praise him, sun and moon,
 Praise him, all the stars and the light.
⁴Praise him, the heavens of heavens
 and the water above the heavens.
⁵Let them praise the Lord,
 for he spoke, and they were brought into being,
 he commanded, and they were created.
⁶He has stood them up forever, and forever and ever;
 he set a commandment, and it shall not be disregarded.
⁷Praise the Lord from the earth,
 Dragons and all abysses.
⁸Fire, hail, snow, ice,
 a rushing wind, those things that do his word.
⁹The mountains and all the hills,
 fruit trees and all cedars;
¹⁰The wild beasts and all herds,
 quadrupeds and winged birds.
¹¹Kings of the earth and all peoples,
 rulers and all judges of the earth;
¹²Young men and virgins,
 elders with [the] young;
¹³Let them praise the name of the Lord,
 for his name alone is lifted up;
 his praise is above earth and heaven.
¹⁴And he shall lift up a horn for his people,
 a hymn for all his holy ones,
 for the sons of Israel, a people that draws near to him.

Ps 148 is a song enjoining all elements of creation to praise the Lord that is full of creation language and vocabulary common with Gen 1.1-5 (οὐρανός, φῶς, ὕδωρ, γῆ, ἄβυσσος, with the word-pair οὐρανός/γῆ in v.13). There are several points of interest in LXX Ps 148. The first comes in v.3, where light is the final element of the list of *illuminata* that is to praise the Lord. The list of sun, moon, stars, and light is of particular interest because of its difference from the MT. Where v.3b in the MT reads, $\text{וְלֹאֲמַנְיָוֹתָיִם}$, the Greek text reads πάντα τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὸ φῶς. Light is intimately connected to stars via a construct relationship in the MT, whereas the stars and the light (τὸ φῶς) are independent of one another in the Greek, separated by καί just as sun and moon in the preceding couplet in v.3a. The addition of the conjunction in v.3b could suggest a thought of Genesis 1, wherein light (τὸ φῶς) is created on Day One and the other celestial lights on the fourth day. A second point of interest comes in v.4b with the distinction of the waters above the heavens. While impossible to determine and outside the bounds of this study, there is a possible intertextual resemblance between v.4b and the second day of creation in MT Gen 1.6-8. A third point of interest comes in v.5b. The middle colon, absent from the MT, reads, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν, καὶ ἐγενήθησαν.

This colon bears a resemblance to LXX Gen 1.3 and Genesis 1 in general, where God creates by speaking. While it is possible that LXX Ps 148.5b is an expansion of MT v.5b in light of Genesis 1, it is impossible to prove. What can be said with certainty, however, is that the presence of this additional colon strengthens the intertextual relationship with LXX Gen 1.1-5.

2.3.7 Isaiah 40.12-26

¹²τίς ἐμέτρησεν τῇ χειρὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν σπιθαμῇ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν δρακί; τίς ἔστησεν τὰ ὄρη σταθμῶ καὶ τὰς νάπας ζυγῶ; ¹³τίς ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος ἐγένετο, ὃς συμβιβῶ αὐτόν; ¹⁴ἢ πρὸς τίνα συνεβουλεύσατο καὶ συνεβίβασεν αὐτόν; ἢ τίς ἔδειξεν αὐτῶ κρίσιν; ἢ ὁδὸν συνέσεως τίς ἔδειξεν αὐτῶ; ¹⁵εἰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὡς σταγῶν ἀπὸ κάδου καὶ ὡς ῥοπῆ ζυγοῦ ἐλογίσθησαν, καὶ ὡς σιέλως λογισθήσονται. ¹⁶ὁ δὲ Λίβανος οὐχ ἰκανὸς εἰς καύσιν, καὶ πάντα τὰ τετράποδα οὐχ ἰκανὰ εἰς ὀλοκάρπωσιν, ¹⁷καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὡς οὐδὲν εἰσι καὶ εἰς οὐθὲν ἐλογίσθησαν. ¹⁸τίνι ὁμοιώσατε κύριον καὶ τίνι ὁμοιώματι ὁμοιώσατε αὐτόν; ¹⁹μὴ εἰκόνα ἐποίησεν τέκτων, ἢ χρυσοχόος χωνεύσας χρυσίον περιεχρύσωσεν αὐτόν, ὁμοίωμα κατεσκεύασεν αὐτόν; ²⁰ξύλον γὰρ ἄσηπτον ἐκλέγεται τέκτων καὶ σοφῶς ζητεῖ πῶς στήσει αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα καὶ ἵνα μὴ σαλεύηται. ²¹οὐ γνώσεσθε; οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε; οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν; οὐκ ἔγνωτε τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς; ²²ὁ κατέχων τὸν γῦρον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ ὡς ἀκρίδες, ὁ στήσας ὡς καμάραν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ διατείνας ὡς σκηνὴν κατοικεῖν, ²³ὁ διδοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰς οὐδὲν ἄρχειν, τὴν δὲ γῆν ὡς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν. ²⁴οὐ γὰρ μὴ σπεύρωσιν οὐδὲ μὴ φυτεύσωσιν, οὐδὲ μὴ ῥιζωθῆ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἢ ῥίζα αὐτῶν. ἔπνευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξηράνθησαν, καὶ καταγιγίς ὡς φρύγανα ἀναλήμψεται αὐτούς. ²⁵νῦν οὖν τίνι με ὁμοιώσατε καὶ ὑψωθήσομαι; εἶπεν ὁ ἅγιος. ²⁶ἀναβλέψατε εἰς ὕψος τοῦς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ ἴδετε. τίς κατέδειξεν πάντα ταῦτα; ὁ ἐκφέρων κατὰ ἀριθμὸν τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ, πάντας ἐπ' ὀνόματι καλέσει. ἀπὸ πολλῆς δόξης καὶ ἐν κράτει ἰσχύος οὐδὲν σε ἔλαθεν.

¹²Who has measured the water with a hand and heaven with a span [of his hand] and all the earth with a handful? Who has placed the mountains on a scale and the forests on a balance? ¹³Who has known the mind of the Lord, and who is his counselor, the one who teaches him? ¹⁴From whom did he receive advice and [who] taught him? Or who taught him judgement? Or who showed him the way of intelligence? ¹⁵If all the nations were counted as a drop from a bucket and as a turn of a balance and will be counted as spittle, ¹⁶but Lebanon is not sufficient to burn, and all its beasts are not sufficient for sacrifice, ¹⁷and all the nations are as nothing and were counted as nothing, ¹⁸to whom do you compare the Lord and to what likeness do you compare him? ¹⁹Has not the carpenter made an image or the goldsmith having cast gold into a mold, covered it over [and] made it a likeness? ²⁰For the carpenter chooses wood that is not rotten and wisely seeks how to place his image in order that it might not be moved. ²¹Will you not know? Will you not listen? Has it not been told to you from the beginning? Have you not known the foundations of the earth? ²²It is he who occupies the circle of the earth, and those who dwell in it are as locusts; he is the one who stood up the heavens as an arch and stretched [it] out as a tent in which to dwell; ²³it is he who gives rulers to rule as nothing; he made the earth as nothing. ²⁴In no way shall they sow nor plant nor shall their root be rooted in the earth; he blows upon them and they wither, and a blast of wind takes them up like kindling. ²⁵Now then, to whom do you compare me so I might be exalted?' the holy one said. ²⁶Raise your eyes to the heights and see. Who has showed you all things? The one who brings forth his cosmos by number will call all by name. From great glory and in power of might nothing escapes you.

Again, we encounter creation in Deutero-Isaiah, weighty with vocabulary common to LXX Gen 1.1-5 (ὕδωρ, οὐρανός, γῆ, ποιέω, ἀρχή, καλέω with the word-pair οὐρανός/γῆ in vv.12, 21-22). As is common in Deutero-Isaiah, the creation themes are woven into an argument about who God is. And again, the boundaries of this pericope differ from its equivalent text in chapter one, which included vv.27-31. While one might be able to make the argument for the inclusion of these verses in the Greek, the vocabulary does not warrant it.

The pericope begins with images of the grandness of God – measuring the water (ὕδωρ), the heavens (οὐρανός), and the earth (γῆ) with God's hand. This is followed by an argument for the supremacy of God in vv.13-18. In v.13, there is an interesting difference from the Hebrew that affects the intertextuality of the pericope. The object of MT 40.13a is יְהוָה יְהוָה , which, as I argued in the previous chapter, bears at least a tacit resemblance to יְהוָה יְהוָה in MT Gen 1.2; whereas the object of v.13a in the Greek is νοῦν κυρίου , leaving no trace of a possible intertextual connection.⁷⁹

In v.19, Deutero-Isaiah again places God's work as creator on center stage characterizing God as both joiner and goldsmith. In v.21, the knowledge of God's creative grandeur is known from the beginning (ἀρχή). This includes knowledge that it is God who occupies the circle of the earth, who has stood up the heavens like an arch and stretched them out as a tent (vv.21-22).

There is variation between the Hebrew and Greek of Isa 40.23b worthy of note. MT Isa 40.23b reads: $\text{הַשָּׁמַיִם כַּתִּיבָהוּ עֲשָׂהוּ עָרְוָהוּ}$ (He makes [the] rulers of earth as nothing). The occurrence here of יְהוָה draws attention to MT Gen 1.2, though not strongly as its obvious reference here is earthly rulers. The Greek text, on the other hand, lacks the primary object, 'rulers,' leaving $\text{τὴν δὲ γῆν ὡς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν}$ (He makes the earth as nothing). Vv.23-24 point out the smallness of the creation and specifically humanity in comparison to the creator God. The pericope ends with a call for the addressees to see the grandness of God, the one who calls (καλέω) all by name and from whom nothing escapes.

The main points of interest about this pericope are its grand image of God's relation to creation, holding it all in the palm of his hand (v.12), the picture of God as dwelling above/in the heavens (v.22), the possible temple allusion in v.22 where God stretches out the heavens as a tent (σκηνή) in which to dwell,⁸⁰ the report that God created the earth as nothing (v.23), and that God calls (καλέω) all by name.

2.3.8 Job 38.4-38

⁴ ποῦ ἦς ἐν τῷ θεμελιοῦν με τὴν γῆν;
 ἀπάγγελον δέ μοι, εἰ ἐπίστη σύνεσιν.
⁵ τίς ἔθετο τὰ μέτρα αὐτῆς, εἰ οἶδας;
 ἢ τίς ὁ ἐπαγαγὼν σπαρτίον ἐπ' αὐτῆς;
⁶ ἐπὶ τίνος οἱ κρίκοι αὐτῆς πεπήγασιν;
 τίς δέ ἐστιν ὁ βαλὼν λίθον γωνιαῖον ἐπ' αὐτῆς;
⁷ ὅτε ἐγενήθησαν ἄστρα,

⁷⁹ Ziegler, ed., *Göttingen - Isaiah*, reports that Aquila's version of v.13a read $\text{τις εσταθηματο πνευμα κυριου}$, similarly Symmachus via Jerome. (268-269)

⁸⁰ While *σκηνή* is not used exclusively with reference to the Temple (e.g. Gen 33.19, Neh 8.14-16, etc.), it is used frequently to refer to the Tent of Meeting or the Tabernacle. One notable use with reference to God comes in theophany at the tent prior to Moses' death (LXX Deut 31.15).

ἤνεσάν με φωνῆ μεγάλη πάντες ἄγγελοί μου.
⁸ἔφραξα δὲ θάλασσαν πύλαις,
 ὅτε ἐμαίμασσαν ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτῆς ἐκπορευομένη·
⁹ἐθέμην δὲ αὐτῇ νέφος ἀμφίασιν,
 ὀμίχλη δὲ αὐτὴν ἐσπαργάνωσα·
¹⁰ἐθέμην δὲ αὐτῇ ὄρια
 περιθεῖς κλεῖθρα καὶ πύλας·
¹¹εἶπα δὲ αὐτῇ μέχρι τούτου ἐλεύση καὶ οὐχ ὑπερβῆση,
 ἀλλ' ἐν σεαυτῇ συντριβήσεται σου τὰ κύματα.
¹²ἦ ἐπὶ σοῦ συντέταχα φέγγος πρωινόν,
 ἕωςφόρος δὲ εἶδεν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν·
¹³ἐπιλαβέσθαι πετερίων γῆς,
 ἐκτινάξαι ἀσεβεῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς;
¹⁴ἦ σὺ λαβῶν γῆν πηλὸν ἔπλασας ζῶον
 καὶ λαλητὸν αὐτὸν ἔθου ἐπὶ γῆς;
¹⁵ἀφείλας δὲ ἀπὸ ἀσεβῶν τὸ φῶς,
 βραχίονα δὲ ὑπερηφάνων συνέτριψας;
¹⁶ἦλθες δὲ ἐπὶ πηγῆν⁸¹ θαλάσσης,
 ἐν δὲ ἴχνεσιν ἀβύσσου περιεπάτησας;
¹⁷ἀνοίγονται δέ σοι φόβῳ πύλαι θανάτου,
 πυλωροὶ δὲ ἄδου ἰδόντες σε ἔπηξαν;
¹⁸νενοθέτησαι δὲ τὸ εὖρος τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανό;
 ἀνάγγειλον δὴ μοι πόση τίς ἐστίν.
¹⁹ποιὰ δὲ γῆ ἀυλίζεταί τὸ φῶς,
 σκότους⁸² δὲ ποῖος ὁ τόπος;
²⁰εἰ ἀγάγοις με εἰς ὄρια αὐτῶν,
 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπίστασαι τρίβους αὐτῶν;
²¹οἶδα ἄρα ὅτι τότε γεγέννησαι,
 ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐτῶν σου πολὺς.
²²ἦλθες δὲ ἐπὶ θησαυροὺς χιόνος,
 θησαυροὺς δὲ χαλάζης ἐόρακας.
²³ἀπόκειται δέ σοι εἰς ὥραν ἐχθρῶν,
 εἰς ἡμέραν πολέμου καὶ μάχης.
²⁴πόθεν δὲ ἐκπορεύεται πάχη
 ἢ διασκεδάννυται νότος εἰς τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανό;
²⁵τίς δὲ ἠτοίμασεν ὑετῶ λάβρῳ ῥύσιν,
 ὁδὸν δὲ κυδοιμῶν
²⁸τίς ἐστίν ὑετοῦ πατῆρ;
 τίς δὲ ἐστίν ὁ τετοκῶς βώλους δρόσου;
²⁹ἐκ γαστρὸς δὲ τίνος ἐκπορεύεται ὁ κρύσταλλος;
 πάχην δὲ ἐν οὐρανῶ τίς τέτοκεν,
³⁰ἢ καταβαίνει ὡσπερ ὕδωρ ῥέον;
 πρόσωπον δὲ ἀβύσσου τίς ἔπηξεν;
³¹συνήκας δὲ δεσμὸν Πλειάδος
 καὶ φραγμὸν Ὠρίωνος ἤμοιξας;
³³ἐπίστασαι δὲ τροπὰς οὐρανοῦ
 ἢ τὰ ὑπ' οὐρανό ὁμοθυμαδὸν γινόμενα;
³⁴καλέσεις δὲ νέφος φωνῆ,
 καὶ τρόμῳ ὕδατος λάβρῳ ὑπακούσεται σου;
³⁵ἀποστελεῖς δὲ κεραυνοὺς καὶ πορεύονται;
 ἐροῦσιν δέ σοι Τί ἐστίν;

⁸¹ A substantial number of mss. have variant readings for πηγῆν, including both γῆν and γῆς, which would have little affect on the whole but would add an additional word common with LXX Gen 1.1-5.

⁸² Many mss. read σκότος for σκότους. The substitution of the nominative for the genitive would alter the meaning of v.19b to read something along the lines of, 'What sort of place is darkness?'

³⁶ τίς δὲ ἔδωκεν γυναῖξιν ὑφάσματος σοφίαν
 ἢ ποικιλικὴν ἐπιστήμην;
³⁷ τίς δὲ ὁ ἀριθμῶν νέφη σοφία,
 οὐρανὸν δὲ εἰς γῆν ἔκλινεν;
³⁸ κέχυται δὲ ὡσπερ γῆ κονία,
 κεκόλληκα δὲ αὐτὸν ὡσπερ λίθῳ κύβον.

⁴Where were you when I laid the foundation of the earth?
 Report to me if you were conscious [of it].
⁵Who set its measures, if you know?
 Or who placed a line upon it?
⁶Upon what were its rings fastened?
 Who is the one who laid a corner stone upon it?
⁷When the stars were made,
 all my angels praised me with a loud voice.
⁸I fortified the sea with gates,
 when it rushed forth coming out of her mother's womb.
⁹I established a cloud for her clothing,
 I swaddled her with mist.
¹⁰I set boundaries to her,
 placing bars and gates around.
¹¹And I said to her, 'As far as this you will come and not cross over,
 but within yourself your waves shall thrash about.'
¹²Or did I arrange the morning light [which is] upon you,
 or did the morning star see his own appointed [place]
¹³to seize the wings of the earth,
 to cast the unholy out of her?
¹⁴Or did you, taking hold of earth-clay, mold a life [living creature or image],
 and did you place speeched-being upon the earth?
¹⁵Have you taken away light from the unholy,
 the arm of the haughty have you broken?
¹⁶Did you go [walk] upon the source of the sea,
 in the footsteps of the abyss have you walked?
¹⁷Do the gates of death open for you with fear,
 the gate-keepers of Hades, when seeing you, cower?
¹⁸Have you been instructed as to the breadth of that which is under heaven?
 Surely tell me how great it is.
¹⁹In what sort of earth does light lodge,
 and what is the place of darkness?
²⁰On the one hand might you bring me to their boundaries?
 On the other will you instruct me on their paths?
²¹After all, I know when you were born,
 and the number of your years is many.
²²You went [*walked*] upon the treasures of snow;
 The treasures of hail you have seen.
²³Is there a store of them for you in the season of enemies,
 in the day of war and battle?
²⁴Whence has the hoar-frost come
 or [whence] has the south wind been scattered into that which is under heaven?
²⁵Who prepared a course for violent rain
 and a way for the roar [thunder]
²⁸Who is the father of rain?
 Who is the one who has brought forth the drops of dew?
²⁹Out of whose womb/guts comes ice?
 The hoar-frost of heaven, who brings it forth,
³⁰or who descends just as flowing water?

The face of the abyss, who congealed [froze?] it?
³¹Do you bring together the bands of Pleiades
and open the barrier of Orion?
³³Will you understand the changes of heaven,
or those things which are together under heaven?
³⁴Will you call a cloud with [your] voice,
and with trembling will the violent waters listen to you?
³⁵Will you send thunderbolts, and will they come?
And will they say to you, ‘Who is [this]?’
³⁶Who has given to women wisdom of weaving
or the knowledge of embroidery?
³⁷Who is the one who numbers clouds with wisdom,
and bent the heaven to earth?
³⁸It was poured just as the dusty earth,
he hewed it just as a block to stone.

This lengthy text comes from the opening of God's speech to Job. On the heels of Elihu's recitation about God's majesty and grandeur (ch.37), the Lord responds to Job from a dark storm and clouds (διὰ λαίλαπος καὶ νεφῶν). The Lord proceeds to question Job as a tenacious prosecuting attorney continually leading the witness. While there are few actual answers given, the answers are without a doubt implied. The point of this section of questioning (vv.4-38) is to put Job in his place as a mere mortal. The Lord does this by establishing that Job is not the master of the universe. The opening question (v.4) sets the stage - ποῦ ἦς ἐν τῷ θεμελιοῦν με τὴν γῆν; - Where were you when I laid the foundation of the earth?

There are creation themes that run throughout and a vocabulary common to LXX Gen 1.1-5 (γῆ, φῶς, ἄβυσσος, οὐρανός, σκότος, ὕδωρ, καλέω, with the word-pairs φῶς/σκότος in v.19 and οὐρανός/γῆ in v.37). While the common vocabulary is spread out over the thirty-four verses, it is concentrated mostly in vv.13-19 and 30-38. It is important to state that for the purposes of looking at intertextual relationships arguments regarding the precedence of MT over LXX or vice versa are not germane.⁸³ The assumption, rather, is that communities lived with texts as they were. This presumably means that those who used the MT thought the MT was the proper text, whereas those that had a copy of Greek Job, especially before its Theodontionic and/or Hexaplaric revisions, thought the same.⁸⁴ As such, the Greek and Hebrew texts are two different texts.

⁸³ H.M. Orlinsky, “Studies in the Septuagint of the Book of Job: Chapter 1,” *HUCA* 28 (1957), notes the proclivity of modern (pre-1957) commentators in favor of MT, stating specifically that there are very few cases when commentators refer to the LXX unless there is a problem with the MT. (72) Another example of Masoretic fundamentalism.

⁸⁴ The asterisked material that I have left out of the above text is rather minor, though it does include a description of a pre-created earth in its use of ἄβατον καὶ ἀοίκητον in v.27a, which resembles ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος in LXX Gen 1.2, if only superficially.

²⁶* τοῦ ὑετίσαι ἐπὶ γῆν, οὐ οὐκ ἀνὴρ,
* ἔρημον, οὐ οὐχ ὑπάρχει ἄνθρωπος ἐν αὐτῇ,
²⁷* τοῦ χορτάσαι ἄβατον καὶ ἀοίκητον
* καὶ τοῦ ἐκβλαστῆσαι ἕξοδον χλόης; ↓
³²* ἡ διανοίξεις μαζουρωθ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ
* καὶ Ἐσπερον ἐπὶ κόμης αὐτοῦ ἄξεις αὐτά; ↓

²⁶* to rain upon the earth, where there is no man,
* a desert, where humanity does not exist in it,

Given the length of this pericope and some differences with the MT, I begin with an outline of its contents. With the outline, I will work through the pericope, noting points of interest in regard to its intertextual relationship with LXX Gen 1.1-5

vv.4-6	Introductory questions – Were you, Job, present at creation?
v.7	Creation of the stars
vv.8-11	Creation of the sea
vv.12-13	Creation of the morning light
vv.14-15	Creation of humanity
vv.16-19	Querying Job's knowledge of the cosmos
vv.20-23	Stressing the limits of Job's knowledge of the cosmos
vv.24-37	Further establishing God's power over the cosmos
v.38	The Answer – God is the master stone-cutter, creator

The first section (vv.4-6) sets the stage. While this is not the Lord's first question of Job,⁸⁵ the question in v.4a rhetorically begins the argument meant to humble Job and elevate the Lord as master of the cosmos, the one who laid the foundations of the earth (ἐν τῷ θεμελιοῦν με τὴν γῆν). The question in v.6b completes this section, foreshadowing the grand conclusion of the pericope in v.38b with the implication that God the creator is as a master stone cutter.

The next four sections each address the creation of specific parts of the cosmos: the stars, the sea, the morning light, and humanity. While nothing is said of the creation of the great lights as in Gen 1.14-19, the creation of the stars is singled out as a moment of celebration/praise by God's angels (v.7b). The creation of the sea (θάλασσα) is outlined as a delimitation or harnessing in vv.8-11. It is notable that vv.7-11 are all in the indicative. Questions, however, resume in vv.12-13, the creation of the morning light, and vv.14-15, the creation of humanity. The creation of a living being (ζῶον) in v.14 is reminiscent of Gen 2.7 where God forms (πλάσσω) a being from the stuff of the earth.

The sixth section (vv.16-19) continues the line of the previous four (vv.7-15) in that the aim is to put Job in his place. In vv.16-19, God questions Job as to his intimate knowledge of the cosmos, or better his intimate relation to the cosmos. For who but *the* creator could walk upon the sea and in the footsteps of the abyss (ἄβυσσος), frighten the gates and gate-keepers of Hades, and know the lodgings of light (φῶς) and dark (σκότος)?

In the seventh section (vv.20-23) the Lord stresses Job's limitations further, asking snidely if Job might show the Lord the boundaries of light and darkness. The Lord then proceeds to remind Job that the Lord intimately knows his life. Whereas what Job knows, snow and hail, are of little concern and neither of which will be of much help against an enemy.

²⁷*to feed inaccessible and uninhabitable [places]

*to sprout out an exodus of green plants? ↓

³²*Or will you open Mazouroth in his season,

*and Hesperon [the Evening Star] upon his hair, will you carry them? ↓

⁸⁵ See v.2.

The eighth and largest section (vv.24-37), then, returns to rhetoric similar to vv.7-15, interrogatively highlighting the Lord's place as creator and master of the cosmos. The first part of the section (vv.24-30⁸⁶) has to do with the Lord's place as ruler of the waters, namely as the Father of Rain (ὑετοῦ πατήρ, v.28a). This includes the Lord's place as the source of frost,⁸⁷ wind, rain, dew, ice, and the abyss (ἄβυσσος). V.31 returns to the stars with the mention of constellations Pleiades and Orion.⁸⁸ Vv.33-35 are questions whereby God is specifically questioning Job's relationship with and knowledge of elements of the cosmos, including all that is under heaven (v.33b). V.36, in what might appear to be a strange interruption in the cosmic questioning, is a verse dedicated to knowledge of the skills of weaving and embroidery.⁸⁹ While it is not entirely clear what is going on here,⁹⁰ weaving and embroidery are likely not anomalous but perfectly sensible – from the vantage of the Temple. Weaving (ὑφασμα) is an essential skill in making the high priestly ephod⁹¹ and breastplate,⁹² and embroidery (ποικιλτικός) is the art of making the tapestries of the Tabernacle.⁹³ V.37 returns to the cosmic by asking who it is that by wisdom (σοφία) can number the clouds, and who bent heaven to earth. In this verse, we have a notable understanding of creation, that wisdom is involved albeit in numbering the clouds and that part of the Lord's creating work was bending (κλίνω) heaven to earth.

The grand conclusion of this section comes in v.38, where, returning to the question in v.6b, the Lord is declared the one who poured the earth (presumably) like the dust of earth and hewed it like stone. While the image of creator as stone mason is not prominent throughout, its place as bookends in a sustained creation text draws out the importance of this image. This is a major difference from the MT in which v.38 is a continuation of the question in v.37b.

The picture of creation in LXX Job 38 differs from LXX Gen 1.1-5 in all but the place of God at the head of it. As was mentioned above, there is significant common vocabulary even though it is spread throughout a long text, which is undoubtedly part of the intertextual tapestry of LXX Gen 1.1-5.

2.3.9 Psalm 17.7-18 (MT Psalm 18)

⁷καὶ ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαί με ἐπεκαλεσάμην τὸν κύριον
καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεόν μου ἐκέκραξα·
ἤκουσεν ἐκ ναοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ φωνῆς μου,
καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ μου ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ.

⁸⁶ Vv. 26-27 are asterisked materials likely attributable to Origen, see above, p. 73 n.83. See J. Ziegler, ed., *Iob, (Septuaginta - Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum.*, XI,4, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982) 387-388, and the analysis thereof by Gentry, *Asterisked Materials*, 38-83. The only vocabulary common to Gen 1.1-5 in these verses is γῆ in v.26a, the occurrence of which will be excluded from my intertextual analysis.

⁸⁷ The MT of Job 38.30a speaks not of frost but light (רִיחַ).

⁸⁸ V.32 is another asterisked verse, and as vv.26-27, will be left out of my analysis, though in the case of v.32 there is no vocabulary common to Gen 1.1-5.

⁸⁹ The question in MT Job 38.36 focuses on the gift of wisdom (חָכְמָה) and understanding (דַּבְּרָה).

⁹⁰ As jarring as this difference from the MT is, the fact that the Greek text explicitly says that these gifts are for women adds to the difficulty.

⁹¹ Cf. LXX Exod 28.8, 36.28

⁹² Cf. LXX Exod 28.17, 36.17

⁹³ The only other use of ποικιλτικός in the LXX comes in LXX Exod 38.23, where Eliab, son of Achimasak, from the tribe of Dan, is called a ποικιλτικός, and is involved in the construction of the Tabernacle.

⁸καὶ ἔσαλεύθη καὶ ἔντρομος ἐγενήθη ἡ γῆ,
καὶ τὰ θεμέλια τῶν ὀρέων ἐταράχθησαν
καὶ ἔσαλεύθησαν, ὅτι ὠργίσθη αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός
⁹ἀνέβη καπνὸς ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ,
καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ κατεφλόγισεν,
ἄνθρακες ἀνήφθησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.
¹⁰καὶ ἔκλιεν οὐρανὸν καὶ κατέβη,
καὶ γιόφος ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.
¹¹καὶ ἐπέβη ἐπὶ χερουβιν καὶ ἐπετάσθη,
ἐπετάσθη ἐπὶ πτερύγων ἀνέμων.
¹²καὶ ἔθετο σκότος ἀποκρυφῆν αὐτοῦ·
κύκλω αὐτοῦ ἡ σκιὰ αὐτοῦ,
σκοτεινὸν ὕδωρ ἐν νεφέλαις ἄερων.
¹³ἀπὸ τῆς τηλαυγῆσεως ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ αἱ νεφέλαι διήλθον,
χάλαζα καὶ ἄνθρακες πυρός.
¹⁴καὶ ἐβρόντησεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κύριος,
καὶ ὁ ὕψιστος ἔδωκεν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ·
¹⁵καὶ ἐξάπέστειλεν βέλη καὶ ἐσκόρπισεν αὐτοὺς
καὶ ἀστραπὰς ἐπλήθυνεν καὶ συνετάραξεν αὐτούς.
¹⁶καὶ ὤφθησαν αἱ πηγαὶ τῶν ὑδάτων,
καὶ ἀνεκαλύφθη τὰ θεμέλια τῆς οἰκουμένης
ἀπὸ ἐπιτιμῆσεώς σου, κύριε,
ἀπὸ ἐμπνεύσεως πνεύματος ὀργῆς σου.
¹⁷ἐξάπέστειλεν ἐξ ὕψους καὶ ἔλαβέν με,
προσελάβετό με ἐξ ὑδάτων πολλῶν.
¹⁸ῥύσεται με ἐξ ἐχθρῶν μου δυνατῶν
καὶ ἐκ τῶν μισούντων με,
ὅτι ἐστερεώθησαν ὑπὲρ ἐμέ.

⁷And in my distress I called upon the Lord
and before my God I screamed;
He heard my voice out of his holy temple,
And my cry before him will go up into his ears.
⁸And the earth shook and was trembling,
and the foundations of the mountains were disturbed
and they shook, because God was angry with them.
⁹Smoke went up in his anger,
and fire burst into flame in his presence,
[so that] coals were kindled by it.
¹⁰And he bent the heavens and came down,
and gloom was under his feet.
¹¹And he mounted on cherubs and flew,
he flew upon wings of wind.
¹²He made darkness his hiding-place;
around him was his tent,
dark water in clouds of air.
¹³From the splendor before him the clouds passed through,
there was hail and coals of fire.
¹⁴And the Lord thundered out of heaven,
and the Most High uttered his voice;
¹⁵and he sent out a bolt and scattered them
and he multiplied lightning and confounded them.
¹⁶And fountains of water appeared,
and the foundations of the world were uncovered
from your rebuke, Lord,
from the blowing breath of your wrath.

¹⁷He sent out of the heights and took me,
 he drew me out of the many waters.
¹⁸He will deliver me from my powerful enemies
 and from the ones who hate me,
 because they are stronger than me.

See comment below 2 Kgdms 22.7-18.

2.3.10 2 Kingdoms 22.7-18

⁷ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαί με ἐπικαλέσομαι κύριον
 καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεόν μου βοήσομαι,
 καὶ ἐπακούσεται ἐκ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ φωνῆς μου,
 καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ μου ἐν τοῖς ὤσιν αὐτοῦ.
⁸καὶ ἐταράχθη καὶ ἐσεισθη ἡ γη,
 καὶ τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ οὐρανοῦ συνεταράχθησαν καὶ ἐσπαράχθησαν
 ὅτι ἔθυμώθη κύριος αὐτοῖς.
⁹ἀνέβη καπνὸς ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ,
 καὶ πῦρ ἐκ στόματος αὐτοῦ κατέδεται,
 ἄνθρακες ἐξεκαύθησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.
¹⁰καὶ ἔκλινεν οὐρανοὺς καὶ κατέβη,
 καὶ γνόφος ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.
¹¹καὶ ἐπεκάθισεν ἐπὶ Χερουβιν καὶ ἐπετάσθη
 καὶ ὤφθη ἐπὶ πτερύγων ἀνέμου.
¹²καὶ ἔθετο σκότος ἀποκρυφῆν αὐτοῦ κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ,
 ἡ σκητὴ αὐτοῦ σκότος ὑδάτων·
 ἐπάχυνεν ἐν νεφέλαις ἀέρος
¹³ἀπὸ τοῦ φέγγους ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ
 ἐξεκαύθησαν ἄνθρακες πυρός.
¹⁴ἐβρόντησεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κύριος,
 καὶ ὁ ὕψιστος ἔδωκεν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ
¹⁵καὶ ἀπέστειλεν βέλη καὶ ἐσκόρπισεν αὐτούς,
 ἀστραπὴν καὶ ἐξέστησεν αὐτούς.
¹⁶καὶ ὤφθησαν ἀφέσεις θαλάσσης,
 καὶ ἀπεκαλύφθη θεμέλια τῆς οἰκουμένης
 ἐν τῇ ἐπιτιμῇσει κυρίου,
 ἀπὸ πνοῆς πνεύματος θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ.
¹⁷ἀπέστειλεν ἐξ ὕψους καὶ ἔλαβέν με,
 εἴλκυσέν με ἐξ ὑδάτων πολλῶν·
¹⁸ἐρρύσατό με ἐξ ἐχθρῶν μου ἰσχύος,
 ἐκ τῶν μισούντων με ὅτι ἐκραταιώθησαν ὑπὲρ ἐμέ.

⁷When I am distressed I will call upon the Lord,
 and before my God I will shout,
 and he will hear my voice out of his holy temple,
 and my cry will be in his ears.
⁸And the earth was stirred-up and quaked,
 and the foundations of heaven were thrown into confusion and torn apart,
 because the Lord was angry with them.
⁹Smoke rose up in his anger,
 and fire out of his mouth devours -
 coals were kindled away from him.
¹⁰And he bowed the heavens and came down,
 and a gloomy darkness was under his feet.
¹¹And he mounted the cherubs and flew,
 and he was seen upon the wings of the wind.
¹²And he set up darkness as his hiding-place around him -

his tent/dwelling was a watery darkness (darkness of waters),
he condensed it with the clouds of the air.

¹³From the light before him coals of fire were kindled.

¹⁴The Lord thundered out of heaven,
and the Most High gave his voice.

¹⁵And he sent forth a bolt and scattered them,
lightning and displaced them.

¹⁶And the releases/channels of the sea were seen,
and the foundations of the world were uncovered,
at the castigation of the Lord,
at the blowing of the breath of his anger.

¹⁷He sent from on high and took me;
he pulled me out of many waters.

¹⁸He rescued me from my strong enemies,
from those who hate me, for they were stronger than I.

It is important to note from the outset that these two texts are considerably more different in their Greek versions than in their Hebrew.⁹⁴ While the texts as a whole differ more in their LXX versions than in the MT, the vocabulary common to Gen 1.1-5 (LXX Ps 17.7-20 – γῆ, οὐρανός, σκότος, πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ; and LXX 2 Kgdms 22.7-20 – γῆ, οὐρανός, σκότος, πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ) remains largely the same, with the exception that LXX Ps 17.16 reads αἰ πηγαὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, whereas 2 Kgdms 22.16 uses ἀφέσεις θαλάσσης.⁹⁵

As in the Hebrew, 2 Kingdoms 22 and its parallel, LXX Psalm 17 (MT Psalm 18),⁹⁶ are psalms that recall in cosmic terms God's intervention in the midst of battle. By and large, the Greek and Hebrew mirror each other. The Cambridge text of 2 Kgdms 22 is based on Codex Vaticanus, for which there are no major textual variants affecting the intertextual relationship with LXX Gen 1.1-5. Minor variants, however, include a manuscript that changes γνόφος in v.10 to γῆ and the replacement in one manuscript of ἀφέσεις with ἄβυσσοι in v.16.⁹⁷ While neither of these minor variants greatly affects the relationship with LXX Gen 1.1-5, what they can suggest is that the intertextual relationship already present is attested by the minor scribal/editorial changes that lean toward strengthening the relationship with LXX Gen 1.1-5.

In addition, two other points are worth highlighting. The first is the presence of temple language in v.7, where God hears David's voice from God's holy temple (ἐκ ναοῦ ἀγίου αὐτοῦ). A second point is that the language of v.15, in particular God's hurling of lightning-missiles (βέλος) from heaven, may bear an intertextual relationship with Greek mythology. In Pindar's *Olympian Ode* 10.78-84 (mid-5th c. BCE), set at the Olympic games, there is a lightning-bolt-throwing portrait of Zeus.⁹⁸ While there is at least a superficial connection with 2 Kgdms 22.15 and

⁹⁴ See Appendix C.

⁹⁵ Statistically, while this slight difference is not noticed in individual common words (Column A in Table 2.1), it is noticed in a slight difference in frequency ratio (Column B) and total common words (Column C).

⁹⁶ When comparing these two Greek texts it is apparent that they were either translated by the same person who did not recognize their similarity, or much more likely that they were translated by two different hands.

⁹⁷ Brooke, McLean, and Thackery, eds., *I and II Samuel - Cambridge*, 186-187.

⁹⁸ Ἀρχαῖς δὲ προτέραις ἐπόμενοι
καὶ νῦν ἐπωνυμίαν χάριν
νίκας ἀγερῶχου κελαδησόμεθα βροντάν
καὶ πυρπάλμου βέλος
ὄρισκτουρου Διός
ἐν ἅπαντι κρατεῖ

Ps 17.15 with common use of βέλος, it should be noted that both texts are songs/poems praising the cosmic attributes of a god and that god's intervention in the world. While I do not want to make too much of this intertextual resemblance, I cite it to note the different intertextual worlds to which the Greek and the Hebrew texts belong. While the Greek is a close translation of the Hebrew, the בָּרָא of MT v.16 belongs to one intertextual world possibly in conversation with Ancient Near Eastern theology, whereas βέλος may bring someone familiar with Greek literature and theology into another intertextual world.

2.3.11 Jeremiah 10.11-13

¹¹οὕτως ἐρεῖτε αὐτοῖς, θεοί οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, ἀπολέσθωσαν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τούτου. ¹²κύριος ὁ ποιήσας τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι αὐτοῦ, ὁ ἀνορθώσας τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ φρονήσει αὐτοῦ ἐξέτεινεν τὸν οὐρανὸν ¹³καὶ πλήθος ὕδατος ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἀνήγαγεν νεφέλας ἐξ ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς, ἀστραπάς εἰς ὑετὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ ἐξήγαγεν φῶς ἐκ θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ.

¹¹Thus you shall say to them, 'Let the gods who did not make the heaven and the earth perish from the earth and from under this heaven. ¹²The Lord, the one who made the earth with his power, the one who rebuilt the world with his wisdom and by his understanding stretched out the heavens ¹³and the great waters in heaven and brought up clouds from the end of the earth, he made lightning into rain and brought light out of his storehouses.

See comment below Jeremiah 28.15-16.

2.3.12 Jeremiah 28.15-16 (MT 51.15-16)

¹⁵ποιῶν γῆν ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι αὐτοῦ, ἐτοιμάζων οἰκουμένην ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῇ συνέσει αὐτοῦ ἐξέτεινεν τὸν οὐρανόν, ¹⁶εἰς φωνὴν ἔθετο ἦχος ὕδατος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἀνήγαγεν νεφέλας ἀπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς, ἀστραπάς εἰς ὑετὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ ἐξήγαγεν φῶς ἐκ θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ.

¹⁵When making the earth by his power [and] preparing the world by his wisdom, by his understanding he stretched out the heavens. ¹⁶With [his] voice he placed [the] sound of waters in the heavens and brought clouds up from the end of the earth, he made lightning into rain and brought light out of his storehouses.

αἰθωνα κεραυνόν ἀραρότα·
χλιδῶνα δὲ Μολπὰ πρὸς κάλαμον
ἀντιάζει μελέων

And faithful to those ancient beginnings,
Now too we shall sing a song of glory named
For proud victory to celebrate the thunder
And fire-flung weapon
Of thunder-rousing Zeus,
The blazing lightning
That befits every triumph,
And the swelling strains of song
Shall answer the pipes' reed,...

Pindar, *Olympian Odes & Pythian Odes*, (trans. W.H. Race; ed. W.H. Race; LCL 56; Cambridge, MS: Harvard, 1997) 170-171.

As in chapter one, these two texts are addressed together because of their organic similarity. Save 10.11,⁹⁹ which adds numerical weight to the intertextuality of Jer 10.11-13,¹⁰⁰ these texts bear the same intertextual weight (ποιέω, γῆ, οὐρανός, ὕδωρ, οὐρανός, γῆ, ποιέω, φῶς with the word-pair οὐρανός/γῆ in 10.11(2x), 12, 13, 28.15, 16). While there are variations between the two, the three major points of interest occur verbatim in both. The first of these is the idea that God creates the world by wisdom (σοφία), similar to Prov 8.23, Sir 24.9, Wis 9.9, etc. A second point of interest is that part of God's creative action is drawing something out of 'his storehouses' (ἐκ θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ). Finally, there is a difference here with the MT reflected in both Greek texts. This is the substitution of light (φῶς) for wind/spirit (πνεῦμα) as that which the Lord brings out of the storehouses. This raises the question of whether the translator could have been thinking, in conjunction with LXX Gen 1.1-5, that the spirit is present at the beginning, whereas the creation of light is specifically noted in LXX Gen 1.3.

2.3.13 Amos 5.7-9

⁷κύριος ὁ ποιῶν εἰς ὕψος κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην εἰς γῆν ἔθηκεν, ⁸ποιῶν πάντα καὶ μετασκευάζων καὶ ἐκτρέπων εἰς τὸ πρωὶ σκιὰν θανάτου καὶ ἡμέραν εἰς νύκτα συσκοτάζων, ὁ προσκαλούμενος τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκχέων αὐτὸ ἐπὶ προσώπου τῆς γῆς, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. ⁹ὁ διαιρῶν συντριμμὸν ἐπ' ἰσχὺν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν ἐπὶ ὀχύρωμα ἐπάγων.

⁷The Lord, the Maker, established judgments in the heights and righteousness in the earth, ⁸while making all things and changing [them] and turning into morning the shadow of death and darkening day into night, he is the one who calls out the water of the sea and pours it upon the face of the earth, the Lord God Almighty is his name; ⁹it is he who distributes ruin to the strong and brings misery upon the fortress.

While there are significant differences between the Hebrew and Greek versions of Amos 5.8, this tiny pericope remains an important intertext to consider.¹⁰¹ The creation theme that runs through these verses, primarily in vv.7-8, is substantiated by a strong vocabulary common to LXX Gen 1.1-5 (ποιέω, γῆ, πρωί, ἡμέρα, νύξ, ὕδωρ, including the word-pair ἡμέρα/νύξ in v.8).

⁹⁹ In Aramaic the provenance of MT Jer 10.11 is debated. See above, p.34, n.164. From the existence of its equivalent in the Greek, it can be said that MT Jer 10.11 was in the LXX *Vorlage*. It can also be said that there is no Aramaic residue in the Greek.

¹⁰⁰ The eighth century CE uncial, codex Venetus, omits 10.11-14. Cf. J. Ziegler, ed., *Jeremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae*, (*Septuaginta - Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum.*, XV, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976) 201.

¹⁰¹ In the Hebrew version of the intertextual tapestry, I include Amos 5.8 by itself. The punctuation of the Greek by J. Ziegler, ed., *Duodecim prophetae*, (*Septuaginta - Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum.*, XIII, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1943), however, leads me to expand the Greek pericope to include vv.7-9. (191-192) At the same time, Ziegler's punctuation here can be called into question given the ending, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, common to Amos 4.13, 5.8, and 9.6. Note also that the Hebrew intertextual tapestry includes all three of the aforementioned texts from Amos – 4.13, 5.8, and 9.5-6. LXX Amos 9.5-6 is included in the Greek list of intertexts, whereas 4.13 does not meet the criteria for inclusion in the Greek list. While 4.13 has the equivalent Greek common vocabulary as it does in the Hebrew, the intertextual marker in the Hebrew was פָּנָה, a relatively weak intertextual marker because of its frequency, whereas its Greek equivalent, πνεῦμα, occurs too frequently to warrant its use as an intertextual marker. This exclusion leaves a possible hole or tattered edge in the tapestry by imposing an artificial criterion upon the text. At the same time, limitations, artificial or not, need to be imposed in order to use a harnessed understanding of intertextuality.

who places the abyss in storehouses.

⁸Let all the earth fear the Lord,
and because of him let all who dwell in the world be stirred;
⁹For he spoke, and they became,
he commanded, and they were made.

The creation context here is without question. The vocabulary common with LXX Gen 1.1-5 (οὐρανός, πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ, ἄβυσσος, γῆ) substantiates its inclusion in this list. In addition to the common vocabulary, the main thrust of this pericope is creation by word or speech. This parallels the method of creation in LXX Gen 1.3 (καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός) and LXX Gen 1.5 (καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Θεός). Of additional interest is the placement of the abyss in storehouses (ἐν θησαυροῖς) in v.7. In the midst of a psalm of twenty-two verses, these four verses represent the most concentrated section about creation and who God is as creator.

2.3.15 Psalm 73.12-17 (MT Psalm 74)

¹²ὁ δὲ θεὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν πρὸ αἰῶνος,
εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς.
¹³σὺ ἐκραταίωσας ἐν τῇ δυνάμει σου τὴν θάλασσαν,
σὺ συνέτριψας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν δρακόντων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος.
¹⁴σὺ συνέθλασας τὰς κεφαλὰς τοῦ δράκοντος,
ἔδωκας αὐτὸν βρῶμα λαοῖς τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν.
¹⁵σὺ διέρρηξας πηγὰς καὶ χειμάρρους,
σὺ ἐξήρανας ποταμοὺς Ἡθαμ.
¹⁶σὴ ἐστιν ἡ ἡμέρα, καὶ σὴ ἐστιν ἡ νύξ,
σὺ κατηρτίσω φαῦσιν καὶ ἥλιον.
¹⁷σὺ ἐποίησας πάντα τὰ ὅρια τῆς γῆς·
θέρους καὶ ἔαρ, σὺ ἔπλασας αὐτά.

¹²God is our King from of old,
he has accomplished salvation in the midst of the earth.
¹³You established the sea by your power,
you broke the heads of the the dragons upon the water.
¹⁴You crushed the heads of the dragon;
you gave him as meat to the peoples of Ethiopia.
¹⁵You burst springs and torrents,
You dried up the river Etham.
¹⁶Yours is the day, and yours is the night,
you restored the light and the sun.
¹⁷You made all the boundaries of the earth;
Summer and Spring, you molded them.

The creation context here is without question. The intertextual link with LXX Gen 1.1-5 is substantial (γῆ, ὕδωρ, ἡμέρα, νύξ, with the word pair ἡμέρα/νύξ in v.16¹⁰⁷). There are a few issues of interest with this pericope.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Though outside the bounds of the above pericope, another issue arises in LXX Ps 73.2 with the LXX Gen 1.1-5 intertextual marker, ἀρχή. In the MT, v.2 has אֲרָחָה, bearing no intertextual weight with MT Gen 1.1-5. The Greek text of v.2a, however, reads:

μνήσθητι τῆς συναγωγῆς σου, ἧς ἐκτήσω ἀπ' ἀρχῆς·

Remember your congregation, which you acquired from the beginning;

At the beginning of a psalm that is asking for deliverance from the enemies of people comes this plea for God to remember that these are God's own people. While the Greek of v.2a follows logically from the Hebrew,

One issue is the traces of ancient Near Eastern myth present in the Hebrew that are eroded in translation, i.e., \square^{\prime} in v.13 becomes *θάλασσα*; $\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}$ in v.13b becomes *δρακόντες*; $\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}$ in v.14a becomes *δράκων*. Whether this is deliberate (the translator could have transliterated the Hebrew words maintaining some reference to the ancient Near Eastern deities) or a mere function of translation is impossible to say. It is possible, however, to comment on the outcome. First of all, the use of *δράκων* for both $\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}$ and $\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}$ erases any difference between the two. Second, a *δράκων* in the ancient Greek world can be either a mythic dragon figure or a snake.¹⁰⁹ What differs, then, between the Hebrew (MT Psalm 74) and Greek (LXX Psalm 73) are the possible intertextual intersections. While the Hebrew has definite intersections with other stories, both Hebrew and from around the ancient Near East, the Greek may include some residue from the Ancient Near East but more likely refers more to a generic dragon or a serpent the likes into which Moses turned his staff.¹¹⁰ All in all, as its Hebrew counterpart, LXX Ps 73.12-19 remains a substantial intertext with LXX Gen 1.1-5.

2.3.16 Isaiah 45.18-19

¹⁸οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανόν, οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ὁ καταδείξας τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιήσας αὐτήν, αὐτὸς διώρισεν αὐτήν, οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἐποίησεν αὐτήν ἀλλὰ κατοικεῖσθαι Ἐγὼ εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτι. ¹⁹οὐκ ἐν κρυφῇ λελάληκα οὐδὲ ἐν τόπῳ γῆς σκοτεινῷ· οὐκ εἶπα τῷ σπέρματι Ἰακωβ μάταιον ζητήσατε· ἐγὼ εἰμι ἐγὼ εἰμι¹¹¹ κύριος λαλῶν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀναγγέλλων ἀλήθειαν.

¹⁸Thus says the Lord, the maker of heaven, this God, the one who revealed the earth and made it, he marked out its boundaries and did not make it in vain but to be inhabited, 'I am and there is none besides [me]. ¹⁹I have not spoken in secret nor in

understanding that one is a translation of the other, the use of *ἀρχή* means that there is even more weight behind placing LXX Ps 73 among the Greek intertexts of LXX Gen 1.1-5.

¹⁰⁸ Two minor textual issues are notable. The mention of the destruction of the temple in vv.4-8 places the temple within a relatively close proximity of creation language, though it must be said that there is no creation language intertwined with the account of the destruction of the temple. A second minor observation is the presence of two textual differences between the MT and the Greek text within vv.12-17. The MT of v.14b reads:

$\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}$

You gave him [Leviathan] as food to people, to the wild-beasts of the desert.

The obscure word, $\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}$, is likely an animation of $\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}$, meaning dryness or drought, suggesting that $\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}$ is a wild-beast or desert-dweller. (BDB, s.v.) The Greek text, without textual variants, renders v.14b:

ἔδωκας αὐτὸν βρώμα λαοῖς τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν.

You gave him [δράκων] as meat to the peoples of Ethiopia.

To further substantiate this variation, LXX Ps 71.9 (MT 72) also renders $\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}$ as *Αἰθίοπες*. Whether this has any relevance to the creation context of vv.12-17, I do not know. More likely, it will not affect subsequent interpretations of the creation elements. It may, however, be the Greek understanding of the obscure reference to peoples or wild-beasts of the desert as a possibly perjorative, possibly not, reference to Ethiopians. A final minor textual issue is the transliteration in v.15 of $\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}$ into *Hθαμ* in the Greek text. While $\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}\square^{\prime}$, meaning 'ever-flowing, perpetual, etc.,' is translated *χείμαρρος* in Amos 5.24, it is strangely enough transliterated in LXX Ps 72.15, read in the Göttingen edition as a capitalized proper name, the River Etham. (See A. Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi cum Odis*, (Septuaginta - Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum., 10, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931) 206) Again, this is likely a textual oddity that will not come into play with the creation context.¹⁰⁹ LSJ, s.v.

¹¹⁰ Exod 7.9f.

¹¹¹ Many mss. omit the second *ἐγὼ εἰμι*. Cf. Ziegler, ed., *Göttingen - Isaiah*, 294.

a dark place of the earth. I did not say to the seed of Jacob, 'Seek frivolity.' I am I-am, the Lord who speaks righteousness and declares truth.

This pericope, coming shortly after Isa 44.24-45.8, is an extended titular statement about God as creator and the purpose of God's creation. At the beginning of a larger argument for turning the people from idols to the true creator God (vv.18-25), vv.18-19 stand out as a foundation for this turning. That is, it is toward the God, who created the cosmos for a purpose, that the people are called to (re)turn. Regarding its intertextual relationship with LXX Gen 1.1-5, the creation theme of these verses is substantiated by common vocabulary (ποιέω, οὐρανός, γῆ, σκότος¹¹² with the word-pair οὐρανός/γῆ in v.19). While the Greek of Isa 45.18-19 conveys something similar to the Hebrew (i.e., that God did not create the world for nothing – in Gk κενός and κρυφή), the Greek does not convey the same intertextual connection as the Hebrew. The Hebrew includes two occurrences of אֵת leading to a unique connection with MT Gen 1.2. At the same time, there is a similarity in the use of διορίζω in LXX Isa 45.18 and διαχωρίζω in LXX Gen 1.4.¹¹³ Otherwise, the Greek vocabulary does not bear as strong a resemblance as the Hebrew, and thus is a more marginal inclusion in the intertextual tapestry.

2.3.17 Psalm 134.5-7 (MT Psalm 135)

⁵ὅτι ἐγὼ ἔγνω ὅτι μέγας κύριος
καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν παρὰ πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς·
⁶πάντα, ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ὁ κύριος, ἐποίησεν
ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ,
ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἀβύσσοις·
⁷ἀνάγων νεφέλας ἐξ ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς,
ἀστραπάς εἰς ὑπερὸν ἐποίησεν·
ὁ ἐξάγων ἀνέμους ἐκ θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ.

⁵For I know that the Lord is great
and our Lord is beyond all gods.
⁶All that the Lord willed he made
in heaven and in the earth
in the seas and in all the abysses;¹¹⁴
⁷Bringing up clouds out of the ends of the earth,
he made lightning into rain;
he is the one who brings wind out of his treasures.

LXX Ps 134 is a song of thanksgiving for the great deeds of the Lord; vv.5-7 thereof give thanks for God's work in creation.¹¹⁵ The intertextual relationship with LXX Gen 1.1-5 is bolstered by common vocabulary (ποιέω, οὐρανός, γῆ, ἄβυσσος, with the word-pair οὐρανός/γῆ in v.6). With v.5 as an introductory remark about the greatness of the Lord above all other gods, vv.6-7 substantiate this claim by attributing to the Lord the creation of heaven and earth, the seas and abysses, and meteorological phenomena. Of interest here are God's willing (ἐθέλω) and thus making (ποιέω) it all. It is not necessarily creation by speech, but a creating that originates in the will of the creator,

¹¹² Actually a close derivative of σκότος –the adjectival form σκοτεινός.

¹¹³ Ottley, *Book of Isaiah*, 2.321.

¹¹⁴ Rahlfs, ed., *Psalms - Göttingen*, 316, opts for three cola based on Sinaiticus among others. In other mss., there are two cola, either 6a-b & 6c or 6a & 6b-c.

¹¹⁵ Following the punctuation of Rahlfs, ed., *Psalms - Göttingen*, vv.5-7 are one unit. (134)

a unique expression of creating. There are two changes from the MT that are of interest in that they alter the intertextual connections between Hebrew and Greek versions of the psalm and Gen 1.1-5. The first is the use of ποιέω in v.6, where the MT has פָּשַׁע. The second is the use of ἄνεμος in v.7, where the MT has פָּהַל. While these differences do affect the relationship between the psalm and LXX Gen 1.1-5, it is likely given the commonality of vocabulary that remains that the effect on the relationship is minor.

2.3.18 Exod 20.11

ἐν γὰρ ἕξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν κύριος τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ κατέπαυσεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ· διὰ τοῦτο εὐλόγησεν κύριος τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἑβδόμην καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν.

For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth and the sea and all that is in them and on the seventh day he rested; on account of this the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it.

Within a larger explanation of and justification for the Sabbath (LXX Exod 20.8-11) comes this reasoning that recalls the First Creation Story of LXX Gen 1.1-2.4a.¹¹⁶ While the thematic connection to the First Creation Story is quite apparent, the intertextual connection with LXX Gen 1.1-5 is further substantiated by common vocabulary (ποιέω, οὐρανός, γῆ, ἡμέρα with the word-pair οὐρανός/γῆ). Of primary interest here is the strong resemblance between LXX Exod 20.11 and LXX Gen 1.1. While LXX Exod 20.11 has the anarthrous κύριος as the subject and LXX Gen 1.1 has an articulated θεός,¹¹⁷ the verb (ποιέω) and the first half of the predicate (τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν) resemble LXX Gen 1.1b verbatim. It is the use of ποιέω in the Greek, where the MT reads פָּשַׁע, that prompts me to include this text in the current chapter. The predicate continues by recalling the creation of the sea (θάλασσα – see LXX Gen 1.10) and all that is in heaven, earth, and the sea.

2.3.19 Exod 31.17

ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ σημεῖόν ἐστιν αἰώνιον, ὅτι ἐν ἕξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν κύριος τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἐπαύσατο καὶ κατέπαυσεν.

Between me and the sons of Israel this is a sign for the ages, because in six days the Lord created the heaven and the earth and on the seventh day he ceased and rested.

LXX Exod 31.17 resembles LXX Exod 20.11, and like LXX Exod 20.11 it also resembles LXX Gen 1.1. Again, this is a justification for the Sabbath based on the principles set out in the First Creation Story – that is that God rested on the seventh day. Like LXX Exod 20.11, 31.17 is taken out of a larger context of Sabbath justification (vv.12-17) and an even wider context of the detailed account of the giving of the law to Moses on Sinai. The creation theme is present as a justification for something else; and the commonality with LXX Gen 1.1-5 is borne

¹¹⁶ M. Noth, *Exodus: A Commentary*, (trans. J.S. Bowden; OTL; London: SCM, 1962) commenting on the MT recognizes the dependence of the terminology of MT Exod 20.11 on the creation account of MT Gen 1 (164); also B.S. Childs, *Exodus: A Commentary*, (OTL; London: SCM, 1974) 415.

¹¹⁷ In the case of κύριος, it most often corresponds to the Hebrew יְיָ with an article and יהוה without.

out of a common vocabulary (ποιέω, οὐρανός, γῆ, ἡμέρα with the word-pair οὐρανός/γῆ). Also like LXX Exod 20.11, it is the use of ποιέω rather than πῶψψ, that warrants its inclusion in the list of Greek intertexts.

2.3.20 Zechariah 12.1

λῆμμα λόγου κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραηλ· λέγει κύριος ἐκτείνων οὐρανὸν καὶ θεμελιῶν γῆν καὶ πλάσσων πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπου ἐν αὐτῷ...

The burden of the word of the Lord upon Israel: Thus says the Lord who stretched out heaven and laid the foundation of earth and molded the spirit of humanity in him...

In this brief titular creation account, the intertextual connection with LXX Gen 1.1-5 is based on a rather slim common vocabulary (οὐρανός, γῆ, πνεῦμα, with the word-pair οὐρανός/γῆ).¹¹⁸ Of interest in this pericope are the creative actions that God asserts, stretching out (ἐκτείνω) heaven, founding (θεμελιόω) earth, and molding (πλάσσω) the human spirit. An obvious difference with LXX Gen 1.1-5 is the use of πνεῦμα, which is associated not with God but with humanity.¹¹⁹ By and large, then, LXX Zech 12.1 is intertextually related to LXX Gen 1.1-5 in the coupling of heaven and earth but differs in its creative actions and in its use of πνεῦμα. LXX Zech 12.1 belongs on the margins.

2.3.21 Amos 9.5-6

⁵καὶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἐφαπτόμενος τῆς γῆς καὶ σαλεύων αὐτήν, καὶ πενήθουσιν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτήν, καὶ ἀναβήσεται ὡς ποταμὸς συντέλεια αὐτῆς καὶ καταβήσεται ὡς ποταμὸς Αἰγύπτου· ⁶ὁ οἰκοδομῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνάβασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς θεμελιῶν, ὁ προσκαλούμενος τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκχέων αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς· κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.

⁵And the Lord God, the Almighty, is the one who takes hold of the earth and shakes it; and all who inhabit it will mourn; and its consummation shall go up like a river and come down like the river of Egypt. ⁶He is the one who builds his ascent into heaven and lays the foundation of his promise upon the earth; he is the one who calls the water of the sea and pours it upon the face of the earth. The Lord God, the Almighty, is his name.

This second intertext from Amos closely resembles the first, 5.7-9. It bears a similar creation theme and repeats LXX Amos 5.8b verbatim in 9.6b. In favor of its inclusion in this list is its vocabulary common to LXX Gen 1.1-5 (γῆ, οὐρανός, ὕδωρ, with the word-pair οὐρανός/γῆ in v.6). Most of what can be said by way of intertextuality has already been said in the comment on LXX Amos 5.8b above. What can be added about 9.5-6 specifically comes in comparison with the Hebrew of Amos 9.6a. In the MT the second phrase of the verse reads,

¹¹⁸ While in this pericope there are technically no intertextual markers as defined above, given both πνεῦμα and οὐρανός/γῆ occur too frequently to be of much use, as it is included in the Hebrew list and there is little if any change in the Greek, I include it if only on a tattered edge of the tapestry where my method itself begins to unravel.

¹¹⁹ While the majority of the mss. read ἀνθρώπου, Alexandrinus significantly reads αὐτοῦ, cf. Ziegler, ed., *Göttingen - Minor Prophets*, 318. Thinking in intertextual terms, the fact that a major uncial such as Alexandrinus would have read something along the lines of, ‘molded his spirit in it/him,’ would have increased the likelihood of an intertextual connection LXX Gen 1.1-5 by the reader of that ms.

הַבַּיִת לְעַלְיוֹתָיו, with the object of God's founding action being his vault. If there is a metaphorical meaning for *הַבַּיִת*, it is the bonds of slavery as in MT Isa 58.6, though more likely it means the vaults of heaven.¹²⁰ In addition, when one compares the object in the first half of 9.6a, *הַבַּיִת*, with *הַבַּיִת*, there seems to be logic to the pair based on some sort of heavenly abode. In comparison, the Greek text of the second phrase of 9.6a has τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν αὐτοῦ, his promise.¹²¹ When the second phrase in the Greek is compared to the first (*ἀνάβασιν αὐτοῦ*) it seems to lack the internal logic of the Hebrew. Exactly what picture of the world is painted is unclear.

2.3.22 Job 3.3-10

³ἀπόλοιτο ἡ ἡμέρα, ἐν ἣ ἐγεννήθην,
καὶ ἡ νύξ, ἐν ἣ εἶπαν ἰδοὺ ἄρσεν.
⁴ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη εἶη σκότος,
καὶ μὴ ἀναζητήσαι αὐτὴν ὁ κύριος ἄνωθεν,
μηδὲ ἔλθοι εἰς αὐτὴν φέγγος·
⁵ἐκλάβοι δὲ αὐτὴν σκότος καὶ σκιά θανάτου,
ἐπέλθοι ἐπ' αὐτὴν γνόφος.
⁶καταραθεῖ ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ νύξ ἐκείνη,
ἀπενέγκαιτο αὐτὴν σκότος·
μὴ εἶη εἰς ἡμέρας ἐνιαυτοῦ
μηδὲ ἀριθμηθεῖ εἰς ἡμέρας μηνῶν·
⁷ἀλλὰ ἡ νύξ ἐκείνη εἶη ὀδύνη,
καὶ μὴ ἔλθοι ἐπ' αὐτὴν εὐφροσύνη μηδὲ χαρμονή·
⁸ἀλλὰ καταράσαιτο αὐτὴν ὁ καταρώμενος τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην
ὁ μέλλων τὸ μέγα κῆτος χειρώσασθαι.
⁹σκοτωθεῖ τὰ ἄστρα τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης,
ὑπομείναι καὶ εἰς φωτισμὸν μὴ ἔλθοι
καὶ μὴ ἴδοι ἑωσφόρον ἀνατέλλοντα,
¹⁰ὅτι οὐ συνέκλεισεν πύλας γαστρὸς μητρὸς μου·
ἀπήλλαξεν γὰρ ἂν πόνον ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου.

³May the day be destroyed in which I was born,
and the night in which they said, 'See, a male-child.'
⁴May that day be darkness,
and may the Lord not seek it from above,
nor may light come upon it;
⁵But may darkness seize it, even the shadow of death,
may gloom come upon it.
⁶May that day and night be cursed,
may darkness carry it away;
may it not be in the days of the year,
may it not be numbered in the days of the months.
⁷But may that night be pain,
nor may merriment or joy come upon it.
⁸But may the one who curses that day curse it
[even] the one who intends to master the great sea monster.
⁹May the stars of that night be darkened,

¹²⁰ BDB, s.v.

¹²¹ There are later Greek versions, including Aquila, that read δέσμη/bundle(s) for ἐπαγγελίαν, which seems to be a closer reflection of the MT. Ziegler, ed., *Göttingen - Minor Prophets*, 203.

may it remain [this way] and not come into the light,
and may it not see the morning star arise.

¹⁰Because it did not shut the gates of my mother's womb,
for so it would have set my eyes free from suffering.

Job's lament of his own birth, which in Greek is a series of optative wishes that the very day of his birth might be reversed, is not a pure creation text. However, its language of creation-reversal along with vocabulary common to LXX Gen 1.1-5 (ἡμέρα, νύξ, σκοτός, along with ἡμέρα/νύξ in vv.3 and 6), warrant its inclusion. There are two points of difference between the MT and the LXX that affect the intertextual relationship of the pericope with LXX Gen 1.1-5. The first is the addition of ἡμέρα in v.6a.¹²² Intertextually, this results in an additional word-pair common to LXX Gen 1.1-5.¹²³ A second difference may be an accident of translation. In v.9a of the MT we find: רִיָּסִי־רָקִי; the LXX, however, assumes the subject, τὰ ἄστρα τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης, from the first phrase, and reads simply ὑπομείναι. In the Greek of v.9b, then, there is no equivalent of רִיָּסִי. In an already tenuous intertext, the move from four common words in the Hebrew to three in the Greek moves LXX Job 3.3-10 farther down on the list. Finally, the Greek of Job 3.8 is worthy of note.¹²⁴ MT 3.8b reads, עָרַר לְיָיָתָן עֲרֵר עֲרֵר עֲרֵר; whereas in the LXX it reads, ὁ μέλλων τὸ μέγα κῆτος χειρώσασθαι. There are three notable differences: the number of the subject (plural in Hebrew, singular in Greek), the translation of Leviathan into ‘the great sea monster,’¹²⁵ and the different connotations of the final verb – one meaning to rouse, the other to master, handle, or subdue.¹²⁶ Effectively, the great Leviathan is tamed, though a far cry from the same in MT Job 41.17 [EV 25].

2.3.23 Psalm 76.17-21 (MT Psalm 77)

¹⁷εἶδοσάν σε ὕδατα ὁ θεός,
εἶδοσάν σε ὕδατα καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν,
καὶ ἐταράχθησαν ἄβυσσοι, πλήθος ἤχους ὑδάτων.
¹⁸φωνὴν ἔδωκαν αἱ νεφέλαι,
καὶ γὰρ τὰ βέλη σου διαπορεύονται·
¹⁹φωνὴ τῆς βροντῆς σου ἐν τῷ τροχῷ,
ἔφαιναν αἱ ἀστραπαὶ σου τῆ οἰκουμένην,
ἐσαλεύθη καὶ ἔντρομος ἐγενήθη ἡ γῆ.

¹²²	MT	לְפָנַי וְהַחֲרִיבֵנִי וְהַחֲרִיבֵנִי וְהַחֲרִיבֵנִי, May deep darkness carry away that night...
	LXX	καταραθείη ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ νύξ ἐκείνη. May that day and night be cursed.

¹²³ It should be noted that Job 3.6a-b are not present in Sinaiticus, though there is little if any other evidence for this. Ziegler, ed., *Job - Göttingen*, 223.

¹²⁴ The MT of v.8a reads: עָרַר לְיָיָתָן עֲרֵר עֲרֵר. A possible correction (which has been adopted in the NRSV) for this is offered in the apparatus of BHS by replacing עֲרֵר with עָרַר. Given the presence of Leviathan in v.8b, there may be a basis for seeing עָרַר as a mythic counterpart balancing both portions of the verse. The Greek manuscripts, however, read ἡμέρα instead of θάλασσα or the like, calling into question this correction.

¹²⁵ While there are no major mss. that reflect a transliteration of Leviathan into Greek characters, Aquila and Symmachus both transliterate into Λευιαθάν, with Theodotion opting for δράκοντα. Ziegler, ed., *Job - Göttingen*, 223. It should also be noted that the two examples in Job (9.13, 26.12) where Rahab (רָהַב), like Leviathan in Job 3.8, is translated with κῆτος.

¹²⁶ The Hebrew verb, עָרַר in the *Polel*, has the connotation of rousing or inciting (BDB, s.v.), whereas the Greek verb, χειρώω (derived from the Greek word for hand – χεῖρ), has the connotation of handling, managing, mastering, etc (LSJ, s.v.).

²⁰ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἡ ὁδός σου,
καὶ αἱ τρίβοι σου ἐν ὕδασι πολλοῖς,
καὶ τὰ ἴχνη σου οὐ γνωσθήσονται.
²¹ὠδήγησας ὡς πρόβατα τὸν λαόν σου
ἐν χειρὶ Μωυσῆ καὶ Ααρων

¹⁷[The] waters saw you, O God,
[the] waters saw you and they were afraid,
[the] abysses were troubled, from [the] waters [came] a great howling.
¹⁸The clouds gave forth a noise,
for your bolts went across;
¹⁹The voice of your thunder was all around,
your lightning shown to the world,
the earth shook and was trembling.
²⁰Your way was in the sea,
and your highways are in many waters,
and your footsteps are unknown.
²¹As sheep you led your people
by the hand of Moses and Aaron.

The above pericope is the final section of LXX Ps 76. While it contains language common to LXX Gen 1.1-5 (ὕδωρ, ἄβυσσος, γῆ) and hints at creation, it is as likely an Exodus text as a creation text, especially given the reference to Moses and Aaron in v.21. The major focus of this passage is God's mastery of cosmic elements such as water, the abyss, and meteorological phenomena like thunder, lightning, earthquakes, etc. The language fits well into a cosmological description of who God is, especially in relation to the waters and the abyss of LXX Gen 1.2.¹²⁷ As with 2 Kgdms 22.15 and LXX Ps 17.15, one could consider an intertextual connection between LXX Ps 76.19 and a Greek understanding of Zeus.

2.3.24 Job 37.15

¹⁵οἶδαμεν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἔθετο ἔργα αὐτοῦ
φῶς ποιήσας ἐκ σκοτόυς

¹⁵We know that God has set his works
making light out of darkness.

This verse comes near the end of Elihu's discourse (chs 32-37) and in the context of his proclamation of the majesty and power of God. The intertextual resemblance with LXX Gen 1.1-5 comes in v.15b (φῶς, σκοτός, ποιέω, with the pair φῶς/σκοτός). It should be acknowledged at the outset of this section that as a clip out of a larger context this verse does not bear much intertextual weight. It is, however, of interest for two reasons. The first is its

¹²⁷ While it is God's command of the waters, notably ὕδωρ and ἄβυσσος, that draws the most attention to LXX Gen 1.2, there is one additional element of LXX Ps 76 outside of the above pericope that strengthens its inclusion. This is the occurrence of ἀρχή in v.12, where the MT has אֲרָחָה:

ἐμνήσθην τῶν ἔργων κυρίου,
ὅτι μνησθήσομαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν θαυμασίων σου
I remembered the works of the Lord,
for I will remember your marvelous [works] from the beginning.

While the Hebrew version of v.12, does not necessarily recall MT Gen 1.1, the possibility of reading the Greek version of v.12 in light of LXX Gen 1.1, or vice versa, is quite plausible.

proximity to the intertext, LXX Job 38.4-38, which is replete with common vocabulary and creation themes. The second rests in the difference between the Hebrew and Greek versions. MT Job 37.15 reads: *הֲתַדַּע בְּשׁוּמֵי־אֲלֹהִים עַל־יָהִם וְהוֹפִיעַ אֹר עָנָנִי* (Do you know what God places upon them and [that] he causes light to shine forth [from] his cloud?). The first and most obvious difference is that the Hebrew is in the form of a question, while the Greek is indicative.¹²⁸ A second, minor difference is in person and number in the verb in v.15a. The third and most significant difference is the whole of v.15b. The expression in the Hebrew is likely a reference to rays of light or lightning coming from a cloud. In the Greek, however, there is a completely different statement, possibly a clarification of the obscure Hebrew version. There is no reference to cloud in the Greek, rather God makes (ποιέω) light (φῶς) out of darkness (σκοτός). All three of these words also occur in LXX Gen 1.1-5, with light being the first of all things created (LXX Gen 1.3) and darkness being a quality ascribed to the earth in LXX Gen 1.2. While this intertext is a bit threadbare in intertextual markers and plucked out of context, it makes up ground in its uniqueness. Because it differs significantly from the MT and because it could be read as restating a creation process similar to LXX Gen 1.1-5, it is worthy of inclusion.

2.3.25 Job 33.4

⁴πνεῦμα θεῖον τὸ ποιήσάν με,
πνοή δὲ παντοκράτορος ἢ διδάσκουσά με.

It is a Divine Spirit who made me,
The breath of the Almighty who teaches me.

Near the beginning of Elihu's discourse (chs 32-37), which is sandwiched between Job's last defense (chs 29-31), God's speech, and the conclusion of the book (chs 38-42), comes a possible intertext with LXX Gen 1.1-5. LXX Job 33.4 comes amidst an early section of Elihu's discourses in which he goes on about his need to speak out in defense of God.¹²⁹ While Job 33.4 more readily reflects an idea similar to God breathing life into Adam in the second creation story (LXX Gen 2.7), the vocabulary of v.4a is reminiscent enough of LXX Gen 1.1-2 to at least be mentioned.¹³⁰ The combination of πνεῦμα θεῖον¹³¹ and the verb ποιέω are the intertextual points of contact between

¹²⁸ Ziegler, ed., *Job - Göttingen*, 381.

¹²⁹ E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, (trans. H. Knight; London: Nelson, 1967) when looking at the MT places v.4 after v.6, where Elihu claims a similar genesis to Job, being formed from clay (יְחֻמָּר קִרְצָתָי מִיָּדָי אֱ־מִן־אֲדָמָה). (489) Such a move would likely clarify an intertextual relationship with MT Gen 2.

¹³⁰ Job 33.4b is deserving of a brief note. V.4a closely reflects the MT, while v.4b varies significantly. MT Job 33.4b reads: *וְנִשְׁמַת שַׁדַּי תְּחַיֶּנִי* – the breath of Shaddai gives me life. The Greek verb, διδάσκω, differs significantly from the MT's חַיֶּנִי. In addition, there are no variant readings that reflect anything closer to the MT. One explanation of this difference may be the similarity of LXX Job 32.8 and 33.4.

^{32.8} ἀλλὰ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἐν βροτοῖς,
πνοή δὲ παντοκράτορός ἐστιν ἢ διδάσκουσα·

^{33.4} πνεῦμα θεῖον τὸ ποιήσάν με,
πνοή δὲ παντοκράτορος ἢ διδάσκουσά με.

While the verses resemble each other throughout, the second halves differ in only one word. The verbatim repetition of πνοή δὲ παντοκράτορος followed by the same attributive participle is too close to ignore. One could assume, then, that this difference with the MT either reflects a variation in the Hebrew text or that this was a scribal

LXX Gen 1.1-5 and LXX Job 33. This said, whether accusative or genitive, LXX Job 33.4 dangles on the tattered margins of the intertextual tapestry.

2.3.26 Excursus: Job 26 – When Origen's Asterisked Materials are Omitted

¹ὑπολαβὼν δὲ Ἰωβ λέγει
²τίνι πρόσκεισαι ἢ τίνι μέλλεις βοηθεῖν;
 πότερον οὐχ ᾧ πολλὴ ἰσχὺς καὶ ᾧ βραχίων κραταιός ἐστιν;
³τίνι συμβεβούλευσαι; οὐχ ᾧ πᾶσα σοφία;
 ἢ τίνι ἐπακολουθήσεις; οὐχ ᾧ μεγίστη δύναμις;
⁴τίνι ἀνήγγειλας ῥήματα;
 πνοὴ δὲ τίνος ἐστὶν ἢ ἐξεληθοῦσα ἐκ σοῦ;
¹²ἰσχύι κατέπαυσεν τὴν θάλασσαν,
 ἐπιστήμη δὲ ἔτρωσε τὸ κήτος.
¹³κλειῖθρα δὲ οὐρανοῦ δεδοίκασιν αὐτόν,
 προστάγματι δὲ ἐθανάτωσεν δράκοντα ἀποστάτην.
^{14c}σθένος δὲ βροντῆς αὐτοῦ τίς οἶδεν ὅποτε ποιήσει;

¹Answering, Job said,
^{2c}To whom are you bound or who do you intend to assist?
 Is it not the one with great strength and the one with a mighty arm?
³To whom do you give counsel? Is it not the one with all wisdom?
 Or whom will you follow? Is it not the one with the greatest power?
⁴To whom have you reported that which was spoken?
 Whose breath is it that comes out of you?
¹²With power he kept the sea in check,
 and with knowledge he crippled the sea monster.
¹³The barriers of heaven dread him,
 and with a command he slew the rebel dragon.
^{14c}The strength of his thunder, who knows when he will do it?'

Job 26, which was fifth in the list of intertexts in chapter one, is relegated to an excursus in chapter two. The simple reason for this is the large amount of asterisked text, which contains the overwhelming percentage of IMs that occur in this pericope.¹³² Of the twenty-eight lines, sixteen are asterisked.¹³³ When the asterisked and

error or translator's decision when the Greek was produced. If the resemblance of 32.8 and 33.4 is given precedence and the difference with the MT is charged to the translation into Greek, it must have been a very early mistake/decision, given no corrections in the mss. traditions. One must also ask, if there were variants that reflect changes in the grammatical abnormality of πνεῦμα θεῖον in Job 33.4a, why there was never a correction (that survived) to reflect the ππ of the MT. While this is a problem for textual critics, it is of comparative interest in how this verse may have been interpreted differently in Hebrew and Greek. All this said, 33.4b does not fit nicely into the intertextual tapestry of LXX Gen 1.15 because of its lack of common vocabulary.

¹³¹ There are two major variants for the neuter nominative adjective, θεῖον, in v.4a – κυρίου and θεοῦ, both genitive nouns. These variants suggest that at some point in the mss history some scribes made an alteration / mistake here that brought the text closer to πνεῦμα θεοῦ in LXX Gen 1.2. Ziegler, ed., *Job - Göttingen*, 358.

¹³² Below is the text and translation of Job 26 with the asterisked materials as presented by Ziegler (323-325). In my text, the symbol (*) represents Origen's asterisk, and (↓) represents metobelus.

¹ὑπολαβὼν δὲ Ἰωβ λέγει
²τίνι πρόσκεισαι ἢ τίνι μέλλεις βοηθεῖν;
 πότερον οὐχ ᾧ πολλὴ ἰσχὺς καὶ ᾧ βραχίων κραταιός ἐστιν;
³τίνι συμβεβούλευσαι; οὐχ ᾧ πᾶσα σοφία;
 ἢ τίνι ἐπακολουθήσεις; οὐχ ᾧ μεγίστη δύναμις;

⁴ τίνοι ἀνήγγειλας ῥήματα;
 πνοὴ δὲ τίνος ἐστὶν ἢ ἐξελθοῦσα ἐκ σοῦ;
⁵* μὴ γίγαντες μαιωθήσονται
 * ὑποκάτωθεν ὕδατος καὶ τῶν γειτόνων αὐτοῦ;
⁶* γυμνὸς ὁ ἄδης ἐπώπιον αὐτοῦ,
 * καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν περιβόλαιον τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ.
⁷* ἐκτείνων βορέαν ἐπ' οὐδέν,
 * κρεμάζων γῆν ἐπὶ οὐδενός·
⁸* δεσμεύων ὕδωρ ἐν νεφέλαις αὐτοῦ,
 * καὶ οὐκ ἐρράγη νέφος ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ·
⁹* ὁ κρατῶν πρόσωπον θρόνου,
 * ἐκπετάζων ἐπ' αὐτὸν νέφος αὐτοῦ.
¹⁰* πρόσταγμα ἐγύρωσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ὕδατος
 * μέχρι συντελείας φωτὸς μετὰ σκότους.
¹¹* στῦλοι οὐρανοῦ ἐπετάσθησαν
 * καὶ ἐξέστησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιτιμῆσεως αὐτοῦ. ↓
¹² ἰσχύι κατέπαυσεν τὴν θάλασσαν,
 ἐπιστήμη δὲ ἔτρωσε τὸ κῆτος.
¹³ κλεῖθρα δὲ οὐρανοῦ δεδοίκασιν αὐτόν,
 προστάγματι δὲ ἐθανάτωσεν δράκοντα ἀποστάτην.
¹⁴* ἰδοὺ ταῦτα μέρη ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ,
 * καὶ ἐπὶ ἱκμάδα λόγου ἀκουσόμεθα ἐν αὐτῷ. ↓
 σθένος δὲ βροντῆς αὐτοῦ τίς οἶδεν ὅποτε ποιήσει;

¹ Answering, Job said,

² To whom are you bound or who do you intend to assist?

Is it not the one with great strength and the one with a mighty arm?

³ To whom do you give counsel? Is it not the one with all wisdom?

Or whom will you follow? Is it not the one with the greatest power?

⁴ To whom have you reported that which was spoken?

Whose breath is it that comes out of you?

⁵* Shall not giants be delivered (born)

* under water and its neighbors?

⁶* Hades is naked in front of him,

* and there is no covering for destruction. [Possibly Destruction or Apoleia]

⁷* Stretching out the North upon nothing,

* hanging the earth upon nothing,

⁸* fettering water in his clouds,

* even a cloud is not broken under him.

⁹* He is the one who rules before his throne,

* spreading his cloud upon it.

¹⁰* He has encircled the face of the waters by a command

* until the consummation of light with darkness.

¹¹ * [The] pillars of heaven are spread out

* and astonished by his criticism. ↓

¹² With power he kept the sea in check,
 and with knowledge he crippled the sea monster.

¹³ The barriers of heaven dread him,
 and with a command he slew the rebel dragon.

¹⁴* See, these are parts of his way;

* we shall give ear to him upon the inner juices of [his] word. ↓

The strength of his thunder, who knows when he will do it?

unasterisked materials are used, the common vocabulary, while not as strong as its Hebrew counterpart, is formidable (ὕδωρ, γῆ, φῶς, σκότος, οὐρανός, with the word-pair φῶς/σκότος in v.10b). However, when the unasterisked material alone is considered (as above) the only word common to LXX Gen 1.1-5 that appears is οὐρανός, which by itself is hardly enough to warrant its inclusion in the list of intertexts.

The problem, then, is clear. Given that this study is looking at intertextual relationships and their impact on the interpretations of Gen 1.1-5 prior to 200 CE, ought the asterisked materials of Origen (d.253/4 CE) be excluded from consideration *prima facie*? The answer is a qualified yes. In Ziegler's second (bottom) apparatus of LXX Job 26,¹³⁴ as analyzed by Gentry,¹³⁵ there is no evidence of the asterisked materials from Theodotionic recensions. If the asterisked materials are not attributable to Theodotion, they are likely from Origen. Thus, the asterisked materials likely post-date 200 CE and do not fall within the parameters of this study. Presumably, the unasterisked materials alone are the closest representation of the Old Greek text that was the basis for the fifth column of Origen's Hexapla.¹³⁶ There were other versions that existed prior to 200 CE, most notably The Three (οἱ τρεῖς), Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, represented respectively in the third, fourth, and sixth columns of the Hexapla.¹³⁷ While Theodotion's and Aquila's translations likely existed in the second century CE with the former probably from before the turn of the era, and given that we have no full textual representation of either, it is difficult to include any fuller text of LXX Job 26 than the unasterisked material alone.

2.3 Conclusions – The Larger Greek Tapestry

The above textual examinations offer glimpses of the relationships of individual texts with LXX Gen 1.1-5. As at the end of chapter one, what follows is an attempt to step back for a wider view of the material. While it is clear that certain intertexts identified above are stronger than others, it is important to cast as large a net as possible. In concluding chapter two, I look at general areas of thematic commonality – common threads woven throughout the tapestry roughly following the same categories as in chapter one: (1) God's place and/or action; (2) observations on common forms among the intertexts; (3) some common utilizations of LXX Gen 1.1-5 vocabulary; (4) the place of creative forces external to YHWH within the cosmogonic frameworks; and (5) the mixture of Temple and creation imagery. A broad overview of these thematic threads and the tapestry as a whole is provided in Table 2.2 below.

This fuller text of LXX Job 26 is Job's response to Bildad's cynical probing in ch 25 that questions God's interest in the likes of humanity. Job's response (ch 26) is to appeal to the all-powerful, creator God whose innermost self is available in his word (v.14b).

¹³³ See Ziegler's text, Ziegler, ed., *Job - Göttingen*, 323-325. Gentry, *Asterisked Materials*, makes no corrections of Ziegler's text of Job 26.

¹³⁴ Ziegler, ed., *Job - Göttingen*, 324-325.

¹³⁵ Gentry, *Asterisked Materials*, 38-83.

¹³⁶ This is further substantiated, at least in part, by the absence of Job 26.5-11 from the Sahidic version, a version which according to Gentry, *Asterisked Materials*, never contained the asterisked additions and thus falls closer to the Old Greek. (1)

¹³⁷ In addition, there were other translations floating about, at least three of which were known to Origen. Jobes and Silva, *Invitation*, 37-43.

TABLE 2.2 LXX GEN 1.1-5 & INTERTEXTS ANALYSIS BY THREAD		GOD					FORM OBSERVATIONS			ELEMENTS OF LXX GEN 1.1-5			EXTERNAL FORCES		TEMPLE IMAGERY
		'MASTERY' OF THE COSMOS	ESTABLISHES BOUNDARIES	CREATION BY SPEECH/VOICE	CREATOR OF ALL (GOOD & EVIL)	WRATH/ANGER AS CATALYST	TITULAR	PRaise OF THE CREATOR	REVERSAL OF THE CREATED ORDER	ELEMENTS PLACED IN STOREHOUSES	HEAVENS 'STRETCHED OUT'	'DARKNESS' CREATED BY YHWH	PRIMORDIALS (P) AND/OR ANGELS (A)	WISDOM	
	Gen 1.1-5	•	•	•							•				
1	Ps 103.1-35	•	•	•			•			•	•	P/A	•		
2	Isa 42.5-9	•				•									
3	Prov 8.22-31	•					•					P	•		
4	Isa 44.24-45.8	•			•	•				•	•	P/A			
5	Isa 51.9-16	•				•	•					P			
6	Ps 148.1-14	•		•			•					P/A			
7	Isa 40.12-26	•	•						□ ¹³⁸	•				•	
8	Job 38.4-38	•	•						□		□	P/A	•	•	
9	Ps 17.7-18				•						□			•	
10	2 Kgdms 22.7-18				•						□			•	
11	Jer 10.11-13	•				•			•	•			•		
12	Jer 28.15-16	•		•					•	•			•		
13	Amos 5.7-9	•		•		•						P			
14	Ps 32.6-9	•		•			•		•			P			
15	Ps 73.12-17	•	•				•					P			
16	Isa 45.18-19	•	•			•									
17	Ps 134.5-7	•		□			•		•			P			
18	Exod 20.11	•										P			
19	Exod 31.17	•										P			
20	Zech 12.1	•								•					
21	Amos 9.5-6	•		•	•	•		□				P		□	
22	Job 3.3-10							•				P			
23	Ps 76.17-21	•										P			
24	Job 37.15	•													
25	Job 33.4														

2.3.1 God's place and/or action

As with the intertextual tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5, an overarching description of God's role in the Greek texts is mastery.¹³⁹ The idea that God created both good and evil remains in LXX Isa 45.7, and as in the Hebrew, this idea does not appear in other texts. The one text which displays a reversal of the created order, LXX Job 3.3-10,

¹³⁸ The symbol □ indicates a tangential inclusion.

¹³⁹ Again, I borrow the idea of 'mastery' from J.D. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence*, (2nd revised ed.; Princeton: Princeton University, 1988 & 1994) 1-13.

bears no concern of God's mastery but dwells on Job's lament.¹⁴⁰ A variation on mastery is God as master stonemason in LXX Job 38.4-38.¹⁴¹ Also like the MT, mastery is not an entirely adequate term to describe God's cosmic intervention in 2 Kgdms 22.7-18 and LXX Ps 17.7-18.¹⁴²

More specific observations about God's mastery come in the idea of creation via the establishment of boundaries – around water,¹⁴³ between earth and God's dwelling,¹⁴⁴ and generally around everything.¹⁴⁵ A second thread of the idea of mastery, already mentioned above, is that God creates by speech, a thread clearly evident in the primary text, LXX Gen 1.1-5. Creation by speech is mentioned elsewhere, mostly with reference to the creation of heaven,¹⁴⁶ the waters in/above the heavens,¹⁴⁷ the waters of the sea,¹⁴⁸ and humans.¹⁴⁹ A similar idea comes in God's creation by will (θέλω) as seen in LXX Ps 134.6, where it states that all that has been created has been willed by God. While this is not equivalent to creation by speech, it is closer to the idea of creation by speech than other metaphors (e.g. stonemason, joiner, etc) used for God's creative actions. As in the MT there is the minor though significant idea of God's mastery in the creation of both good (peace) and evil in LXX Isa 45.7. While this is a minor thread that does not correlate with any other intertexts in this chapter, its uniqueness sets it apart within the tapestry. Another thread is the idea of creation out of God's wrath, which is exemplified by 2 Kgdms 22 and LXX Ps 17. I am also including here LXX Amos 9.5, in which God takes hold of the earth and shakes it, causing its inhabitants to mourn.¹⁵⁰

To summarize, God's place in creation is largely the same in both the MT and LXX lists in that mastery is the main theme for God's action. God as boundary maker is, if anything, less frequent in the LXX. Also, of interest is the recurrent idea of God creating by speech.

¹⁴⁰ LXX Jer 4.23-28, unlike its MT counterpart, is not included for lack of significant commonality. Most notably where the MT reads יָבִיחַ יְהוָה in v.23, such an intertextual connection is absent with the LXX's use of οὐθέν.

¹⁴¹ The shadow of God as stonemason is in the beginning of the MT pericope, the reiteration of the idea in LXX 38.38 that is not present in the MT strengthens the idea.

¹⁴² The picture of God's otherworldly entry onto the earthly stage 'upon the wings of the wind/s' (ἐπὶ πετερόγων ἀνέμων [Ps 17.11] / ἀνέμου [2 Kgdms 22.11]) is also found in LXX Ps 103.3, as in the MT. One can add a similar, though not verbatim, wording in LXX Prov 8.27 that is not found in the MT:

ἤνικα ἠτοίμαζεν τὸν οὐρανὸν συμπαρήμην αὐτῷ,
καὶ ὅτε ἀφώριζεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θρόνον ἐπ' ἀνέμων.

When he prepared heaven, I was present with him,
also when he marked off his throne upon [the] winds.

While not identical with Ps 17.11 / 2 Kgdms 22.11, there is a notable similarity, especially given that it is not present in the Hebrew.

¹⁴³ ὕδωρ – LXX Ps 103.9f, Isa 40.12; θαλάσσα – LXX Job 38.10. Notably missing from this list are the bountrification of עַיִן in MT Ps 148.6 and Prov 8.29 and of עַיִן עַיִן in MT Prov 8.27. All three of these examples are missing in the LXX.

¹⁴⁴ LXX Job 38.19-20, Isa 40.22

¹⁴⁵ LXX Ps 73.17, Isa 45.18

¹⁴⁶ LXX Ps 32.6, 148.5

¹⁴⁷ LXX Jer 28.16 (εἰς φωνήν ἔθετο ἦχος ὕδατος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ); Ps 148.5

¹⁴⁸ LXX Amos 5.8, 9.6

¹⁴⁹ LXX Ps 32.9, 103.30

¹⁵⁰ MT Jer 4.23-28 was part of this thread in chapter one, but this text is not included in this chapter.

2.3.2 Observations on Form

The second set of thematic observations centers largely on the form of the intertext. The first thread of this set is the titular intertext that introduces or lauds God as creator, of which there are seven.¹⁵¹ What is of interest about these texts is that they hold up the place of creator as central to who God is. A second form-related thread is that of praise. Not surprisingly most of these texts are psalms,¹⁵² though two are not: LXX Prov 8.30 speaks of wisdom rejoicing in God and the completion of God's creative activity, and LXX Isa 51.11 speaks of the rejoicing of the returnees to their home, a result of the creative power exerted by God in creating a people/nation.¹⁵³ These texts, especially the Psalms, are of interest as they offer evidence that creation was a subject within the liturgical texts of Greek-speaking ancient Judaism. The final thread under the heading of form is the reversal of the created order. The complexion of this thread differs slightly from the MT in that LXX Job 4.23-28 is not included. Along with LXX Job 3.3-10, which portrays Job's wish that the day of his birth and with it the created order might be overturned, one can include, if tangentially, LXX Amos 9.5, in which God is about shaking-up the world, a possible Day of the Lord allusion.

2.3.3 Uses of LXX Gen 1.1-5 Vocabulary

The third set of observations centers around the vocabulary of LXX Gen 1.1-5 and how it is used among the intertexts. The first thread here is the commodification of elements of the cosmic order; that is, the placement of the likes of the winds in the divine storehouses. One of these texts speaks of YHWH taking the wind out of his storehouses, though the word for wind is ἄνεμος not πνεῦμα.¹⁵⁴ Two MT texts that spoke of God keeping the wind (רוּחַ) in storehouses, differ in the LXX in that they refer to light being kept in storehouses.¹⁵⁵ Another similarly worded text speaks of snow and hail being put into the storehouses,¹⁵⁶ still another of the deeps (ἄβυσσοι).¹⁵⁷ As in the MT, a fifth text differs in that it shares no common language with the others, but is similar in that God is portrayed as a shopkeeper in the marketplace measuring and weighing-out the waters, the heavens, the dust of the earth along with mountains and hills.¹⁵⁸ While the idea of God keeping cosmic stuff in storehouses is prevalent in the LXX as in the MT, the elements stored vary more than in the MT. The second thread of interest here is the prevalent portrayal of the heavens being stretched out (ἐκτείνω). Outside one occurrence in the psalms,¹⁵⁹ the idea

¹⁵¹ LXX Isa 42.5, 45.18, 51.13, Amos 5.7, 9.5-6, and Zech 12.1. Absent from the titular intertexts are two pericopes not included in this list, LXX Isa 48.12-13 and Prov 30.4. LXX Jer 10.12 is added to this list; LXX Jer 28.15, while similar, is not included because it has a circumstantial participle, emphasizing action, rather than an attributive participle, emphasizing the nominal aspect of the verb.

¹⁵² LXX Ps 33.6-9, 73.12-17, 103.1-35, 134.5-7, 148.1-14

¹⁵³ The creation of the nation is a theme that is seen in LXX Isa 42.5-9, 44.24-45.8, 51.9-16.

¹⁵⁴ LXX Ps 134.7

¹⁵⁵ LXX Jer 10.13, 28.16

¹⁵⁶ LXX Job 38.22

¹⁵⁷ LXX Ps 32.7

¹⁵⁸ LXX Isa 40.12

¹⁵⁹ LXX Ps 103.2

of stretching out the heavens is confined to prophetic texts.¹⁶⁰ The final thread in this set of observations is the creation of darkness by God. If we continue with the earlier observation that LXX Gen 1.1 is a statement of creation with a second creation beginning in v.3, then darkness, which is an attribute of the earth in an initial state of incompleteness (v.2), may be included as that which God created. Less of a contrast in the LXX, then, are the texts that speak of God creating darkness.¹⁶¹ Little needs to be said about LXX Isa 45.7, other than like its MT counterpart, it too uses the same verb as Gen 1.1, in this case, ποιέω.¹⁶² Three more texts, while similar, differ in that the verb used in all three is τίθημι, which like its Hebrew counterpart, יָשָׁה, has more the connotation of arranging or appointing than creating. Darkness, then, has a similar image in both LXX and MT, with the strongest suggestion of God creating darkness in Isa 45.7. Given the difference between the Hebrew and Greek texts of Gen 1.1-2, however, these texts suggesting that God made darkness may be less contrastive and more complementary to LXX Gen 1.2.

2.3.4 Creative Forces External to God

Another set of observations, as in the MT, are those forces external to God and of cosmic weight which bear on these creative contexts. The first thread of this section, which I called the ‘primordials’ in chapter one, is in need of a new name. As I have shown above, in the translation from the Hebrew to Greek there is a loss of some of the primordial-ness in the Hebrew. The translation of both יְרֵדִים and עֲרֵבִים as δράκων in LXX Ps 73.12-14 is a good example. In the movement from one language to another, the specificity of the Hebrew primordials is likely lost. At the same time, these creatures continue to play a significant role throughout the intertextual tapestry.¹⁶³ While not as prevalent as primordials, angels have their places in the tapestry as well.¹⁶⁴ The role of wisdom in the tapestry is also of note. As in the MT, σοφία plays a prominent role in LXX Prov 8.22-31. As Cook points out, the Greek version of Proverbs 8 clarifies Wisdom's role in creation as being separate from the action of *the* Creator.¹⁶⁵ Wisdom is also present in other texts as a tool with which God creates¹⁶⁶ and in an apparent comparison of those who make the priestly vestments and the tapestries of the Holy of Holies and God's wisdom in numbering the clouds.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁰ LXX Isa 40.22 (διατείνω), 44.24; Jer 10.12, 29.15; Zech 12.1. In MT Deutero-Isaiah there were three additional texts, MT 42.5, 48.12-13, and most likely 51.16, that spoke of the stretching out of the heavens. The idea is absent from their occurrence in the LXX.

¹⁶¹ LXX 2 Kgdms 22.12; Ps 17.12, 103.20; Job 38.19; Isa 45.7.

¹⁶² In contrast, but also using ποιέω is LXX Job 37.15, where God makes light out of darkness.

¹⁶³ ἄβυσσος – LXX Job 38.16, 30; Ps 32.7, 76.17, 103.6, 134.6, 148.7; Prov 8.24; Isa 44.27 (not in the MT), 51.10; θάλασσα – LXX Exod 20.11; Job 38.8, 16; Ps 32.7, 73.13, 76.20, 134.6; Amos 5.8, 9.6; Isa 51.10, 15; δράκων – LXX Ps 73.13-14, 103.26, 148.7.

¹⁶⁴ LXX Ps 103.4, 148.2; Job 38.7. While it may be that the use of ἄγγελος in LXX Isa 44.26 is referring to human messengers, as is likely in the MT, it is within the realm of possibility, especially intertextual possibility, to read angels here with reference to the non-human, otherworldly type.

¹⁶⁵ Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 223-224.

¹⁶⁶ LXX Ps 103.24, Jer 10.12, 28.15.

¹⁶⁷ LXX Job 38.36-37

2.3.5 Creation and Temple

Finally, the place of temple imagery deserves some attention. It is quite clear that there is no temple imagery in LXX Gen 1.1-5. In LXX Isa 40.22, however, Isaiah says of God's creative actions, 'he is the one who stood up the heavens as an arch and stretched [it] out as a tent [σκηνή] in which to dwell.' While σκηνή is not exclusively temple language,¹⁶⁸ given that it is used here as God's dwelling place, it seems very possible that this is a (cosmic) temple reference.¹⁶⁹ More clear references to a cosmic temple come in 2 Kgdms 22.7 and LXX Ps 17.7, which (as in the MT) make reference to God hearing the voice of the petitioner in his temple (ναός)¹⁷⁰ and coming down to rescue.¹⁷¹ Also, it seems plausible that LXX Job 38.36, in a shift from the MT, includes the skills necessary for the preparation of the vestments of the high priest and the tapestries of the Holy of Holies in the midst of the creation of such celestial elements as constellations, the abyss, heaven, and earth. Such an inclusion seems a deliberate reference to the Temple.

This provides a glimpse at the overall intertextual tapestry of LXX Gen 1.1-5, and like its MT counterpart in chapter one, it is an attempt to get a wider picture. While there are many details that this summary does not highlight, in the subsequent chapters in which intertexts of Gen 1.1-5 outside these 'canonical' boundaries are examined, some threads will be built upon, others transformed, others left to fray. The complementary, contrasting, and tattered threads of these two parallel intertextual tapestries (along with countless other texts and contexts) are foundation and conversation partners for readers and interpreters. So, from these partial vantage points of the intertextuality of Day One, we move on to part two, first the Hebrew (chapter three) and then the Greek (chapter four).

¹⁶⁸ Of the 350+ occurrences of σκηνή, it is used as tent/human dwelling – LXX Gen 12.8, 33.19; Exod 18.7 – often a translation of אֹהֶל, and as the tent of meeting (ἡ σκηνή τοῦ μαρτυρίου) – LXX Exod 29.11, Lev 19.21, Num 17.15, a translation of אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד. It is also used as tabernacle with reference to the temple – throughout LXX Exod 26, a translation of מִשְׁכָּן.

¹⁶⁹ One can also include on the margins the idea of ascent to a heavenly divine abode or temple (?) in LXX Amos 9.6.

¹⁷⁰ LXX Ps 17.7 reads – ἐκ ναοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ; 2 Kgdms 22.7 – ἐκ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ.

¹⁷¹ Both texts in v.10 read κατέβη.

CHAPTER THREE
INTERTEXTUAL AFTERLIVES OF GENESIS 1.1-5 IN HEBREW

3.1 Introduction

This chapter identifies and explores Hebrew texts that date before 200 CE and that are not included in the canon of scripture that has come to be called the Tanakh or Hebrew Bible. Whenever the category of ‘canon’ is used it has already started to deconstruct.¹ A prime example of this is the book of *Jubilees*, a portion of which is addressed in both this chapter and the next. This text at least in one corner of early Judaism was granted a privileged status, notably by the Qumran sectarians;² and to this day it is part of the canon of scripture of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.³ This is all to say that this chapter includes texts, some of which were authoritative, some were not, and some both. In the end, the boundaries that ‘contain’ the texts of chapters one and two are at the very least semi-permeable.

The vast majority of texts in this chapter come from the cache of scrolls and scroll fragments discovered in caves in or near Wadi Qumran between 1946 and 1955. Some of these texts are ‘sectarian,’⁴ others are ambiguous in their relation to the sectarian texts,⁵ and still others are clearly not of sectarian origin.⁶ While these categories continue to be debated and refined, this study is less interested the background of the scrolls and more interested in the scrolls as texts, that is, their textuality.⁷ The attention given to texts from the Dead Sea is on their intertextual relationships with MT Gen 1.1-5 and the larger Hebrew intertextual tapestry. It is an accident of history and time that most of the extra-biblical Hebrew texts that date from before 200 CE come from these caves around the Dead Sea. The corpus of extant Hebrew texts from 200 CE and earlier would be quite sparse without them.

In addition to the Dead Sea Scrolls, this study takes into account two portions of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira or Sirach. While the Hebrew manuscripts of Ben Sira are medieval, it is probable that they are at least related to the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

Finally, in an excursus near the end of the chapter, I include two brief portions of the Mishnah. While it is likely that many of the traditions preserved in the Mishnah predate 200 CE, I include these texts on the margins of this study because while most of the sayings are attributed to Tannaim from the first and second centuries CE, the

¹ The assessment of the text and canon of the Hebrew Bible in light of the Dead Sea Scrolls by E. Ulrich, “Our Sharper Focus on the Bible and Theology Thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *CBQ* 66 (2004), highlights the need to theologically rethink the hermeneutical enterprise of interpreting scripture in light of the “shadowy beginnings” (24) of what is now known as the Bible.

² The presence of at least six copies (4QJubilees^a, ^{c-g} and possibly 4QpapJubilees^b) of *Jubilees* from among the fragments of Cave 4 itself suggests that this was an important text. J.C. VanderKam, “The Origins and Purposes of the *Book of Jubilees*,” in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. M. Albani and J. Frey; Texte und Studien zum Antikem Judentum 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997) suggests that *Jubilees* was ‘an authoritative work inherited by the Qumran community’ and also points out in brief that the calendar of the Qumran sectarians reflects the harmonization of the solar and the lunar cycles more in line with the Enochic *Book of the Luminaries* (*1 En* 72-82), suggesting that the sectarians did not completely appropriate the 364-day calendar of *Jubilees*. (3)

³ R.W. Cowley, “The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church today,” *OstSt* 23 (1974) 318-323.

⁴ E.g. 1QS – The Community Rule

⁵ E.g. 4QWorks of God (4Q392)

⁶ E.g. 4QJubilees^a

⁷ M.L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study*, (STDJ 45; Leiden: Brill, 2002) argues that the Dead Sea Scrolls ought to be taken as literary texts not merely as historical evidence. (x)

final form of the whole did not reach a state of completion until the first decades of the third century CE. As such, I attempt to balance the precarious proximity of these texts to the historical boundary of this study with what their inclusion adds to the study as a whole.

Few of the texts in this chapter could be called a complete ‘pericope,’ because of the fragmentary nature of the textual evidence. In addition to the inherent difficulties in reading and understanding fragmentary texts, the fragmentary nature of most of the texts in this chapter poses a particular problem within the bounds of this study. The precision in identification and ranking intertexts that is attempted in chapters one and two crumbles into a pile of fragments from the very beginning of this chapter. It is with caution, then, that these texts are ordered based on (rough) similarity with MT Gen 1.1-5, using the criteria of common intertextual markers and a creation theme.

In addition, the accident of history and time that is the Dead Sea Scrolls, mentioned above, points to the accidental and partial nature of the pool of possible texts. There is a tease-effect when working with these Dead Sea fragments. What one sees on the leather points the informed imagination along trajectories that would be fascinating to explore, though with no leather and no letters, one is forced back to the partial nature of the texts that remain. The evidence is partial, and with it are the conclusions.

The texts in this chapter have been identified by reading,⁸ by concordance,⁹ and by electronic search.¹⁰

3.2 Hebrew Afterlives

What follows are the intertexts of MT Gen 1.1-5. While they are ranked by their commonality with MT Gen 1.1-5, this is done mostly for the sake of having ‘an order’ rather than an inherent value that this ranking has given the fragmentary nature of the evidence. With this in mind, I do not include a table with rankings and ratios, as it would over systematize and misrepresent what is an eclectic, fragmentary, and inevitably partial collection.

3.2.1 1QM x.8-18¹¹

מִיָּא כְּמוֹכָה אֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשָׁנִים וְבָאֲרִיזִים וְעָשָׂה כְּמַעֲשֵׂיכָה הַגְּדוֹלִים ⁸
 וְכַגְּבוּרְתֵכָה הַחֲזֹקָה וְמִיָּא -----¹³ כְּעַמְכָה יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר בַּחֲרַתָּה לָכֶּה מִכּוֹל עַמֵּי הָאָרְצוֹת ⁹

⁸ For the Dead Sea Scrolls, I used first the edition by F. García Martínez and E. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill: / Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), then corroborating readings with the appropriate *editio princeps*. For the Hebrew of Ben Sira, I explored both S. Schechter and C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, (Amsterdam: APA - Philo Press, 1979 (reprint of Cambridge Editions of 1896 & 1899)), and P.C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and A Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts*, (VTSup 68; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997). For the Mishnah, I used for reading the English translation of H. Danby, *The Mishnah*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933).

⁹ For the Dead Sea Scrolls, I used M.J. Abegg et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance: Volume 1: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* 2vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

¹⁰ For the Dead Sea Scrolls, I used the 1999 version of The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library, Brill, Leiden. For the Mishnah, I used the Judaic Classics Library Ver. 2.2, Davka, Chicago.

¹¹ See E.L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, (Jerusalem: Magnes Press / The Hebrew University, 1955) plate 25. The diacritical marks in the following are my own additions from the photographs.

¹² The beginning of line 1QM x.8 reads: וְנוֹשַׁעְתֶּם מֵאֹיְבֵיכֶם – and you shall be saved from your enemies. These two words conclude a quotation of MT Num 10.9, and the previous section. This is clear from the switch to direct address of the divine.

¹³ There is a line of approximately 0.5” here. Perhaps a scribal error? Cf. J. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de La Guerre: Traduit et Annoté avec une Introduction*, (STJD 2; Leiden: Brill, 1959) 137.

10 עם קדושי ברית ומלומדי חוק משכילי בִּינָה...[...]. וְשׁוֹמְעֵי קוֹל נִכְבַּד וְרוֹאֵי
 11 מְלֵאכֵי קוֹדֵשׁ מְגוּלֵי אוֹזֵן וְשׁוֹמְעֵי עֲמוּקוֹת[...].¹⁴ מִפָּרֶשׁ שְׁחָקִים צְבֵא מְאוֹרוֹת
 12 וּמִשָּׂא רֹחוֹת וּמִמְשַׁלֵּת קְדוּשִׁים אוֹצְרוֹת כְּבִנוֹד בְּאֶפְלָל עֵבִים הַבּוֹרֵא אֶרֶץ וְחֹקֵי מִפְלָגִיה
 13 לְמַדְבַּר וְאֶרֶץ עֲרֵבָה וְכוּל צֹאצְאֵיה עִם פְּרָנִים...[...]. הֵה חוּג יָמִים וּמְקוֹי נְהוּרֹת וּמִבְקַע תְּהוֹמוֹת
 14 מַעֲשֵׂי חַיָּה וּבְנֵי כִנֶּף תְּבִנִית אָדָם וְהוֹלְדוֹת צִלְעוֹ בִּלְת לִשׁוֹן וּמִפְרֵד עֲמִים מוֹשֵׁב מִשְׁפַּחֹת
 15 וְנַחֲלַת אֲרָצוֹת [...] מוֹעֲדֵי קוֹדֵשׁ לְתַקְוֹת שְׁנַיִם וְקָצֵי
 16 עַד...[...]. הֵה אֱלֹהֵי יָדַעְנוּ מִבִּינְתְּכֶם אֲשֶׁר...
 17 [...] אוֹקְנֵי כֶּה אֵל שׁוֹעֲתָנוּ כִּי־אֱלֹהֵי...[...]
 18 [...] בְּיָתוֹ הַכּוֹן...[...].

8 Who is like you, O God of Israel, in the hea[ven]s and in the earth, that he
 could do according to your great deeds
 9 and according to your powerful strength? And who is like your people Israel whom you have
 chosen for yourself from all the peoples of the lands,
 10 a people of holy ones of the covenant, learned in statute, wise in understa[nding ...]...[...].
 hearers of the honored voice, and seers
 11 of the holy angels with opened ears, hearing deep (things)? [...] ¹⁵ the expanse of the skies,
 the army of the luminaries,
 12 the business of the spirits, the dominion of the holy ones, the storehouse of gl[ory in the
 dar]k clouds. He is the Creator of the earth and of the boundaries of its divisions
 13 in the wilderness and the steppe and all its produce with [their] fru[its ...] the circle of the
 seas and the reservoirs of the rivers and the rift of the depths,
 14 the making of animals and birds, the image of Adam, and genera[tions...] ¹⁶ the confusion of
 tongue, ¹⁷ and the separation of peoples, the settling of clans,
 15 the possession of lands [...] the sacred seasons, and the cycle of years and ages
 16 of eternity ... [...]. We know this through your knowledge which [...]
 17 [...] your [ear] to our cry, for [...]
 18 [...]... his house ...[...].

This text, which identifies God as Creator of the earth (הַבּוֹרֵא אֶרֶץ, line 12), has a significant concentration of vocabulary common to MT Gen 1.1-5 (שָׁמַיִם/אֶרֶץ, אֹר, רוּחַ, בְּרָא, תְּהוֹמֹת).¹⁸ The larger liturgical section¹⁹ of which this text is a part bears some similarity to biblical psalmody and was likely meant for use in preparation for

¹⁴ J. Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre: Des Fils de Lumière Contre Les Fils de Ténèbres*, (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1958) suggests the reconstruction, רְוֵי אֵל כִּי־אֵל, which would render the end of the question – seers of the holy angels with opened ears, hearing deep secrets of God? For it is God who (deploys)... (146)

¹⁵ Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, (trans. B.C. Rabin; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962) suggests that there may have been an "apostrophe of God as creator of the heavens" in this gap as a parallel to הַבּוֹרֵא אֶרֶץ in line 12. (307)

¹⁶ Yadin suggests that this portion of line 14 should read, וְהוֹלְדוֹת צִלְעוֹ, or 'the issue of his (Adam's) rib'. Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 308. The difficulty with any solution to the the problem of this lacuna is pointed out by van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleua de La Guerre*, 138-139.

¹⁷ J. Duhaime, "War Scroll," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 2: Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen / Louisville: Mohr Seibek / Westminster John Knox, 1995) suggests, "the confusion of language". (119)

¹⁸ J. Carmignac, "Les Citations de L'Ancien Testament dans 'La Guerre des Fils des Lumière Contre les Fils de Ténèbres,'" *RB* 63 (1956) imagines that the author of 1QM did not have Gen 1.1-5 far from mind. (251)

¹⁹ P.R. Davies, "War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) calls 1QM x.8-xiv, "a varied collection of liturgical pieces." (966)

battle. This is evident in 1QM x.1-8a, in which the priests are given direction on the strengthening of soldiers prior to battle.²⁰ From these exhortations in the face of the enemy, the text at hand proceeds to say something about God and God's relationship to Israel.

The above text can be separated into two parts: the interrogative (x.8a-11a) and the declarative (11b-?). The interrogative has two questions addressed to God. The first is about the uniqueness of God as creator and actor in the cosmos, "Who is like you, O God of Israel, in the heavens and in the earth, that he could do according to your great deeds and according to your powerful strength?"²¹ This use of אֱלֹהֵינוּ and שְׁמַיִם locates the God of Israel and uses the same order as in MT Gen 1.1. The second question regards the uniqueness of God's people Israel, chosen by God from all the people of the lands, and it highlights attributes of the chosen people. They are of the covenant, learned in statute, wise in understanding, hearers of the voice, seers of angels, and hearers of deep things.²² It is likely that these attributes describe the sectarians as the true Israel.²³

The declarative section, which begins at the *lacuna* midway through line 11, addresses who God is as Creator. Y. Yadin suggests that in the *lacuna* in the middle of line 11 there was an 'apostrophe of God as creator of the heavens.'²⁴ This would follow logically as the second statement (line 12) begins with הַבּוֹרֵא אֶרֶץ. If correct, the two halves of this declarative section address God as creator of the heavens²⁵ and the earth. The answer to the first question (who is like you in the heavens and in the earth), then, is no one, as this is the God who has created it all. The ambiguous²⁶ use of רִוְחוֹת in line 12 comes in close proximity to מַאֲרוֹת (line 11) and מְשַׁלֵּת קְדוּשִׁים (line 12), things that God created in the heavens that may be angelic spirits.²⁷ While מִשָּׂא (burden, task, business)²⁸

²⁰ In 1QM x.1-8a, there are two biblical quotations. The first is from Deut 20.2-4, describing the way that the priest ought to address the troops exhorting them to not fear because God will fight with them against their enemy, cf. Carmignac, "Les Citations," 236. After the role of the priest is defined, the role of the officers is described (1QM x.5-8a). They too are to gird up the soldiers, encouraging the faithful and making the fearful retreat. Then they recall the words of Moses, quoting Num 10.9, another passage that God will remember and save the faithful army, cf. Carmignac, "Les Citations," 237. J.J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (LDSS; London: Routledge, 1997) notes that there are similar pre-battle exhortations in the Maccabean books (1 Macc 4.9, 30, 7.41; 2 Macc 12.15) recalling biblical examples of defeat of the enemy. (99)

²¹ The same interrogative formula is used in 1QM xiii.13-14, MT Ps 35.10, 71.19, and in MT Deut 33.29 of Israel, in MT 1 Sam 26.15 of Abner.

²² The second question apparently ends in the *lacuna* in the middle of line 11.

²³ As Carmignac, "Les Citations," notes, there is a resemblance between 1QM x.10-13 and Sir 17.7-13 (251), though lacking the Hebrew of this portion of Ben Sira any direct relation is impossible to ascertain.

²⁴ Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, suggests this as a balance to the titular use of the participle, הַבּוֹרֵא אֶרֶץ, in line 12. (307) A similar pattern of 'creator of heaven + contents & creator of earth + contents' is found in 1QH ix 9-19, which may suggest that the participle in the *lacuna* was a form of נִטָּה following the wording of 1QH ix.9, וְיִאֲתָה נְטִיתָה שְׁמַיִם. While the similarities between the two texts need not be stretched too far, there are parallels in their content that at least open the possibility of the use נִטָּה in line 11.

²⁵ While שְׁמַיִם does not appear in line 11, barring any direct repetition of אֶרֶץ/שְׁמַיִם from line 8, שְׁחֻקִים can function as a synonym. BDB, s.v.

²⁶ Cf. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de La Guerre*, 138.

²⁷ See Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 231, for a survey of the uses of רִוְחוֹת as synonyms for angels and within titles of God in the DSS.

²⁸ The parallelism between מִשָּׂא and מְשַׁלֵּת as identified by Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 307, does not seem likely.

poses some difficulty, less likely is that these רוחות reflect a meteorological phenomenon.²⁹ The titular use of ברש in line 12 bears little resemblance to its active use in MT Genesis 1, though titling God as the creator of the earth bears at least a general resemblance to the theme of Genesis 1 and the rest of the creation accounts in the Hebrew Bible. Finally, תהום at the end of line 13 again is intertextually related to the deeps of MT Gen 1.2 though not directly, as it is found here in the plural. Of note is the observation of van der Ploeg that this occurrence of תהום resembles MT Ps 74.15.³⁰

In addition to the intertextual connections with MT Gen 1.1-5, 1QM x.8b-18 displays some significant intertextual intersections with other texts in the tapestry.

While the phrase, מפרש שחקים - the expanse of the skies, in 1QM x.11 appears nowhere in the Hebrew Bible, שחק is used to describe God's realm/residence³¹ and is an object of God's creative action witnessed by Wisdom.³² It is unclear if the use of אוצרות – storehouses in 1QM x.12 bears any direct resemblance to any text of the Hebrew Bible, especially if the following word is reconstructed, כבנוד, though the relatively frequent use of אוצרות does draw attention to a variety of texts in the tapestry.³³ The use of חוק in 1QM x.12 is familiar from the intertextual tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5,³⁴ all of which are in relation to the regulation or boundrification of some form of water. 1QM x.12f, however, may well be³⁵ interested in both earthy³⁶ and watery³⁷ boundaries. The use of צאצאיה in 1QM x.13 has both thematic similarity with Genesis 1³⁸ and a concrete connection with MT Isa 42.5.³⁹ This intertextual connection is of particular interest because of the similarity in the sequence in both texts. In Isaiah, the actions are creating the heaven and stretching them out, spreading out the earth and what comes from it (צאצאיה), and finally moving on to speak of the creation of humans. In 1QM x.13, God's actions are the creation of the earth, the boundrification of the earth and all that it brings forth (צאצאיה). The phrase, חוג ימים, is found in MT Job 26.10, where God draws a circle on the face of the waters - חק־חג על־פני־מים.⁴⁰ There is similarity between 1QM x.13 and MT Prov 3.20, which reads בדעתו תהומות נבקעו – by his knowledge the deeps broke open.⁴¹ In 1QM x.14 the intertextual relationship with the First Creation Story continues with reference to the creation of

²⁹ Duhaime, "War Scroll," 117, also notes the possibility that it could read "the rising of winds" per B. Jongeling, *Le rouleau de la guerre des manuscrits de Qumrân*, (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 4; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1962) 251-525.

³⁰ van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de La Guerre*, 138.

³¹ MT 2 Sam 22.12 & Ps 18.12. Also, Deut 33.26 states that God rides through the שחקים to the aid of Israel.

³² MT Prov 8.28.

³³ MT Jer 10.13, 51.16, Ps 33.7, 135.7, Job 38.22

³⁴ MT Ps 148.6 (waters, though possibly angels, hosts (v.2), sun, moon, and stars (v.3), highest heaven and waters (v.4)); Prov 8.29 (sea); Job 26.10 (waters), 28.26 (rain).

³⁵ I suggest this with some hesitation as there is a lacuna in the middle of the list in 1QM x.13.

³⁶ 1QM x.13 – wilderness, steppe, and its produce.

³⁷ 1QM x.13 – the circle of the seas, the reservoirs of the rivers, and the rift of the depths.

³⁸ MT Gen 1.29, also 11-12, 22, 28.

³⁹ Also of note is the (damaged) occurrence of צאצאיה in 1QH^a v.15. See below, p. 115.

⁴⁰ Also similar are MT Prov 8.27, a circle on the face of the deep (תהום), and Isa 40.22, in which God the creator is found above the circle of the earth.

⁴¹ Similarly, MT Ps 74.15a has God breaking open (the earth) for spring (מעין) and torrent (נחל).

animals and birds,⁴² the (image) of Adam,⁴³ and his generations.⁴⁴ Also, there is a possible allusion to the Babel story⁴⁵ in 1QM x.14.

What is clear about the extant portions of 1QM x.8a-18 is that God is the unparalleled creator, that God creates by boundrification, and that there is a significant intertextual confluence of phrases and concepts common with the larger tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5.

3.2.2 1QH^a xx.4-11⁴⁶

נלמשכיל הןודות ותפלה להיתנפל והתחנן תמיד מקין לקין עם מבוא אור	4
לממשןלתו [בתקופות יום לתכוננו לחוקות מאור גדול בפנות ערב ומוצא	5
אור ברשית ממשלת חושך למועד לילה בתקופתו לִפְנוֹת בוקר ובקין	6
האספו אל מִיְנוֹתוֹ מפנן }תן ⁴⁷ אור למוצא לילה ומבוא יומם תמיד בכול	7
מולדי עת יסודי קין ותקופת מועדים בתכונם באותותם לכול	8
ממשלתם בתכון נאמנה מפי אל ותעודת הווה והיאה תהיה	9
ואין אפס וזולתה לוא היה ולוא יהיה עוד כי אל הןדןן עות	10
הכינה ואין אחר עמו <i>vacat</i>	11

4 [For the Instructor, pr]aises and prayer, to bow down and to seek favor
continuously, time after time: with light coming
5 to [its] domin[ion] in the course of a day, according to its order, according to the
statutes of the great light the return of evening, at the departure
6 of light, in the beginning of the dominion of darkness, at the appointed time of night,
in its course to the return of morning, and in the time
7 when it withdraws to its dwelling before {} light for the departure of night and the
coming of day; continually, in all
8 births of time, the foundations of a period, and the course of appointed times in their
course, by their signs for all
9 their realms, in the order established through the mouth of God the testimony of what
is and what will be
10 and nothing else. Besides it there is nothing, nor will there ever be. For the God of
knowledge
11 established it, and not another with him. *vacat*

The emphasis in this portion of 1QH^a is celestial and likely liturgical. The intertextual connection with MT Gen 1.1-5, anchored by intertextual markers shared with Gen 1.1-5 (אור, ברשית, חושך, אור), (יום, לילה, ערב, בוקר ברשית, חושך, אור), comes most directly from MT Gen 1.3-5 and the creation of light and the distinguishing between night and day. This particular portion appears to come at the beginning of a longer hymn written in the first person. While the

⁴² MT Gen 1.20-25

⁴³ MT Gen 1.27

⁴⁴ MT Gen 2.4a, as likely is Gen 5.1.

⁴⁵ MT Gen 11.1-9. Given the possibility that the generations of Adam is an encompassing reference to the stories of Adam and Eve (MT Gen 2.4b-5.32), the elements of the first chapters of Genesis that this psalm appears to lack any reference to the Giants (MT Gen 6.1-7) or the Flood (Gen 6.9-9.29). In addition the direction of the psalm moves from the first chapter of Genesis to history of the patriarchs in line 15. This sequence suggests that the intention was not an imitation of the first chapter of Genesis.

⁴⁶ Sukenik, *DSS of the Hebrew University*, plate 46. Sukenik labels this column as col. 12.

⁴⁷ There are three points of erasure in this text, one in line 7, identified by Sukenik as a *tav*, and two *yods* in line 10.

exact parameters of the hymn are not clear,⁴⁸ in the lines that follow the pericope, the speaker goes on to speak of the mysteries made known to him.⁴⁹ Of concern in this portion is time – the regular rhythm of day and night, light and darkness, evening and morning. Thus, the pairings of MT Gen 1.3-5 (הושך/אור, לילה/יום, בוקר/ערב) are of interest. While 1QH^a xx.4-11 shares a good deal of the same language as MT Gen 1.1-5, there is no direct dependence. 1QH^a xx.4-11 is more concerned about poetically describing the regular and perpetual call for praise and prayer,⁵⁰ than about whence the regularity of day and night, light and dark, evening and morning come. Creation, however, is not completely outside the purview of this text. In 1QH^a xx.9, comes the phrase, בתכּוּן נאמנה מפי אל – in the order established from the mouth of God. This statement implies that these celestial time-keepers were set in place by the speech of the divine – creation by speech. The text also goes on to state a second time that it is God and God alone who has established this order of time,⁵¹ though without any further reference to creation by speech.⁵²

One final intertextual marker of interest is the use of ברשׂיה⁵³ in 1QH^a xx.6. In this context it appears to mean the beginning of night, here referred to as במזללת חושך or the dominion of darkness. Earlier in the text is the counterpart – the dominion of light.⁵⁴ There is a marked similarity, though absent any obvious angelic forces, with 1QS iii.19-iv.1, especially iii.19-22. While sun, moon, and stars are not mentioned by name in 1QH^a xx.4-11, there is distinct resemblance with MT Gen 1.16 and MT Ps 136.8-9, in both of which the sun (v.8) and the moon and stars (v.9) have dominion (במזללה) over their respective portions of the day.

3.2.3 1QH^a ix.7-20⁵⁵

ובחמתכנה... ה[נכינותה ...] עולם ובטרם בראתם ידעתה כְּנִלְמָה ⁵⁶ מעשיהם	7
לעולמי עֵד [מבלעדיכה לא] יעשה כול ולא יודע בלוא רְצִוְנִיכָה אתה יצרתה	8
כול רוח ו... [ומשפט לכול מעשיהם vacat] ואתה נטיתה שמים	9
לכבודכה כול [אשר בם ה[נכינותה לרצונכה ורוחות עוז לחוקיהם בטרם	10
היותם למלאכי קנודש ...] לרוחות עולם בממשלותם מאורות לרזיהם	11
כוכבים לנתיבותם וכול רוחות סערה] למשאם זקים וברקים לעבודתם ואוצרות	12
מחשבת לחפציה[ם ...] לרזיהם vacat אתה בראתה ארץ בכוחכה ⁵⁷	13

⁴⁸ S. Holm-Nielson, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, (Acta Theologica Danica 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960) suggests that the hymn begins at 1QH^a xix.29, though he himself says that it is only "with every reservation" that he suggests any beginning considering the disrepair of the manuscript (199 n.1). I concur with this in so far as it seems possible that 1QH^a xx.4 is as good a beginning as any, though no certain determination can be made without the complete text. It should also be noted that Holm-Nielson suggests a pericope beginning in the lost lines at the top of col. xx extending through line 11a. If the tentative reconstruction of ה[נודות] prior to למשכיל is correct, it seems the hymn would commence at the beginning of line 4.

⁴⁹ 1QH^a xx.11f

⁵⁰ Cf. 1QH^a xx.4

⁵¹ Cf. 1QH^a xx.10-11

⁵² Cf. MT Amos 9.6; Ps 33.6, 148.5; Job 38.12

⁵³ There appears to be fluidity in the morphology of רשׂיה with the ם present sometimes (e.g. 1QS vi.5; 1QM i.1) and absent others (e.g. 1QS x.5; 1QH xx.6; 4QS^d [4Q258] frag. 5 i.2), sometimes with both forms in the same text.

⁵⁴ Cf. 1QH^a xx.4-5

⁵⁵ Sukenik, *DSS of the Hebrew University*, plate 35.

⁵⁶ The photograph of plate 35 shows solid dots above and below the letters in this word.

14 ימים ותהומות...[...].ביהם הכינותה בחוכמתכה וכול אשר בם
 15 תכנתה לרצונכה... לרוח אדם אשר יצרת בתבל לכל ימי עולם
 16 ודורות נצח למן[...]. ובקציהם פלגתה עבודתם בכול דוריהם ומשנפ]ט
 17 במועדיה לממשל[...].יהם... לדור ודור ופקודת שלומם עם
 18 <עם> כול נגיעיהם[...].ה ותפלגה לכול צאצאיהם למספר דורות עולם
 19 ולכול שני נצח[...].ה ובחכמת דעתכה הכנינותה תע[ן]דתם בטרם
 20 היותם ועל פי רצונכה יהיה כול ומבלעדך לא יעשה *vacat*

7 In [your] wisdom [you] est[ablished...] eternal, and before you created them you knew
 all of their deeds
 8 forever and ever. [Apart from you no]thing is done, and nothing is known without
 your favor. You formed
 9 every spirit, and [...] and the judgment of all their deeds. *vacat* And you stretched out
 (the) heavens
 10 for your glory. All [that is in it y]ou [esta]blished according to your favor,⁵⁸ and
 powerful spirits according to their statutes, before
 11 they became h[oly] angels [...] eternal spirits in their realms: luminaries according to
 their mysteries,
 12 stars according to [their] paths [and all the storm winds] according to their burdens,
 shooting stars and lightning according to their labors, and storehouses
 13 well designed according to [their] pleasure [...] according to their mysteries. *vacat*
 You created the earth with your strength,
 14 seas and deeps... [...] you established their [...] with your wisdom, everything which is
 in them
 15 you have determined according to your favo[r ...] for the spirit of man which you
 formed upon the earth for all days forever
 16 and perpetual generations, so that [...] and in their times. You have divided their
 duties in all their generations and the regu[la]tion
 17 at its appointed time for the rule[...]. from generation to generation and the charge of
 their peace with
 18 <with> all their afflictions [...] and you will divide [it] among all their offspring
 according to the number of eternal generations
 19 and for all years everlasting. [...] And in the wisdom of your knowledge you have
 est[ab]lished their course before
 20 they came to be. And in accordance with [your] fa[vor] everything will be, and apart
 from you nothing will be made.

This text is a portion of a larger hymn the bounds of which are not entirely clear given the disrepair of the scroll at this point.⁵⁹ The sapiential nature of this portion is quite clear.⁶⁰ The intertextual markers of MT Gen 1.1-

⁵⁷ Sukenik notes that בכוחכה is written over an erasure and that the ך is 'traced over cancelled ה.' See the margin of Sukenik's transcription of plate 35.

⁵⁸ M.A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, (Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World - 200 BC to 200 AD 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) offers an alternative reconstruction for the beginning of line 10: "...for your glory, all [their (heavens') hosts] you [appointed] according to your will..." - לכבורכה כול [צבאם] הכינותה לרצונכה. (159 – Hebrew reconstruction my own.) This seems plausible given the similarity to MT Isa 45.12.

⁵⁹ Throughout this pericope there is a hole that runs vertically from the top of the column ending in the middle of line 20. The general disrepair of the top five lines makes any final conclusion about the hymn's beginning impossible to make. Originally labeled as col. i by Sukenik, the beginning of the hymn would have been *de facto* the beginning of the column. Following the reconstructions by H. Stegemann, "Rekonstruktion der Hodajot: Ursprüngliche Gestalt und kritisch bearbeiteter Text der Hymnernenrolle aus Höhl 1 von Qumran" (Dissertation:

5 are present in the pericope, especially concentrated in lines 7-14 (ברא, רוח, שמים, ארץ, תהום).⁶¹ The structuring of creation in this text is of particular interest. Creation takes a threefold format: the first action is a pre-creation of every spirit (lines 7-9), the second is the creation of the heavens (lines 9-13), and finally the creation of the earth and its contents, including humankind (lines 13-20).⁶² While the heavens and the earth are focal points, the main point of the hymn is the omnipotence and omniscience of God. Everything originates in God particularly via God's wisdom; and God knows all that will be before it is.

The initial act, or pre-act, of creation comes at the portion of the pericope with the most damage. What is first evident in this initial act of creation is that by or in wisdom (ובחמתכ[ה])⁶³ God establishes something. The reconstruction of [ה]כינותה... in the gap of line 7 immediately following [ה]ובחמתכ[ה] seems possible as it could foreshadow the use of ברא later in the line.⁶⁴ Exactly what was established is not clear, though the phrase, אתה יצרתה כול רוח – you formed every spirit,⁶⁵ may well be akin to the expansion of MT Gen 1.1-5 in *Jub* 2.2, preserved at Qumran,⁶⁶ in which God creates all of the spirits. The first portion of the pericope finishes with a statement about God's omnipotence and omniscience.⁶⁷

The second act of creation is the stretching out of the heavens,⁶⁸ a common idea within the intertextual tapestry.⁶⁹ The purpose of this act of creation is explicitly stated as God's glorification, which is likely the center point of the hymn. The remainder of the creation of the heavens is the establishment of the heavenly spirits and

Heidelberg, 1963. Unpublished.), and É. Puech, "Quelque aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)," *JJS* 39 (1988) what was Sukenik's col. i is now col. ix, raising the possibility that the hymn's first line is in col. viii. There is an opening to a hymn at 1QH^a viii.16 that may be the beginning of the hymn continued through col. ix.

⁶⁰ See the three mentions of God's wisdom as central to the acts of creation: lines 7, 14, 19. Holm-Nielson, *Hodayot*, entitles this pericope (in his estimation, lines 1-20), "God's wisdom finds its expression in His creation." (19, 30)

⁶¹ One might also consider באור in line 11 as a cognate of אור.

⁶² There is a similar two-fold description of God as creator of heavens and earth in 1QM ix.11-16.

⁶³ The *waw* at the beginning of the word may mean that this thought is a continuation of thought from the previous lines. While the decay of the scroll at this point makes any complete understanding of the initial verses of the hymn difficult, it does seem that the lines immediately preceding this pericope were declaring the greatness of God in both power and compassion, note especially אין מספר (without number) in line 5 and וארוך אפים במשפט ואמתה (and slow to anger in the judgment and you) are just in all your works) in line 6.

⁶⁴ While it is impossible to say for sure what was created in this pre-creation given the gap in the manuscript, a similarity between 1QS iii and 1QH^a ix and may provide a clue. In 1QS iii the instruction about the nature of humanity is laid out. Central to this teaching is the fact that God established (כון) the entire design of humanity (line 15), created (ברא) them to rule the world, and placed within them two spirits – light and darkness. The use of כון and ברא in the same thought is also used in 1QS iii.15-17; 1QH^a v.13-14, vii.15-17; also in an inverted order 11QT^a xxix.9-10, MT Isa 45.18, and MT Ps 51.12. While the use of one verb does not automatically expect the other, there is at least a pattern similar to that in other texts.

⁶⁵ 1QH^a ix.8-9

⁶⁶ Cf. 4QJubilees^a v.1-11 (4Q216 12 ii -13). See below, p. 116.

⁶⁷ Cf. 1QS iii.15.

⁶⁸ 1QH^a ix.9

⁶⁹ Cf. MT 2 Sam 22.10; Isa 40.22, 42.5, 44.24, 51.13; Jer 10.12, 51.15; Zech 12.1; Ps 18.10, 104.2

their transformation into holy angels (מלאכי קנודש) and eternal spirits (רוחות עולם) in their respective functions:⁷⁰ lights (מאורות), stars (כוכבים), shooting stars and lightning (זקים וברקים), and storehouses (אוצרות).⁷¹

The third act of creation is the earth and all that is in it (line 13). The first parts of the earth mentioned are the seas and deeps (ימים וטהומות), and unfortunately a gap in the text that runs vertically through the upper portion of the column does not retain what other portions of the earth the hymn originally mentioned. Whatever was there along with the seas and deeps were established with God's wisdom.⁷² All that is in the earth God established. The remainder of the pericope is devoted to the creation of humankind, including the foreordination of their duties and their afflictions, all according to the wisdom of God's knowledge.⁷³

In addition to the points of intersection with the intertextual tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5 already highlighted, the reiteration that God is creating in or by wisdom in all three sections of this text accentuates the importance of wisdom in this creative process. While there is no personification of wisdom along the lines of MT Prov 8.22-31, the general idea of God creating in or by wisdom is present elsewhere in the tapestry.⁷⁴ Finally, there is a similarity in the order of creation, absent the pre-creation of every spirit, between this text and MT Zech 12.1 where God stretches the heavens, founds (יסד) the earth, and forms (יצר) the spirit of man/Adam.

3.2.4 4QWorks of God (4Q392) frag.1⁷⁵

	[...] וממלכות[...]	1
	[...] וְלֹהֵאֱדֹד אִישׁ לְאֱלֹהִים וְלֹא לְסוֹר מִכְּנוּל [...]	2
	וְבִבְרִיתוֹ תִּדְבֹק נַפְשׁוֹ וְלִדְרֹךְ דְּבָרֵי פִיָּהּ כִּי אֲדוֹןִי אֱלֹהִים בְּשָׁמַיִם	3
	מִמַּעַל וְלִחְקֹר דְּרָכֵי בְנֵי הָאָדָם וְאֵין סֵתֵר מִלְּפָנָיו ⁷⁶ הוּא בָּרָא חֲשָׁךְ וְאֵין לוֹ	4
	וְבִמְעוֹנָתוֹ אֹר לְאֹרְתָם וְכָל אֲפֵלָה לְפָנָיו נָחָה וְאֵין עָמוּ לְהַבְדִּיל בֵּין הָאֹר	5
	לְחֲשֶׁךְ כִּי לְבָנִין אֲדָם הַבְּדִילִם לְאֹנֹר יוֹמָם וּבִשְׁמֶשׁ לַיְלָה יִרַח וְכֹכָבִים	6
	וְעָמוּ אֹר לְאֵין חֲקֹר וְאֵין לְדַעְתָּן ... [אֵין כִּי פְלֹאֲנִים ⁷⁷ כָּל מַעֲשֵׂי אֵל אֲנַחְנוּ	7
	בְּשֶׁר הַלּוֹא נִשְׁכִּיל בְּמָה עָמְנוּ לְעִנְשׁוֹת נַפְלְאוֹת וּמִפְתִּים לְאֵין מִסְפָּר	8
	כִּי בְּמָרוֹם נַעֲשֶׂה רַחֲוֹת וּבְרִקִּים מְלֹאכֵינוּ וּמִן שְׁרֵטֵי דְבִינָר מְלֹפְנֵינוּ יִצְאִים הַמְאֹרֹת	9
	[...] לְ[...] ⁷⁸ לְ[...] ⁷⁹	10

⁷⁰ It is likely that there were two other 'functions' of these angels that are missing because of the gap in the manuscript in lines 12 and 13.

⁷¹ While the contents of this אוצרות is not specified here, throughout the tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5 the contents of the אוצרות are: darkness – MT Isa 45.3; wind – Jer 10.13, 51.16, Ps 135.7; snow and hail – MT Job 38.22; and the deeps – Ps 33.7, all but the last having to do with the heavens.

⁷² 1QH^a ix.14

⁷³ 1QH^a ix.19

⁷⁴ Cf. MT Jer 10.12, 51.15, Ps 104.24, Prov 3.19

⁷⁵ D. Falk, DJD XXIX.27-28.

⁷⁶ B. Nitzan, "The Idea of Creation and Its Implications in Qumran Literature," in *Creation in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (ed. H.G. Reventlow and Y. Hoffman; JSOTSup 319; London: Sheffield, 2002) does not have מלפנו in her transcription nor is it reflected in her translation. (254) The photograph (PAM 43.521) has a word between סתר and הרי though with the naked eye it is difficult to conclude what it reads. At this point, I rely on the expertise of Falk, DJD XXIX.27, 29, and assume a mistake on the part of Nitzan.

⁷⁷ There is an alternate reconstruction of this portion of line 7: כִּי אֵין כּוּפְלִים, "For it doubles all the deeds of the God." Falk, DJD XXIX.28.

¹ [...] and kingdoms [...]
² [...] each to be in communion with God, and not to turn aside from a[ll...]
³ and to his covenant their soul shall cling, and to [st]udy the words of [his]
 mouth [because the Lor]d is Go[d in the] heavens
⁴ above, and to examine the ways of the sons of man. And there is no hiding
 place from his presence. He created darkness[and l]ight for himself.
⁵ And in his habitation is the light of perfect lights, and all darkness leads to his
 presence; and there is no one with him to separate the light
⁶ from the darkness. For he separated them for the sons of man – daytime
 according to the light with the sun (and) night (with) the moon and
 stars.
⁷ And with him is a light that is neither searchable or knowable [...] for
 wonderful are all the works of God. We
⁸ are flesh. Should we not ponder why (he is) with us to [do] uncountable
 [wond]ers and signs?⁷⁸
⁹ [For from] the heights [he made w]inds and lightning [his messengers and
 se]rvants of the inner sanctu[ary]. From his presence go forth the
 lum[inaries]
¹⁰ [...]...[...]...[...].

This previously unknown text has a wealth of creation imagery along with a strong representation of intertextual markers common with MT Gen 1.1-5 (רוח, בדל, אור, חשך, ברא, שמים). It appears to be part of a larger admonition that the addressee cling to the covenant and study God's words, i.e. the Law (see line 3).⁷⁹ While both top and bottom margins of the column are missing, the fragment itself has nearly eight lines of continuous text with both margins intact. This provides substantial text for analysis and, while not complete, does provide a good glimpse at the wider context.

The fragment begins in the middle of a series of infinitives (lines 2-4) that are 'a characterization of God's elect as those privileged with divine knowledge,' a section which 'serves to invoke wonder at God's gracious dealings with man.'⁸⁰ Falk's reading is strengthened by a return to these ideas in lines 7 and 8, particularly with the idea that there is a chasm between God the creator and humanity or flesh (בשר) in line 8 and the seeming call to

⁷⁸ This line is particularly vexing. Nitzan, "Idea of Creation," translates the first portion of line 8, We 'are flesh for learning that which is subject to our understanding...' Her translation of the line is based on a perceived relationship with Job 15.9. Falk, DJD XXIX, records that Strugnell in his notes translated, "We are flesh – can we not understand? With what would it be in our power to per[form won]ders and portents without number?" (31) Falk rightly notes that the subject cannot be humans. It must be God who is responsible for the wonders and signs, citing Job 5.9. Given the content of the fragment in general and the preceding line (9) in particular, it seems most likely that these wonders and signs like winds, lightning, and luminaries would be attributed to the handiwork of God.

⁷⁹ D. Falk, "Biblical Adaptation in 4Q392 *Works of God* and 4Q393 *Communal Confession*," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999) suggests that 4Q392 and 4Q393 are related but not the same composition. In 4Q392, he sees a text, the purpose of which is 'to reflect on the wonder of election', whereas he sees 4Q393 as 'perhaps...a liturgical prayer of confession.' (137). Similarly, Nitzan, "Idea of Creation," sees 4Q392 as a 'sapiential admonition' that directs the addressee to adhere to the covenant by means of knowledge provided by the Law. (255-6)

⁸⁰ Falk, DJD XXIX.30

ponder why this God of immense power is with them to do such great things. It is the same God who created light from darkness that has chosen the community of the text.⁸¹

While *שמ״ם* occurs at the end of line 3, it is used to locate God and is not the focus of any creative energy. Even though the words of God’s mouth are meant for study, they are not in this context creative.⁸² The creation foci of the text are light and who God is as creator of the whole. In this vein, God is said to have created (*ברא*) darkness (*חשך*) and light (*אור*) for himself. This is reminiscent of MT Isa 45.7⁸³ where God takes credit for both the formation of light and the creation of darkness. Surprisingly, neither Falk or Nitzan note this connection. Given the uniqueness of the attribution of the creation of both light *and* darkness to God within the Hebrew Bible, such a similarity with 4Q392 1 is significant. The focus remains the creation of light and darkness in lines 5-7. Creation of and dominion over light and darkness are central to the text. God’s dwelling is the light of lights (*אור אורות*)⁸⁴ and darkness (*אפלה*) leads to or comes to rest (*נחה*)⁸⁵ in God’s presence.⁸⁶

The next phrases of 4Q392 1 continue the light/darkness theme adding the idea that God alone is able to separate light from darkness. This is a significant connection with MT Gen 1.4, where, after the creation of light and pronouncing it good, God separates light from darkness.⁸⁷ The statement from Genesis is a positive naming of God as the one who separates, whereas the statement from 4Q392 1 moves from the negative in that no one except God separates light from darkness. Other than the way of addressing God and a grammatical difference,⁸⁸ the ideas of these two texts are quite close.

⁸¹ To say conclusively that 4Q392 is a sectarian text is impossible. However, Falk, DJD XXIX, suggests that there are features that increase the probability that 4Q392 is at least of a "sectarian character": (1) a resemblance to the *Hodayot* in vocabulary and style, (2) "the requirement to examine human ways," (3) a likely substitution of *אדוני* for *יהוה* (see 4Q392 1,3), and (4) the use of *אורות/אורתם*, which only appears in sectarian texts, namely the *Hodayot* and *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*. (27)

⁸² Cf. 1QH^a xx.9

⁸³

יוצר אור ובורא חשך עשה שלום ובורא רע אני יהוה עשה כל-אלה:

⁸⁴ Falk, notes that *אורות/אורתם* only occurs in other sectarian texts at Qumran, namely the *Hodayot* and the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*. He cites this along with the ‘stylistic, verbal, and thematic resemblances to the *Hodayot*, the requirement to examine human ways, a probable substitution of *אדוני* for the tetragrammaton,’ as features that could lead toward the association of 4Q392 with the Qumran community. (27) Regarding the character and usage of *אורות/אורתם*, Falk notes that it ‘is reserved for descriptions of the light associated with God’s presence and his heavenly dwelling.’ (31)

⁸⁵ The meaning of *נחה* in BH is ‘lead’ with no connotations of ‘rest’, cf. BDB, s.v. Jastrow notes a use of *נחה* as ‘rest’ in *Genesis Rabbah* s. 10, though this use does not exclude the emergence of the meaning ‘rest’ at an earlier stage. (s.v.) Also, the four occurrences of *נחה* in the non-biblical texts from Qumran likely read ‘lead’ rather than ‘rest’. Three of the four are in the same line from the *Rule of the Community* (1QS IX.18, 4Q256 XVIII.1, 4Q259 III.16). The fourth is in 4Q408 (4QMorning and Evening Prayer) 1+1a, 7, and is quite fragmentary. It is, however, another intertext of MT Gen 1.1-5 and is addressed below.

⁸⁶ In addition to the resemblance of MT Isa 45.7 with 4Q392 1 4b, there is also a similarity with MT Isa 45.3a: *ואני אעשה לך אוצרות חשך* - ‘and I will give to you the treasures (treasuries) of darkness.’ While not identical to the phrase from 4Q392, both deal with darkness and the presence or actions of God.

⁸⁷ *ויבדל אלהים בין האור ובין החשך* MT Gen 1.4b

ואין עמו להבדיל בין האור לחשך 4Q392 1,5b-6a

⁸⁸ The grammatical construction of 4Q392 1 5-6 occurs near MT Gen 1.4 in MT Gen 1.6b: *ויהי מבדיל בין מים למים*.

Again in 4Q392 1 6⁸⁹ the idea of creation by separation (הַבְּדִילִים) appears, though with the specification that it is for the sons of Adam (לְבָנֵי אָדָם). While the previous idea of separation resembles Gen 1.4, line 6, which specifies sun, moon, and stars,⁹⁰ is closer to the fourth day of creation⁹¹ and the creation of physical, celestial lights.⁹² Another intersection with the Hebrew Bible,⁹³ is with MT Jer 31.35. In this passage the Lord gives the sun for light by day (יוֹמָם) and the moon and stars by night. The near verbatim naming of the elements created in Jeremiah suggests both a deliberate connection between the two texts and provides a good resolution to a near incomprehensible line. It should also be noted that the pairing of יוֹמָם and לַיְלָה has intertextual significance at Qumran especially given the variant spelling of יוֹם in 4QGen^g.⁹⁴ From a literary standpoint, if this text were only working with Genesis 1, that these lights were created for the sons of Adam would be anachronistic. Rather, any threads from Genesis 1 are woven together with many others.

The occurrence of רַחֲוֹת in line 9a is the last of the intertextual markers from MT Gen 1.1-5. If the reconstruction is accurate, there is a significant intertextual connection with the use of רַחֲוֹת in line 9a and with uses found in the tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5, especially in MT Ps 104.4 where God makes messengers of the רַחֲוֹת,⁹⁵ and in the coupling of lightning and wind in MT Jer 10.13, 51.16, Ps 136.7. Falk also recognizes these connections, though he also attempts to work the sequence of MT Job 5.9-11 into the mix.⁹⁶

It should also be noted that Falk, in an article on biblical adaptation in 4Q392 and 4Q393, argued convincingly for an overall structure of this work (4Q392 + 4Q393) based on Nehemiah 9.⁹⁷ Falk's argument is that the author of 4Q392-3 has Nehemiah 9 as a general framework while using a plethora of other biblical and non-biblical texts to flesh out the argument.⁹⁸ As was seen above, 4Q392 1 is an intertextual nexus, including MT Gen 1.1-5 and a handful of its intertexts. In addition to the weaving of biblical texts, 4Q392 also bears significant resemblance to other texts found at Qumran, namely 1QH^a IX.7-20 and 11QPs^a *Hymn to the Creator*.

⁸⁹ The difficulty of this passage is noted by Falk, DJD XXIX.31.

⁹⁰ The lack of personification of any of these lights strengthens the connection to Gen 1 where these lights are part of a grand cosmic design without any equation with celestial beings and/or angels.

⁹¹ Gen 1.14-19

⁹² Nitzan, "Idea of Creation," suggests that 4Q392 is 'drawing a distinction between the primordial darkness and light created on the first day (Gen 1.1-5), "that He created for Himself..." (lines 4b-6a) and the light of the luminaries created on the fourth day (Gen 1.14-19).' (255)

⁹³ Falk, DJD XXIX.31.

⁹⁴ See above, p.18.

⁹⁵ MT Jer 10.13, 51.16 and MT Ps 104.4, 135.7

⁹⁶ Falk, DJD XXIX.31-32. There seems to be room for seeing MT Job 5.9-11 as intertextually significant with line 7 based on their common use of רַחֲוֹת and פְּלִאָה, though it seems unlikely that Falk is working from the point of intertextuality.

⁹⁷ Falk, "Biblical Adaption," 126-146.

⁹⁸ 'If my conjecture is correct, then one passage (in this case Nehemiah 9) provides general topics and structure to the poem, but the meaning is determined by deliberate midrashic activity on the basis of other passages.' Falk, "Biblical Adaption," 135-136.

3.2.5 Rule of the Community (1QS iii.13-iv.1)⁹⁹

vacat למשכיל להבין וללמד את כול בני אור בתולדות כול בני איש 13
 לכול מיני רוחותם באותותם למעשיהם בדורותם ולפקודת נגועיהם עם 14
 קצי שלומם מאל הדעות כול הויה ונהייה ולפני היותם הכין כול מחשבתם 15
 ובהיותם לתעודותם כמחשבת כבודו ימלאו פעולתם ואין להשנות בידו 16
 משפטי כול והואה יכלכלם בכול חפציהם והואה ברא אנוש לממשלת 17
 תבל וישם לו שתי רוחות להתהלך במם עד מועד פקודתו הנה רוחות 18
 האמת והעול במעון אור תולדות האמת וממקור חושך תולדות העול 19
 וביד שר אורים ממשלת כול בני צדק בדרכי אור יתהלכו וביד מלאך 20
 חושך כול ממשלת בני עול ובדרכי חושך יתהלכו ובמלאך חושך תעות 21
 כול בני צדק וכול חטאתם ועוונותם ואשמתם ופשעי מעשיהם בממשלת¹⁰⁰ 22
 לפי רזי אל עד קצו וכול נגועיהם ומועדי צרותם בממשלת משטמתו 23
 וכול רוחי גורלו להכשיל בני אור ואל ישראל ומלאך אמתו עזר לכול 24
 בני אור והואה ברא רוחות אור וחושך ועליהון יסד כול מעשה 25
 [עלן דרכיהן כול עבודה ועל דרכיהן [כן]לן עבודת אחת אהב אל לכול 26
 [מן]ועדי עולמים ובכול עלילותיה ירצה לעד אחת תעב סודה וכול דרכיה שנה לנצח 1

¹³ For the Instructor to instruct and to teach all the sons of light in the history¹⁰¹ of all the sons of man

¹⁴ according to all the kinds of their spirits with their signs, according to their deeds in their generations, and according to the visitation of their afflictions along with

¹⁵ the times of their peace. From the God of knowledge comes all that is and shall be.¹⁰² Before they existed he established all their purposes;

¹⁶ and when they have come to exist according to their testimony for the purpose of his glory they will complete their works. Nothing can be changed.¹⁰³ In his hand

⁹⁹ M. Burrows, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St Mark's Monastery: Volume II: Fascicle 2: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline*, New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951) plate III.

¹⁰⁰ The final two letters here are written perpendicular to the line as the scribe appears to have gone too far over his marginal line that is still visible. J.C. Trever, *Scrolls from Qumrân Cave I: The Great Isaiah Scroll, The Order of the Community, The Peshet to Habakkuk*, (Jerusalem: The Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and The Shrine of the Book, 1972) 131.

¹⁰¹ Actually, תולדות, "generations." The use of "history" better reflects the use of תולדות in this instance, especially given the use of דורות in iii.14, and follows the translation of Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 94, 96. Also, note the translation of תולדות as 'storia' or history by C. Martone, *La "Regola della Comunità": Edizione critica*, (Quaderni Di Henoch 8; Torino: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1995) 120, 142 n.59.; and the discussion of the translation of תולדות by J. Licht, "An Analysis of the Treatise of the Two Spirits in DSD," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Scripta Hierosolymitana 4; Jerusalem: Magness Press, 1965) 89-90 n.5.

¹⁰² Martone, *Regola della Comunità*, suggests that the statement, "From the God...shall be," is the ideological center of the Two Spirits. (142 n.62) The *niphal* form of הויה here is similar to the use of רז נדיה that is found throughout 4QInstruction. While not an exact parallel, the relationship between 4QInstruction and the Two Spirits of the Rule of the Community has been outlined by A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran*, (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 128-129. Further parallels include the common use of אל הדעות in both texts. A very similar phrase about the temporal extent of God's creative activity is found in 4Q402 4,12.

¹⁰³ This translation of ואין להשנות follows E. Qimron and J.H. Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume I: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1994) 15. The radical

¹⁷ are the laws of all (things), and he supports them in all their affairs. He created
 humankind¹⁰⁴ for the dominion of
¹⁸ the world and placed within him two spirits so that he would walk with them until the
 time of his visitation: they are (the) spirits
¹⁹ of truth and of injustice. From the residence of light comes the nature of truth; and
 from the spring of darkness the nature of injustice.
²⁰ And in the hand of the Prince of Lights (is) the dominion of all the sons of
 righteousness; in the ways of light they walk. And in the hand of the Angel
²¹ of Darkness is the entire realm of the sons of injustice; and in the ways of darkness
 they walk. With the Angel of Darkness comes the corruption
²² of all the sons of righteousness, and all their sins, their iniquities, and their wrong-
 doings, and the transgressions of their deeds are under his dominion
²³ according to the mysteries of God, until his end. And all of their afflictions and their
 times of grief are caused by the dominion of his animosity.
²⁴ And all the spirits of his lot cause the sons of light to stumble. But the God of Israel
 and the angel of his truth help all
²⁵ the sons of light. He created all the spirits of light and of darkness and upon them he
 fixed every deed
²⁶ [on] their [path]s every labor <and on their paths [ev]ery [l]abor>. God loves one for
 all
¹ eternal [ag]es, and in all its deeds he takes pleasure for ever. The other one he detests,
 his counsel and all his paths he hates forever. *vacat*

This is the sole text from the Rule of the Community (1QS)¹⁰⁵ with enough intertextual resemblance to MT Gen 1.1-5 to warrant inclusion.¹⁰⁶ 1QS iii.13-iv.1 is the first portion¹⁰⁷ of what is commonly called the Instruction of the Two Spirits, the whole of which is 1QS iii.13-iv.26.¹⁰⁸ Unlike many portions of 1QS, this is not paralleled by any of the extant fragments found in Caves 4 or 5,¹⁰⁹ leaving 1QS as the sole textual witness.¹¹⁰

monotheism that is displayed in the section of the *Rule of the Community* seems to be furthered by such an ontological statement.

¹⁰⁴ Whether אֱנוֹשׁ is here referring to the individual or collective for humankind is debateable. The above translation reflects a collective understanding; though later in the Two Spirits (iv.23-24) אֱנוֹשׁ appears to concern the individual. See Licht, “Analysis,” 91 n.13.

¹⁰⁵ With the evidence available from the Cave 4 fragments it appears that the Rule of the Community had at least two recensions – Rule of the Community^{b, d} (4Q256, 258) and Rule of the Community^c (4Q259). The other manuscripts from Cave 4 are too fragmentary to be of help in the textual history of the Rule of the Community. For a discussion of the textual history of the Rule of the Community, see S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997) who sees 1QS as a later redaction of the text; and P.S. Alexander, “The Redaction-History of Serekh ha-Yahad: A Proposal,” *RevQ* 17 (1996) 437-457, who argues on the basis of paleographic dating of the mss that 1QS is the primary manuscript. More specifically, J. Duhaime, “L’Instruction sur les Deux Esprits et les Interpolations Dualistes a Qumân (1QS III,13-IV,26),” *RB* 84 (1977) suggests that a redactor’s hand is visible in the 1QS iii.13-iv.26 specifically. (566-594)

¹⁰⁶ An argument could be made for including the hymn of praise that concludes in 1QS x.19-xi.22, however the diffusion of the intertextual markers throughout a relatively long pericope and the general use of the intertextual markers places it outside the bounds of this study.

¹⁰⁷ Licht, “Analysis,” 93. Also, and Duhaime, “L’Instruction sur les Deux Esprits,” 572. J. Pouilly, *La Règle de la Communauté de Qumrân: Son Evolution Littéraire*, (CahRB 17; Paris: Gabalda, 1976) outlines the Two Spirits as follows: (1) iii.13-15a – Introduction; (2) iii.15b-18a – an affirmation of monotheism; (3) iii.18b-iv.1 – the origin and influence of the Two Spirits; and (4) iv.2-14 – the works of the spirits within the lives and destiny of men. (76) Of importance here is that Pouilly notes a break in the text after iv.1.

¹⁰⁸ The Two Spirits is considered the place where the anthropology of the Qumran sectarians is most thoroughly articulated. It is Licht, “Analysis,” that uses ‘anthropology’ in reference to the doctrine in the Two Spirits. (88) Licht asserts that there are three aspects of Qumran theology basic to the Two Spirits: (1) the predestination of everything in the world by God, (2) human behavior is determined by the influence of the forces of light and

In the above pericope the God of knowledge (אל הדעות) established (בין) all the purposes of the sons of light and creates (ברא) man (אנוש) to rule the world. God placed two spirits, light and dark, within the human being. Two cosmic spirits – the Prince of Lights (שר אוריים) and the Angel of Darkness (מלאך חושך), govern the human spirits. These two otherworldly beings have sway over the deeds of humankind. Near the end of the Two Spirits, it is stated that these opposing forces battle within a person's heart¹¹¹ and that God has sorted these forces into equal parts until the decisive time (קץ נחרצה) and the new creation (עשות חדשה).¹¹² Evident here is the ‘thoroughly apocalyptic’ worldview.¹¹³

The intertextual intersection with MT Gen 1.1-5 rests upon a few words (אור/חושך, רוח, ברא). First of all, the use of ברא in 1QS iii.17 is closer to MT Gen 1.27, where it is used to describe God's creation of humankind, or MT Gen 2.4, where God created (ברא) the generations¹¹⁴ of heaven and earth.¹¹⁵ The uses of רוח¹¹⁶ bear little if any reflection of רוח אלהים in MT Gen 1.2, but refer to human spirits in line with the anthropological focus of the Two Spirits. The intertextual weight of אור/חושך, which is normally not very heavy, comes into play because of the proximity to ברא. This said, it is possible that the archetypical light/dark dualism in the Two Spirits reflects the existence of darkness and the creation of light on Day One of creation.¹¹⁷ The internalisation of the forces of light/darkness within the human heart is something new to the Two Spirits. Cosmologically, the light/dark

darkness, (3) the eschatology of the community as reflected in the Two Spirits had an ultimate end to the evil forces of darkness. According to Licht, these three theological elements are three sides of the same subject, the ‘pre-ordained nature and moral history of mankind,’ roughly corresponding to the use of ‘anthropology’ by modern theologians. (89) Similarly, Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 93. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, rightly warns, however, that there is still debate over where the Two Spirits falls in the development of the ‘ideology’ of the sect. (43) While creation is a thematic component of the Two Spirits, anthropology is its primary concern. This anthropology is grounded in a radical monotheistic view of creation that portrays God as creating two opposing cosmic forces – those of light and darkness – that hold sway over each individual. The creation focus of the Two Spirits is not the cosmos but humanity and specifically the forces of light and darkness, or truth and injustice (iii.19). Locating this cosmic dualism in God offers an explanation for the existence of evil. The question of ‘why’ is answered, then, by locating the reason for this in the mysteries of God (iii.23). For the sons of light, God and the Prince of Light are the help of the generations of light; whereas the Angel of Darkness is responsible for the wayward ways of the sons of injustice. The dualism of the Two Spirits, as noted by Knibb, *Qumran Community*, is not absolute as God assigns an end to the influence of the forces of darkness (line 25). (95)

¹⁰⁹ There are fragments from Cave 5 that may represent an eleventh copy of the Rule of the Community.

¹¹⁰ 4Q255 (4QpapS^a) frag. 2, line 9 contains portions of the words immediately preceding 1QS iii.13, however any text from 1QS iii.13 on is lost. See P.S. Alexander and G. Vermes, DJD XXVI.33, plate 1.

¹¹¹ 1QS iv.23

¹¹² 1QS iv.25

¹¹³ Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 38ff.

¹¹⁴ Note the uses of תולדות in line 13 and 19.

¹¹⁵ Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, asserts without further exploration that the entire Two Spirits is “loosely based” on Gen 2-3, (40-41) an association that beyond a basic creation of humankind and the origin of evil is too loose to adequately substantiate. The lack of any light/dark imagery in Gen 2-3 is one illustration of how loose this connection is.

¹¹⁶ 1QS iii.14, 18, 25

¹¹⁷ Duhaime, “L’Instruction sur les Deux Esprits,” 575.

dichotomy may reflect a combination of MT Isa 45.7 and a dualism from Persian mythology,¹¹⁸ and, even though it shares supernatural actors similar to the Book of the Watchers, the Two Spirits differs in that it places the origin of evil with God rather than in a post-creation rebellion as in the Watchers.¹¹⁹

The radical monotheism in this pericope bears a striking resemblance to MT Isa 45.7, the one place in the Hebrew Bible where God is attributed with the creation of both light and darkness. The closest point of resemblance comes in 1QS iii.25, וְהוֹאָה בְּרֵא רִחוּת אֹר וְחוֹשֶׁךְ, 'He created the spirits of light and of darkness,' and MT Isa 45.7a, יִצַר אֹר וּבִוְרָא חֹשֶׁךְ, 'I formed light, and I created darkness.'¹²⁰ Also, the reference at the beginning of the Two Spirits to the history/generations (תולדות) of the sons of light¹²¹ bears a resemblance to the conclusion of the first creation story in MT Gen 2.4a¹²² and even more so to the beginning of the genealogy of Adam in MT Gen 5.1 given that the subject of the creating in this passage is humanity. One final point of contact with the First Creation Story worthy of mention comes in the statement, 'and he created humanity to have dominion over the world' – לְמַמְשֶׁלֶת תְּבַל (iii.17-18). There is a thematic resemblance of this statement with MT Gen 1.26 where as part of the creation of humankind God gives them dominion over the other creatures.

¹¹⁸ Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, notes the likely influence of Persian Zoroastrian dualism in Hellenistic Judaism, a real possibility given the centuries long connection between the Persians and the Jews. (41-43)

¹¹⁹ Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 41-42. Collins' exposition of the underlying Persian myth in the Two Spirits serves to contradict the assertion of P. Wernberg-Møller, "A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (1 Q Serek III,13 - IV,26)," *RevQ* 3 (1961), that the Two Spirits is a Jewish document that needs no comparisons to Persian or Hellenistic ideas to be understood and is anachronistic. (416) In Wernberg-Møller's estimation, the two spirits can be sufficiently explained by comparisons with the later rabbinic notions of the good and evil inclinations (יֵצֶר) and comparisons to psychological use of רִיחַ in the Hebrew Bible, New Testament, and the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Also, M. Treves, "The Two Spirits of the Rule of the Community," *RevQ* 3 (1961) 449-452. Collins does not argue against a psychological component to the Two Spirits, but sees 'a synergism between the psychological realm and the agency of the supernatural angels and demons.' (41) This is also addressed by A.A. Anderson, "The Use of 'Ruah' in 1QS, 1QH, and 1QM," *JSS* 7 (1962), who in dialogue with Wernberg-Mueller's article concludes, as Collins does later, that the Two Spirits have both cosmic and psychological aspects. (299-300)

¹²⁰ The comprehensive nature of God's creative activity both in Isa 45.7 and 1QS iii.25 is also expressed in 1QS iii.15 - From the God of knowledge comes all that is and shall be.

¹²¹ 1QS iii.13

¹²² Duhaime, "L'Instruction sur les Deux Esprits," makes note of the connection with Gen 2.4a but makes no mention of Gen 5.1. Duhaime also suggests that Gen 1.1 and 1QS iii.15 both function as general announcements of the creation. (574) While this may be true in function and it might be possible to argue that both texts attempt to encompass everything under God's creative umbrella, there is no intertextual connection. He also notes that the focus of Gen 1 is the ordering of creation, whereas in the Two Spirits the initial reference to creation focuses on God's foreknowledge of all that is.

3.2.6 Ben Sira 16.16-23 (MS A)¹²³

16 (רחמיו)¹²⁴ יראו לכל בריותיו ואורו / ושבחו חלק לבני אדם:
 17 אל תאמר מאל נסתרתו ובמרום מי / יזכרני:
 בעם כבוד לא אודע ומה נפשי בקצות רוחות כל בני / אדם:
 18 הן השמים ושמי השמים ותהום וארץ:
 ברדתו עליהם עמודים בפקדו וכרגשו:
 19 אף קצבי הרים ויסודי / תבל בהביטו אליהם רעש ירעשו:
 גם עלי לא ישום לב / ובדרכי מי יתבונן:
 20 אם חטאתי לא תראני עין או אם אכזב / בכל סתר מי יודע:
 21 מִה מַעֲשֵׂה צֶדֶק מִי יִגִּידֵנו וְתִקּוֹת מִה כִּי אֲצוּק / חוֹק:
 22 חסרי לב יבינו אלה וגבן¹²⁶ פן [תה] ¹²⁵ יחשב זאת: 23

¹⁶ His mercies are seen by all of his creatures. His light and his darkness¹²⁷ are shared by the sons of Adam.

¹⁷ Do not say, 'I am hidden from God.' and 'Who will remember me in the heights?' Among the great people I shall not be known. And why is my soul at the ends of the spirits of all the sons of Adam?

¹⁸ Behold the heavens, and the heavens of heavens, and the abyss, and the earth when he descends upon them as they stand by his visitation and according to his tumult.

¹⁹ The shape of the mountains and the foundations of the world, with his glance toward them quake tremendously.

²⁰ Surely upon me he will not place (his) heart. Who will understand my ways?

²¹ If I have sinned no eye will see me, or if I am deceptive in every secret place, who will know?

²² Who will declare a righteous deed? And what is the outcome, for I will pour out a decree?¹²⁸

²³ The senseless one¹²⁹ will understand these, and a gullible man will think this.

¹²³ The backslashes (/) throughout the transcription indicate the line breaks in MS A according to the transcription of Schechter and Taylor, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, ad loc.

¹²⁴ According to the transcriptions of MS A in both Schechter and Taylor, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 10, and Beentjes, *Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 46, רחמיו is the final word in the previous sentence, according to the Medieval punctuation in MS A. Schechter and Taylor, however, in their transcription and translation suggest that v.16 ought to begin with רחמיו. (ad loc)

¹²⁵ This transcription follows Beentjes, *Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 46. The transcription of Schechter and Taylor, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, reads ע תה (ad loc), with a suggested reading by Schechter of עותה in line with MT Lam 3.29. (53) While possible, Beentjes' reading seems to offer a more likely parallel with the first colon of v.23.

¹²⁶ Beentjes, *Ben Sira in Hebrew*, suggests what might appear as a supralinear waw is actually "a very long leg" of the qoph on צדק in the previous line. (46)

¹²⁷ There is a significant difficulty with the text at this point. Reading the text as is with ושבחו is nearly incomprehensible. In his notes on the text of MS A, S. Schechter notes that ושבחו ought to be read וחסכו, per the Syriac and Greek, cf. Schechter and Taylor, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 52. The use of light and darkness is more appealing and would fit a paradigm such as that in IQS iii-iv and MT Isa 45.7. Di Lella in P.W. Skehan and A.A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987) goes so far as to suggest that the odd use of ושבחו is an attempt to avoid a dualistic view of creation like that found at Qumran. (270) With only one Hebrew manuscript coupled with the absence of vv. 15-16 from the Gk, the original of this verse remains elusive.

¹²⁸ This verse is omitted in the Syriac.

¹²⁹ Literally, "the one lacking heart." See MT Prov 6.32, 7.7, 10.13, 11.12, 12.11, 17.18, 24.30.

While there are no creation verbs that drive this section of Sirach,¹³⁰ the general theme is a pondering of how the God who created the wondrous marvels of creation might take notice of such a lowly creature. The intertextual intersection with our primary text lies in the cosmic elements of MT Gen 1.1-5 (שמים, תהום, ארץ) rather than in the creative actions.

Assuming scribal error/tampering in v.16,¹³² there is a pairing of חשך/אור, representative of primary and opposite elements of creation. Coupled with the sons of Adam (בני אדם), the use of אור/חשך in Sir 16.16 bears a similarity to an anthropological dualism stitched into the initial pattern of creation as seen in some Qumran texts, most notably 1QS iii.13-iv.1. The use of רוח in v.17b bears little resemblance to MT Gen 1.2 in that it is specifically referring to human life.¹³³ The string of elements in v.18 (השמים ושמי השמים ותהום וארץ),¹³⁴ which are placed before the eyes of the questioning mortal, contain the bulk of intertextual markers common to MT Gen 1.1-5, though there is no direct relation in their order or juxtaposition.¹³⁵ There is a possible similarity between this list and one in 4QSongs of the Sage^b (4Q511) frag. 30 2: [... ויעמקון השמים ושמי השמים ותהומות ומחן שכי ארץ].¹³⁶ though this is quite tentative given the state of the fragment.¹³⁶

There is no direct relation evident between Sir 16.16-23 and MT Gen 1.1-5. There is, however, an intertextual relationship between the two texts given the common cosmic elements and an understanding of God's creative actions underlying the text in Sirach. Other than the possible similarity with 4Q511, there are no apparent relationships with other texts in the intertextual tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5.¹³⁷

¹³⁰ It is suggested that Sir 16.15-16 is not part of the original text. As reported in Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, these verses are extant in MS A, the Syriac, and GII, but absent in GI and the Latin. Di Lella suggests that evidence for this may be in the confusing use of ושבחו in place of וחסכו that may have convened a dualistic view of creation. (270) If one takes Di Lella's suggestion that this word was changed to avoid the impression of a dualistic creation, then it is quite possible that the text, as attested in the text of GII (πάση τῇ κτίσει τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ φανερόν, καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐμέρισε τῷ ἀδαμάντι. Cf. J. Ziegler, ed., *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach*, (*Septuaginta - Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Acadamae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum.*, XII,2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965) 198) is original. On the limits of this pericope, Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, suggest that 16.17-23 is the final stanza of the larger section beginning in 15.11. (275) While this makes good poetic sense, if 16.16 is to be considered, then it fits well with the content of 16.17-23.

¹³¹ In a text filled with the elements of MT Gen 1.1-5, one might wish to include the nominal form of בריותיו, ברייתו (בְּרִיָּה) in 16.16, a form unattested in the Hebrew Bible. See BDB, ad loc. An additional element of MT Gen 1.1-5 may be present though veiled in a scribal error. As is reflected in the above translation and its note, ושבחו in 16.16 reads much better if it is understood as וחסכו.

¹³² See above, p.113, n.127.

¹³³ E.g., MT Gen 41.8. See Appendix A.

¹³⁴ There is at least a passing similarity with the list in MT Neh 9.6: You made the heavens, the heaven of heavens and all their host; the earth and all that is upon it; the seas and all that is in them.

¹³⁵ Di Lella suggests that vv.18-19 are a parenthesis between the questioning in v.17 and vv.20-22. (See Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 275)

¹³⁶ See M. Baillet, DJD VII.236.

¹³⁷ There is a similarity, though superficial, with the image of a God descending from above and shaking up the creation in MT 2 Sam 22/Ps18.

3.2.7 1QH^a v.13-19¹³⁸

ואלה אשר הכנינותה מקדם עולם] לשפוט בם 13
 את כול מעשיך בשרם בראתם עם צבא רוחיך ועדת [קדושיך ע]ם רקיע קודשך ונכנל 14
 צבאותיו עם הארץ וכול צאצאי־ה' בימים ובתהומות [כ]כול מחשבותך לכול קצי עולם 15
 ופקודת עד כי אתה הכינותמה מקדם עולם ומעשה [...] תה בם בעבור 16
 יספרו כבודך בכול ממשלתך כי הראיתם את אשר לא ראו ... [א]שר קדם ולברוא 17
 חדשות להפר קימי קדם ול[הק]ים נהיות עולם כי א[ת]ה ה[כנינותם מאז] ואתה תהיה 18
 לעולמי עד vacat 19

- ¹³ These are the ones you e[stablished before times of old] to judge through them
¹⁴ all your works before creating them with the host of your spirits and the assembly of
 [your holy ones, w]ith your holy firmament and a[l]l
¹⁵ its hosts, with the earth and all her produce in the seas and the deeps [according to]
 all of your devices for all ages eternal
¹⁶ and the eternal task. For you established them from before the ages, and a work [...] you in them in order that
¹⁷ they can recount for your glory in the whole of your dominion. For you have shown that which they had never seen [...] which was before and to create
¹⁸ new things, and to break that which is from of old, and to e[re]ct that which will be forever. For y[o]u have est[ablished them from old,] and you will be
¹⁹ forever and ever. vacat

This text is a portion of a larger hymn¹³⁹ that was likely used in a liturgical setting with a didactic aim.¹⁴⁰ This portion of the hymn bears an intertextual resemblance to MT Gen 1.1-5 (ברא, רוח, ארץ, תהום). These few lines are both a recounting of the first creation and the anticipation of a new creation whereby the old will be broken down and a new world created.

It is certain that this text speaks of the act of creating.¹⁴¹ Important to understanding this passage is the identification of the antecedent of אלה in line 13. While the pronoun could refer to some attributes of God in the poorly preserved portion of the column preceding line 13, it seems as likely that אלה correlates with the pronominal suffix in line 14 (בראתם) and thus refers to the hosts of God's spirits and the assembly of God's holy ones.¹⁴² If this is the case, there is a resemblance to the existence of heavenly beings prior to creation in other texts.¹⁴³

The order of the first creation, then, begins with the divine spirits and an assembly, though there is no mention of the creation of heaven. The firmament (רקיע) and its hosts are named as objects of God's creative activity. Given that the text then moves to the earth (ארץ) and all her produce, it seems that the reference to the firmament and its hosts is to the sky and the birds. This section on the first creation ends with a statement of

¹³⁸ Sukenik, *DSS of the Hebrew University*, plate 47.

¹³⁹ 1QH^a v.1-vi.7. É. Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens en la Vie Future: Immortalité, Résurrection, Vie Éternelle?*, 2 vols. (Études Bibliques 21; Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1993) 2.408.

¹⁴⁰ Holm-Nielson, *Hodayot*, 217; Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens en La Vie Future*, 2.411.

¹⁴¹ Note the two occurrences of the verb ברא and two, possibly three, of כן.

¹⁴² This difficulty with אלה was also noted by Holm-Nielson, *Hodayot*, 212 n.9.

¹⁴³ Along the lines of 1QH^a ix.9-13 in addition to MT Job 38.7, *Jub* 2.2, *Hymn to the Creator* (11QPs^a xxvi.12), etc... Another similarity, though possibly superficial, with *Jub* 2 is the placement of the creation of the abyss after the creation of the heavenly beings/spirits in 1QH^a v.14.

purpose – בעבור יספרו כבודך בכול ממשלתך – in order that they can recount for your glory in the whole of your dominion.¹⁴⁴ Lines 17b-19 introduce a new creation to which the heavenly beings were apparently not privy.¹⁴⁵ This new creative action is to create new things, to break the old, and to erect that which will remain forever. God is constant in all of this, as in the final phrase, ואתה תהיה לעולמו עד - And you will be forever and ever.

The intertextual relationships of this text are many. The use of כון in relation to an act of cosmic creating is not a common one in the Hebrew Bible. Given this rarity, the use of כון in MT Prov 8.27 where wisdom (חכמה) was present when God established (כון) the heavens is noteworthy. While רקיע is not found in MT Gen 1.1-5, its close proximity in MT Gen 1.6ff brings attention to the creation account in MT Genesis 1.¹⁴⁶ The juxtaposition of ארין and צאצא in line 15 is similar to MT Isa 42.5, having a similar creation context and speaking of הארין וצאצאיה.¹⁴⁷ There is a similarity between ובההומות בימים in line 15 and וכל-ההומות בימים in MT Ps 135.6, a combination also found in 1QH^a ix.14. The reference to God creating new things bears a similar vocabulary to MT Isa 65.17.¹⁴⁸

The intertextual tapestry of 1QH^a v.13-19 is complex and much wider than the few pointed out above. An observation about the intertexts outlined above is that there is an intertextual connection with MT Gen 1.1-5 and its intertexts as outlined in ch.1, namely MT Isa 42.5, Ps 135.6, Prov 8.27, and possibly Job 38.7. Missing from 1QH^a v.13-19 is any reference to the heavens, which may strengthen Holm-Nielson's assertion that this text is speaking of an actual destruction and new creation, as opposed to a spiritual one, the heavens not needing to be destroyed and rebuilt.¹⁴⁹

3.2.8 4QJubilees^a v.1-11 (4Q216 12 ii -13) (= Jub 2.1-3)

1 ויאמר מלאך¹⁵⁰ הפנים אל משה בדבר יהוה לאמר כתוב כל דב[ר]י הבריה כלא[שר]
 2 [בים הששי כלה יהוה אלהים את כל מעשו וכל אשר ברא [וישבת בים] [השביעי]
 3 [ויקדש אתו לכל עולמים ויתן אתו לאות לכל] [מעשו] vacat
 4] vacat כי ביום הראשון ברא את השמן¹⁵¹ העליונים ואת הארין
 5 [ואת המים ואת כל הרוחות המשרתים לפניו מלאכי] [הפנים ומלאכי] הקודש
 6 ומלאכי רוחות האש ומלאכי הרוחות הנושבים¹⁵² [מן]מלאכי רוחות ה[נעננים]

¹⁴⁴ 1QH^a v.16-17

¹⁴⁵ 1QH^a v.17 – כי הראיתם את אשר לא ראו. This assertion is based on the reconstruction of ראו and on the assumption that its subject is the hosts of line 14.

¹⁴⁶ Additionally, there are other occurrences of רקיע that also, and possibly more closely, resemble 1QH^a v.14: MT Ps 19.2 the firmament along with the heavens is praising the handiwork of God; MT Dan 12.3 juxtaposes the wise as those who shine like the brightness of the firmament and those who turn many to righteousness with the stars – stars being a rather common reference to angelic or heavenly beings; finally, the throne vision in MT Ezek 1 describes the living creatures just below the רקיע, which may be similar to the hosts of 1QH^a v.13-14 (רקיע קודשך וכו[ן]ל צבאותיו).

¹⁴⁷ Also similar is 1QM x.13.

¹⁴⁸ Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens en La Vie Future*, also notes a similarity with 11QTemple^a xxix.9 (413), which coincidentally uses both ברא and כון in connection with the creation of a new temple, cf. *Jub* 1.27.

¹⁴⁹ Holm-Nielson, *Hodayot*, 217.

¹⁵⁰ J.C. VanderKam and J.T. Milik, DJD XIII, note that *aleph* is consistently added supralinearly in these fragments. (13)

לעֲנַפֵּל וְלֹאֲלֹגֵיִשׁ וְלִכְפּוֹר וְלִטֵּל וְלִשְׁלֹג וְלִבְרֹד וְלִקְרֹחַ וּמַלְאֲכֵי הַקּוֹלֹנֹת] 7
 וְלִמְלֵאכֵי הַרוּחֹתָן הַסְּעָרִים וּמַלְאֲכֵי הַרוּחוֹת לִקְרֹחַ וְלִחֹם וְלִחֶרֶף וְלִקְיִיֵּן וְלִכְלֹל 8
 רוּחוֹת בְּרִיתוֹ [אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה בַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה בָאָרֶץ] וּבְכָל אֶת הַתְּהוֹמֹת] 9
 מֵאֲפֵלָה וְשַׁחַר וְאֹר וְעָרֵב אֲשֶׁר הֵכִין בְּדַעְתּוֹ אִזְ רְאִינוּ מַעֲשָׂיו וְנִבְרַכְהוּ 10
 עַל כָּל [מִן] עֲשָׂיו וְנִהְלֵלָה לְפָנָיו כִּי שִׁבְעָה [מַעֲשִׂים גְּדוֹלִים עָשָׂה בְּיוֹם הָרֵאשִׁון] 11

- 1 [The angel of the presence spoke to Moses with the word of YHWH, saying, "Write all the wor]ds the creation. Ho[w]
- 2 [on the sixth day YHWH God completed all his works and everything that he created,] and he kept the Sabbath on the [seventh] day.
- 3 [And he sanctified it forever, and he gave it as a sign for all]his works. *vacat*
- 4 [*vacat* For on the first day he created the heav]ens that are above the ear[th]
- 5 [and the waters and all the spirits who minister before him: the angels] of the presence, and the angels of holi[ness]
- 6 and the an[gels of the spirits of fire, and the angels of the spirits(winds) that blo]w [and] the angels of the spirits of the [clouds]
- 7 of thick[darkness and ice and hoar frost and dew and snow and hail and fro]st and the angels of the sound[s]
- 8 and the spirits of the spirits of [storms and the angels of the spirits of cold and]heat and of winter and of summer[and of all]
- 9 the spirits of his created ones [which he made in the heavens and which he made on the ear]th and in all the de[pths],
- 10 darkness and dawn and [light and evening which he set up with] his [know]ledge. Then we saw his works, and we [blessed him]
- 11 according to all his [w]orks and [we offered praise before him because of the seven] great works (that) he m[ade on the first day]

This text is a questionable inclusion in this list because of its extremely fragmentary nature. Given that the Cave 4 *Jubilees* manuscripts are the only extant copies of *Jubilees* in Hebrew and that 4QJubilees^a is the only copy of the retelling of Genesis 1 among the cave 4 manuscripts, it is an important text to include in spite of its obvious difficulties. The MT Gen 1.1-5 intertextual markers actually found on the leather of 4Q216 12 ii -13 are significant enough to warrant inclusion of the pericope (ברא. שמים, ארץ, רוח, תהום).¹⁵¹ The more intact Greek version of this portion of *Jubilees* is treated in chapter four.¹⁵² The above text is comprised of two fragments: frag 12 ii follows the right hand margin of the column from line 6 through line 14; frag 13 comprises a portion left of center running from the top margin to line 12. The hand of this pericope is the older of the two found in 4QJub^a and dates from the last quarter of the second century BCE. As noted by the editors, if this date is correct, 4QJub^a is both the oldest surviving copy of the book and is 'not far removed from the time when *Jubilees* was written.'¹⁵³

Based on the substance of frags. 12 ii and 13 and the tentative reconstruction of the remainder of the text, there are many points of contact with MT Gen 1.1-5. The comment of this study, however, is restricted to the intertextual markers that appear either in whole or in part on the actual fragments.

¹⁵¹ If the tentative reconstruction of Vanderkam and Milik, DJD XIII.13, which is based on the Ethiopic, were also considered, the following intertextual markers would also be counted: ראשון, אור, רוח.

¹⁵² See below, p.150.

¹⁵³ DJD XIII.2. There is a note in parentheses on DJD XIII.13 that Milik 'prefers to date the script nearer to the mid-second century BCE.' G.J. Brooke, "Exegetical Strategies in *Jubilees* 1-2: New Light from 4QJubilees^a," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. M. Albani, et al.; TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997) suggests that the outer sheet of the text likely was replaced due to wear or damage. (40)

The first occurrence of ברֵא comes in frag 12 ii 1.¹⁵⁴ Based on the reconstruction, the use of ברֵא in line 1 comes from the Angel of the Presence as he speaks to Moses all the words of the creation, most likely meaning ‘the whole account of the creation.’ In the context of *Jub* 2.1, this functions as an introduction to the retelling of the Genesis 1 account that runs throughout *Jubilees* 2. Portions of both ארֵץ and שמים are evident in line 4. In addition to the heavens that are above and the earth, if the reconstruction is correct, the elements of creation also include the waters and the spirits/angels who minister in the presence of God (lines 5-9), the abysses (הַתְּהוֹמוֹת in line 9), the darkness (מְאִפְלָה in line 10), the dawn (שָׁחַר in line 10), the light, and the evening. Beyond the order of the heavens and earth there is little chronological resemblance to Day One in MT Gen 1.1-5. If one takes the elements listed in *Jub* 2.2-3 as they appear in MT Gen 1.1-5, the order would be: heaven, earth, darkness, spirit(s), water, light, evening, and morning. An additional caution that must be stated when comparing these two texts comes in frag 13, line 10. The use of מְאִפְלָה for darkness instead of חֹשֶׁךְ,¹⁵⁵ and שָׁחַר for dawn rather than בִּקְרָה, makes any word-for-word dependence doubtful. This does not, however, detract from the dependence of *Jubilees* 2 on Genesis 1 for its structure and basic content, including maybe most importantly the use of רוּחַ in MT Gen 1.2 and *Jub* 2.2. The significant expansion of the creation of the רוּחוֹת in *Jubilees* seems a likely explanation of the breath/spirit of God that hovers over the waters in MT Gen 1.2. This interpretation may take into account biblical as well as Enochic assumptions about angels¹⁵⁶ and is reflected in sectarian texts from Qumran.¹⁵⁷

Absent from 4QJub^a is any mention that God sees that the creation on the first day was 'good' as in MT Gen 1.4.¹⁵⁸ As VanderKam points out, the angels (= we) in *Jub* 2.3 (4QJub^a v.10) saw the works of God and gave praise.¹⁵⁹ One might presume, if the angels were giving praise based upon what they had seen, then what they saw must have been good. This angelic praise brings into focus an intersection with MT Job 38.7, in which, after the stars were created, the angels¹⁶⁰ gave a shout, presumably of praise.¹⁶¹ While there are no intertextual markers upon

¹⁵⁴ The form is missing the *aleph* (ברֵיא) though it is not corrected like מְאִפְלָה. This specific form and use of ברֵיא does not occur in the Hebrew Bible.

¹⁵⁵ While too fragmentary for extensive comment or inclusion in the above list of intertexts, there is a similar paralleling of מְאִפְלָה and אֹר in 4Q380 7 ii 3 (וַיִּבְדְּלֵהוּ מְאִפְלָה וְאֹר) – and he separated it (?) from darkness and light). Without the antecedent of the pronominal suffix it is impossible to ascertain the exact context. E.M. Schuller, DJD XI, suggests that the antecedent refers to a noun for 'light' with וְאֹר beginning a new phrase, as ‘it is difficult to imagine what is being divided from both מְאִפְלָה and אֹר.’ (85) The use of בְּדֵל certainly sediments this text as an intertext of MT Gen 1.1-5 and may place it in relationship with 4QJub^a v.10. Another related text is the *Hymn to the Creator* (11QPs^a xxvi) line 11 - מְבַדֵּל אֹר מְאִפְלָה.

¹⁵⁶ In addition, J.C. VanderKam, “Genesis 1 in *Jubilees* 2,” *DSD* 1 (1994) points out that the idea that the angels were created on the first day was later thought ‘dangerous’ by the rabbis – see Gen.Rab.1.9, 11.9. (309-310, 317)

¹⁵⁷ Cf. 1QM x.11-12; 1QH^a v.14, ix.11.

¹⁵⁸ *Jub* 8.21, which concludes a description of Shem’s portion of the earth, declares that everything in it is very good. Similarly in *Jub* 10.29, Canaan, looking over the land from Lebanon to the river of Egypt, sees that it is very good. It may be that *Jubilees* reserves the declaration of very good to promised land.

¹⁵⁹ VanderKam, “Genesis 1 in *Jubilees* 2,” 310.

¹⁶⁰ כָּל־בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים in the MT; πάντες ἄγγελοι μου in the LXX.

¹⁶¹ A relationship with Job 38.7 is recognized by O.S. Wintermute, “*Jubilees*,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1985), however his placement of the reference at the beginning of *Jub* 2.2 is less likely than in v.3. VanderKam, “Genesis 1 in *Jubilees* 2,” notes a

which to hang the intertextuality, there is a common idea present. There are additional intersections with the tapestry of Day One, though substantiating these intertexts without use of the reconstruction is nearly impossible.

Finally, while Skehan¹⁶² recognized a similarity with the *Hymn to the Creator* (11QPs^a xxvi.9-15),¹⁶³ and it appears that there is at least a tacit relationship between the *Hymn* and *Jubilees*, I find it difficult to concur with Skehan that *Jubilees* has borrowed from the *Hymn*.

3.2.9 4QNon-Canonical Psalms B (4Q381) frag. 1¹⁶⁴

הגדתי ונפלא אתו אשיחה והיא תהיה לי למורה משפט [...]	1
פי ולפתאים ויבינו ולאין לב ידעון vacat יהוה כמה גבור [...]	2
נפלאות vacat הוא בלימי עשה שמים וארץ ובדבר פיו [...]	3
ואפיקים שך אור ותיה אגמים וכל בלעה ויור ל ¹⁶⁵ [...]	4
לילה וככנבין ¹⁶⁶ וכסילים ויהיר מ ¹⁶⁷ לאון [...]	5
עין וכל פרני כר ¹⁶⁸ וכל תבואות שדה ולפי דבריו כל [...]	6
את אנתון וברוחו העמידם למשל בכל אלה באדמה ובכל [...]	7
לח[ח]דש בנח[ח]ש למועד במועד ליום ביום לאכל פריה תנובב[ח] הארץ [...]	8
[...] [] [] ועוף וכל אשר להם לאכל חלב ¹⁶⁹ כל וגם [...]	9
[...] מש בהם וכל צבאיו ומלא ¹⁷⁰ כיו [ר] [...]	10
[...] [] ולעבד לאדם ולשרתו וח ¹⁷¹ [...]	11
[...] ל ¹⁷² [...]	12

¹ I declared, and I mused (on) his wonderful acts, and this will be to me a just teaching [...]

² my mouth, and to the simple ones that they might understand, and to those without heart¹⁶⁵ (that) they will understand. vacat As for YHWH, how gre[at ...]

³ marvels. vacat He, by an oath,¹⁶⁶ made heaven and earth, and by the words of his mouth [...]

⁴ and channels. He banked its rivers,¹⁶⁷ pools, and every eddy, and he ... [...]

⁵ night, and sta[r]s, and constellations, and he made (them) shine ... [...]

common emphasis between *Jubilees* and Job: ‘The emphasis in *Jubilees*, as in Job, lies on God as sole creator and recipient of praise. The angels did not assist in creation; they only applauded God’s work.’ (310)

¹⁶² P.W. Skehan, “*Jubilees* and the Qumran Psalter,” *CBQ* 37 (1975) 343-347.

¹⁶³ מבדיל אור מאפלה שחר הכין בדעת / לבו Hymn 4 (11QPs^a xxvi 11-12)

ובכול את התהוןמותן / מפלה ושחר ונאור וערב אשר הכין בדעתו 4QJuba (4Q216 v 9-10)

The absence of לבו in 4Q216 v 10, is one discrepancy that begs explanation especially since the equivalent is present in the Ethiopic. Milik has suggested a different reconstruction of 4QJub^a 10, which would match *Hymn* 14: מכין תבל בחכמתו. (DJD XII.16)

¹⁶⁴ NB – The photographs of 4Q381 are considerably better in the text’s original publication, E.M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection*, (HSS 28; Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), than in the official publication, E.M. Schuller, DJD XI.

¹⁶⁵ Schuller translates לב as ‘understanding.’ (DJD XI.94)

¹⁶⁶ ביימי in line 3 is problematic. Schuller opts for a variant of the Aramaic verb, ימי, to swear, as an adequate parallel to פי ובדבר פיו at the end of the line. As she points out, the standard Aramaic nominal form is מומהא. (DJD XI.95) While this option is indeed adequate, it is not conclusive. Another option is to read the final yod as a waw, making it ‘in his/its day.’ Admittedly, this may not be the best option either as it is difficult to understand why it would be ‘in his/its day.’ However, if there is a connection with MT Genesis 1, the structure of the day is essential and may well be the reference here. As for the pronoun, it could possibly refer to ‘the creation’ as a whole.

¹⁶⁷ Schuller notes that in a series of water nouns this ought to be read אורוהיה (its rivers) rather than אור ותיה as it is written. (DJD XI.95)

⁶ trees and every fru[it of the vineya]rd and all the yield of the field. And with the word of his mouth...
⁷ with [his] w[ife]. And by his breath he made them stand to rule over all these on the earth and over all [...]
⁸ [mo]nth by [m]onth, festival by festival, day by day, to eat its fruit (that) [the land] makes flourish [...]
⁹ [...]...[.] and birds and all that is theirs, to eat the finest of all, and also [...]
¹⁰ [...]... in them and all his hosts and [His] ange[ls]...[...]
¹¹ [...]... to serve humankind and to minister to them and [...]...
¹² [...]...[...]

This text is a portion of a ‘creation psalm’¹⁶⁸ from among the psalms of 4Q381, a collection of previously unknown psalms that likely originated outside the sectarian community that settled at Qumran.¹⁶⁹ The text is quite fragmentary¹⁷⁰ and has been dated to c. 75 BCE.¹⁷¹ H. Stegeman has suggested a partial reconstruction of the scroll with the extant fragments that includes portions of six columns.¹⁷² Unlike 11QPs^a, 4Q381 contains no complete biblical psalms, though it does contain quotations from MT Psalms within some non-canonical psalms.

The intertextual intersection between 4Q381 1 and MT Gen 1.1-5 (שמים/ארץ, לילה, רוח, יום) is quite clear. In addition there are a plethora of intertextual intersections in this text. This study will not attempt to exhaust these many intertextual threads, a task thoroughly done by the text’s editor, E. Schuller.¹⁷³ Rather, this study concerns itself with the intertextual tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5.

The first¹⁷⁴ concrete connection with MT Gen 1.1-5 comes with the creation of שמים/ארץ in line 3. The verb used here is עשה rather than ברא as in MT Gen 1.1, a combination¹⁷⁵ that is foreign to the Hebrew Bible. The next point of contact with MT Gen 1.1-5 comes with the use of לילה at the beginning of line 4. The use of לילה is not a direct reflection of MT Gen 1.5 as it is paired with the stars.¹⁷⁶ The use of רוח in line 7 is intertextually similar to רוח אלהים in MT Gen 1.2. This line could either refer to the creation of humans or the luminaries.¹⁷⁷ It seems

¹⁶⁸ Schuller, DJD XI.92.

¹⁶⁹ This is based on the observations of Schuller, DJD XI, that they do not have ‘distinctive sectarian vocabulary,’ and they do use the tetragrammaton. (90) In a different article, E.M. Schuller, “4Q380 and 4Q381: Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992) notes that E. Tov, “The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls found at Qumran and the Origin of These Scrolls,” *Text* 13 (1986) asserts that 4Q380 and 4Q381 lack what he calls a ‘distinctive “Qumran” orthography and language.’ (56)

¹⁷⁰ There are 87 fragments identified as part of 4Q381, most of which contain only a few letters. Of the fragments that remain there are none that include an entire line of text.

¹⁷¹ Schuller, DJD XI.88.

¹⁷² Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, Appendix A, 267-283.

¹⁷³ Schuller, DJD XI.92-96.

¹⁷⁴ As was noted above, ביימי in line 3 is problematic, and can hardly be considered as an intertextual marker.

¹⁷⁵ עשה שמים/ארץ.

¹⁷⁶ Line 5 is a shift from the water-elements created in line 4. See Schuller, for the difficulties, especially with ויהיר. (95)

¹⁷⁷ See Chazon’s explanation in Schuller, DJD XI.95.

most likely that it is humans that are created given the many references to humans being created to have dominion over the creation.¹⁷⁸

Also of note is the creation by the word of God's (?) mouth at the end of what remains of line 3 -] ובדבר פיו]. The general idea that God creates by speaking permeates Genesis 1, though this specific phrase is not found there. Closer is MT Ps 33.6 - בדבר יהוה שמים נעשו וברוח פיו כל צבאם - With the word of YHWH the heavens were created and all their hosts with the breath of his mouth.¹⁷⁹ Another intertextual theme that bears mention is the creative act of banking in or hedging up forms of water. Again, Schuller thoroughly noted common thematic occurrences,¹⁸⁰ many of which form parts of the intertextual tapestry of chapter one, though none of which have specific intertextual markers connecting them. Mention should also be made of the presence of angels in line 10. While there is little context at this point of the fragment to discern the place of the angels and hosts within the framework of creation, they are a common thread that runs through the creation texts found at Qumran.

3.2.10 *Hymn to the Creator* 11QPs^a (11Q5 xxvi.9-15)¹⁸¹

גדול וקדוש יהוה ¹⁸²	(line 9)
קדוש קדושים לדור ודור	
לפניו הדר / ילך ²	(9-10)
ואחריו המון מים רבים	
חסד ואמת סביב פניו ³	(10-11)
אמת / ומשפט וצדק מכון כסאו	
מבדיל אור מאפלה ⁴	(11-12)
שחר הכין בדעת / לבו	
אז ראו כול מלאכיו וירננו ⁵	(12)
כי הראם את אשר לוא ידעו /	
מעטר הרים תנובות ⁶	(13)
אוכל טוב לכול חי	
ברוך עושה ארץ / בכוחו ⁷	(13-14)
מכין תבל בחוכמתו	

¹⁷⁸ See Gen 1.26, 28; Ps 8.6-8, based on vocabulary the closest to 4Q381; Sir 17.2-4; 1QS III 17; 4Q222 1 i 9; 4Q423 2, 2; 4Q504 8, 6; 4 Ezra 6.4; 2 Bar 14.18; Jub 2.14. Ibid. One might also see here an intertextual thread from MT Ezekiel 37 where God's breath¹⁷⁸ is promised to the dry bones and, when given breath, they stand.

¹⁷⁹ Schuller also notes the idea of creation by word in Jdt 16.14; Sir 42.15; Wis 9.1; 4 Ezra 6.38; 2 Bar 21.4, 43; Jub 12.4; and 4Q422 1 i 6. (DJD XI.95)

¹⁸⁰ Jer 5.22; Ps 104.5; Prov 8.29; Job 26.10, 38.8. DJD XI.95

¹⁸¹ J.A. Sanders, DJDJ IV.89-91. NB – The line numbers from 11QPs^a xxvi are in the far right margin; the text is ordered via Sander's versification.

¹⁸² The tetragrammaton is written in Paleo-Hebrew script in the *Hymn* and throughout 11QPs^a, see Sanders, DJDJ IV, plates II-XVII. Of note is the evaluation of the insertion of the tetragrammaton in Paleo-Hebrew by a second and sometimes third hand in 11QPs^a by A. Wolters, "The Tetragrammaton in the Psalms Scroll," *Text* 18 (1995) 87-99.

בתבונתו נטח שמים⁸ (14-15)
 ויצא / רוח] מאון צרותיו]
 וברקים למטן עשה⁹ (15)
 ויעל נשיאנים מ]קצה [ארץ]

- ¹ Great and holy is the Lord,
the holy of holies to every generation.
- ² Splendor goes before him,
and behind him the roar of many waters.
- ³ Kindness and truth surround him.
truth and justice and righteousness are the foundation of his throne.
- ⁴ [After] separating light from deep darkness
he established the dawn by the understanding of his heart.
- ⁵ When all of his angels had seen it, they cried out [in joy],
because he showed them what they did not know:
- ⁶ Crowning the hills with fruit,
good food for every living being.
- ⁷ Blessed be the one who made [the] earth by his power,
establishing the world by his wisdom.
- ⁸ By his understanding he stretched out [the] heavens
and brought forth [wind] from [his] store[houses.]
- ⁹ He made [lightning for the rain]
and caused mist[s] to rise from the [end] of earth.

This psalm, unknown prior the unrolling of the Psalm Scroll of Qumran Cave 11, appears in the third to last column of 11QPs^a.¹⁸³ With creation as its major theme, the *Hymn to the Creator* (hereafter *Hymn*) includes a number of intertextual markers of MT Gen 1.1-5 (ברדל, אור, ארץ/שמים). The position of the *Hymn* in the scroll is after MT Psalm 150 and prior to MT 2 Sam 23.1-7.¹⁸⁴ The bottom portion of the scroll is missing due to decay.

¹⁸³ James A. Sanders was originally charged with unrolling and editing the Psalms Scroll of Cave 11, the details of which can be found in his works (see DJDJ IV; also an additional volume directed at a wider audience followed – J.A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967). For the editor's most recent recollection about editing and publishing of the scroll and the resulting germination of a version of canonical criticism, see J.A. Sanders, "The Modern History of the Qumran Psalms Scroll and Canonical Criticism," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S.M. Paul, et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 393-411. The first decades of debate on the canonicity of 11QPs^a are covered by G.H. Wilson, "The Qumran Psalms Scroll Reconsidered: Analysis of the Debate," *CBQ* 47 (1985) 624-642, which the author continued with publication of his PhD dissertation, G.H. Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, (SBLDS 76; Chico, CA: Scholars, 1985). Also of note is the thorough study by P.W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997) that sees 11QPs^a as part of the development of the Masoretic psalter, particularly representing pre-Qumran groups who used a solar calendar. (201) An example of the argument against any canonical status for 11QPs^a within the Qumran community comes from M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a): A Problem of Canon and Text," *Text* 5 (1966) 22-33, opting to explain the scroll as a liturgical collection, "some ancient prototype of a 'Hymn Book'." (24)

¹⁸⁴ The order of the psalms of 11QPs^a (texts from outside the MT Psalter are italicized): 101-103, 109, 118, 104, 147, 105, 146, 148, 121-132, 119, 135-136, 145, 154, *A Plea for Deliverance*, 139, 137-138, *Sir 51.13-30*, *Apostrophe to Zion*, 93, 141, 133, 144, 155, 142-143, 149-150, *Hymn to the Creator*, 2 Sam 23.7 (likely 2 Sam 23.1-7), *Prose account of David's compositions*, 140, 134, 151A & B. The *Hymn* is one of nine texts in 11QPs^a that do not appear within the Masoretic Psalter. Of these nine texts, three were preserved in other canons. 11Q5 XXVIII 3-14 comprises Pss 151 A and B, previously known from the LXX Psalter and a collection of five non-canonical Syriac psalms (see Sanders, 53ff. Also, P.W. Flint, "Non-Canonical Writings in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Apocrypha, Other Previously Known Writings, Pseudepigrapha," in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (ed. P.W.

The bottom of col. xxvi was likely filled with the final verse or two of the *Hymn* followed by the majority (vv. 1b-7a) of the poem in MT 2 Samuel 23.¹⁸⁵ Based on Sanders' palaeographic observations, 11QPs^a dates to the first half of the first century CE.¹⁸⁶ It is likely, however, that the *Hymn* is considerably older. The arguments of P. Skehan¹⁸⁷ and G. Brooke¹⁸⁸ that suggest a dependence of *Jubilees* on the *Hymn*, while possible, are tenuous and impossible to verify.¹⁸⁹ It is difficult to say with any certainty whence the *Hymn* came. P. Flint's analysis of the whole of 11QPs^a is helpful in this regard. He concludes that while the scroll was copied and used at Qumran,¹⁹⁰ it was likely compiled elsewhere and 'is representative of more widespread groups for whom the solar calendar was authoritative.'¹⁹¹ I am inclined to follow Flint's analysis that the *Hymn*, as a part of the larger corpus of 11QPs^a,

Flint; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2001) notes that Ps 151 may have been in the 'Ethiopian Narrower Canon' since it was a translation of the LXX, p. 85, n. 26), 11Q5 XVIII 1-16 (Ps 154) comprises the middle verses of Syriac Ps II (Sanders, 64ff), and 11Q5 XXIV 3-17 (Ps 155) comprises the first 19 vss. of Syriac Ps III (Sanders, 70ff). Another comes from a previously known Second Temple text (11Q5 XXI 11-17 and XXII 1 contain Sir 51.13-19, 30b). Another comes from a MT text outside the Psalter (11Q5 XXVII 1 includes most of 2 Sam 23.7 with small variations). It is likely that the final lines of col. XXVI included the rest of the poem/psalm, "David's Last Words", 2 Sam 23.1-7. Such reuse of biblical material in a psalter is also present in 2 Sam 22.2-51 and Ps 18.3-51. And there are four texts which are previously unknown – 11Q5 XIX 1-18 comprises the *Plea for Deliverance*, also found in 11QPs^b; 11Q5 XXII 1-15 comprises the *Apostrophe to Zion*, also found in 4QPs^f and 11QPs^b (Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, notes that the 4QPs^f version of the *Apostrophe* is an 'earlier, Aramaicized version', whereas the 11QPs^b is 'a more elegant literary form'. [8]); 11Q5 XXVI 9-15 is the *Hymn* to the Creator (see below); and 11Q5 XXVII 2-11 is a prose composition (the only one in 11QPs^a), *David's Composition*, that outlines the mass of songs and psalms attributed to David's hand.

¹⁸⁵ P.W. Skehan, "A Liturgical Complex in 11QPs^a," *CBQ* 35 (1973) suggests that there would be ten additional lines to complete the column. Of these, eight would be required to complete 2 Sam 23.1-7. This would leave lines 16-17 for the completion of the *Hymn*, though it is also possible that line 17 was left blank. (202-203)

¹⁸⁶ Sanders, DJDJ IV.9.

¹⁸⁷ Skehan, "Jubilees and the Qumran Psalter," 343-347.

¹⁸⁸ Brooke, "Exegetical Strategies in *Jub* 1-2," 54.

¹⁸⁹ Skehan and later Brooke argue that there is a similarity between *Jub* 2.2-3 and *Hymn* 4 (lines 11-12), which is true. Explaining this similarity, however, is difficult. Showing directional dependence may be impossible. The two lines read:

מבדיל אור מאפלה שחר הכין בדעת / לבו *Hymn* 4
 ובכול את התהומות / מפלה ושחר ונאור ואור אשר הכין בדעתו *4QJuba* (4Q216 V 9-10)

There are points of contact between the two texts. *Jubilees* has a list of cosmic elements, partially preserved in 4Q216 v 9b-10a, that God establishes (הכין per reconstruction) with his understanding (בדעתו). These are darkness, dawn (שחר), [light, evening], following the reconstruction of VanderKam and Milik. VanderKam and Milik, DJD XIII.16. Also of note is that there is no room in the remaining mss to insert and thereby explain the absence of לבו. In *Hymn* 4, there are similar elements (light, darkness, dawn) but they are arranged in two related but different *stichoi* – God separates light from deep darkness and establishes (הכין) dawn (שחר) with the understanding of his heart (בדעת לבו). Skehan notes that the Ethiopic of *Jub* 2.2-3 reads, 'which he prepared in the knowledge of his heart,' and that the quotation of *Jubilees* in Epiphanius breaks off after the list of things created leaving no Greek text of the means by which God created. (344, for the Ethiopic see also Wintermute, "Jubilees," 55) The order of creation in *Jubilees* is heaven, earth, waters, spirits (angels), abysses, darkness, evening, night, light, dawn, daylight; whereas in the *Hymn* we find the separation of light and darkness, dawn, (angelic praise – there is no account of their creation), earth, world, heavens, etc. An argument that *Jubilees* is dependent upon the *Hymn* is stretching the common elements too far. While there is an intertextual relationship between the two texts, the argument for dependence is unsubstantiated.

¹⁹⁰ This is contra Sander's suggestion that 11QPs^a was compiled at Qumran, and thus the title 'Qumran Psalter'.

¹⁹¹ Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 201; also summarized in P.W. Flint, "The Book of Psalms in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *VT* 48 (1998) 469-471.

originated in a cross section of early Judaism that was using the solar rather than the lunar calendar and of which the early sectarians were a part.¹⁹²

The *Hymn*, which Sanders describes as ‘a sapiential hymn of praise to the Creator,’¹⁹³ is an intertextual crossroads. Of primary interest to this study is the confluence of intertexts shared by the *Hymn* and the tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5. While there are intertextual markers of MT Gen 1.1-5, the intertextual relationships with other texts within the intertextual mosaic of MT Gen 1.1-5 are particularly significant.

The separation of light and darkness is of primary concern, particularly the establishment of dawn (*Hymn* 4b), drawing attention to the creative action of separation in MT Gen 1.4b.¹⁹⁴ The creative action of separation (בדל) is shared by both texts. A difference between *Hymn*4b and MT Gen 1.4b is the use of אפלה instead of חשך. While the combination of אור and אפלה is absent in the Hebrew Bible,¹⁹⁵ it is not without parallel in texts from Qumran. The closest parallel comes in 4Q380 7 ii 3: ויבדלו בואפלה ואור;¹⁹⁶ the manuscript, however, is too fragmentary to be of much use. The use of both words in 4Q392 1 4b-6 is more significant.¹⁹⁷ The primary dichotomy in this text is between אור and חשך, God having created both. The following line extends the parallel asserting that the perfect light is God's dwelling and אפלה כל rests in God's presence. The parallel then returns to אור and חשך in the next phrase with the statement that it is only God that can separate them. It appears that אפלה is used synonymously with חשך.

¹⁹² Skehan, “*Jubilees* and the Qumran Psalter,” vaguely suggests that the *Hymn* (moreover the Qumran community's angelology) comes from ‘the Jerusalem priesthood’ of the early 2nd century BCE. As a reaction against the ‘unhealthy’ mythology of the Enoch tradition, Skehan suggests that the writer of *Jubilees* was looking for a more traditional framework for angelology and found it in a hymn that he heard, more precisely the *Hymn*. (346-347) If establishing this context for the relationship of *Jubilees* with the *Hymn* is Skehan's motivation, an intertextual argument (methodologically anachronistic though it may be) would have proved more convincing given the power of the liturgical word to the listener/author. Nevertheless, imagining such a context is just that.

¹⁹³ Sanders, DJDJ IV.89.

¹⁹⁴ The different forms of בדל indicate the different sense of time in each text. The imperfect in MT Gen 1.4b places the action in the past. The separating is a temporally independent act of the creation. In *Hymn* 4a, however, the use of the participle (The form of the *hiphil* participle is found in MT Gen 1.6 and Isa 59.2, both in periphrastic constructions and neither of particular exegetical value in this case.) indicates that the time of the act of creation is temporally subordinate to what followed. That is, the establishment of dawn in *Hymn* 4b is of primary consideration. The establishment of dawn is placed on a timeline *after* the separation of light and darkness.

¹⁹⁵ The combination of אור and אפלה does not occur in the Hebrew Bible. אפלה, however, is used in tandem with חשך. The two are joined by a *maqeph* in MT Exod 10.22 to describe the plague of darkness. (This redundancy in the text of the Hebrew Bible is apparently explained in 4QParaphrase of Genesis and Exodus (4Q422) iii 9, where חשך is placed upon the earth and, if the reconstruction is correct – T. Elgvin and E. Tov, DJD XIII.429, אפלה was in the houses of the Egyptians.) These two words also occur together in descriptions of the Day of the LORD (e.g., Isa 58.10, Joel 2.2, Zeph 1.15).

¹⁹⁶ Schuller, DJD XI, notes the parallel (85), and categorizes this portion of 4Q380 as having ‘creation motifs’ and using ‘wisdom’ vocabulary. (77)

¹⁹⁷ He created darkness (חשך)[and]light (אור) for himself. And in his habitation is the light (אור) of perfect lights, and all darkness (אפלה) rests in his presence; and except for him no one can separate (להבדיל) the light (האור) from the darkness (חשך) because He separated (הבדילם) them for the sons of man like the light (for) daytime (with) the sun (and for) night the moon and stars. (4Q392 1,4b-6)

Additional intertextual convergence between MT Gen 1.1-5 and the *Hymn* comes with the parallel use of ארץ and שמים and the use of רוח in *Hymn* 7-9. While MT Gen 1.1-5 is intertextually relevant in these lines, a more obvious connection with *Hymn* 7-9 is found in the (nearly) verbatim quotation of MT Jer 10.12-13 and/or 51.15-16.

<i>Hymn</i> 7-9	
ברוך עושה ארץ בכחו	7a
מכין תבל בצוכמתו	7b
בתבונתו נטח שמים	8a
ויצא [רוח] מאונצרותיו	8b
[ברקים למטר] אשה	9a
ויעל נשיאים מןקצה [ארץ]	9b

MT Jeremiah ¹⁹⁸	
עשה ארץ בכחו	10.12a, 51.15a
מכין תבל בחכמתו	10.12b, 51.15b
ובתבונתו נטח שמים	10.12c, 51.15c
ויוצא ¹⁹⁹ רוח מאצרתיו	10.13d, 51.16d
ברקים למטר עשה	10.13c, 51.16c
ויעלה נשיאים מןקצה ארץ ²⁰⁰	10.13b, 51.16b

The use of MT Jeremiah in the *Hymn* 7-8a is quite apparent, such that Sanders utilizes MT Jeremiah to help in the reconstruction of *Hymn* 8b-9b.²⁰¹ An oddity of the *Hymn* 8b-9b is the reversal of the order of the phrases found in MT Jeremiah.²⁰² There is also a similarity between *Hymn* 8b-9b and Ps 135.7, but given the quotation of the MT Jeremiah text in *Hymn* 7a-8a and the absence of any mention of wisdom in MT Ps 135 the ligatures here seem to be between MT Ps 135 and the MT Jeremiah texts, and the MT Jeremiah texts and the *Hymn*. Moving outside of an intertextual argument for a moment, it is highly likely that there is a reliance on MT Jer 10.12-13/51.15-16 in *Hymn* 7-9.²⁰³ Taking a wider view of the intertextual tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5, the *Hymn* interweaves the threads of wisdom and creation that in addition to MT Jer 10/51 also extend to MT Ps 74.16, Prov 3.19, 8.27, and Isa 45.18.

¹⁹⁸ These verses are reordered to match the sequence in *Hymn* 7-9.

¹⁹⁹ MT Jer 51.16d reads ויצא.

²⁰⁰ MT of both Jer 10.13b and 51.16b have a *qere* reading of ארץ.

²⁰¹ Sanders, DJDJ IV.91

²⁰² At least one other example of such a rearrangement comes in 4Q381 frag. 24 where there is a reordered quotation of MT Ps 18.7-9a/2 Sam 22.7-9a, Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 35. Schuller elaborates that these verses of Ps 18 are preserved in three texts (4QPs^c = Ps 18.3-14; 8Q2.8-11 which is of little textual value; and 11QPsc.8-18 = Ps 18.1-12) from Qumran, all of which follow the MT. (122) The fact that the author of 4Q381 xxviii and xxix would have had a version of Ps 18 reflecting the MT and yet rearranged portions of vv. 7-8 suggests a similar action to the rearrangement of MT Jer 10.13/51.16 in the *Hymn*.

²⁰³ The occurrence of מים רבים in *Hymn* 2b bears closest resemblance to the description of heavenly sounds around or of God – the beating of the wings of the living creatures (החיים) in MT Ezek 1.24 and/or the return of the Lord's glory to the Temple in 43.2, per M. Weinfeld, "The Angelic Song over the Luminaries in the Qumran Texts," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990* (ed. D. Dimant and L.H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995) 135. This is contra Sanders who suggests a similarity between MT Jer 10.13a and *Hymn* 2b (Sanders, .90). While מים רבים does occur in MT Jer 51.13a, and it is in very close proximity to the text utilized in the *Hymn* (i.e. MT Jer 51.15-16), one cannot argue that the use of מים רבים in *Hymn* 2a is reliant on MT Jer 51.13a, primarily because מים רבים as used in the two Ezekiel texts (and MT Ps 29.3) is closer in usage. MT Jer 51.13a is referring to

The intertextual threads of the *Hymn* extend in many other directions as well, a few of which are germane to this study. The similarity of *Hymn* 2a and MT 96.6a – between לִפְנֵי הַדָּר יִלֵּךְ (*Hymn* 2a) and הוֹרֵה־הַדָּר לִפְנֵי (MT Ps 96.6a).²⁰⁴ In addition, the larger context of this enthronement psalm²⁰⁵ includes the assertion that all the earth (v.1b) is enjoined to sing praises to the Lord's name and that the Lord is attributed with the creation of the heavens (v.5b).²⁰⁶ While MT Ps 96 is not in the tapestry of this study, it does contain a creation theme and an intertextual connection with the *Hymn*. In *Hymn* 5 there is an intertextual relationship with MT Job 38.7. M. Weinfeld argues that this is one of the early germinations of the angelic song at the renewal of the luminaries.²⁰⁷ In Weinfeld's argument, which is ultimately focused on the roots of the angelic song as represented in the Jewish *Yotser Qedushah* liturgy, he identifies a connection between MT Job 38.7, MT Ps 148.3, and *Hymn* 5. The connection is that the morning stars (כּוֹכְבֵי בֹקֶר) that sing (רִנְּן) to the creator in MT Job 38.7 resemble the bright stars (כּוֹכְבֵי אֹרֶר) that together with the Lord's angels (מַלְאֲכָיו) praise God in MT Ps 148.3. The angels (מַלְאֲכָיו) of *Hymn* 5a that sing (רִנְּן) with joy to the Lord because of what he has shown them are strikingly similar to the singing / praising stars of MT Ps 148.3 and especially MT Job 38.7. Whether or not there is a deliberate reliance of *Hymn* 5a on MT Job 38.7 and/or Ps 148.3, there is certainly an intertextual relationship.

3.2.11 4QSongs of the Sage^b (4Q511) frag. 30

חַתְּמֹתָהּ]... [אֶרֶץ גִּזְוֹ...]	1
וַיַּעֲמִקְנֵן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׁמַי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְתַהוֹמוֹת וּמַחֲנֵן שָׁכֵי אֶרֶץ ...]	2
אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי חַתְּמֹתָהּ בַּעַד כּוֹלָם וְאֵין פּוֹתַח וְלֹא שָׁרָן]... אַעֲנֶה]	3
הַיִּמְדָּא בְּשׁוּעַל אַנְשִׁים מִי רַבָּה וְאֵם בּוֹזֶרֶת] יִתְכַנּוּ שָׁמַיִם וּמִי בְּשִׁלְיָשׁ]	4
יִכּוֹל עֵפֶר הָאֶרֶץ וַיִּשְׁקֶן] לְבַפְלֹס]... [הָרִים וְגִבְעוֹת בְּמוֹזְנִים]...]	5
אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה] [אֲדָמָן וְאֵיכָה] [יִזְכֵּל אִישׁ לְתַכֵּן אֶת רֵיחֵן אֱלֹהִים]	6

significant bodies of water, given the Babylonian context possibly the Tigris and Euphrates. This is far from the heavenly, cosmic sounds of MT Ezek 1.24 and 43.2 (and MT Ps 29.3), which use מַיִם רַבִּים as a simile for something otherwise indescribable. So it is in *Hymn* 2b, where splendour goes before the Lord and the roar of מַיִם רַבִּים behind. There may be, however, a more nuanced explanation to this problem from the vantage of intertextuality. Given the reliance of the *Hymn* on MT Jer 10/51 as shown above, the author of the *Hymn* knew these passages from Jeremiah. While it is conjecture, it is also probable that the author would have been familiar *both* with Jer 51.13, containing the מַיִם רַבִּים, *and* with MT Ezek 1.24, 43.2, and/or Ps 29.3. Without overstressing the evidence, it is entirely possible that the author of the *Hymn*, especially given the many biblical texts that are pieced together in this text, pulled on both the Ezekiel/Psalms usage of מַיִם רַבִּים and the close juxtaposition of the MT Jer 51.13 מַיִם רַבִּים to arrive at the text of *Hymn* 2b. Such a tempered intertextual reading contradicts Weinfeld's note that Sander's suggestion of MT Jer 51.13 is "irrelevant for the context of vv.2-3 of the *Hymn*" (Weinfeld, "Angelic Song," 135) and makes room for both possibilities.

²⁰⁴ Weinfeld, "Angelic Song," 135.

²⁰⁵ A. Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary*, (trans. H. Hartwell; 4th ed.; OTL; London: SCM, 1962) 628.

²⁰⁶ וַיְהוֹדֶה שָׁמַיִם עֲשֶׂה – MT Ps 96.5b.

²⁰⁷ Weinfeld, "Angelic Song," 150f.

²⁰⁸ Baillet, reconstructs the badly damaged end of this line based on the paraphrase of MT Isa 40.12-13, which he suggests recalls the text form of 1QIsa^a. (236)

- ¹ you have sealed [...e]arth ... [...]
² and deep places, [the heavens and the heaven of the] heavens and the abysses and
the dar[k places of the earth ...]
³ you, my God, have sealed them all up, and nobody opens them. And to whom [... I
answer]
⁴ Can the great waters²⁰⁹ be measured in the hollow of a man's hand? Or with a span
[regulate heaven? And who with a measure]
⁵ can contain the dust of the earth, can weigh the mountains with scales, or the hills
with a balan[ce? ...]
⁶ these things man does not make. [How then] is a man able to measure (the spirit)
[of God?]

This text comes from 4QSongs of the Sage^b (4Q511),²¹⁰ a collection of ordinary hymns,²¹¹ apparently used as incantations by the Sage (משכיל)²¹² most likely for protection against evil spirits.²¹³ In addition to affinities between 4Q510-511 and other texts found at Qumran, the prominent role of the משכיל in Songs of the Sage suggests that this text was used by the Qumran sectarians, if not produced by them.

While creation threads weave in and out of the Songs of the Sage, 4Q511 30²¹⁴ is the point that has the most significant intertextual intersections with MT Gen 1.1-5 (ארץ/שמים, תהום, רוח)²¹⁵. Because of the disrepair of the first two lines, it is difficult to establish the context of ארץ/שמים or תהום, though no direct dependence on MT Gen 1.1-5 is apparent. The primary action of the first two lines of the fragment is a sealing up (חתם). While much of line 1 is missing, presumably what is being sealed up are the earth, the deep, heaven of heavens, heaven,

²⁰⁹ The translation of this line in García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSS Study Edition*, overextends the text by adding that the waters in line 4 are 'of the deep.' (2.1033)

²¹⁰ 4Q511 is comprised of 215 papyrus fragments, many of them very small. The hand of 4Q511 dates from the latter part of the first century BCE, cf. Baillet, DJD VII.219. 4Q510 is a second copy – 4QSongs of the Sage^a.

²¹¹ B. Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran - 4Q510-4Q511," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 53.

²¹² See IQS ix.12-xi.22 for the duties of the Instructor. An example of a prayer uttered by the Instructor is found in IQS x.5-21.

²¹³ E.g., 4Q510 1,4-5 and 4Q511 35,6-7. Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran," clarifies the difference between 'pure and simple incantations (and) hymns recited for the purpose of incantation... On the one hand, there are ordinary incantations, magical formulae and amulets, from various places and times, which are direct or explicit, in that the magician addresses the evil spirits, commanding them to go away. On the other hand, in these songs from Qumran...the approach is less direct...' In an analysis of these the form of the 'ordinary' incantation and those from Qumran, she notes two differences: (1) in the general incantation the power comes from the Name of God, in the hymn incantations from Qumran the power 'employed by the Sage is "A Word of Glorification;"' and (2) the general incantation aims to expel the evil spirits forever, whereas 'the Sage from Qumran only scares the evil spirits away, in a somewhat temporary fashion.' (54-55) Nitzan goes on to explain this dissimilarity by suggesting that there are two different conceptions of evil spirits. The ordinary incantation draws on a conception of evil spirits common to the tradition found in *Num. Rabba* 12.3, that asserts that the demons were exterminated from the world when the *Sheckinah* entered the newly set up tabernacle. (56) (Incidentally, Nitzan does not mention the earlier exposition of Ps 91.2 in *Num. Rabba* 12.3 that suggests that Moses used the Divine Name to scare away demons and evil angels as he ascended Sinai, which is the context given for the composition of Ps 91 according to *Num. Rabba*.) Another tradition about evil spirits bears apocalyptic connotations and is common to *I Enoch* 16.1 and *Jub* 10.1-11, where evil spirits are active until the final day of judgement. (56) It is the latter of these two conceptions of evil spirits that Nitzan sees active at Qumran, and in particular in 4QSongs of the Sage.

²¹⁴ Frag 30 is comprised of portions of six continuous lines at the bottom of a column with right and bottom margins largely intact.

²¹⁵ ארץ at the end of line 6 appears to be a defective spelling of ארץ, cf. Baillet, DJD VII.236.

and the dark places of earth, if the reconstruction of Baillet based on Sir 16.18a, MS A, is correct.²¹⁶ While the use of ההח is by no means foreign to the Hebrew Bible, the sealing up of something until an eschatological end time is unique to Daniel.²¹⁷ As Nitzan notes, in the first three lines of frag. 30 there is a convergence of cosmology and eschatology: ‘...the text infers that the sage anticipates the end of days, when the Mighty God who fixed the forces of nature in their proper places, will open the gates of the earth in order to destroy the evil spirits.’²¹⁸

What appears to be a paraphrase of MT Isa 40.12-13 in 4Q511 30 4-6 is the closest contact with the tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5.

MT Isa 40.12

מִי־מִדֵּד בְּשַׁעֲלוֹ מִיָּם וּשְׁמַיִם בְּזֵרֶת תִּכְנֶן
וְכֹל בְּשֵׁלֶשׁ עֶפְרַיִם הָאָרֶץ וּשְׁקָל בַּפֶּלֶס הָרִים
וּגְבֻעוֹת בְּמֵאזְנַיִם:
מִי־תִכְנֶן אֶת־רוּחַ יְהוָה וְאִישׁ אֲצִתּוֹ יוֹדִיעֵנוּ:¹³

¹² Who can measure (the) waters in the hollow of his hand and regulate the heavens with a span and contain in a measure the dust of the earth and weigh with a scale the mountains and the hills with a balance?

¹³ Who is able to measure the spirit of YHWH? And what man is able to make known his counsel?

4Q511 30,4

הִי־מִדָּא בְּשַׁעֲלָא אֲנָשִׁים מִן רֵבֶת וְאִם בְּזֵרֶתָן יִתְכַנּוּ שְׁמַיִם וּמִי בְּשֵׁלִישָׁן⁴
יִכּוֹל עֶפְרַיִם הָאָרֶץ וּשְׁקָל בַּפֶּלֶסָן [הָרִים וּגְבֻעוֹת בְּמֵאזְנַיִם ...]⁵
אֵת אֱלֹהִים לֹא יַעֲשֶׂהָן [אָדָם וְאִיכָה יוֹכֵל אִישׁ לִתְכַן אֶת־רוּחַן אֱלֹהִים]⁶

⁴ Can the great waters be measured in the hollow of a man's hand? Or with a span [regulate heaven? And who with a measure]

⁵ can contain the dust of the earth, can weigh the mountains with scales, or the hills with a balan[ce? ...]

⁶ these things man does not make. [How then] is a man able to measure (the spirit) [of God?]

The reliance of 4Q511 30 4-5 on MT Isa 40.12 is without question. The portions with a single underline are shared by both texts, although with some difference in syntax and morphology. The portions with double-underline are shared per the reconstruction of Baillet.²¹⁹ The major differences between the texts come with reference to waters - מים in MT Isa 40.12a, and מי רבה in 4Q511 30 4a.²²⁰ The similarity between 4Q511 30 6 and MT Isa 40.13 is more

²¹⁶ Baillet, DJD VII.236, proposes this reconstruction based on a similarity with Sir 16.18, MS A:

הֵן הַשְּׁמַיִם וּשְׁמֵי הַשְּׁמַיִם וְתַהוֹם וְאָרֶץ. Cf. Beentjes, *Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 46.

²¹⁷ In particular MT Dan 12.4, 9, in which Daniel is exhorted to keep the words/book sealed until the end of time. While the disrepair of the fragment only allows for speculation, there is at least a possible relationship with *Pr.Man.* 3b, in which God seals the abyss with the name of God. See below, pp. 165-166.

²¹⁸ Nitzan, “Hymns from Qumran,” 60. Nitzan's argument in this paper is that 4QSongs of the Sage (4Q510-511) has a unique form of magical incantation, the basis of which is an understanding that evil spirits will be present until the end of time and that the power for scaring off these evil spirits in the interim is ‘in the power of God's thoughts.’ (62-63)

²¹⁹ Baillet, DJD VII.236. The photograph of frag. 30 (plate lxi) is of little help because of its poor quality.

²²⁰ As noted by Baillet (DJD VII.236), 4QIsa^a 40.12 reads מי ים. This may explain the use of מי in 4Q511, however the use of רבה is difficult to explain. While not the only possible explanation (see Baillet's comparisons with the Hebrew text of Sirach and with uses of תהום רבה in Gen 7.11, Isa 51.10, Amos 7.4, Ps 36.7, and 1QH iii.32, none of which bear much resemblance), it may be that the author of 4Q511 30 is paraphrasing (and therefore interpreting)

problematic given (1) the assumption that the ריה is a defective form of רוח, though this reading is strengthened by the proximity to the paraphrase of v.12 and the common use of תכין, (2) the missing text at the end of the line, (3) and the first portion of the line that bears no resemblance to MT Isaiah 40. What is apparent is that there are intertextual markers in common between MT Gen 1.1-5 and 4Q511 30, but that the stronger textual relationship is with MT Isa 40.12-13, which is part of the intertextual tapestry as outlined in chapter one.

3.2.12 4QSapiential Hymn (4Q411) frag. 1 ii

[ו]תשמח בחכ[כה/ת ...]	1
יְהוָה פֶּן יִסְחַר [...]	2
טוב יום אחר[...]	3
הנא החלתי ל[...]	4
לאדם והוא ב[...]	5
ידעתי את [...]	6
מי חכם ו[...]	7
וגאל בצה[...]	8
ותבונתו מי [...]	9
באהל לשנבת [...]	10
בשר יהונה [...]	11
יהוה ברא ה[...]	12
יהוה ברא ש[מים ...]	13
הופיעו לא[...]	14
להראות[...]	15
לשעשועים [...]	16
[י]הוה[...]	17

¹ [and] you²²¹ rejoice in wis[dom ...]

² YHWH, lest he trav[el ...]

³ good, day one [...]

⁴ behold, I began²²² to [...]

⁵ concerning Adam,²²³ and he [...]

⁶ I knew the [...]

⁷ who is wise and [...]

⁸ and redeemed a swamp [...]

⁹ and his understanding, who [...]

¹⁰ in a tent to d[well ...]

¹¹ flesh YHW[H created ...]

¹² YHWH created [...]

¹³ YHWH created h[eaven ...]

Isa 40.12, possibly with the variant text of 4QIsa^a. This could also explain the syntactical difference between 4Q511 30,4b and MT Isa 40.12b. 4Q511 30,6a would then be an insertion, that is if 4Q511 30,6b is quoting MT Isa 40.13a.

²²¹ Another possibility is ‘and she rejoices in wisdom.’

²²² If the *lamed* is not the preposition, it is also possible that החלתי ought to read, ‘I am profaned/violated...,’ though this reading appears incongruent with the rest of the text.

²²³ Could also be ‘man’, cf. A. Steudel, DJD XX 161. Given the use of לאדם in MT Gen 3.21 with reference to ‘Adam’ and not ‘mankind’, Steudel’s assertion that ‘Adam’ is not indicated stretches the evidence.

- ¹⁴ they cause to shine out [...]
¹⁵ to appear [...]
¹⁶ for deli[ght ...]
¹⁷ [Y]HWH [...]

4Q411 is a single fragment of an otherwise unknown text.²²⁴ The focus of the text appears to be wisdom²²⁵ and at least in part with YHWH's actions as creator. The intertextual connections with MT Gen 1.1-5, while not strong, are notable (יום אחד, טוב, יום אחד, ברא). The most interesting part of this text is the use of יום אחד in line 3. The use of יום אחד is extremely rare, and, barring its use in the description of the Day of the Lord in MT Zech 14.7, is only found in MT Gen 1.5. Also, the occurrence of טוב immediately prior strengthens the possibility of an intertextual connection. Given the close proximity of God's declaration of the days of creation as good and the marking of the end of a day in Genesis 1,²²⁷ an intertextual connection with MT Gen 1.4-5 is promising though necessarily tentative given the partial nature of the text. The other obvious connection with MT Gen 1.1-5 is the use of ברא with YHWH as the subject in lines 12-13.²²⁸ The use of הופיעו in line 14 and להראות in line 15 may suggest that the object of God's creating is angels,²²⁹ light, and/or the luminaries.²³⁰

In spite of the scant evidence, this fragment contains both wisdom and creation and uses the tetragrammaton frequently, which suggests that it was not composed by the sectarians. What is being created by God in this fragment is difficult to ascertain but may be light given the verbs in lines 14-15.

3.2.13 4QMeditation on Creation A (4Q303) frag. 1²³¹

[מבינים שמעו ו]	1
[מים וישביתו מעל נ]	2
[א { סר } נפלאות אל אשןר	3
[לאור עולם ושמי טוהנר	4
[אר במקום תהו וב]הו ²³²	5
[כולמעשיהם עד ק]	6
[ר במ מלך לכולם]	7
[ר ושכל טוב ורע ל]	8
[לוקח ממנה אדכיאן]	9

²²⁴ Steudel, DJD XX.159 The manuscript dates from the first century BCE, though the use of the tetragrammaton throughout this fragment may suggest that the document predates the sectarian community at Qumran or that it was brought into the community's library from outside.

²²⁵ See the mention of wisdom in lines 1 and 7 and understanding in line 9.

²²⁶ שמים is a tenuous reconstruction in line 13.

²²⁷ MT Gen 1.4-5, 12-13, 18-19, 31.

²²⁸ Steudel adds the possibility of reconstructing line 11 as [בשר יהונה ברא], based on the use of ברא with YHWH in the following two lines. (DJD XX.161) This seems thin ice upon which to reconstruct.

²²⁹ Steudel, DJD XX.162

²³⁰ The verb here, יפע, is found only eight times in the Hebrew Bible. One of these occurrences comes in MT Job 3.4, an intertext of MT Gen 1.1-5. See above, p.35. As noted by Steudel, the לאן at the end of line 15 may begin a form of אור, DJD XX.162.

²³¹ T. Lim, DJD XX.152-153.

²³² While Lim does not include a space in תהווב]הו in his transcription (DJD XX.152), the photograph (Plate XIII), while not conclusive because of a possible smudge, does appear to have a space between the words.

[ועשה לו עזר כנגדו]	10
[לו לאשה כיא מזמנו לקחה זאת]	11
] vacat [12
[ל לפין]	13
[לן]	14

1	[...]those of understanding ²³³ listen and [...]
2	[...]...and cause them to cease treachery ²³⁴ [...]
3	[...]... the wonderful deeds of God whi[ch ...]
4	[...]for eternal light and the pur[e ²³⁵] heavens[...]
5	[... ligh]t in the place of emptiness and vo[id ...]
6	[...]all their deeds until ...[...]
7	[...]...among them, a king for all of them[...]
8	[...]...and insight of good and evil ...[...]
9	[...] /Adam/ taking from it, for[...]
10	[... and] he ²³⁶ made for himself a suit[able] helper[...]
11	[...] for him as a wife for from him[this was taken out ...]
12-14	

While a wider context of 4QMeditation on Creation A frag 1²³⁷ is difficult to ascertain, what is preserved in this fragment leaves little doubt that this text focuses, at least in part, on creation²³⁸ and that it shares intertextual markers with Gen 1.1-5 (שמים, אור, תהו ובהו, טוב). At the same time, while this fragment contains vocabulary common with MT Gen 1.1-5, it may in fact be closer to MT Genesis 2.

²³³ My translation of מביינים follows the rendering of Nitzan, “Idea of Creation,” 253, and E. Qimron as noted by Lim, DJD XX.153.

²³⁴ For this line, see Nitzan, “Idea of Creation,” 253. H. Jacobson, “Notes on 4Q303,” *DSD* 6 (1999) offers a reconstruction of line 2 founded on similarities with MT Gen 1.7. Based on three assumptions, (1) that מים at the beginning of the line is not part of a larger word and can thus be read ‘water’, and (2) that מעל is מעל is ‘above’ rather than ‘treachery’, and (3) that וישביתו can be read וישביתו, ‘will cease’. Jacobson’s translation, then, reads, ‘[water (?) and will stop above (?)].’ (78-80) While intriguing, this solution to an extremely difficult line is tenuous and impossible to verify.

²³⁵ The juxtaposition of שמים and טוהר is a unique construction. The use of טוהר within the Hebrew Bible is most often in the context of ritual purity (BDB, s.v.). While a form of the Aramaic, טיהר or טיהר, meaning bright sky (Jastrow, s.v.), might provide a more desirable translation, from the photograph of this fragment it is quite clear that the second letter is a *waw* rather than a *yod*.

²³⁶ Given how close this line of 4Q303 is to Gen 2.18c (ועשה לו עזר כנגדו), it seems reasonable to restore the line to match Gen 2.18c, ‘I will make for him a suitable helper.’

²³⁷ The fragment contains portions of fourteen lines from the middle of a column including the top margin. The final three lines are too fragmentary to be of use. The script dates the manuscript to the last half of the first century BCE. (DJD XX.151) While there are two similar texts, 4Q304 and 4Q305, also with creation themes the manuscripts are too fragmentary to accurately judge whether or not they are the copies of the same text.

²³⁸ Acknowledging the limited ability to discern the context of this fragment, T. Lim, based on his translation of lines 1 and 2 – [having understood, they listened and[/]mym and they caused treachery to cease n[– suggests a context in which ‘...lessons are being drawn from the created order to illustrate the wondrous work of God, an admonition that has at its heart moral and ethical implications.’ (DJD XX.151) Nitzan, “Idea of Creation,” backs off slightly from Lim’s assessment, suggesting that the fragmentary nature of the text does not allow one to see the ‘wondrous work of God’ when the references to creation themes are so limited. Suffice it to say, 4Q303 does address the created order. To what degree and scope, we cannot know. On the sapiential nature of the text, Jacobson, “Notes on 4Q303,” suggests that it is a wisdom text based on parallels between line 1 and other wisdom texts. (78-80) Because of the fragmentary nature of the text, especially line 1, I take this as a strong observation but wish to push it no further based on a lack of context.

The phrase **לְאוֹר עוֹלָם** in line 4 occurs only twice in the Hebrew Bible in back to back verses (Isa 60.19-20) in which the Lord is said to be ‘everlasting light’ of Zion.²³⁹ With this unique intersection with Isaiah 60 it seems unlikely that **אוֹר** in line 4 has a direct connection with MT Gen 1.3-5. The most concrete point of contact with MT Gen 1.1-5 is in the use of **וּבְהוֹ וּבְהוֹ** in line 5. Given the infrequency of this in the Hebrew Bible²⁴⁰ and at Qumran,²⁴¹ this is a strong intertextual link to MT Gen 1.2. Line 5 also bears a resemblance to MT Jer 4.23. If one looks at MT Gen 1.2 and Jer 4.23²⁴² together, it may be that 4Q303 1 5 resembles Jeremiah more closely.

וּאֲרִיץ הִיטָה תְהוֹ וּבְהוֹ וְחֹשֶׁךְ עַל־פְּנֵי תְהוֹם וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מִרְחַפֶּת עַל־פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם: MT Gen 1.2
 רֵאִיתִי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וְהִנֵּה־תְהוֹ וּבְהוֹ וְאֶל־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵין אוֹרִם: MT Jer 4.23

While there is little in 4Q303 1 with which to compare, there are three points of contact with MT Jer 4.23 and one with MT Gen 1.2.²⁴³ The end of the fragment bears a resemblance to MT Genesis 2. While not a direct quotation, it is quite possible that **וְרַע טוֹב וְרַע** is related to the ‘good and evil’ language of MT Gen 2.9, 17, 3.5, and 22. Line 9 bears a resemblance, if only in vocabulary, to both MT Gen 3.19b²⁴⁵ and Gen 2.22.²⁴⁶ Line 10 contains a near verbatim use of MT Gen 2.18 - **כִּנְגֹדוֹ - אֲעִשֶׂה־לּוֹ עֹזֵר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ**. Line 11 also adds to the similarity with MT Genesis 2 in its resemblance of MT Gen 2.23b - **יִקְרָא אִשָּׁה כִּי מֵאִישׁ לְקַחָהּ־זָאת**.²⁴⁷ While it is difficult to resolve grammatical differences based on the state of the fragment, a preponderance of the evidence in lines 8-11 shows that there is a relationship, if not a reworking of MT Genesis 2 at work in the latter portion of this fragment.

²³⁹ Here I concur with Jacobson, “Notes on 4Q303,” 79, contra T.H. Lim, DJD XX, who suggests that the **לְאוֹר עוֹלָם** is likely referring to **אֵל נְפִלְאוֹת** based on a similarity with MT Job 37.14. (153) Given that **לְאוֹר עוֹלָם** only occurs in MT Isa 60.19-20 this is a better first place to look for a parallel.

²⁴⁰ MT Jer 4.23 is the only other point in the Hebrew Bible where the phrase **וּבְהוֹ וּבְהוֹ** appears. The pair also appear in a parallel construction in MT Isa 34.11 though not directly together.

²⁴¹ IQM xvii.4, which reads **וּלְתְהוֹ וּלְבְהוֹ**, differs slightly from MT Gen 1.2 but is the only instance where the word-pair is preserved intact in the texts from Qumran.

²⁴² On MT Jer 4.23-28, see above, pp.31-32.

²⁴³ With MT Jer 4.23, 4Q303 1 contains the verbatim occurrence of **וּבְהוֹ וּבְהוֹ**, a mention of light eternal (**לְאוֹר עוֹלָם**), and a pure/bright heaven (**וְשָׁמַי טוֹהָר**), both of which could be the antithesis of MT Jer 4.23b (**וְאֶל־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵין אוֹרִם**). Whereas MT Gen 1.2 contains the verbatim occurrence of **וּבְהוֹ וּבְהוֹ**, with light becoming a factor nearby in MT Gen 1.3-5. Based on the evidence available, it is impossible to draw any more concrete conclusions about the relationship of these three texts. Though it can be asserted that this is one point where an intertextual method of inquiry is helpful in seeing connections where no definitive lines can be drawn.

²⁴⁴ 4Q303 1 8

²⁴⁵ [לֹקַח מִמְּנֵה אֱדִיכִיאַן] (4Q303 9)
 כִּי מִמְּנֵה לִקְחָת (MT Gen 3.19b)

²⁴⁶ Jacobson, “Notes on 4Q303,” also notes that line 9 is quite close to MT Gen 2.7, where Adam is created out of the ground. (79) There is less of a resemblance with v.7 than with v.22, though it is possible that **וְרַע טוֹב וְרַע** could be introducing a new section of the text or function as a subheading within the text.

²⁴⁷ Lim, DJD XX, notes that Qimron in his notes ponders the possibility that **וְנִתְּנָה** might have preceded the line. (153)

3.2.14 4QWords of the Luminaries^a (4Q504) (4QDibHam^a) frags. 1-2 iii *recto* 2-10²⁴⁸

אִזְנוֹן[...].°•[...].°[...].השב אן ש הן	2
כֹּל הַגּוֹיִם כִּאִזְנוֹן נִגְדָּוְתָן כִּן תְּהוּוּ וְאִפְסִי נְחֻשְׁבוֹתִי לַפְּנֵיכֶה	3
רַק בְּשִׂמְכֶהן הִזְכְּרֵנוּ וּלְכַבּוֹדְכֶה בְּרַתְנוּ וּבְנֵים	4
שְׂמַתְנוּ לְכֶה לְעֵינֵי כֹל הַגּוֹיִם כִּי אִי קָרְתָה	5
לְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּנֵי בְכוּרֵי וְתִסְרְנוּ כִּי סָר אִישׁ אֶת	6
בְּנוֹ וְתִרְבְּנוּ vacat אוֹתְנוּ בְּשָׁנֵי דוֹרוֹתֵינוּ	7
[...] חוֹלִיִּים רַעִים וְרָעַב וְצָמָא וְדָבָר וְחָרָב	8
[...] נִקְמָת בְּרִיתְכֶה כִּי אֶתְנוּ בַחֲרָבָה לְכֶה	9
[לְעַם מְכוֹל] הָאָרֶץ ²⁴⁹	10

- 2 ...[...].return ..[...] Behold,
 3 all the nations [are like no]thing in front of you, /they are counted/²⁵⁰ [like] *tohu*
 and nothingness in your presence.
 4 Only your name we [have in]voked. And for your glory you have created us. And
 (as) sons
 5 to you you have placed us before the eyes of all the nations. For you called
 6 Israel, my son, my first-born, and you have disciplined us as a man disciplines
 7 his son. You have increased²⁵¹ *vacat* us in the years of our generations
 8 [...] profaneness, /evil/, and famine, and thirst, and plague, and sword
 9 [... ven]geance of your covenant, for you choose us for yourself
 10 [for a people from all] the earth.

This brief portion from 4Words of the Luminaries^a is found completely on 4Q504 2, one of the largest of the forty-nine fragments.²⁵² The hand is dated to the mid-second century BCE,²⁵³ suggesting that it is likely to have predated the settlement of the sectarians at Qumran, though later copies also suggest that the text was used by the sectarians.²⁵⁴ It is a series of prayers, one for each day of the week,²⁵⁵ culminating on the Sabbath.²⁵⁶ Each prayer

²⁴⁸ M. Baillet, DJD VII.141-143. É. Puech, “Review of DJD VII - *Qumrân Grotte 4, III (4Q482-4Q520)*,” *RB* 95 (1988) suggests a reconstruction for 4QWords of the Luminaries^a, in which this text comes in col. 14. (407-409)

²⁴⁹ While there is further text in line 10 and following, I have chosen to end this portion here, somewhat unnaturally, because of a shift from creation language to language about the wrath of God.

²⁵⁰ [נחשבוני] is above line 3 in the same hand as the rest of the text and can be considered a scribal correction. Baillet, DJD VII.142.

²⁵¹ There is another scribal correction here. The רנו has been stricken by the scribe with a ך placed above the line. The verb that this author is reading is רבה. Baillet, DJD VII, uses *engraissé(s)* (142), which seems a better translation than ‘created’ per García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSS Study Edition*, 2.1014.

²⁵² The *editio princeps* was published by Baillet, DJD VII, in 1982 with little work on restructuring the fragments. Since, there has been considerable work on ordering the fragments of 4Q504. See Puech, “Review of DJD VII,” 407-409, also E.G. Chazon, “4QDibHam: Liturgy or Literature?,” *RevQ* 15 (1991) 448-450, D. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (STJD 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 63-68, with the order recognized for this paper from J.R. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, (ECDSS 6; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) 239-266.

²⁵³ Baillet, DJD VII.137.

²⁵⁴ Davila, *Liturgical Works*, points out that it is impossible to know just how the text was used at Qumran. (242) A study of E.G. Chazon, “Is *Divrei Ha-Me'orot* A Sectarian Prayer?,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992) also suggests, though tenuously, that 4Q504 ‘might best be understood in the context of a pre-Qumranic phenomenon – whether of the immediate precursors of the sect which eventually settled at Qumran or of a different group or religious movement which assessed its spiritual and physical situation similarly.’ (17)

²⁵⁵ A pattern of daily prayer is also reflected in 4Q503.

draws upon biblical references that follow a 'historical' timeline, beginning with the stories of Adam and Eve and possibly the Flood in the prayers for the first day of the week.²⁵⁷ The Words of the Luminaries is a collage of biblical and Jewish extracanonical traditions, which as Davila points out are ‘frequently connected by “catchwords,”’ that are found in two passages.²⁵⁸ In the framework of this study, this is an excellent example of intertextuality. What Davila calls 'catchwords' are similar to this study's intertextual markers insofar as words provide intertextual intersections between two, otherwise unrelated texts.

The portion that is of interest in this study is the frags. 1-2 iii 2-10, a portion of a prayer likely used on the fifth day of the week. The prayer begins with recollections of the post-Exodus wilderness wanderings,²⁵⁹ specifically God's forgiveness after the people's rebellion in the wilderness.²⁶⁰ The historical recollection continues with a collage of references recalling the history of God's covenant with Israel.²⁶¹ While the above portion does not contain many intertextual markers (תהו, ברא, ארץ), it is included because of the close proximity of תהו and ברא. The larger context is most certainly the covenant relationship between God and Israel, however, the creation of Israel as the chosen people among the nations brings MT Gen 1.1-5 intertextual markers into play. The use of תהו in line 3 is (absent בהו as in MT Gen 1.2) is paired with אפס as in MT Isa 40.17.²⁶² The use of ברא has its closest parallel in MT Isaiah 43 where God's creation (ברא) of Israel among the nations takes center stage.²⁶³ The use of creation language together with covenant language is also found in 1QM x.8-18. There are many other intertextual connections within this pericope,²⁶⁴ none of which are of particular interest to this study.

3.2.15 4QInstruction^b (4Q416) frag.1²⁶⁵

כל רוח [...] 1	1
ולתכן חפצו [...] 2	2
מועד במועד [...] 3	3
לפי צבאם למןשור במשורה ול ... לממלכה[266] 4	4

²⁵⁶ E.G. Chazon, “Words of the Luminaries,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 2:989.

²⁵⁷ See 4Q504 8 recto. While one might expect it, there is no intertextual relationship between MT Gen 1.1-5 and 4Q504 8 recto. Though line 4 likely reflects MT Gen 1.26, the rest of what remains of lines 4-10 appears to be based on Genesis 2-3.

²⁵⁸ Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 242.

²⁵⁹ The conclusion of a prayer at 4Q504 1-2i recto 7 and portions of the opening formula in line 8 mark the beginning of Thursday's prayer. Cf. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 254.

²⁶⁰ 4Q504 1-2 ii recto 7-11 recalls the people's rebellion and God's forgiveness, and lines 11ff petition God for similar forgiveness for God's people in the day of the petitioner.

²⁶¹ 4Q504 1-2 iii recto 1(?)–10 recalls God's creation and election of Israel; lines 10ff recall 'covenant curses' (cf. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 257); 4Q504 1-2 iv recto 1(?)–15(?) makes reference to God's covenant with David. A benediction and double 'amen' likely completed the prayer at or near the bottom on this column.

²⁶² See above, pp. 26-27.

²⁶³ MT Isa 43.1, 7, and 15. In v.15 there is a titular use of ברא specifically pointed to God as creator of Israel (בורא ישראל).

²⁶⁴ Cf. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 256-258.

²⁶⁵ This text is also known as 4QSapiential Work A. The editors of the text, J. Strugnell and D.J. Harrington, DJD XXXIV, suggest a Hebrew title, מוסר למבין, Instruction for a Maven, as the title of the instructor is not known. (3)

וממלכה למִן־יָנִינָה ומדינה לאיש ואיש ...	5
לפי מחסור צבאם וּמִשְׁפֵּט כולם לו ...	6
וצבא השמים הִכִּין עָלָם ... ומאורות ...	7
למופתיהמה ואתות מוֹנְעֵדִיהֶמה ... יגידו	8
זה לזה וכל פקודתמה יִסְפְּרוּ[...]	9
מִזְמִים ישפוט על עבודת רשעה וכל בני אמתו ירצו לָוּן [...]	10
קצה ויפחדו וירועו כל אשר התגללו בה כי שמים יִרְאֹוּ[...]	11
[יִזְמִים ותהמות פחדו ויתערערו כל רוח בשר ובני השמִיִם] ...	12
[השִׁפְטָה וכל עולה תתם עוד ושלם קִין האֲמִנת ... לֵם ...]	13
בכל קצי עד כי אל אמת הוא ומקדם שנין עולם ... ל	14
להכֹּון צדק בין טוב לִרְעָה לִ[...]	15
יִצַר בשר הואה ומבינִוּת ...	16
רֵאתוֹ כִּי הֵי[...]	17
[...]	18

- 1 every spirit [...]
2 and to order his delight [...]
3 season by season [...]
4 according to their host to rule by dominion and²⁶⁷ ... for the kingdom
5 and kingdom, for province and province, for each man and man²⁶⁸ ...]
6 according to the poverty of their host. [And the judgment of them all (is) for him²⁶⁹ ...]
7 and the host of heaven he established on ... *vacat* (?) ... and luminaries²⁷⁰ ...]
8 for their portents and signs of their seasons ... they shall proclaim²⁷¹
9 each to the other. And all their appointments [...] they shall recount [...]
10 From heaven he shall judge concerning work of wickedness and all the sons of his truth shall
be accepted by [him ...]
11 the end, and they shall dread. And all who defiled themselves in it shall cry out in distress.
For heaven will fear [...]
12 [the seas and depths are in dread, and every spirit of flesh will be stripped bare,²⁷² and the
sons of heav[en ...]
13 [when it is judged and all injustice shall come to an end, until the time of truth is complete
[forever, And there will endure ...]
14 in all times of eternity, for the God of truth is he and from ancient times, (from) years of
[eternity ...]
15 to establish righteousness between good and evil for[...] every judgment ...]
16 it is the [in]clination of the flesh, and those who understand ...]
17 his creatures for [...]
18 [...][...]

²⁶⁶ There are overlaps of this fragment with 4Q418 1. The lacunae that are filled in are based on the reconstructions of Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV.81, and the specific references to 4Q418 1 are footnoted in the translation below.

²⁶⁷ See 4Q418 1,1.

²⁶⁸ See 4Q418 1,2.

²⁶⁹ See 4Q418 1,3.

²⁷⁰ See 4Q418 1,5.

²⁷¹ See 4Q418 2,2.

²⁷² The editors, noting the difficulty with this verb, choose the translation, "will be destroyed." They also note that in 4Q418 there is a different verb (וִיִּתְרוֹן), making any firm conclusion on the meaning of this phrase difficult. DJD XXXIV.86.

This is the first fragment of 4QInstruction^b (4Q416),²⁷³ one of seven fragmentary copies of a large wisdom text.²⁷⁴ The work as a whole is a text of instruction that incorporates traditional wisdom elements similar to Proverbs and Sirach with an apocalyptic eschatology.²⁷⁵ The fact that the manuscripts date from the late first century BCE and that there are seven of them found among the library of Qumran suggest that this was a text important to the sectarians. Strugnell and Harrington offer a variety of possibilities for the origin of the text, their most probable being that ‘the work came neither from the Qumran sect, nor from any secular associates of the Qumran movement, nor yet from pre-sectarian groups, but rather was a general offshoot of Jewish wisdom, of uncertain date and not sectarian at all (cf. the non-sectarian Sirach).’²⁷⁶ Creation plays a central role throughout 4QInstruction, as pointed out by Licht,²⁷⁷ D. Harrington,²⁷⁸ and Lange.²⁷⁹ This is expanded upon by M. Goff, who suggests that ‘the mystery that is to be’ (רַזְּ נְדִיָּה), is likely the mysteries of creation and the created order that the *maven* or student is to study and understand.²⁸⁰ Another element of the theological perspective of 4QInstruction is its dualism similar, though not as developed, to that found in the ‘Instruction of the Two Spirits’ in the Rule of the Community (1QS iii-iv).²⁸¹

4Q416 1 likely comes from the beginning of the work,²⁸² and shows some intertextual similarities with MT Gen 1.1-5 (בְּרֵאשִׁית, תְּהוֹמֵי, שְׁמַיִם, רִוּחַ, רִוּחַ).²⁸³ The occurrence of רִוּחַ in line 12²⁸⁴ is used for humans in the juxtaposition of

²⁷³ 4Q416 1 has some overlap with 4Q418 1-2, 2a, b, and c. The relationship is outlined by the editors in DJD XXXIV.81-82.

²⁷⁴ 1Q26, 4Q415-18, 4Q418a, 4Q423. Editions of these are found in DJD XXXIV.

²⁷⁵ M.J. Goff, “The Mystery of Creation in 4QInstruction,” *DSD* 10 (2003) 163-186, traces the theme of creation, particularly via the difficult phrase, רַזְּ נְדִיָּה, which occurs throughout 4QInstruction and argues that the text is both sapiential and apocalyptic, rather than one or the other. J.J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997) notes a difference between 4QInstruction and traditional Jewish wisdom literature in the ‘strong eschatological perspective’ of 4QInstruction. (126)

²⁷⁶ Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV.21-22. Goff, “Mystery of Creation,” based on the reoccurrence of themes of financial poverty within 4QInstruction suggests that it dates to the early years of the 2nd century BCE, and that it is in this milieu that the work is best understood. (165) Goff also highlights the similarity and probable dependence of 1QH 18.28-29 on 4Q418 55 10. (180, especially n.67)

²⁷⁷ J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea: 1QS. 1QSa. 1QSB. Text, Introduction and Commentary*, ([Hebrew] Jerusalem: Bialik, 1965) 90, 228.

²⁷⁸ D.J. Harrington, “Wisdom at Qumran,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J.C. VanderKam; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) calls the רַזְּ נְדִיָּה “God’s plan for creation.” (150)

²⁷⁹ Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 60.

²⁸⁰ Goff, “Mystery of Creation,” offers a description of the worldview of 4QInstruction, drawing with some modification upon the observations of M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973), about the spiritual milieu of Hellenism and a general condition of economic hardship for Jews under the Seleucids in pre-Maccabean Palestine:

Like other Jewish wisdom texts, 4QInstruction bases its understanding of the world upon a description of how God fashioned the natural order. Like other compositions of the Hellenistic period, 4QInstruction’s claims about the natural order are legitimated by revelation. The act of creating the world and its regulation are understood as divine mysteries because of the difficult situation of the addressee, which forces the author of 4QInstruction to look heavenward for evidence that God’s hand guides events. (185-186)

²⁸¹ Strugnell and Harrington suggest that the dualism of 4QInstruction could “fit an early stage of development that led to such thinking [“Instruction of the Two Spirits”].” (DJD XXXIV.33)

²⁸² Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV.8

²⁸³ Harrington, “Wisdom at Qumran,” 141, provides a rough outline of the fragment (by line):

1-10 – God’s orderly rule over the cosmos – the heavenly hosts and luminaries

two groups, every spirit of flesh (כל רוח בשר)²⁸⁵ and the sons of heaven (בני השמים). The corruption of the first verb and the absence of the second make knowing their exact fates difficult, though if we understand ויתערער to be a derivative of עור, to make bare, strip, then the sons of heaven must be in for something better. Of the four occurrences of שמים, the first (line 7) refers to God's establishment (כון) of the angelic hosts in heaven,²⁸⁶ hosts here to be equated with the hosts mentioned in lines 4 and 6.²⁸⁷ The second use at the beginning of line 10 places God in the heavens as it is from heaven that God shall judge. The third occurrence near the end of line 11 is difficult to understand based on the poor preservation of the verb that follows.²⁸⁸ In this fragment, heaven is not the object of God's creative activity; it is the location of God's activity. In line 12, תהום is coupled with the seas, a relationship found in the Hebrew Bible,²⁸⁹ and in this case the pair is personified. In the face of the judgment they are in dread.²⁹⁰ Finally, what may be a nominal occurrence of ברא at the beginning of line 17, his creatures (בראתיו), is of little use given the disrepair of the surrounding text.

3.2.16 Additional Texts

Ben Sira 15.14

אלהים מבראשית א ברא אדם וישתיהו ביד חותפו ויתנהו ביד יצרו: MS A

וישתיהו [...] מבראשית הוא מראש ברא אדם וישתיהו [...] MS B

MS A God from the beginning created man, and (they are set in the hand of his kidnapper)²⁹¹ he gave him his inclination in hand.

MS B ²⁹² [Go]d from the beginning He from the first created man, and he placed [...] his.

Sir 15.14, a brief statement in the midst of a larger section on human free will,²⁹³ combines elements of MT Gen 1.1 (MS A - בראשית, ברא; MS B - ברא), the creation of humankind, and an understanding of the genesis of

10-11 – God's rewarding the righteous and punishing the wicked at the judgment

12-14 – The response of creation to this judgment

15-17 – (increasingly fragmentary) mention of discerning between good and evil and to the inclination of the flesh.

Also DJD XXXIV.8.

²⁸⁴ The occurrence of רוח in line 1 is questionable because of the state of the manuscript, and with no direct context any exegetical comment is near impossible.

²⁸⁵ בשר is used a second time in this fragment. In line 16 it is paired with יצר. This use of the "inclination of the flesh" strengthens the fact that כל רוח בשר in line 12 ought to be read as a reference to sinful humanity.

²⁸⁶ Cf. MT Prov 8.27. כון is used with the earth/world as the object in MT Isa 45.18, Jer 10.12, 51.12, Prov 3.19. Note that כון is also used in line 15 to describe the establishment of the difference between good and evil.

²⁸⁷ DJD XXXIV.85

²⁸⁸ ברא may come from either ירא or ראה. Given that the context is divine judgment either is possible.

²⁸⁹ MT Isa 51.10; Ps 33.7, 135.7; Job 38.16.

²⁹⁰ MT Amos 7.4, in a vision of the Day of the Lord, has the great deep being devoured.

²⁹¹ According to the analysis of A.A. Di Lella, *The Hebrew Text of Sirach*, (Studies in Classical Literature 1; The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1966), the third colon of Sir 15.14, וישתיהו ביד חותפו, found in both MSS A and B, is likely a misplaced Medieval insertion of a retroversion of the Syriac of 14.19b. (121-125)

²⁹² Superscripted text is a note from the right margin of the MS B that notes a difference with a manuscript of the recension of MS A.

²⁹³ Sir 15.11-20

the human will (יָצַר). The Hebrew is found in two manuscripts, A and B.²⁹⁴ While there are only two intertextual markers (MS A) in common with MT Gen 1.1-5, the combination of בָּרָא and בְּרֵאשִׁית is worthy of note. The subject of the statement is God (אֱלֹהִים) who from the beginning (MS A, מִבְּרֵאשִׁית; MS B, מִרֵאשִׁשׁ) created (בָּרָא) man (אָדָם). The use of מִבְּרֵאשִׁית in MS A is of particular interest given the use of two consecutive prepositions. The placement of the מִ- alongside the בְּ- raises the possibility that the word was taken directly from MT Gen 1.1, without consideration of its grammatical construction, i.e., as a technical term of fixed construction. Other possibilities are that the first two words in MS A were retroverted from a Medieval Syriac manuscript²⁹⁵ or the result of scribal error. MS B uses מִרֵאשִׁשׁ to convey a similar idea without any apparent reference to MT Gen 1.1,²⁹⁶ though the manuscript has a marginal note correcting it to the reading of MS A. The Greek of Sir 15.14 reads ἐξ ἀρχῆς.²⁹⁷ This matches neither LXX Gen 1.1 nor Prov 8.23 (ἐν), nor the two uses of מִרֵאשִׁשׁ in the MT that are rendered ἐξ ἀρχῆς in Greek.²⁹⁸ In spite of the two Hebrew manuscripts of Sir 15.14, then, it is difficult, if not impossible, to sort out the original text.

Ben Sira 41.10

ב	כל מאפס אל אפס ישוב	מאונם א' אונם	MS B
: תהו	כן חנף מתהו אל תהו	[...]	Masada
	כן חנף מתהו אל תהו		

MS B from their wickedness to their wickedness Everything from darkness returns to darkness, so too the irreligious from *tohu* to *tohu*.^{between}
 Masada [...]darkness to darkness returns; so too the irreligious from *tohu* to *tohu*.

While this verse has little to do with creation, the use of תהו is worthy of note, especially as it is the sole use of תהו in the Hebrew manuscripts of Sirach. The verse is found in two manuscripts, MS B and the Masada manuscript.²⁹⁹ The larger context of this verse is a pessimistic poem (Sir 41.5-13)³⁰⁰ about the persistent disobedience of humankind to the 'Law of the Most High'.³⁰¹ While any deliberate connection with MT Gen 1.2

²⁹⁴ Beentjes, *Ben Sira in Hebrew*, ad loc.

²⁹⁵ Di Lella, *Hebrew Text*, 121.

²⁹⁶ A similar use of מִרֵאשִׁשׁ comes in MT Prov 8.23, regarding the genesis of wisdom. Other uses of מִרֵאשִׁשׁ that allude to the beginning of creation and/or the world come in Deutero-Isaiah (MT Isa 40.21, 41.4, 26, 48.16) and in MT Qoh 3.11 where it is used in conjunction with עֲדָר־סוּרָף to indicate the unknowable extremities of God's actions.

²⁹⁷ The whole of the Greek of Sir 15.14 reads:

αὐτος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον
καὶ ἀφήκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ.

Cf. Ziegler, ed., *Sirach - Göttingen*, 194.

²⁹⁸ LXX Isa 40.21, 41.26. The phrase is also used again in the Greek of Sir 39.16. This verse is partially preserved in MS B, though the first word on the right margin is missing.

²⁹⁹ The first three letters of the line are missing in the Masada manuscript, otherwise the lines are the same.

³⁰⁰ Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 469.

³⁰¹ The Hebrew of Sir 41.8 in both MS B and Masada is extremely fragmentary. The Greek, however, reads: οὐαὶ ὑμῖν ἄνδρες ἀσεβεῖς οἵτινες ἐγκατελίπετε νόμον θεοῦ ὑψίστου – Woe to you, ungodly men, who abandon the Law of the Most High God.

appears unlikely,³⁰² the parallel use of תהו with אפס provides a point of intertextual contact with MT Isa 40.17,³⁰³ part of a larger tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5.³⁰⁴ The parallel use of תהו and אפס in MT Isa 40.17 is unique in the Hebrew Bible, and the similar pessimistic tone about a group of people, the *goyim* in Isaiah and the unlawful in Sirach, suggests at least an intertextual connection.³⁰⁵

*IQM xvii.4-9*³⁰⁶

4 ואתם התחזקו ואל תיראום [כיא] 308 המה לתהו ולבהו תשוקתם ומשענתם בלוא הן [ולוא]... 307
 5 ישראל כול הויה ונהיה ון [הן] ל בכול נהיי עולמים היום מועדו להכניע ולהשפיל שר ממשלת
 6 רשעה וישלח עזר עולמים לגורל [ב]ריתו בגבורת מלאך האדיר למשרת מיכאל באור עולמים
 7 להאיר בשמחה בןרית ישראל שלום וברכה לגורל אל להרים באלים משרת מיכאל וממשלת
 8 ישראל בכול בשר ישמח צדקן [ב]מרומים וכול בני אמתו יגילו בדעת עולמים ואתם בני בריתו
 9 התחזקו במצרף אל עד יניף ידו ו[מלא מצרפיו רזיו למעמדכם *vacat*

- 4 And you, strengthen yourself and do not fear them, [for] they long for a *tohu* and for a *bohu* and their support is lacking [...]. And [they do] not [know that from the God]³⁰⁹
 5 [of] Israel is everything that is and will be,³¹⁰ and [...] in all that will be eternally. Today is his appointed time to humiliate and bring low the prince of the dominion
 6 of evil. He sends perpetual help to the lot of his [cov]enant by the power of the majestic angel, for the sway of Michael is in light perpetual
 7 to illuminate the covenant of Israel with joy. Peace and blessing to the lot of God, to exalt the office of Michael among all the gods, and the dominion
 8 of Israel over all flesh. Righteousness will rejoice in the heights, and all the sons of his truth will rejoice in perpetual knowledge. And you, the sons of his covenant
 9 strengthen yourselves in God's crucible until he waves his hand and completes his crucible, his mysteries in order that you might stand. *vacat*

Though this portion of the IQM has no creation theme, it is included because of its unique use of תהו and בהו. In the wake of a defeat at the hands of the sons of darkness,³¹¹ this is a speech meant to gird-up the reservists

³⁰² K. Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40-55*, (trans. M. Kohl; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001) does suggest that there is an allusion to MT Gen 1.2 in MT Isa 40.17. (72)

³⁰³ MT Isa 40.17

כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם כְּאֵין נִגְדוּ מֵאִפְס וְתַהוּ נִחְשְׁבוּ־לֵוֹ:

All nations are as nothing before him,
they are accounted by him as darkness and emptiness.

³⁰⁴ MT Isa 40.12-31; see above, pp. 26-27.

³⁰⁵ Also, Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 474.

³⁰⁶ Sukenik, *DSS of the Hebrew University*, plate 32.

³⁰⁷ The end of line 4 is absent. Only the bottom portions of ולוא are visible, though their reconstruction as such seems plausible.

³⁰⁸ Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre*, reconstructs this lacuna כִּיא כִּיא. (236) While it seems reasonable that there is a conjunction here, I cannot see any evidence of an *aleph* from the photograph, Sukenik, *DSS of the Hebrew University*, plate 32.

³⁰⁹ This reconstruction reflects the work of Milik and Yadin, [ידעו כיא מאל], as noted by Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre*, 237.

³¹⁰ There is a similar phrase in IQS iii.15 – מאל הדעות כול הויה ונהיה – From the God of knowledge comes all that is and shall be. This phrase also bears some similarity to the רז נהיה of 4QInstruction, noting that the mysteries of God are meant to be a focus of the soldiers (IQM xvii.9). Also similar is the statement in IQS iii.15.

³¹¹ IQM xvi.11-12

who have been placed on the front lines in the face of battle.³¹² It directs the new troops to stand firm as God in his mysteries will back them to victory. While the order of *תהו* and *בהו* is the same as in MT Gen 1.2, the preposition, *-ל*, is used in IQM xvii.4. Assuming an intertextuality with Gen 1.2, one might read line 4: "And you, strengthen yourselves and do not fear them, [for] they long for *tohu wabohu*..."³¹³ That this is one of two uses of *תהו* and *בהו* in the non-biblical texts from Qumran³¹⁴ and given the infrequency of its use within the corpus of the Hebrew Bible,³¹⁵ supports at least an intertextual connection with MT Gen 1.2.³¹⁶ Any further reference to MT Gen 1.1-5 in this passage, however, is absent.³¹⁷

3.2.17 Excursus: Intertexts in the Mishnah

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the Mishnah is a precarious inclusion in a study that draws its historical boundary at 200 CE. While its final redaction is attributed to Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi (c.135-c.220) and is often approximated at c. 200 CE,³¹⁸ it seems clear that redactional work continued after Rabbi and is reflected in the final form of the text.³¹⁹ At the same time, most of those to whom the teachings of the Mishnah are attributed lived before 200 CE. For example, Simon ben Zoma, to whom the interpretation in *m.Hul* 5.5 (below) is attributed, lived during the first decades of the second century CE.³²⁰ If any credence is placed in the attribution of the interpretation in *m.Hul* 5.5 to ben Zoma, then this portion of the Mishnah pre-dates 200 CE by decades. Rather than wade into these difficulties, I offer the two texts below on the margins of the historical boundaries of this study in order to highlight their intertextuality with MT Gen 1.1-5 and the tapestry as a whole.

³¹² IQM xvi.12

³¹³ Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre*, notes the similarity with Gen 1.2 and makes the comment that the author of IQM may have been inspired by Gen 1.2, 1 Samuel 12.21 [two occurrences of *תהו*], or Jer 4.23. (237)

³¹⁴ Also 4QMeditation on Creation A (4Q303) 1, 5. A similar text that may have *תהו* and *בהו* of MT Gen 1.2 in mind is the pairing of *תהו* and *ספס* in 4QWords of the Luminaries^a (4Q504) 1 iii *recto* 3.

³¹⁵ See Appendix A.

³¹⁶ Carmignac, "Les Citations," notes the connection with MT Gen 1.2, but suggests that it could equally be dependent on 1 Sam 12.21 and Jer 4.23. (380) MT Jer 4.23 seems well within the realm of possibility. MT 1 Sam 12.21 is less likely as it only has *תהו*, though it is used within a warning to stay away from useless things (*תהו*). It is also of note that this is the only implicit citation of MT Gen 1.1-5 (no explicit citations) that Carmignac identifies in the War Scroll. (384)

³¹⁷ While *אור* does appear in line 6, it alone does not increase any intertextual connection to MT Gen 1.1-5 because of the frequency of its use and the overall lack of a creation context in the passage.

³¹⁸ E.g. J. Neusner, *The Mishnah: Introduction and Reader*, (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992) 5.

³¹⁹ G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, (trans. M. Bockmuehl; 2nd ed.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), relying on the textual work of J. N. Epstein, *Introduction to the Text of the Mishna* (Jerusalem, 1948) [Hebrew], says that the Mishnah 'in its present shape cannot possibly come from Rabbi himself' as his interpretations are contrasted with others, in particular those who lived later than he are quoted in the final form of the text. (133-134)

³²⁰ J. Neusner, ed., *Dictionary of Ancient Rabbis: Selections from The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003) 95.

Mishnah *Hullin* 5.5

יום אחד האמור באותו ואת בנו. היום הולך אחר הלילה. את זו דרש שמעון בן זומא.
 נאמר במעשה בראשית [בראשית א]. יום אחד. ונאמר באותו ואת בנו [ויקרא כב].
 יום אחד. מה יום אחד האמור במעשה בראשית היום הולך אחר הלילה.
 אף יום אחד האמור באותו ואת בנו. היום הולך אחר הלילה:

Day One which is spoken in *it and its son*,³²¹ (means) the day together with the night that went out. Simeon ben Zoma interprets this: It was said in the Works of Creation, Day One. And it is said in *it and its sons*, Day One. What of Day One (as) it is spoken of in the Works of Creation – (it means that) the day comes together with night. So, Day One which is spoken in *it and its son* (means) the day comes together with the night.

In the midst of this discussion of sacrifice in *m. Hullin*, there is this interpretation of the occurrence of יום אחד in MT Lev 22.28, a text in which it is forbidden to slaughter both an animal and its young on the same day (יום אחד). Simeon ben Zoma looks to MT Gen 1.5 to explain that יום אחד means that a day includes the day along with the night. The connection with MT Gen 1.1-5 is quite clear, both in intertextual markers (לילה/יום, יום אחד) and in the citation within the text of the Mishnah. That is, while there is an intertextual connection, in the case of this text there is a deliberate reliance on the text of MT Gen 1.5. בראשית is used as a technical term for the story of creation in MT Genesis 1 by way of the phrase (מעשה בראשית), which is also found elsewhere in the Mishnah.³²²

There is little innovative interpretation of MT Gen 1.5 in this text. What is present, however, is an excellent example of the power of intertextuality in early rabbinic thought. The difficulty with יום אחד in MT Lev 22.28 is understood, according to Simeon ben Zoma,³²³ by looking for the occurrence of the same phrase elsewhere. In this case, ben Zoma looks to the story of creation for the definition of Day One.

Mishnah *Berakoth* 9.2

על הזיקין. ועל הזועות. ועל הברקים. ועל הרעמים. ועל הרוחות.
 אומר ברוך שכוחו מלא עולם. על ההרים. ועל הגבעות. ועל הימים.
 ועל הנהרות. ועל המדברות. אומר ברוך אושה מעשה בראשית.
 רבי יהודה אומר הרואה את הים הגדול אומר ברוך שעשה את הים הגדול.
 בזמן שרואה אותו לפרקים.
 על הגשמים ועל הבשורות הטובות אומר ברוך הטוב והמטיב.
 ועל שמועות רעות אומר, ברוך דין האמת:

³²¹ refers to MT Lev 22.28, in which the slaughter of a cow or ewe and its young on the same day is forbidden.

³²² *m. Ber* 9.2, *m. Meg* 3.6, *m. Hag* 2.1

³²³ Though not based on the firmest critical grounds, Simeon ben Zoma, a Tanna from the first decades of the second century CE who was never called ‘rabbi’, was concerned in large part with the exegesis of the First Creation Story and was reportedly known for his innovative / heretical exegesis. Joshua ben Hananiah said of him, ‘Ben Zoma is outside,’ meaning outside proper interpretation. Cf. Neusner, ed., *Ancient Rabbis*, 96

Upon shooting stars, earthquakes, lightning, thunder, and wind he will say, ‘Blessed is he whose power fills the world.’ Upon the mountains, hills, seas, rivers, and deserts he will say, ‘Blessed is the one who fortifies the works of creation.’ Rabbi Judah³²⁴ says - The one who sees the great sea says, ‘Blessed is the one who made the great sea,’ (for) he sees it according to divisions with reference to intervals of time.³²⁵ Upon rain and good tidings he will say, ‘Blessed is the good and the good doer.’ And upon the doers of evil he will say, ‘Blessed is the judge of truth.’

This text is one example of a trend in the Mishnah to use בראשית as a technical term for ‘the creation.’ Other such uses come in *m.Ta’anit* 4.2-3³²⁶ and *m.Megillah* 3.6.³²⁷ Yet another (probably the most interesting) use of בראשית as a technical term for the whole creation story comes in *m.Hagigah* 2.1, which warns of reading the forbidden degrees of Lev. 18.6ff before (fewer than) three persons, the story of creation before two, and the Merkabah vision before one.³²⁸ To these examples from the Mishnah one might add Sir 15.14 MS A.³²⁹

3.3 Conclusions

3.3.1 Re-tellings of Genesis 1.1-5

There is only one text that can be placed in the category of a re-telling of MT Gen 1.1-5 – 4QJubilees^a. Even though the text is severely damaged, there is enough extant text to identify it as the Hebrew version of what is preserved in full in Greek and Ethiopic. Given the fragmentary nature of the text, little can be said about this textual retelling of MT Gen 1.1-5, other than that the spirits/angels are the subject of God’s creative activity in this retelling,³³⁰ and that it is likely that with knowledge God organizes day and night, evening and dawn.³³¹

3.3.2 Methods of Creation

Of the methods of creation employed in this chapter, four are highlighted here: creation by stretching out the heavens, creation by the establishment of boundaries, creation by word or divine speech, and creation by wisdom or knowledge.

³²⁴ The reference to Rabbi Judah ben Ilai, always referred to simply as Rabbi Judah in the Mishnah (cf. Stemberger, *Talmud and Midrash*, 77), suggests that at least a portion of *m.Ber* 9.2 is traditionally attributed to this second century Tanna, Neusner, ed., *Ancient Rabbis*, 285.

³²⁵ The translation of בִּנְיָן with a traditional local or instrumental meanings of the preposition are not adequate in this situation, rather a relational application appears more appropriate. See M.P. Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew*, (trans. J. Elwolde; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 162.

³²⁶ The works of creation (בְּמַעֲשֵׂה בְּרֵאשִׁית) are to be read by the *maamad* (rural priests) in six days (including the Sabbath) – six days to avoid reading it on the Sabbath.

³²⁷ As with *m.Ta’an.* 4.2-3, *m.Meg.* 3.6 regulates the reading of the creation story by the *maamad*.

³²⁸ *m.Meg* 4.10 also forbids the reading of the Merkabah vision, with the exception of Rabbi Judah, who permits it. While there are other stories mentioned, the story of creation is not among them.

³²⁹ There are four other uses of בראשית as a noun in the Mishnah. The first two, *m.Eduyyot* 3.3 and *m.Hullin* 11.2, both employ בראשית as a word meaning ‘first,’ in reference to a statement attributed to R. Dosa that speaks of an offering of בראשית הגז / ‘first fleece’ from five select sheep. The second two, both in *m.Niddah* 6.7, use the same phrase, בראשית הגז, though without specific reference to the statement of R. Dosa.

³³⁰ 4QJub^a v.5-9

³³¹ 4QJub^a v.10

3.3.2.1 Stretching the Heavens

While not present in MT Gen 1.1-5, the idea of creation by stretching out (פָּתַח) the heavens is a visible thread in the tapestry of chapter one, appearing in roughly one quarter of the texts.³³² Given this prominence, it is somewhat surprising that a similar idea does not appear more often in the Hebrew afterlives of Day One. Of the texts in this chapter, two texts, both hymns, describe creation by the stretching out of the heavens. 1QH^a ix.9-10 reads, you stretched out (the) heavens for your glory. *Hymn* 8 (11Q5 xxvi.14-15) reads, By his understanding he stretched out (the) heavens and brought forth [wind] from [his] store[houses].

3.3.2.2 Creation by Boundrification

Another prominent thread in the tapestry of chapter one is the idea of creation by separation, an idea that is present in MT Gen 1.4 in the separation of light and darkness. As outlined in chapter one, the rough categories for the objects of the divine activity of separation are waters,³³³ light and darkness,³³⁴ seasons,³³⁵ and between God's dwelling and the earth.³³⁶ As in the intertextual tapestry in chapter one in which the objects of separation are largely elements of the cosmos, e.g. waters, light, darkness, time, the War Scroll speaks of God being the creator of the boundaries of earth³³⁷ and of the sea,³³⁸ and 4QWorks of God³³⁹ and the *Hymn*³⁴⁰ attribute the separation of light and dark to God. One can also consider with these texts the more general ordering of night and day as attributed to God in the liturgical context of 1QH^a xx.4-10, and possibly an ordering of seasons in 4QSapiential Work A^b,³⁴¹ though the disrepair of this fragment makes any firm conclusion impossible.

3.3.2.3 Creation by Word/Speech

The idea of creation by speech is inherent in MT Gen 1.1-5, with God speaking light into existence, and appears sparingly in the tapestry of chapter one.³⁴² While not a prevalent theme in the texts of this chapter, 1QH^a xx.9 suggests that the order of what is and what will be comes from the mouth of God (לְפִי אֱלֹהִים) – a strong affirmation of creation or at least providential care coming from the speech of God. A more unambiguous text on this is 4Q381, which states that God made heaven and earth by an oath,³⁴³ going on to say, ‘and by the words of his mouth [...],’ with ‘and channels’ beginning the following line.³⁴⁴ Another similar phrase, ‘with the word of his

³³² MT Isa 40.22, 42.5, 45.12; Jer 10.12, 51.15; Zech 12.1; Ps 104.2

³³³ פְּתַח - MT Isa 40.12; Ps 104.9, 148.6; Job 26.10; פָּתַח - MT Job 38.10, Prov 8.29; פָּתַח - MT Prov 8.27.

³³⁴ MT Gen 1.4; Job 26.10, 38.19-20

³³⁵ MT Ps 74.17

³³⁶ MT Isa 40.22

³³⁷ 1QM x.12

³³⁸ 1QM x.13

³³⁹ 4Q392 1 5-6 asserts that it is God alone who separates light and darkness.

³⁴⁰ *Hymn* 4 says that “(after) separating light from deep darkness, [God] established the dawn by the understanding of his heart.”

³⁴¹ 4Q416 1 2-3

³⁴² MT Amos 9.6; Ps 33.6, 148.5; Job 38.12

³⁴³ 4Q381 1 3. The difficulties of פְּתַח are noted above, p. 119, n.166.

³⁴⁴ 4Q381 1 3-4

mouth [...],³⁴⁵ may introduce the creation of Adam or man as the beginning of the following line reads, ‘with [his] w[ife],’ a difficult reconstruction to say the least. Less so is the next statement, that ‘by the breath of his mouth he made them stand to rule over all these on the earth,’³⁴⁶ an unambiguous example of creation by speech. While 4Q381 1 is fragmentary, it is clear that the primary method of creation at least in this extant portion of the text is speech or breath.

3.3.2.4 Creation by Wisdom/Knowledge

The place of wisdom in creation, personified in MT Prov 8.22-31 and present elsewhere as a means for creating,³⁴⁷ appears in the texts of this chapter. Noticeably absent is any text that personifies wisdom in relation to creation,³⁴⁸ a thread that is quite prominent in the Greek afterlives of Gen 1.1-5. There are two texts in particular that display the theme of creation by wisdom. The first is 1QH^a ix, which has three statements to this effect: line 7, though quite damaged, may well say that God created humans in wisdom; the object of the creative action in line 14 is also unclear, though it may be the seas and deeps and/or the contents thereof; and in lines 19-20 the courses of humankind are established ‘in the wisdom of your knowledge.’ The second is the *Hymn to the Creator* 7, which has God creating the world (תבל) with his wisdom (בְּחִכְמוֹתָיו) as in MT Jer 10.12 and 51.15. Also, *Hymn* 4 has God establishing the dawn by the understanding of his heart. In the case of *Hymn* 7 in particular there is an intertextual intersection with the larger tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5.

Related to this is a title that is ascribed to God as the God of knowledge - אֱלֹהֵי הַדַּעוּת. This title is used in direct connection with a creative action of establishing orderly time in 1QH^a xx.10. The same title is also found in 1QS iii.15, with a wider focus in that the God of knowledge is the source of all that is and will be.³⁴⁹ Finally, 4QJubilees^a v.10 appears to contain the remnants of ‘his [know]ledge’, which if the reconstruction of the Hebrew is correct, states that darkness and dawn, light and evening are set up with the knowledge of God.³⁵⁰

3.3.3 Creation & Angels

The prevalent presence of primordial figures in chapter one is matched by the absence of them in the texts of chapter three, with Wisdom herself being a no-show. There are, however, mentions of the creation and/or presence of angels at the creation. 4QJubilees^a v.1-11 is the prime example of this, with the cadre of angels created on Day One. An echo of this understanding of angels and creation comes in 1QH^a v.14, in which the ‘host of your spirits’ is created along with the other primordial stuff. Similarly, in 1QH^a ix.10-13 there is a mention of the

³⁴⁵ 4Q381 1 6

³⁴⁶ 4Q381 1 7

³⁴⁷ The world (תבל) in MT Jer 10.12, 51.15; everything in Ps 104.24; and ordering the clouds in Job 38.37.

³⁴⁸ One can wonder about the Hebrew of Sir 24.

³⁴⁹ The title is found in 4QInstruction^d (4Q418) 55 5, though it is unlikely that this is a creation context, and possibly in 1QHa xxv *bottom* 8-9 (Sukenic frags 8 + 7 i) and 4QMysteries^a (4Q299) 35, though both of these texts are severely damaged.

³⁵⁰ Cf. *Jub* 2.2

transformation of spirits into angels,³⁵¹ and in 4Q416 1 7 there is mention of the establishment of the hosts of heaven, though the fragmentary nature of these texts precludes any full understanding the wider literary context. In line with this is *Hymn 5*, in which angels both see and seemingly rejoice at being shown the creative activity of God. While the absence of personified wisdom is a bit glaring, tempered of course by the partial nature of the evidence, there is an emphasis in the placement of angelic beings both at the beginning of and in the general vicinity of God's creative activity.³⁵²

3.3.4 The Uses of תהו and בהו

As pointed out in chapter one, the two words, תהו and בהו, occur infrequently in the Hebrew Bible – the pair occurs three times,³⁵³ תהו alone an additional sixteen times,³⁵⁴ with בהו never occurring by itself. In this sketch of the intertextual afterlives of MT Gen 1.1-5, תהו and בהו occur even more infrequently, and appear only on the tattered edges of the tapestry. There are four texts,³⁵⁵ two of which are marginal inclusions,³⁵⁶ that include one or both these words. In 1QM xvii.4, תהו and בהו are used in tandem, though in a construction different from MT Gen 1.2.³⁵⁷ While the context is damaged, it is safe to say that the use here is negative. That is, the enemy longs for *tohu* and for *bohu*. The second use of both, reliant on a reconstruction, comes in 4Q303 1 5.³⁵⁸ While it is clear that 4Q303 1 is a creation text, because of the state of the fragment it is difficult to say very much about the occurrence of תהו and the possible occurrence of בהו. It does seem possible, however, given the mentions of light³⁵⁹ that this may have some relationship with MT Gen 1.2-3. The final two texts use only תהו. The first is Sirach 41.10,³⁶⁰ which says that the irreligious/profane (חנף) are from תהו and will return to תהו. Similarly, 4Q504 1-2 iii *recto* 4, though in a state of disrepair, appears to state that the nations (הגוים) are like תהו and nothingness (אפס) in the presence of God. What is clear in all four of these texts is that both תהו and בהו, whether together or alone, have negative connotations. While this appears to be in line with the Hebrew intertexts of MT Gen 1.1-5, it is shown in chapter four that there is a difference with the Greek equivalents in the afterlives of LXX Gen 1.1-5.

³⁵¹ The angels here are the lights of the heavens (cf. 1QH^a ix.9) – luminaries (sun and moon), stars, shooting stars, lightning, and storehouses. There seems to be a kinship between this hymn and the idea that stars are angelic beings in *I En* 21.1-10 (3, 10), which describes the place of punishment for disobedient stars and angels.

³⁵² 1QS iii.20-26 has the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness and that God created both the 'spirits of light and darkness.' Angels are also mentioned in 1QM x.11-12 and 4Q381 1 10.

³⁵³ MT Gen 1.2; Isa 34.11; Jer 4.23

³⁵⁴ MT Deut 32.10; Sam 12.21 [2x]; Isa 24.10, 29.21, 34.11, 40.17, 23, 41.29, 45.18-19 [2x], Isa 49.4, 59.4; Job 6.18, 26.7.

³⁵⁵ 1QM xvii.4; 4Q303 1 5; 4Q504 1-2 iii *recto* 4; and Sir 41.10.

³⁵⁶ I include both 1QM xvii.4 and Sir 41.10 in 3.2.17 Additional Texts.

³⁵⁷ המה לתהו ולבהו תשוקתם – They long for *tohu* and for *bohu*.

³⁵⁸ אור במקום תהו ובהו – ligh[t] in the place of *tohu* and *b[ohu]*

³⁵⁹ Light (אור) is mentioned in both 4Q303 1 4-5.

³⁶⁰ In spite of the disrepair in the manuscript evidence, both MS B and Masada have the same phrase.

3.3.5 The Nominalization of בראשית

There is at least a partial shift toward a nominalization of בראשית, in which the entire first word of Genesis becomes a proper noun for the creation story. The first instance of this *may* come in Sir 15.14 MS A, in which בראשית is used with a preposition (ב-). As noted above, it is far from conclusive that this is a nominalized form, though it is a possible reading. There is a clear shift, however, in the Mishnah with four examples of this use, three of which refer to the creation story as the works of creation - מעשה בראשית - and the fourth in a prescribed blessing upon the sight of mountains, hills, seas, rivers, and deserts, says ברוך אושה מעשה בראשית – Blessed is the one who fortifies the works of creation.

Such a blessing is a fitting conclusion to this chapter exploring the intertextual afterlives of MT Gen 1.1-5.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTERTEXTUAL AFTERLIVES OF GENESIS 1.1-5 IN GREEK

4.1 Introduction

Since this study deliberately reads texts through the some-might-argue arbitrary lens of intertextuality, it might follow that there is an arbitrary nature to the ordering of the texts in these last two chapters. While I attempt to order the texts somewhat statistically in the first two chapters, this breaks down when the texts are incomplete (e.g. Chapter 3) and when the texts are a virtual potpourri drawn from a variety of contexts, as is the case in this chapter. My method of ordering the texts in chapter four organizes them into the categories Jewish and Christian.¹ While there are not many texts in this chapter whose provenance is ambiguous,² I realize that these categories can be semipermeable and so proceed with caution. Within these two categories, I order the texts (mostly) by the number of intertextual markers that they share with LXX Gen 1.1-5. At the end of the comments on the individual texts, I have added a brief section mentioning texts that are of less intertextual significance that still have some play within this study.³

Various tools were used to identify the texts in this chapter – reading being the first and foremost. For apocryphal texts (e.g. Sirach, *Pr.Man.* etc.) I employed the help of the electronic search capabilities of *BibleWorks* 5.0 in addition to Hatch and Redpath.⁴ For Josephus, I benefited from the work of Rengstorf,⁵ and for Philo, to a lesser degree, from Borgen, Fuglseth, and Skarsten.⁶

4.2 Jewish Texts

4.2.1 Philo, *De Opificio Mundi* 26-35

²⁶φησὶ δ' ὡς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνων, οὐχ ὡς οἴονται τινες, τὴν κατὰ χρόνον· χρόνος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν πρὸ κόσμου, ἀλλ' ἢ σὺν αὐτῷ γέγονεν ἢ μετ' αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ διάστημα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κινήσεως ἔστιν ὁ χρόνος, προτέρα δὲ τοῦ κινουμένου κινήσις οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὴν ἢ ὕστερον ἢ ἅμα συνίστασθαι, ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἢ ἰσῆλικα κόσμου γεγονέναι ἢ νεώτερον ἐκείνου· πρεσβύτερον δ' ἀποφαίνεσθαι τολμᾶν ἀφιλόσοφον.

²⁷εἰ δ' ἀρχὴ μὴ παραλαμβάνεται ταυῖν ἢ κατὰ χρόνον, εἰκὸς ἂν εἴη μηνύεσθαι τὴν κατ' ἀριθμὸν, ὡς τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ἴσον εἶναι τῷ πρῶτον ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν· καὶ γὰρ εὐλόγον τῷ ὄντι πρῶτον αὐτὸν εἰς γένεσιν ἐλθεῖν, ἄριστον τε ὄντα τῶν γεγονότων κακ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τῆς οὐσίας παγέντα, διότι θεῶν ἐμπαυῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν ἕμελλεν οἶκος ἔσεσθαι ἱερώτατος.

²⁸καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάνθ' ἅμα ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίει, τάξιν οὐδὲν ἦττον εἶχε τὰ καλῶς γινόμενα· καλὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν ἀταξίᾳ. τάξις δ' ἀκολουθία καὶ εἰρμός ἐστι προηγουμένων τινῶν καὶ

¹ J.R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?*, (JSJSup 105; Leiden: Brill, 2005) proposes a rigorous method for considering the provenance of pseudepigraphic texts.

² In this zone of ambiguity, I place *Joseph and Asenath*, the *Prayer of Manasseh*, and *Sibylline Oracle* 1.

³ The texts and translations for these two sections are located in Appendix D.

⁴ E. Hatch and H.A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and other Greek versions of the Old Testament (including the Apocryphal Books)*, (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck - U. Verlaganstalt, 1975).

⁵ K.H. Rengstorf, ed., *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*, 4 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1973-1983).

⁶ P. Borgen, K. Fuglseth, and R. Skarsten, *The Philo Index: A Complete Greek Word Index to the Writings of Philo of Alexandria* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

ἐπομένῳ, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἀποτελέσμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοι ταῖς τῶν τεκταινομένων ἐπινοίαις· οὕτως γὰρ ἔμελλον ἠκριβῶσθαι τε καὶ ἀπλανεῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀσύγχυτοι.

²⁹πρῶτον οὖν ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίησεν οὐρανὸν ἀσώματον, καὶ γῆν ἀόρατον, καὶ ἀέρος ἰδέαν καὶ κενό· ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπεφήμισε σκότος, ἐπειδὴ μέλας ὁ ἀήρ τῇ φύσει, τὴν δ' ἄβυσσον, πολὺβυθον γὰρ τό γε κενὸν καὶ ἀχανές· εἶθ' ὕδατος ἀσώματον οὐσίαν, καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐβδόμου φωτός, ὃ πάλιν ἀσώματον ἦν καὶ νοητὸν ἡλίου παράδειγμα, καὶ πάντων ὅσα φωσφόρα ἄστρα κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔμελλε συνίστασθαι.

³⁰προνομίας δὲ τό τε πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ φῶς ἤξιοῦτο· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὠνόμασε θεοῦ, διότι ζωτικώτατον τὸ πνεῦμα, ζωῆς δὲ θεὸς αὐτός, τὸ δὲ φῶς⁷ ὅτι ὑπερβαλλόντως καλὸν· τοσοῦτω γὰρ τὸ νοητὸν τοῦ ὁρατοῦ λαμπρότερον τε καὶ αὐγοειδέστερον, ὅσῳ περ ἥλιος, οἶμαι, σκότους, καὶ ἡμέρα νυκτός, καὶ [τὰ κριτήρια] νοῦς, ὁ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς ἡγεμών, ὀφθαλμῶν σώματος.

³¹τὸ δὲ ἀόρατον καὶ νοητὸν φῶς ἐκεῖνο θεοῦ λόγου γέγονεν εἰκὼν τοῦ διερμηνεύσαντος τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔστιν ὑπερουράνιος ἀστήρ, πηγὴ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀστέρων· ἦν οὐκ ἂν ἀπὸ σκοποῦ καλέσειεν ἂν τις παναύγειαν· ἀφ' ἧς ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πλανήτες τε καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀρύττονται, καθ' ὅσον ἐκάστῳ δύναιμι, τὰ πρόποντα φέγγη· τῆς ἀμιγούς καὶ καθαρᾶς αὐγῆς ἐκείνης ἀμαυρουμένης, ὅταν ἄρξῃται τρέπεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐκ νοητοῦ πρὸς αἰσθητὸν μεταβολήν· εἰλικρινὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει.

³²εὖ μέντοι καὶ τὸ φάναι ὅτι σκότος ἦν ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου. τρόπον γὰρ τινα ὁ ἀήρ ὑπὲρ τὸ κενόν ἔστιν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀχανῆ καὶ ἐρήμην καὶ κενὴν χώραν ἐπιβάς ἐκπεπλήρωκεν, ὅση πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ σελήνην καθήκει.

³³μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ φωτός ἀνάλαμψιν, ὃ πρὸ ἡλίου γέγονεν, ὑπεξώρει τὸ ἀντίπαλον σκότος, διατειχίζοντος ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὐτὰ καὶ διιστάντος θεοῦ, τοῦ τὰς ἐναντιότητας εὖ εἰδότης καὶ τὴν ἐκ φύσεως αὐτῶν διαμάχην. Ἰν' οὖν μὴ αἰεὶ συμφερόμεναι στασιάζωσι καὶ πόλεμος ἀντ' εἰρήνης ἐπικρατῆ, τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ἐν κόσμῳ τιθεῖς, οὐ μόνον ἐχώρισε φῶς καὶ σκότος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄρους ἐν μέσοις ἔθετο διαστήμασιν, οἷς ἀνείρξε τῶν ἄκρων ἐκάτερον· ἔμελλε γὰρ γειτνιῶντα σύγχυσιν ἀπεργάζεσθαι, τῷ περὶ δυναστείας ἀγωνί κατὰ πολλὴν καὶ ἄπαστον φιλονεικίαν ἐπαποδύμενα, εἰ μὴ μέσοι παγέντες ὄροι διέλευσαν καὶ διέλυσαν τὴν ἀντεπίθεσιν.

³⁴οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐσπέρα τε καὶ πρωῖα, ὧν ἡ μὲν προευαγγελίζεται μέλλοντα ἥλιον ἀνισχεῖν, ἡρέμα τὸ σκότος ἀνείργουσα, ἡ δ' ἐσπέρα καταδύντι ἐπιγίνεται ἡλίῳ, τὴν ἀθρόαν τοῦ σκότους φορὰν πρᾶως ἐκδεχομένη. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, πρωῖαν λέγω καὶ ἐσπέραν, ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ νοητῶν θετέον· ὅλως γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰσθητὸν ἐν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἰδέαι καὶ μέτρα καὶ τύποι καὶ σφραγίδες, εἰς γένεσιν ἄλλων ἀσώματα σωμάτων.

³⁵ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς μὲν ἐγένετο. σκότος δ' ὑπεξέστη καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν, ὄροι δ' ἐν τοῖς μεταξύ διαστήμασιν ἐπάγησαν ἐσπέρα καὶ πρωῖα, κατὰ τὰναγκαῖον τοῦ χρόνου μέτρον ἀπετελείτο εὐθὺς, ὃ καὶ ἡμέραν ὁ ποιῶν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ ἡμέραν οὐχὶ πρώτην, ἀλλὰ μίαν, ἣ λέλεκται διὰ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου μόνωσιν μοναδικὴν ἔχοντος φύσιν.

²⁶When [Moses] says, 'In [the] beginning God made the heaven and the earth' – taking 'the beginning' not according to time, as some think – for there was no time before the world, but it came to be either with it or after it. For since time is a measured interval of the movement of the world, and since movement cannot be prior to the thing moving coming to be, but must necessarily be formed either after or simultaneously with it, it is also necessary that time either be the same age as the cosmos or younger than it. To reason that it is older is to be cruelly unphilosophic.

²⁷And since 'beginning' is not taken at present chronologically, it would seem reasonable that it is informed by arithmetic, so that 'in the beginning he made' is equivalent to 'he made heaven first.' For it is surely reasonable that it ought to come into being first, being the best of things that have come to be and the purest of all that is, since it is the most temple-like dwelling of visible and perceptible gods.⁸

²⁸For even if the Maker simultaneously made all things, order was nonetheless an attribute of all that beautifully came to be; for beauty is not in disorder. But order is a series of things going on before and following after, in due sequence, a sequence which, though not seen in

⁷ F.H. Colson inserts φῆσιν at this point, cf. Philo, *Philo with an English Translation*, 10 with 2 supplementary vols. (trans. F.H. Colson, et al.; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard, 1929-1962) 1.24, though this seems unnecessary.

⁸ Cf. *Opif* 55 where Philo refers to the heavenly bodies – the lights of the sky – as images of the divine.

the finished products, exists in the designs of the technicians; for only thus was it intended to be assembled accurately and to exist without wandering and mixing.

²⁹First, therefore, the Maker made an incorporeal heaven, and an invisible earth, and [the] ideal form of air and of emptiness; to one of these he assigned ‘darkness,’ since the air by nature is black, and [to the other he assigned] ‘abyss,’ for the great depth is empty and immense. Then [He made the] incorporeal essence of water and of spirit, and seventh of all, light, which was again an incorporeal and intelligible paradigm of the sun and all the luminous stars which were intended to be organized throughout the heaven.

³⁰Privilege was accorded to spirit and light. The one he⁹ entitles ‘of God,’ because spirit is the most life-giving, and of life God is the cause; and ‘light’ because (it is) exceedingly beautiful, for the intelligible is greater than the visible in brilliance and luster, just as the sun, me thinks, (is greater than) darkness, and day night, and the mind – commander of the whole soul – the bodily eyes.

³¹That invisible and intelligible light has come into being through the divine word – an image of the one who explains its genesis – and it is a star above heaven, a spring of perceptible stars. It would not be wrong to call it all-brightness, to signify that from which the sun and moon and the other planets and stars draw, according to the varied proportion of each, the light distinguishing each. For that pure and undiluted radiance is made faint whenever it begins to turn from that which is intelligible toward a perceptible change – for nothing is pure of that which is perceptible.

³²Good as well is the clarification that darkness was upon the abyss. For in a sense the air is over the void, since the whole region - the yawn and desolation and void – has been filled, the whole from that which is near the moon has come toward us.

³³After the kindling of the intelligible light, which came to be before the sun, the rival darkness withdrew. God built a wall of separation and kept them separate from one another, for he saw well (their) oppositions and the obstinate contention of (their) natures. In order, therefore, that they not continuously quarrel when coming together, and (so that) war does not conquer peace, and set up disorder¹⁰ in the cosmos, he not only separated light from darkness, but also placed boundary markers in intervening space between them, by which he held back each of their outer parts. For had they been neighbors, they were sure to produce confusion by clashing with intense and perpetual rivalry in the struggle for mastery, unless boundaries were established in (their) midst to separate (them) and to dissolve (their) antipathy.

³⁴These (boundaries) are evening and dawn, the latter of which, gently restraining the darkness, announces beforehand that (the) sun is to rise; while evening follows upon sunset (and) gives a gentle reception to the on-coming mass of darkness. And indeed, these, I mean dawn and evening, we must place in the order of incorporeal and intelligible things. For on the whole there is nothing perceivable in these, but all are ideas and measures and patterns and seals, incorporeal regarding the genesis of other bodies.

³⁵When light had come to be, and darkness had moved out of its way and retired, and evening and dawn were fixed as barriers between them, necessarily a measure of time was completed straight away, and the Creator called it day, and (the) day was never ‘first,’ but ‘one,’ an expression due to the uniqueness of the intelligible world, having a natural kinship to the number ‘one.’

⁹ Moses

¹⁰ ἀκοσμία

Opif 26-35¹¹ is Philo's commentary on Gen 1.1-5. Within the context of *De Opificio Mundi*, this pericope is not the only place where Philo addresses elements of Day One. He addresses the unusual use of the cardinal 'one' instead of the ordinal 'first' in *Opif* 15b, though without enough intertextual commonality to warrant inclusion in this study.¹² While this is Philo's commentary, he does not regularly repeat lines of the primary text as in the *Pesharim* of Qumran; rather he works piecemeal, not necessarily taking the text linearly, and often paraphrasing the primary text. In this lengthy pericope there are only three texts that are clearly quotations: two of LXX Gen 1.1 (one full, one partial), and one of LXX Gen 1.2b.

LXX Gen 1.1	ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.
<i>Opif</i> 26	ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.
<i>Opif</i> 27	ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν
LXX Gen 1.2b	καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου
<i>Opif</i> 32	σκότος ἦν ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου

Outside of these examples, there is significant direct use of nearly all of the intertextual markers of LXX Gen 1.1-5 (ἀρχή, ποιέω, οὐρανός-γῆ, ἀόρατος, ἄβυσσος, ὕδωρ, πνεῦμα, φῶς-σκότος, καλός, ἡμέρα-νύξ, ἑσπέρα-πρωΐα, also χωρίζω, the root of διαχωρίζω).¹³ Conspicuous in their absence from *Opif* 26-35 are ἀκατασκεύαστος and ἐπιφέρω from LXX Gen 1.2. As much as Philo's use of LXX Gen 1.1-5 is certain, also certain is that there are no other texts, from this study's intertextual tapestry or elsewhere, other than Plato's *Timaeus*, that figure significantly in Philo's commentary.

Given the length of this pericope, it seems most accessible to work through it linearly, addressing its connections with LXX Gen 1.1-5 as they arise.

Philo's primary concern in the first portion of the pericope (§§ 26-28) is time. He focuses on ἀρχή in LXX Gen 1.1. In Philo's understanding, time cannot come into being before the heavens, as the movement of the heavens dictates time. Time must either come into being after or simultaneous with the heavens,¹⁴ and to suggest otherwise is to be cruelly unphilosophic.¹⁵ Philo, therefore, does not understand ἀρχή to be chronological but an ordinal

¹¹ D.T. Runia, *On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses*, (Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series 1; Leiden: Brill, 2001) suggests that Philo's concern for Day One runs §§ 15b-35, dividing this into §§15b-25 – Day one: creation of the intelligible cosmos; §§26-28 – In the beginning does not mean creation in time; and §§ 29-35 – The chief contents of the intelligible cosmos. (8) According to the criteria of this study, there are not enough intertextual markers in Runia's §§15b-25, to warrant inclusion, though as noted below, he does address the use of μία in LXX Gen 1.5 in §15b. *Opif* 26-35, then, represents Philo's most direct dealing with LXX Gen 1.1-5 and the most intertextually relevant text. Runia himself acknowledges that it is at §26 that Philo begins his commentary on the text of Genesis 1. (155)

¹² Philo does return to his comment on ἡμέρα μία in §35.

¹³ Runia, *On the Creation*, provides a visual of the pervasive use of LXX Gen 1.1-5 by placing in bold typeface all of the words and phrases in §§26-35, that are common to LXX Gen 1.1-5 (52-54).

¹⁴ *Opif* 26-27, also 13, 28. Philo addresses the relation of time and creation similarly in *Sacr* 65.

¹⁵ τολμᾶν ἀφιλόσοφον, §26

placement of the creation of heaven – he made heaven first (τῷ πρῶτον ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανόν).¹⁶ Heaven holds the highest place in Philo's understanding of the cosmos.¹⁷

Another concern of this section (§§ 26-28) is that order and beauty go hand in glove.¹⁸ Since he does not return to ὅτι καλόν (LXX Gen 1.4) later in this commentary on Day One, it seems that this divine proclamation of goodness is at play in §28, though not expressly recalling its first use (LXX Gen 1.4) but its repetition throughout Genesis 1.¹⁹

The second and longer portion of the pericope (§§ 29-35) discusses the intelligible cosmos created on Day One, first discussed in §§ 15b-24. After explicating the timelessness of Day One in the previous section, Philo now moves in §29 to the things that were made, identifying eight elements of the intelligible cosmos.²⁰ As noted earlier, Philo does quote LXX Gen 1.2b in §32; and so it seems likely that Philo knew the text of LXX Gen 1.1-5 in a similar, if not the same, form as we have it today. This said, it is helpful to look closely at Philo's explication of these first intelligible cosmic elements in §29, and how they relate to their occurrence in LXX Gen 1.1-3. The table below compares Philo's and the LXX's objects and their description.

Philo §29		LXX Gen 1.1-3	
<i>object</i>	<i>description</i>	<i>object</i>	<i>description/location</i>
οὐρανός	ἀσώματος	οὐρανός	
γῆ	ἀόρατος	γῆ	ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος
ἀήρ	σκότος	σκότος	ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου
κενόν	ἄβυσσος		
ὔδωρ	ἀσώματος		
πνεῦμα		πνεῦμα θεοῦ	ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος
φῶς		φῶς	

It is quite clear that Philo's hermeneutic is driving his interpretation of the text. Philo does not invent any elements that are not in the text of LXX Genesis. He does, however, attempt to clarify the action. It may well be that Philo, in line with a tradition also expressed in *Jubilees* 2.2,²¹ is attempting to clarify that the cosmos was created *ex nihilo*, leaving no room for understanding that the earth as described in Gen 1.2 is the point where God begins. For Philo, God starts with nothing, creates the intelligible world of Day One, and proceeds to create the visible world based on this pattern.

Of these eight intelligible primary elements, Philo suggests that Moses gives special status to πνεῦμα and φῶς. In §31, his high regard for the intelligible light is explained when he equates this imperceptible light with the

¹⁶ §27. Also, *Mos* 1.217.

¹⁷ Cf. *Congr.* 50, *Praem.* 1. In *Opif* 55, Philo refers to the heavens as the purest temple (ἐν ἱερῷ καθαρωτάτῳ). It should also be noted that Philo sees the vestments of the high priest at the Temple in Jerusalem patterned after heaven and earth, cf. *Fug.* 110; more specifically, his breastplate is a copy of the constellations (*Somn.* 1.214, *Spec.* 1.86) and his tunic a copy of the whole heaven (*Somn.* 1.215, *Spec.* 1.95); similarly, heaven is signified by the ephod of the high priest, *Mos* 2.133.

¹⁸ Also *Cher.* 86; *Sacr* 82; and *Post* 88-89, in which Philo, speaking about the boundaries of beauty/good (ὄρους τοῦ καλοῦ), says that their principles (λόγοι) are older than everything and divine.

¹⁹ LXX Gen 1.8, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31.

²⁰ A comparison of the lists of *Jub* 2.2 and Philo, *Opif.* 29:

Jubilees: 1) heavens, 2) earth, 3) waters, 4) spirit(s), 5) abyss, 6) darkness, and 7) light.

Philo: 1) heaven, 2) earth, 3) air/darkness, 4) a void (κενός)/abyss, 5) abyss, 6) water, 7) spirit, 8) light.

²¹ See below, p. 150.

divine word (θεῖος λόγος), the divine thought/plan for the universe.²² As is the case with all the elements of Day One, the invisible, intelligible light is a pattern for that which is perceptible. The move from imperceptible to perceptible, from the disembodied to the incarnate dims (ἀμαυρώω) the purity of the primary.

As noted already, Philo incorporates another quotation, citing LXX Gen 1.2b in §32. This section provides a transition from speaking about the purity of the intelligible light to the ordering of the cosmos that is inherent in Genesis 1. For Philo, Moses necessarily states that the darkness covered the abyss – incorporeal darkness that is. §§33-35, then, is Philo's explanation of God's establishment of boundaries and order as an essential element of the creation of the intelligible cosmos. In Philo's cosmology, light and darkness are opponents (ἀντίπαλος), and upon the creation of light darkness retreats, because God saw fit to separate the enemies. In §33 Philo specifically mentions the dangers of the clash of light and darkness that can result in wars and disorder.²³

Of all the texts related to Gen 1.1-5, Philo's commentary here is the sole place where ἑσπέρα and πρωΐα (LXX πρωί), evening and morning, come into significant play. In §§34-35, Philo explains that the boundaries that necessarily separate light and darkness are evening and morning, working from LXX Gen 1.5. He clarifies that they are also part of the incorporeal and intelligible cosmos (§34) along with the rest of the creative works of Day One.

Philo ends his commentary with the advent of time as measured by day (ἡμέρα) – a necessary consequence of the creation of light, the retreat of darkness, and the boudrification of light and dark with dusk and dawn.

Philo leaves little of LXX Gen 1.1-5 unturned. His commentary is under girded with Platonic philosophical categories and what appears to be at least some knowledge of cosmic calendrical issues floating about in Second Temple Judaism – issues that he seems to demythologize with the aforementioned Platonic categories. Striking through it all is Philo's apparent lack of dialogue with other texts with the possible exception of *Jubilees* 2.2 or at least a common expression of *creatio ex nihilo*.

4.2.2 *Jubilees* 2.2-3

τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρώτη ἡμέρα ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀνωτέρους οὐρανοὺς, τὴν γῆν, τὰ ὕδατα, ἐξ ὧν ἐστὶ χιῶν καὶ κρύσταλλος καὶ χάλαζα καὶ παγετοὶ καὶ δρόσος, τὰ πνεύματα τὰ λειτουργοῦντα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, ἅτινά ἐστι τάδε· ἄγγελοι πρὸ προσώπου, καὶ ἄγγελοι τῆς δόξης, καὶ ἄγγελοι πνευμάτων πνεόντων, ἄγγελοι νεφελῶν καὶ γυφῶν, χιόνος καὶ χαλάζης καὶ πάγου, ἄγγελοι φωνῶν, βροντῶν, ἀστραπῶν, ψύχους, καύματος, χειμῶνος, φθινοπώρου, ἔαρος καὶ θέρους, καὶ πάντων τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν κτισμάτων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ, τὰς ἀβύσσους, τὴν τε ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς, καὶ τοῦ χάους, καὶ σκότος, ἑσπέρα καὶ νύξ, τὸ φῶς ἡμέρας τε καὶ ὄρθρου. ³ταῦτα τὰ ἑπτὰ μέγιστα ἔργα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμερᾷ.

²For on the first day he made the heavens above, the earth, the waters, out of which are snow and ice and hail and frost and dew, the spirits who serve before him – namely, (the) angels of the presence, and angels of glory, and the angels of the spirits of the winds, angels of clouds and darkness, snow and hail and frost, angels of the voices – thunder, lightning, cool-weather, scorching-heat, winter, autumn, spring, and summer, and of all the spirits of his creation – of

²² In *Opif* 24, Philo compares the divine *logos* to the thought (λογισμός) or plan of the architect preparing to build a city. On the philosophical background of Philo's *logos*, see T.H. Billings, *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus*, (New York: Garland, 1919 & 1979) 26-46, where it is illustrated that Philo's use of *logos* is not altogether consistent.

²³ Philo's correlation of disorder and conflict between light and darkness in the intelligible with war and disorder on earth bears an inverse resemblance with *The Book of the Luminaries*, specifically *1 Enoch* 80.2-8, in which human sin and disorder (may) throw the heavenly time keepers out of whack.

those in heaven and in earth, the abysses, that which is under the earth and the chaos, and darkness, evening and night, the light of day and dawn. ³God created these seven great works on the first day.

This is the sole Greek version of *Jubilees'* retelling of Gen 1.1-5.²⁴ Given that the extant Hebrew version of this text, 4QJubilees^a v.4-11, is covered in chapter 3, and the intertextual commonality (ποιέω, οὐρανός-γῆ, ὕδωρ, πνεῦμα, ἄβυσσος, νύξ, φῶς, ἡμέρα), this text is a natural inclusion.

As in the Hebrew, the text follows Gen 1.1-5, focusing on the elements mentioned in Gen 1.1-3 (see below). Between the Hebrew version as found in VanderKam and Milik's reconstructed text of 4QJubilees^a ²⁵ and the Greek version preserved by Epiphanius, there are differences in two particular areas. The lists of angels, likely an attempt to account for the אֲנֹכַחַיִם אֲנֹכַחַיִם of Gen 1.2,²⁶ vary between the Hebrew and Greek. Given that the Hebrew is highly fragmentary and that the variances do not affect the intertextuality, they are not enumerated here. A second difference that does affect the intertextual relationship with Gen 1.1-5 is the inclusion of night (νύξ) as exemplary of darkness and day (ἡμέρα) of light. These appear to be absent in 4QJub^a 10, though the state of the fragment precludes absolute certainty.²⁷

The primary *lacuna* in Gen 1.1-5 that appears to give rise to this text, is the grammatical ambiguity of the relationship of the first three verses of Genesis. It is my assertion that this ambiguity plays into the cosmological speculation of *creatio ex nihilo*. As is noted in chapter one,²⁸ the Hebrew of Genesis 1.1-3 is ambiguous enough to allow a variety of readings, a basic one (ascribed to by this author) is that v.1 is a dependent clause, v.2 a parenthetic clause, with v. 3 providing the main clause. A byproduct of this reading that sees light as the first object of God's creative speech in v.3 is that there is primordial, pre-created stuff that includes water, darkness, wind, etc. If such primordial stuff poses a theological and/or grammatical problem, then it must be explained. The author of *Jubilees* poses, what seems to be, the earliest solution.²⁹ In line with the heptadic theme that runs throughout MT Gen 1.1-2.4a,³⁰ the solution is proposed in Jub 2.3 – there were seven great works on the first day. The author of *Jubilees* then proceeds to string together the basic nouns of Gen 1.1-3 – heavens, earth, waters, spirit(s), abyss, darkness, and light. In the terms of maths, there is no remainder. God starts with nothing. This places *Jub* 2.2-3 in the company of texts that espouse a version of *creatio ex nihilo* such as 2 Macc 7.28, *Jos.Asen.* 12.1-2, Philo, *Opif.* 29, and Herm.

²⁴ This quotation of Jub 2.2-3 is taken from Epiphanius, *On Weights and Measures*, 22. This Greek text used here is taken from A.-M. Denis, ed., *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum Graeca*, PVTG 3, Leiden: Brill, 1970) 71-72. The verse numbers in this Greek text correspond with the English translation of the Ethiopian, per Charles, *APOT*, 2.13-14. Epiphanius (c.315-403 CE) was a Jewish convert to Christianity, growing up in Palestine and serving as the bishop of Salamis (later Constantia), Cyprus. It is not beyond speculation that this translation was done post-200 CE, though it should be noted that this pericope bears no obvious Christian tampering.

²⁵ J.C. VanderKam and J.T. Milik, *DJD XIII.13*. See above, p. 116.

²⁶ G. Vermes, "Genesis 1-3 in Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic Literature before the Mishnah," *JJS* 43 (1992) 222.

²⁷ *DJD XIII.13*

²⁸ See above, pp. 11-13.

²⁹ In his search for a 'credal' statement of *creatio ex nihilo*, J.C. O'Neill, "How Early is the Doctrine of *Creatio ex Nihilo*?" *JTS* 53 (2002), notes among many other texts (not *Jubilees* however) Isaiah 44.24 (to which I would add Isaiah 45.7) as an early example of a theology that rejects creation out of primordial stuff. (454).

³⁰ C.f. U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis; Part 1 - From Adam to Noah*, (trans. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1961), for the heptadic 'numerical harmony' of Genesis 1. (12ff)

Vis. i.6, the first three of which are also addressed in this chapter. Of these texts, Philo, *Opif.* 29 also delineates seven things created, though Philo has seven things created prior to the creation of light,³¹ all eight of which are incorporeal paradigms of the physical.

4.2.3 Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 1.27-29

²⁷ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. ταύτης δ' ὑπ' ὄψιν οὐκ ἐρχομένης, ἀλλὰ βαθεῖ μὲν κρυπτομένης σκότει, πνεύματος δ' αὐτὴν ἄνωθεν ἐπιθέοντος, γενέσθαι φῶς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεός. ²⁸καὶ γεινομένου τούτου κατανοήσας τὴν ὅλην ὕλην διεχώρισε τὸ τε φῶς καὶ τὸ σκότος καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄνομα ἔθετο νύκτα, τὸ δὲ ἡμέραν ἐκάλεσεν, ἑσπέραν τε καὶ ὄρθρον τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ φωτός καὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν προσαγορεύσας. ²⁹καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἂν εἴη πρώτη ἡμέρα, Μωυσῆς δ' αὐτὴν μίαν εἶπε· τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἰκανὸς μὲν εἶμι ἀποδοῦναι καὶ νῦν, ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπέσχημαι τὴν αἰτιολογίαν πάντων ἰδίᾳ συγγραψάμενος παραδώσειν, εἰς τότε καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς ἔρμενείαν ἀναβάλλομαι.

²⁷In the beginning God created heaven and earth. While this³² had not come into sight, as it was both hidden by a thick darkness and a wind from above was moving upon it, God ordered that light should come into being. ²⁸And as it came to be (and) after considering the whole matter, he separated the light from the darkness, and to the one he gave the name night, and the other he called day, calling by name the evening and the day-break, the beginning of light and (its) rest. ²⁹This, then, should be the first day, but Moses said it is (day) one; while I am able to render a sufficient cause even now, since I have promised to hand down the investigation of all these things by itself in writing, I am also putting off until then the interpretation concerning this (matter).

This is the beginning of Josephus' account of the history of the Jews. After a brief introduction to the work as a whole,³³ he begins the story with the above retelling of Day One. This text is Josephus' most direct dealing with Gen 1.1-5. While he promises that he will expand upon this in another work,³⁴ regrettably it has not survived or was never completed. This passage is a deliberate retelling of Gen 1.1-5, and, as such, has plenty intertextual markers (ἐν ἀρχῇ, οὐρανός, γῆ, σκότος, πνεῦμα, φῶς, διαχωρίζω, νύξ, ἡμέρα, μίαν). There is little room for doubt that Josephus was familiar with Genesis 1. It is not clear, however, with which version(s) he was working. What is clear is that his retelling of Day One is not a direct quotation from any manuscript or translation tradition that is extant.

The general order of the passage reflects the LXX. The content and order of the first sentence matches that of the LXX with the exception of the verb, κτίζω, the verb also used by Aquila.³⁵ The next three phrases, all genitive absolutes, function paraphrastically prior to the main clause in which God orders (κελεύω) light to be. This

³¹ A comparison of the lists of *Jub* 2.2 and Philo, *Opif.* 29:

Jubilees: 1) heavens, 2) earth, 3) waters, 4) spirit(s), 5) abyss, 6) darkness, and 7) light.

Philo: 1) heaven, 2) earth, 3) air/darkness, 4) a void (κενός)/abyss, 5) abyss, 6) water, 7) spirit, 8) light.

³² While it seems most probable that the antecedent of ταύτης is γῆ, which is both the closest spatially and in line with both the MT and LXX of Gen 1.2, it is also within the realm of possibility that Josephus is making reference to ἀρχή.

³³ *Ant* 1.1-26

³⁴ *Ant* 1.29. Josephus promises this next work upon the completion of *Antiquities* in *Ant* 1.25.

³⁵ If we can date Aquila's translation to c.140 CE [see K.H. Jobes and M. Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2000) 39], then Josephus' use of κτίζω in a Greek translation of Gen 1.1 is older. In Josephus' retelling of Gen 1.1, it should also be noted that he uses ἐν ἀρχῇ rather than Aquila's ἐν κεφαλαίῳ, likely based on the root שׂרָא of יְרַשְׁרָא, cf. J.W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, (SBLSCS 35; Atlanta: Scholars, 1993) 1.

construction is quite unlike LXX Gen 1.2, which has a string of independent clauses.³⁶ One might venture to say that it is grammatically closer to MT Gen 1.2.³⁷ It is safe to say with regard to content that Josephus' retelling of Gen 1.1-5 is condensed. Omitted or paraphrased are *ἀόρατος*, *ἀκατασκεύαστος*, *ἄβυσσος*, and *ὔδωρ*, along with any pronouncement of light as good.³⁸ Also, Josephus thinks it important to note the oddity of Moses' use of the cardinal (*μία*) in numbering what he appears to think should be the first (*πρώτη*) day.³⁹

As noted, Josephus by his own admission does not give his full interpretation of Gen 1.1-5 in this retelling, promising another text.⁴⁰ He does tell his readers that he is drawing his retelling from the sacred books of Moses,⁴¹ but, as noted above, what text is before him is unclear. The question, then, is, what is Josephus trying to highlight or foreground in his retelling of Gen 1.1-5? He does not make *creatio ex nihilo* a central argument, though it could be inferred. His paraphrastic use of the genitive absolutes prior to the ordered coming-into-being of light suggest that earth was in a state of incompleteness. The picture that Josephus paints of the separation of light and dark is also of a work in progress, as God is considering (*κατανοέω*) the whole lot, figuring out what to do next.

4.2.4 Philo, *De somniis* 1.72-76

⁷² τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρει, δι' ἣν τόπῳ ὑπήντησεν.⁴² ἔδω γὰρ φησὶν ὁ ἥλιος, οὐχ ὁ φαινόμενος οὗτος, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀοράτου καὶ μεγίστου θεοῦ περιφεγγέστατον καὶ περιουγέστατον φῶς. τοῦθ' ὅταν μὲν ἐπιλάβῃ διανοία, τὰ δεύτερα λόγων δύεται φέγγη, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ αἰσθητοὶ τόποι πάντες ἐπισκιάζονται· ὅταν δ' ἐτέρωσεν χωρησῇ, πάντ' εὐθὺς ἀνίσχει καὶ ἀνατέλλει.⁷³ μὴ θαυμάσης δέ, εἰ ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ τοὺς τῆς ἀλληγορίας κανόνας ἐξομοιοῦται τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνι τῶν συμπάντων· θεῷ γὰρ ὅμοιον πρὸς ἀλήθειαν μὲν οὐδέν, ἃ δὲ δόξη νενόμισται, δύο μόνον ἐστίν, ἀοράτον τε καὶ ὁρατόν, ψυχὴ μὲν ἀοράτον, ὁρατόν δὲ ἥλιος.⁷⁴ τὴν μὲν οὖν ψυχῆς ἐμφέρειαν δεδήλωκεν ἐν ἐτέροις εἰπῶν· ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ ἀνδροφονῶν τεθέντι νόμῳ πάλιν· ὁ ἐκχέων αἷμα ἀνθρώπου ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ ἐκχυθήσεται, ὅτι ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὴν δὲ ἡλίου διὰ συμβόλων μεμήνυκε.
⁷⁵ ῥᾶδιον δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ τοῦτο κατιδεῖν, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶν - κύριος γὰρ φωτισμὸς μου καὶ σωτήρ μου ἐν ἕμῳ ἔδεται - καὶ οὐ μόνον φῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὸς ἐτέρου φωτὸς ἀρχετύπον, μᾶλλον δὲ παντὸς ἀρχετύπου πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἀνώτερον, λόγον ἔχον παραδείγματος [παραδείγματος⁴³]. τὸ μὲν γὰρ παράδειγμα ὁ πληρέστατος ἦν αὐτοῦ λόγος, φῶς - εἶπε γὰρ φησὶν ὁ θεός· γενέσθω φῶς, - αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδενὶ τῶν γεγονότων ὅμοιος.
⁷⁶ ἔπειθ' ὡς ἥλιος ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα διακρίνει, οὕτως φησὶ Μωυσῆς τὸν θεὸν φῶς καὶ σκότος

³⁶ The independent clauses, separated by *καί*, are as follows: ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. Gen 1.2

³⁷ See above, pp. 14-16.

³⁸ LXX Gen 1.4

³⁹ *πρώτη* is another commonality with Aquila.

⁴⁰ *Ant.* 1.29

⁴¹ Josephus' introduction to *Antiquities* ends with his statement of intent, in which he indicates that he has first hand experience of the stories from the sacred books of Moses that he is about to retell:

τρέφομαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν ἥδη τῶν πραγμάτων μνησθεῖς πρότερον ὦν περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευῆς εἶπε Μωυσῆς· ταῦτα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις εὔρον ἀναγεγραμμένα. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως·

I will now turn my attention to the telling of the deeds, remembering first that which Moses said concerning the preparation of the cosmos; I have discovered these things registered in the sacred books. He has as follows: *Ant* 1.26.

⁴² LXX Gen 28.11 reads *ἀπήντησεν*, from *ἀπαντάω*, a verb which may indicate a meeting by chance, an element which seems absent in *ὑπαντάω*, as used by Philo.

⁴³ Editorial correction of Colson, cf. Philo, *Philo*, 5.336 n.1.

διατειχίσαι· διεχώρισε γὰρ⁴⁴ ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους· ἄλλως τε ὡς ἥλιος ἀνατείλας τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα γεννήσας οὐ μόνον εἰς τοῦμφανές ἤγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν, ἐποίησεν, οὐ δημιουργὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης αὐτὸς ὦν.

⁷²But [Moses] brings out the reason why [Jacob] ‘met’ a place; for it says, ‘The sun has set.’ This is not the one that shows itself, but it is the most lustrous and the most sparkling light of the invisible and supreme God. When this shines upon understanding, the secondary [lights] of words set, and greater still all the places of sense-perception are shaded; but when it has drawn back elsewhere, all [these] are dawning and rising at once. ⁷³But do not marvel if the sun, according to the rules of allegory, is likened to the father and commander of the universe. For although in truth nothing is like God, there are two things by [human] notion that are accounted [as such], one invisible and one visible – the soul is invisible, the sun visible. ⁷⁴An account of the soul he has shown elsewhere, saying, ‘God made man according to the image of God he made him,’ and again in the law set against murderers, ‘The one who sheds the blood of a man, blood shall be shed in return for his blood, because in the image of God I made man,’ but the sun[’s likeness to God] he has made known by symbols.

⁷⁵In other ways it is easy to perceive this by reflexion. Since in the first place, God is light – “For the Lord is my illumination and my savior” – in a hymn⁴⁵ it is sung. And [the Lord is] not only light, but the archetype of every other light – even older than and higher than every archetype, holding (the) word of a paradigm [of a paradigm]. For the paradigm was his most complete word – ‘light’, for it says, ‘God said, “Let there be light,”’ – but he in no way is a likeness of things which have come into being. ⁷⁶Next, as the sun separates day and night, so Moses says that God divides distinctly light and darkness, ‘For God separated between the light and the darkness;’ above all, as the sun when it rises brings to light bodies which have been hidden, so also God, having generated all things, not only brought them into sight, but also he made things which were not before, being not solely a craftsman but also the creator himself.

Philo's concern in this pericope is an allegorical exposition of a portion of LXX Gen 28.11a,⁴⁶ which comes at the beginning of Jacob's dream at Bethel.⁴⁷ As usual, Philo's interest is allegorical.⁴⁸ Given that in his dream Jacob encounters the divine, Philo takes the opportunity to explore the allegorical relation of the sun (οἱ ἡλιοί) and God. LXX Gen 1.1-5 comes into play intertextually (avo,ratoj(poie,w(fw/j&sko,toj(h`me,ra&nu,x(diacwri,zw) and overtly in quotations of portions of LXX Gen 1.3 (*Som* 1.75) and LXX Gen 1.4 (*Som* 1.76).

Philo's allegorical meanderings in this pericope are an intertextual confluence centered in ὁ ἥλιος in LXX Gen 28.11a. As is often the case, Philo is playing with two basic aspects: the invisible cosmic template and the visible cosmos, the divine and the physical. The sun that sets in LXX Gen 28.11a is for Philo not the visible sun but the light of Day One – the light of the invisible (ἀόρατος) and supreme God (*Som* 1.72). When this divine light shines upon human understanding, the physical, secondary lights set, and physicality is subjugated. When the divine light leaves, secondary physicality, humanity returns or 'dawns.' Turning the allegory slightly, Philo suggests that it is possible to liken the physical sun to God. He makes sure to clarify that while nothing (physical) is like God,

⁴⁴ Philo differs from the LXX only in his use of the conjunction γὰρ rather than καί of the LXX.

⁴⁵ LXX Ps 26.1 [EV 27.1].

⁴⁶ καὶ ἀπήντησεν τόπῳ καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐκεῖ ἔδω γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος
And he came upon a place and slept there, for the sun had set.

⁴⁷ Gen 28.10-22.

⁴⁸ Philo is exploring ‘according to the rule of allegory’ - κατὰ τοὺς τῆς ἀλληγορίας κανόνας (*Som* 1.73).

according to human notion (δόξα) two things can be thought of as such, presumably in order to allow the human to imagine the divine. The first is the human soul within the realm of the invisible; the second is the sun within the visible. It is here that we see the boundaries of Gen 28.11a become permeable allowing in other texts. Philo brings in two texts, Gen 1.26 and Gen 9.6, both of which justify ('created in the image of God') the soul's placement in the realm of the invisible or divine. For the sun, which again returns Philo to his primary text of Gen 28.11a, Philo turns to two places. The first is LXX Psalm 26.1,⁴⁹ which substantiates the idea that 'God is light.' The second place to which Philo turns is Day One, specifically Gen 1.3 and 4.⁵⁰ The purpose of the quotation of Gen 1.3 is to distinguish the light of the divine – the λόγος – from the first created light. Yet, in Philo's allegorical line of reasoning, as the physical lights of the sky are modeled after the invisible light of Day One, if the light of Day One is patterned after the Divine λόγος, then there is an image of the Divine in the Fourth Day light of the sun. The purpose of Philo's quotation of Gen 1.4 serves a different purpose in line with the larger context of *De Somniis*. That is, as Philo puts it, he is looking at dreams:

ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἡμετερος νοῦς τῶ τῶν ὅλων συγκινούμενος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ κατέχεσθαι τε καὶ θεοφορεῖσθαι δοκεῖ, ὡς ἱκανὸς εἶναι προλαμβάνειν καὶ προγινώσκειν τι τῶν μελλόντων.

...in which our mind, having moved out of itself toward the [mind] of the whole, seems to be occupied and god-bearing, as an image to be receiving and knowing-ahead the things which are intended. (*Som* 1.2)

It is the revelatory power, revelatory by means of distinction (διαχωρίζω), that interests Philo in LXX Gen 1.4. As the sun when it rises reveals that which was hidden by the darkness, so the Divine light when revealed, presumably in dreams, distinguishes between what is unknown and what is known.

4.2.5 Philo, *De gigantibus* 22-23

λέγεται δὲ θεοῦ πνεῦμα καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον ὁ ῥέων ἀπὸ γῆς, τρίτον στοιχεῖον ἐποχοῦμενον ὕδατι - παρὸ φησιν ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιίᾳ· πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπέφερετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐξαιρούμενος ὁ ἀήρ κοῦφος ὦν ἄνω φέρεται ὕδατι βάσει χρώμενος - καθ' ἕτερον δὲ τρόπον ἢ ἀκήρατος ἐπιστήμη, ἧς πᾶς ὁ σοφὸς εἰκότως μετέχει. ²³δηλοῖ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῶν ἀγίων ἔργων δημιουργοῦ καὶ τεχνίτου φάσκων, ὅτι ἀνεκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Βεσελεὴλ καὶ ἐνέπλησεν αὐτὸν πνεύματος θείου, σοφίας, συνέσεως, ἐπιστήμης, ἐπὶ παντὶ ἔργῳ διανοεῖσθαι· ὥστε τὸ τί ἐστὶ πνεῦμα θεῖον ὀρικῶς διὰ τῶν λεχθέντων ὑπογράφεσθαι.

The air streaming up from the earth is called the spirit of God according to one manner – the third element riding upon the water – wherefore it is said in the creation-of-the-world,⁵¹ 'the spirit of God was moving upon the waters,' since air through its lightness is lifted up and rises upwards, having the water for its base. According to another manner, it is the undefiled knowledge, which every wise man shares naturally. ²³He⁵² shows this in speaking of the craftsman and technician of holy works, that 'God called upon Bezaleel and filled him with

⁴⁹ MT Ps 27.1

⁵⁰ In *Opif* 33, Philo speaks of the difference between the intelligible light of Day One and the perceptible light of the sun.

⁵¹ This translation of κοσμοποιία is an attempt to be strictly literal; the proper sense of the word, however, is clearly portrayed by Colson with 'Creation-story'. (LCL 227.456)

⁵² Moses

the divine spirit, wisdom, understanding, (in order) to be mindful of every work.’ So that this is how the divine spirit is defined through what has been said.

In the midst of this treatise, an allegorical interpretation of Gen 6.1-4, the above pericope is part of Philo's interpretation of the spirit of God.⁵³ In Gen 6.3, God places limits on the spirit of God by limiting the lifespan of the children of the bad angels and the daughters of men to one-hundred-twenty years ‘because they are flesh.’⁵⁴ §§22-23 is a portion of Philo's attempt to work out just what the ‘spirit of God’ is.

This pericope contains a quotation of LXX Gen 1.2c, absent only its coordinating conjunction, καί, at the beginning.⁵⁵ The quotation provides both an intertextual and a direct connection with LXX Gen 1.1-5. While there is other creation language in the pericope, there are no additional intertextual markers upon which to comment.

Philo's use of LXX Gen 1.2c in this pericope is a fine example of intertextuality at work. Philo reads three texts intertextually. The common fulcrum upon which Philo's interpretation pivots is πνεῦμα. The first text is his primary text, Gen 6.3, in which the Lord places temporal limitations upon the dwelling of ‘my spirit’ (τὸ πνεῦμά μου). From here Philo looks elsewhere to understand πνεῦμα and/or to provide a foundation for his own interpretation. Philo's reasoning is less important for this study than the intertextual play in which Philo engages. Philo looks to three other texts, two of which are in our current pericope. The first is LXX Gen 1.2c. He discerns two manners (τρόπος) conveyed by πνεῦμα in LXX Gen 1.2c. The first of these is the air of the physical world that flows upward and rides upon the water. Philo turns to the allegorical with second manner – an undefiled understanding (ἡ ἀκήρατος ἐπιστήμη⁵⁶) in which every wise person shares. The second text to which he turns is LXX Exod 31.2-3,⁵⁷ which recounts when God fills the artisan Bezaleel with the divine spirit (θεῖον πνεῦμα). Philo paraphrases this text to fit his grammatical structure and his point:

ὅτι ἀνεκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Βεσελεὴλ καὶ ἐπέπλησεν αὐτὸν πνεύματος θεοῦ, σοφίας, συνέσεως, ἐπιστήμης, ἐπὶ παντὶ ἔργῳ διανοεῖσθαι· *Gig* 23

...that God called upon Bezaleel and filled him with (the) divine spirit, wisdom, understanding, (in order) to be mindful of every work.

⁵³ Philo comments on Gen 6.3 in *Gig* 19-57, cf. D. Winston and J. Dillon, eds., *Two Treatises of Philo of Alexandria: A Commentary on De Gigantibus and Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis*, (BJS 25, Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983) 244.

⁵⁴ καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς οὐ μὴ καταμείνη τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας ἔσονται δὲ αἱ ἡμέραι αὐτῶν ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα ἔτη. (LXX Gen 6.3) NB – Philo elucidates his take on ‘spirit’ and ‘flesh’ by noting that flesh, a heavy burden (φόρτος), as borne (ἄχθοφορέω) by the soul, burdens the soul and prohibits it from looking to heaven, the crown jewel of creation, cf. *Gig* 28-31.

⁵⁵ Cf. D. Gooding and V. Nikiprowetzky, “Philo's Bible in the *De Gigantibus* and *Quod Deus*,” in *Two Treatises of Philo of Alexandria: A Commentary on De Gigantibus and Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis* (ed. D. Winston and J. Dillon; BJS 25; Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983) 248.

⁵⁶ If in a Platonic sense, Philo is referring here to scientific understanding with the use of ἐπιστήμη. LJS, s.v.

⁵⁷ Because of the paraphrastic nature of this quotation about Bezaleel, it is not entirely clear whence Philo is drawing this text. Nikiprowetzky, with whom I tentatively side, cites LXX Exod 31.2-4, cf. Gooding and Nikiprowetzky, “Philo's Bible,” 108-109; whereas P. Katz, *Philo's Bible: The Aberrant Text of Bible Quotations in Some Philonic Writings and Its Place in the Textual History of the Greek Bible*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950) suggests LXX Exod 35.30 (18).

ἰδοὺ ἀνακέκλημαι ἐξ ὀνόματος τὸν Βεσελεηλ τὸν τοῦ Ουριου τὸν Ωρ τῆς φυλῆς Ιουδα ³καὶ ἐνέπλησα αὐτὸν πνεῦμα θεῖον σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ
Exod 31.2-3

Behold, I have called by name Bezaleel, son of Ourias, son of Or, of the tribe of Judah, ³and I have filled him with (the) divine spirit, wisdom and understanding and knowledge in every work.

Philo changes verbs to fit his context, omits the more specific identification of Bezaleel,⁵⁸ and ends his paraphrase when he reaches ἐπιστήμη, as it is with ‘understanding,’ along with ‘divine spirit,’ that he ties LXX Exod 31.2-3 with Gen 1.2c and ultimately with Gen 6.3. While not included in this pericope, Philo also looks to Num 11.17.⁵⁹ Like Philo's use of LXX Gen 1.2c, his use of LXX Num 11.17b is a verbatim quotation; and again, it is πνεῦμα that is the common thread. Philo compares the πνεῦμα given to Bezaleel with the πνεῦμα that is upon Moses and given by God to the seventy. His main purpose with Num 11.17b is to say that the divine spirit that is upon Moses is not diminished because it is not a human spirit but the divine spirit. The divine spirit, while it can be with humans, does not dwell there forever.

The main, if not the *only*, connection between Gen 1.2, 6.3, Exod 31.2-3, and Num 11.17b, is their common use of πνεῦμα. Philo's understanding of text appears nearly boundless in so far as he can read πνεῦμα in one text in light of the others with no apparent attention to context. It is a purely pre-critical reading. The entirety of the text is divine, therefore an overtly intertextual reading makes all the sense in the world.

4.2.6 Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum heres* 163b-164

ποῦ δ' ἰσότητα τὴν δικαιοσύνης τροφὸν ὁ νομοθέτης οὐκ ἀποδέχεται ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ γενέσεως; διεχώρισε γὰρ φησιν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους· καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ σκότος νύκτα· ἡμέραν γὰρ καὶ νύκτα καὶ φῶς καὶ σκότος ἰσότης ἔταξε τοῖς οὐσι. ¹⁶⁴διείλεν ἰσότης καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα, δύο τμήματα, ἄνισα μὲν ταῖς ῥώμαις, πρὸς ὃ δὲ ἔσπευσεν ἡ φύσις, τρίτου τινὸς ὁμοίου γένεσιν, ἰσαίτατα. ἐποίησε γὰρ φησιν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν οὐκέτ' αὐτόν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιφέρει πληθυντικῶς, ἐφαρμόττων τὰ εἶδη τῷ γένει διαιρεθέντα, ὡς εἶπον, ἰσότητι.

According to equality, the nurse of righteousness, where does the lawgiver not admit – from the creation of the whole heaven? For [Moses] said, ‘God separated between the light and the darkness, and God called the light day and the darkness night.’ For night and day and light and darkness are equal – ordered according to the things that exist. ¹⁶⁴Equality also divided the human into man and woman, chopped in two, unequal according to bodily strength, but

⁵⁸ Nikiprowetzky seems on target with his assesment, ‘...qu'elle n'importait pas à son propos,’ Gooding and Nikiprowetzky, “Philo's Bible,” 108.

⁵⁹ ...ἀφελῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ ἐπιθήσω ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα πρεσβυτέρους. *Gig* 24
...I will draw from the spirit which is upon you and will place (it) upon the seventy elders.

...καὶ ἀφελῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ ἐπιθήσω ἐπ' αὐτούς... LXX Num 11.17b
...and I will draw from the spirit which is upon you and will place (it) upon them...

according to that which nature urges the most equal, (in the) genesis of a certain third one. For he said, ‘God made the man, according to the image of God he made him, male and female he made them’ – no longer ‘him’ but ‘them’. He brought upon treating, forging the form which was separated from the genus, as I said, equally.

From a longer section about equality,⁶⁰ this text is a portion of Philo's discussion of Moses' articulation of equality (*Her* 161ff) in the Law of Moses, specifically how it is built into the most basic fabric of the cosmos. The connection with LXX Gen 1.1-5 is cemented with quotations of parts of LXX Gen 1.4-5 in *Her* 163b. The intertextual markers (διαχωρίζω, φῶς-σκότος, ποιέω, ἐπιφέρω νύξ-ἡμέρα) are centered in the quotation. Philo's goal of illustrating equality moves from light and darkness, day and night of Day One to the creation of male and female on the sixth day (Gen 1.27). Philo qualifies that male and female are not equal in strength, in line with his less-than-flattering views on women,⁶¹ though they are equally involved in the main purpose of their existence – procreation. As the connection with LXX Gen 1.1-5 is quite clear, little else needs to be said.⁶² Philo is looking to Moses, his philosopher *par excellence*, for illustrative evidence of the equality, which is part of the fabric of the universe. As in *Opif* 28, Philo sees beauty, here the nurse of righteousness (τὴν δικαιοσύνης τροφόν), in the divine ordering of the cosmos.

4.2.7 Joseph and Aseneth 12.2-4⁶³

²κύριε ὁ θεὸς [τῶν αἰώνων],⁶⁴
 ὁ δοὺς πᾶσι πνοήν ζωῆς,
 ὁ ἐξενέγκας τὰ ἀόρατα εἰς τὸ φῶς,
 ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα καὶ φανερώσας τὰ ἀφανῆ,
³ὁ ὑψώσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ θεμελιώσας τὴν γῆν [ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων],
 [ὁ θεὸς]⁶⁵ ὁ πῆξας τοὺς λίθους τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου τοῦ ὕδατος,
 οὔτινες οὐ βυθισθήσονται,
 ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἕως τέλους ποιῶντες τὸ θέλημά⁶⁶ σου,
⁴κύριε, ὁ θεὸς μου, πρὸς σὲ κεκράζομαι,
 [πρόσσχες τὴν δέησίν μου],⁶⁷
 καὶ ⁶⁸σοὶ ἐξομολογήσομαι ⁶⁹τὰς ἀμαρτίας μου
 καὶ πρὸς σὲ ἀποκαλύψω τὰς ἀνομίας μου.

⁶⁰ *Her*. 161-206.

⁶¹ Cf. *Spec*. 3.169-170. K. Schenck, *A Brief Guide to Philo*, (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005) has a helpful summary of Philo's attitudes about women. (136-137)

⁶² It is worth noting that Philo makes further reference to Day One in the section immediately following this, though without intertextual markers. Speaking about the first six days of creation in Genesis 1, he notes that they are divided equally – the first three before the sun (τὰς πρὸ ἡλίου) are dedicated to eternity, the last three are dedicated to time, a copy (μίμημα) of eternity. (*Her* 165).

⁶³ The following Greek text is taken from M. Philonenko, *Joseph et Aseneth: Introduction, Texte Critique, Traduction, et Notes*, (StPB 13; Leiden: Brill, 1968) 166-168, which uses the shorter mss tradition B as its base text. Recent scholarship on the difficult textual history of *Joseph and Aseneth* is outlined by C. Burchard, “The Text of *Joseph and Aseneth* Reconsidered,” *JSP* 14 (2005) 83-96.

⁶⁴ Mss traditions B and D include τῶν αἰώνων, but it is absent in others.

⁶⁵ ὁ θεὸς is included in B.

⁶⁶ B reads θέλημα, D reads πρόσταγμα.

⁶⁷ This line is present in D, but absent in B.

⁶⁸ D omits καὶ.

⁶⁹ D inserts κύριε after ἐξομολογήσομαι.

²O Lord God [of the ages],
 Who gives to each (being the) breath of life,
 Who brought forth into the light things invisible,
 Who made everything and made manifest things which were unseen,
³Who raised up the heaven and founded the earth [upon the waters],
 [The God] who fashioned the great stones upon the water of the abyss,
 they will not be submerged,
 but are doing your will until the end,
⁴O Lord, my God, I have cried out to you,
 [pay attention to my prayer,]
 and to you I will confess my sins
 and to you I will reveal my lawlessness.

In the midst of this ancient romance,⁷⁰ which may have spun out of the tangled web of views regarding intermarriage within late Second Temple Hellenistic Judaism, the above pericope is the beginning of a prayer of confession placed upon the lips of Aseneth, a model proselyte and the daughter of Potiphar, the Egyptian priest at On (MT)/Heliopolis (LXX).⁷¹ These few lines are Aseneth's address to the Lord,⁷² which is tied directly to creative power; and it is here that we see an intertextual connection with LXX Gen 1.1-5 (ἀόρατος, ποιέω, οὐρανός-γῆ, ὕδωρ, φῶς).⁷³ In particular, the titular phrase – ὁ ἐξευέγκας τὰ ἀόρατα εἰς τὸ φῶς (12.2) – can be read as a summary of the

⁷⁰ E.S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*, (Hellenistic Culture and Society 30; Berkely: University of California Press, 1998) correctly identifies the dual nature of *Jos.Asen.* – ‘love story’ (chs 1-21) followed by ‘an adventure tale’ (chs 22-29). (92) Also, C. Burchard, “Joseph and Aseneth,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1985) 2.182.

⁷¹ *Jos.Asen.* is an expansion of the brief mentions of Aseneth in Gen 41.45, 50-52, 46.20.

⁷² Strictly speaking, the pericope could be 12.2-3, as the address to the Lord ends with v.3 and Aseneth's confession begins with v.4. However, I am following the punctuation of Philonenko, *Josesph et Aséneth*, who does not end the initial sentence until the end of v.4. (168)

⁷³ Joseph's prayer (8.10-11) bears a significant resemblance to Aseneth's.

κύριε ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρός μου Ἰσραήλ,
 ὁ ὑψιστος, ὁ δυνατός,
 ὁ ζωοποιήσας τὰ πάντα
 καὶ καλέσας ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους εἰς τὸ φῶς
 [καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν]
 καὶ ἀπὸ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν,
 σὺ αὐτὸς κύριε ζωοποίησον
 καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν παρθένον ταύτην.

O Lord God of my father, Israel,
 The highest, the powerful,
 The one who gave life to everything
 and called (them) from darkness into light
 [and from the wandering into the truth]
 and from death into life,
 You yourself, O Lord, give life
 and bless this virgin.

An argument could be made to include this text on its own, as it is quite likely referring to the creation of light (LXX Gen 1.3) from darkness (Gen 1.2). At the same time, σκότος-φῶς is a commonplace, oft employed metaphor. Suffice it to note that (1) there is a similarity between Aseneth's prayer and Joseph's, (2) both prayers begin with titular addresses to God as creator, (3) Joseph's prayer in its address of God appears to reflect the author's desire to

whole of Day One, with the precreated earth represented by τὰ ἀόρατα and God's creative activity with the titular reference ὁ ἐξενέγκας ... εἰς τὸ φῶς. In addition, there is an intertextual connection between *Jos.Asen.* 12.2 and LXX Isa 42.5,⁷⁴ which reads διδοὺς πνοὴν τῷ λαῷ τῷ ἐπ' αὐτῆς καὶ πνεῦμα τοῖς πατοῦσιν αὐτήν – who gives breath to the people who are upon it (earth) and spirit to those who walk on it. This phrase shares both participial forms of δίδωμι and the common object πνοή with ὁ δοὺς πᾶσι πνοήν ζωῆς – the second line of Aseneth's prayer. There is also a common use of πήξας (πήγνυμι) with reference to the founding of the earth in both *Jos.Asen.* 12.2 and LXX Isa 42.5.

Finally, Philonenko suggests that the phrase ὁ ὑψώσας τὸν οὐρανὸν (12.3) is particular to Egyptian (specifically Heliopolitan) cosmogony, specifically resembling language used about the Heliopolitan deity, Shou, god of the air or atmosphere. Shou, who with partner, Tefnut, gave birth to Geb (earth) and Nout (sky), raised Nout, (sky), above him, while Geb (earth), is under his feet.⁷⁵ It is quite an interesting intertextual convergence, seemingly *à propos* to the literary character of Aseneth – the placement of uniquely Heliopolitan cosmogonical language in the penitential prayer of the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis upon conversion to the cult of the Hebrews.

4.2.8 Addition to Esther A.4-11

⁴καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐνύπνιον· καὶ ἰδοὺ φωναὶ καὶ θόρυβος, βρονταὶ καὶ σεισμός, τάραχος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ⁵καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο δράκοντες μεγάλοι ἔτοιμοι προῆλθον ἀμφοτέροι παλαίειν, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν φωνὴ μεγάλη, ⁶καὶ τῇ φωνῇ αὐτῶν ἠτοιμάσθη πᾶν ἔθνος εἰς πόλεμον ὥστε πολεμῆσαι δικαίων ἔθνος. ⁷καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡμέρα σκότους καὶ γνόφου, θλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία, κάκωσις καὶ τάραχος μέγας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ⁸καὶ ἐταράχθη δίκαιον πᾶν ἔθνος φοβούμενοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν κακὰ, καὶ ἠτοιμάσθησαν ἀπολέσθαι, ⁹καὶ ἐβόησαν πρὸς τὸν θεόν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς βοῆς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο ὡσανεὶ ἀπὸ μικρᾶς πηγῆς ποταμὸς μέγας, ὕδωρ πολὺ· ¹⁰φῶς καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἀνέτειλεν, καὶ οἱ ταπεινοὶ ὑψώθησαν καὶ κατέφαγον τοὺς ἐνδόξους.

⁴And this was his dream: [There were] voices and confusion, thunder and earthquake – an uproar on the earth. ⁵And behold, two great dragons came forward, both prepared to wrestle, and they produced a great noise. ⁶At their noise every nation prepared for war so as to fight against the righteous nation. ⁷And behold, it was a day of darkness and gloom; tribulation and anxiety, misfortune and uproar [were] on the earth. ⁸And the whole righteous nation was stirred up fearing the evils that threatened them, and they were prepared to die. ⁹Then they cried out to God. And from their outcry, as though from a tiny spring, came a great river with much water, ¹⁰light [came], and the sun rose, and the lowly were exalted and devoured the honorable ones.

portray Joseph in the patriarchal lineage of Israel, and (4) Joseph's prayer ends with a series of petitions on Aseneth's behalf asking that God might make her a new creation, cf. Philonenko, *Joseph et Aséneth*, 61.

⁷⁴ See above, p. 61.

⁷⁵ Philonenko, *Joséph et Aséneth*, 60. There is another similar Heliopolitan text (*Coffin Text* 2.19), quoted by R.J. Clifford, *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible*, (CBQMS 26; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1994), though in this text Shou appears passive in the placement of Nout above. (109)

This pericope⁷⁶ is an account of a dream from among the Greek additions to the Hebrew book of Esther.⁷⁷ The dreamer is Mordecai, a Benjaminite Jew serving in the court of Artaxerxes and a captive of Nebuchadnezzar's exile.⁷⁸ His dream anticipates a horrible conflict, which prompts the people to ask God for help. God then intervenes, the conflict ends, and order is restored.⁷⁹ This text is less a creation account, and more a vision of an eschatological reversal and restoration of creation. In this account of a dream, both a conflict, symptoms of which threaten the cosmic order, and a restoration of order and righteousness are recorded. With the common vocabulary (σκοτός, γῆ, ὕδωρ, φῶς) this text is included in the Greek intertextual tapestry of LXX Gen 1.1-5.

In relation to LXX Gen 1.1-5, of particular interest is the place of light and dark in the pericope. Not unlike LXX Job 3.3-10,⁸⁰ Mordecai's dream envisions a reversal of the created order.⁸¹ In the wake of dragons (δρακόντες) wrestling and nations warring, darkness (σκοτός), among other nasty things, comes over the earth. From the darkness the righteous nation cries out to God, at which point God sends a tiny spring of water (ὕδωρ) out of which light (φῶς) comes, evidently empowering the lowly, and thus restoring proper order. Add Esth 4.4-11 does provide an intertext with LXX Gen 1.1-5 where the creative order is both reversed and restored.

⁷⁶ A more compact version of the story comes in the Alpha-text or Lucianic recension of Greek Esther. The version of the story in the Alpha-text of Esther, preserved in four medieval manuscripts, is by and large the same as the Old Greek version with the exception of the final verse of the dream. The Alpha-text ending reads: καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ ὑψώθησαν καὶ κατέπιον τοὺς ἐνδόξους (The rivers were lifted up, and they swallowed up the honorable ones.) While an interesting variation, it does not affect this inquiry into intertextuality. K.H. Jobes, *The Alpha-Text of Esther: Its Character and Relationship to the Masoretic Text*, (SBLDS 153; Atlanta: Scholars, 1996) suggests that the Alpha-text of Esther is an earlier version than the Old Greek version, but adds that given the gaps in information about the Alpha-text few hard conclusions can be drawn (223-233). Given all the question marks punctuating the conclusions about the Alpha-text of Esther, I defer to the Old Greek version of Esther as critically represented in R. Hanhart, ed., *Esther, (Septuaginta - Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Acadamiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, VIII,3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) *ad loc.*

⁷⁷ Of the additions to Esther, first identified and placed at the end of the work by Jerome, additions A and F, Mordecai's dream and its interpretation, because of their place at either end of the book and their lack of integration into the rest of the text (cf. Jobes, *Alpha-Text of Esther*, 183ff) and because of the late 'tendency to attribute prophethood to bygone heroes and the desire to monotheize,... where terrible trial and deliverance alike are attributed to the one God – ὁ θεός,' (cf. C.V. Dorothy, *The Books of Esther: Structure, Genre and Textual Integrity*, (JSOTSup; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 334) were likely added toward the end of LXX Esther's redactional history, which would likely place their addition to Esther in the first century BCE.

⁷⁸ The explanation of the dream is found in Add Esth F, found at the end of the book.

⁷⁹ According to Jobes, *Alpha-Text of Esther*, Add Esth A and F, as bookends of Esther, have the literary effect of changing the focus of the story from Esther to Mordecai, placing him in a league with other prophetic dreamers like Joseph and Daniel. (183ff)

⁸⁰ See above, p. 86.

⁸¹ Jobes, *Alpha-Text of Esther*, calls the contents of the dream 'apocalyptic' and sees a connection to Rev 12. (185-186) Also of interest is the connection that Jobes sees between the dream and LXX Jer 27.1-28.19, Jeremiah's prophecy against Babylon. She notes that nowhere else is a hero of Israel referred to as a dragon other than the reference to Mordecai (Add Esth A.5, confirmed by F.7). The connection to LXX Jer 28, begins with the reference in LXX Jer 27.8 where Jeremiah calls God's people in Babylon to become as dragons (γένεσθε ὡσπερ δράκοντες), a piece absent from MT Jer 50.8, the corresponding verse in the Hebrew. (186-193) Also of interest on a methodological level is the term 'metaleptic' used by Jobes (via R.B.Hays) for the connection between LXX Jer 28 and Add Esth A. What she drives at is more of a deliberate echo by one text of another. While the uniqueness of the use of δράκων for Mordecai between LXX Jer 27.8 and Add Esth A and F is of note, it seems as likely that this is more an intertextual connection, a connection less driven by direction in authorship and more by readership. Along the lines of this study, one can see a portion of the intertextual tapestry that includes threads common to LXX Gen 1.1-5, LXX Jer 28.15-16, and Add Esth A.4-11.

4.2.9 Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 2.190-192

τίνες οὖν εἰσιν αἱ προρρήσεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις; ἀπλαῖ τε καὶ γνώριμοι. πρώτη δ' ἡγείται ἡ περὶ θεοῦ λέγουσα ὅτι θεὸς ἔχει τὰ σύμπαντα, παντελὴς καὶ μακάριος, αὐτὸς αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτάρκης, ἀρχὴ καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλος οὗτος τῶν πάντων, ἔργοις μὲν καὶ χάρισιν ἐναργῆς καὶ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν φανερώτερος, μορφὴν δὲ καὶ μέγεθος ἡμῖν ἄφατος.¹⁹¹ πᾶσα μὲν γὰρ ὕλη πρὸς εἰκόνα τὴν τούτου κἂν ἢ πολυτελὴς ἄτιμος, πᾶσα δὲ τέχνη πρὸς μιμήσεως ἐπίνοιαν ἄτεχνος. οὐδὲν ὅμοιον οὐτ' εἶδομεν οὐτ' ἐπινοοῦμεν οὐτ' εἰκάζειν ἔστιν ὄσιον.¹⁹² ἔργα βλέπομεν αὐτοῦ φῶς, οὐρανόν, γῆν, ἥλιον, ὕδατα, ζώων γενέσεις, καρπῶν ἀναδόσεις. ταῦτα θεὸς ἐποίησεν οὐ χερσίν, οὐ πόνοις, οὐ τινων συνεργασομένων ἐπιδηθείς, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ θελήσαντος καλῶς ἦν εὐθὺς γεγονότα. τοῦτον θεραπευτέον ἀσκοῦντας ἀρετήν. τρόπος γὰρ θεοῦ θεραπείας οὗτος ὀσιώτατος.

What, therefore, are the instructions and prohibitions? They are simple and evident. The first one that speaks concerning God holds that God, who is complete and blessed, has everything together, he is sufficient for himself and for all; he is the beginning and middle and end of all. By (his) works and graces he is visible, even more evident than not; but his form⁸² and greatness are to us ineffable.¹⁹¹ For all material, however expensive it might be, is not honorable (enough) for an image of this One; every craft lacks the skill for contriving a representation. We have never seen a likeness nor have we invented one nor is the making of an image holy.¹⁹² We see his works: light, heaven, earth, sun, water, living created beings, the growth of fruit. God made these things not by hand, not by work, not by being in want of any fellow workers, but as he willed immediately they came into being beautifully. This is the One that must be served by the practices of goodness; for this is the holiest way to serve God

Found in the midst of Josephus' argument for the supremacy of Jewish law and tradition,⁸³ the above text is Josephus' restatement of the first commandment, the emphases being (1) that God's works are visible to humankind, but (2) humankind is unable to create or even to imagine an image of God, and (3) this God, who wills the world into being, is the one who ought to be served. In the midst of this argument comes a list of things that God has made and in which humanity has the ability to perceive the Creator. Central to Josephus' statement about who God is, is God's creative activity. The intertextual relation with LXX Gen 1.1-5 rests mostly in the list in *C.Ap.* 2.192 (φῶς, οὐρανός, γῆ, ὕδωρ, ποιέω). Clearly, Josephus is giving a comprehensive list, which includes the four basic elements of nature – heaven, earth, light, and water, and he is stating that God did create (ποιέω) these. Josephus takes care to note that God did not fashion by hand or work or with the help of others but by will (θέλω).⁸⁴ Finally, in Josephus' use of καλῶς to describe God's creative action there is at least the glimmer of an intertextual connection to the repeated naming of God's creative work as good (καλός) throughout Genesis 1,⁸⁵ an element that is absent in his retelling of Gen 1.1-5.⁸⁶

⁸² This translation corrects μορφὴν with the nominative μορφή to complement μέγεθος.

⁸³ *C.Ap.* 2.145-286

⁸⁴ Similarly, in the tapestry of chapter two, God creates everything by will (θέλω) in LXX Ps 134.6, and later in this chapter, in *1 Clem* 20.4.

⁸⁵ LXX Gen 1.4, 8, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31.

⁸⁶ *Ant.* 1.27-29

4.2.10 Sirach 24.1-12⁸⁷

Σοφίας αἴνεσις

- ¹Ἡ σοφία αἰνέσει ψυχὴν αὐτῆς
καὶ ἐν μέσῳ λαοῦ αὐτῆς καυχῆσεται·
- ²ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑψίστου στόμα αὐτῆς ἀνοίξει
καὶ ἔναντι δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ καυχῆσεται
- ³Ἐγὼ ἀπὸ στόματος ὑψίστου ἐξῆλθον
καὶ ὡς ὀμίχλη κατεκάλυψα γῆν·
- ⁴ἐγὼ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατεσκήνωσα
καὶ ὁ θρόνος μου ἐν στύλῳ νεφέλης·
- ⁵γῦρον οὐρανοῦ ἐκύκλωσα μόνη
καὶ ἐν βάθει ἀβύσσων περιεπάτησα·
- ⁶ἐν κύμασιν θαλάσσης καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ
καὶ ἐν παντὶ λαῷ καὶ ἔθνευσι ἠγησάμην·
- ⁷μετὰ τούτων πάντων ἀνάπαυσιν ἐζήτησα
καὶ ἐν κληρονομίᾳ τίνος ἀύλισθήσομαι.
- ⁸τότε ἐνετείλατό μοι ὁ κτίστης ἀπάντων,
καὶ ὁ κτίσας με κατέπαυσεν τὴν σκηνὴν μου.
καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν Ἰακωβ κατασκήνωσον
καὶ ἐν Ἰσραὴλ κατακληρονομήθητι.
- ⁹πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐκτίσέν με,
καὶ ἕως αἰῶνος οὐ μὴ ἐκλίπω.
- ¹⁰ἐν σκηνῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐλειτούργησα
καὶ οὕτως ἐν Σιών ἐστηρίχθην·
- ¹¹ἐν πόλει ἠγαπημένη ὁμοίως με κατέπαυσεν,
καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἡ ἐξουσία μου·
- ¹²καὶ ἔρριζώσα ἐν λαῷ δεδοξασμένῳ,
ἐν μερίδι κυρίου κληρονομία μου.⁸⁸

Praise of Wisdom

- ¹Wisdom will praise herself
and in the midst of her people she will boast of herself.
- ²In the assembly of the Most High she will open her mouth
and in the presence of his host she will boast about herself,
- ³I came out of the mouth of the Most High
and as a mist I covered [the] earth;
- ⁴I pitched my tent in the highest heaven,
and my throne was in a pillar of cloud;
- ⁵The perimeter of heaven I alone encircled
and in the depths of the abysses I walked;
- ⁶In the swells of the sea and in all the earth
and in every people and nation I have led the way.
- ⁷Among all these I sought rest
and in some inheritance I will take lodging.

⁸⁷ No Hebrew survives of this portion of Sirach, though an attempt was made by P.W. Skehan, "Structures in Poems on Wisdom: Proverbs 8 and Sirach 24," *CBQ* 41 (1979), to retrovert Ben Sira's grandson's Greek of ch.24 into Hebrew. (374)

⁸⁸ J. Ziegler, ed., *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach, (Septuaginta - Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum., XII,2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965),* prefers to read v.12b as above, whereas the textual evidence seems to point overwhelmingly to reading it κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ. (238)

⁸Then the founder of all things commanded me,
 and the one who founded me put down my tent
 and said, “In Jacob pitch your tent
 and in Israel obtain an inheritance.”
⁹Before the age, from the beginning he founded me,
 and until an age in no way will I cease to exist.
¹⁰In a holy tent before him I served
 and just so in Zion I was established;
¹¹in [the] city [which he] loved equally he put down [my tent]
 and in Jerusalem my power;
¹²and I took root in a glorified people,
 in a portion of the Lord, my inheritance.’

The above pericope contains the introduction and the first two of six stanzas⁸⁹ in Wisdom's poem describing her origins and person, a pericope that if not structurally dependent, bears a very close relationship to Proverbs 8.⁹⁰ This portion regards the origins of Wisdom. The intertextual connections with LXX Gen 1.1-5 start with a creation theme and are substantiated by a common vocabulary (γῆ, οὐρανός, ἄβυσσος, ἀρχή).

In the poem Wisdom is the primary character. She is giving praise to herself, boasting of her place in the cosmos and tracing her place in the history of Israel from creation to Exodus to Temple, ultimately (though outside this pericope) associating herself with the Law/Torah of Moses.⁹¹

It is in the assembly of the Most High that she gives her speech. While Wisdom's creation is not explicitly mentioned until v.9, she does say that she came forth from the mouth of the Most High in v.3, covering the earth like a mist. Di Lella suggests that this is reminiscent of LXX Gen 1.2 when the πνεῦμα θεοῦ hovers over waters,⁹² which, while possible, is not borne out by any direct resemblance. Initially, Wisdom places her residence above the earth, pitching her tent in the heavens⁹³ and her throne in a pillar of cloud.⁹⁴ V.5, then, foregrounds Wisdom's place in creation insofar as she is the one who alone encircled the perimeter of heaven (οὐρανός)⁹⁵ and walked through the depths of the abysses (ἄβυσσος).⁹⁶ In this verse, Wisdom appears to be the creator and boundary maker, not the Lord. Vv. 6-7 marks a shift from Wisdom's ubiquity (v.6) to her search for an earthly residence (v.7).

⁸⁹ The poem, Sirach 24.1-33, can be subdivided into the introduction (vv.1-2), and six stanzas (stanza one 3-7, two 8-12, three 13-15, four 16-17 and 19-22, five 23 and 25-29, six 30-33). Vv. 18 and 24 are attributable to a later lengthening of the Greek text, a recension to which Di Lella refers as GII. Also, it should be noted that Di Lella suggests that Ben Sira in the composition of this chapter is mimicking Proverbs 8 using the same number of lines and poetic structure. Cf. P.W. Skehan and A.A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987)331.

⁹⁰ Skehan, “Structures in Poems on Wisdom,” 365-379.

⁹¹ Sir 24.23-33

⁹² Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 332.

⁹³ Cf. LXX Isa 33.5, 57.15; Ps 113.5.

⁹⁴ LXX Job 22.14 [asterisked]. Also, ἐν στυλῶ νεφέλης is used to refer to God's leading presence in the Exodus event – LXX Exod 13.21, 19.19; Num 14.14; Neh 9.12, and in a revelatory presence – LXX Num 12.5, Ps 98.7 [99.7].

⁹⁵ It is notable that LXX Isa 40.22 has God occupying the circle of the earth (ὁ κατέχων τὸν γῆρον τῆς γῆς).

⁹⁶ In the Hebrew text of Sir 43.23ff, Rahab (absent in the Greek) and the abyss are stilled and become messengers of God, all of this done because of God's reasoning (λογισμός in v.23) and word (λόγος in v.26).

In v.8, the beginning of the second stanza, the Lord intervenes to inform Wisdom that she is to pitch her tent (κατασκηνώω)⁹⁷ in Israel.⁹⁸ In v.9, there is a return to creation language with Wisdom describing her creation as before the age, from the beginning (πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς). An intertextual connection with LXX Gen 1.1-5 comes in ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, which is reminiscent of ἐν ἀρχῇ in LXX Gen 1.1 and LXX Prov 8.23, the connection with the latter being the closer of the two (πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέν με ἐν ἀρχῇ) differing only in verb.⁹⁹ The final three verses (vv.10-12) reiterate the earthly placement of Wisdom in Israel. This relocation, or maybe more appropriately, re-tenting, to Jerusalem geographically places Wisdom’s residence in the Temple (ἐν σκηνῇ ἁγία – v.10a). This ministering (λειτουργέω) in the Temple ultimately finds expression in the Law of Moses (24.23-33).

In its intertextual relation to LXX Gen 1.1-5 and additionally to LXX Proverbs 8 and other creation/wisdom texts,¹⁰⁰ Sir 24.1-12 is a colorful piece of the tapestry. While LXX Proverbs 8 attempts to portray Wisdom’s role in creation as passive, Sirach gives her a more, if only slightly, active creative role in her action of encircling of the heavens and traversing the abyss.

4.2.11 2 Maccabees 7.28

ἄξιῶ σε, τέκνον, ἀναβλέψαντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα ἰδόντα γινῶναι ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ θεός, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος οὕτω γίνεται.

I demand you, child, when you look upon heaven and earth and when you see all that is in them, [you ought] to know that God did not make them out of that which existed, and that the human race came into being the same way.

This verse comes toward the end of a story¹⁰¹ about a mother and her seven sons who are martyred for refusing to apostasize by eating pork.¹⁰² The tone of the narrative is set by the spokesperson of the group who responds on their behalf to their torturers, ἔτοιμοι γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐσμέν ἢ παραβαίνειν τοὺς πατρίους νόμους – ‘For we are ready to die rather than transgress the laws of our fathers.’¹⁰³ In the midst of this narrative, which is more about martyrdom, faithfulness, and resurrection than creation, there is a grounding of the hope for resurrection in the idea that God, the creator (ὁ τοῦ κόσμου κτίστης – v.23), King of the universe (ὁ τοῦ κόσμου βασιλεύς – v.9) and giver of life (vv.22-23), is the God who created heaven and earth out of nothing and therefore is certainly then

⁹⁷ Also used above in v.4.

⁹⁸ There is a similarity between Ben Sira’s understanding here of wisdom’s taking up residence / tenting in Jerusalem with the language in *Wis* 9.8, which sees the Temple as a copy (μίμημα) of the holy tent (σκηνὴ ἁγία) which is from the beginning (ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς).

⁹⁹ It seems relatively clear that v.9 intends to chronologically place wisdom at the beginning of creation; whereas a similar statement in Sir 1.4, προτέρα πάντων, reads more like a statement of rank, i.e., the superior thing of the first things created. See below, p. 166.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. LXX Jer 10.12, 28.15; Ps 103.24; Prov 8.22-31; Job 38.37.

¹⁰¹ 2 Maccabees 7

¹⁰² As with other so-called Apocryphal texts in this list, I include 2 Macc 7.28 given that it can be dated sometime from mid- to late-second century BCE (cf. *APOT* 1.128-129; and G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 121), and as such, was likely used by interpreting communities as scripture. Again, it should be noted that this is a fuzzy distinction. Canon is not yet a category. Yet, assuming a date in the second century BCE places 2 Maccabees in the ‘pre-canonical’ mix.

¹⁰³ 2 Macc 7.2c

able to resurrect or recreate human life. There is a confessional quality to the creation statement, bolstered in its intertextual relationship with LXX Gen 1.1-5 by common vocabulary (οὐρανός, γῆ, ποιέω, with the word-pair οὐρανός/γῆ).

Of particular importance in this passage is the advent of the idea that the world was created *ex nihilo*. By looking upon the first elements (τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν) and all that is in them, it is evident that God did not make (ποιέω) out of that which already existed (ἐξ ὄντων). According to 2 Macc 7.28, *creatio ex nihilo* is obvious in the evidence. If 2 Maccabees can be dated to the first half of the first century BCE, two things follow. The first is that the writer of 2 Maccabees likely had access to the OG of Genesis, as it appears that 2 Macc 7.28 is dependent on LXX Gen 1.1. The second is that 2 Macc 7.28 provides another¹⁰⁴ expression of the *creatio ex nihilo* thread in the intertextual tapestry of LXX Gen 1.1-5.

4.2.12 *Prayer of Manasseh 1-4*¹⁰⁵

¹ κύριε παντοκράτωρ,¹⁰⁶
 ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν,
 τοῦ Αβρααμ καὶ Ἰσαακ καὶ Ἰακωβ
 καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῶν τοῦ δικαίου
² ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ αὐτῶν,
³ ὁ πεδήσας τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ προστάγματός σου,
 ὁ κλείσας τὴν ἄβυσσον καὶ σφραγισάμενος¹⁰⁷ τῷ φοβερῷ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματί σου·
⁴ ὃν πάντα φρίττει καὶ τρέμει ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεώς σου·

¹O Lord, Almighty, God of our fathers,
 of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and of their righteous offspring,
²The one who created the heaven and the earth along with everything else of theirs,
³The one who fettered the sea by the word of your command,
 who shut in the abyss and sealed (it) by your fearful and esteemed name,
⁴which (causes) all things (to) shudder and tremble in the presence of your power.

From the *Prayer of Manasseh*, an expansion of the prayer mentioned in 2 Chron. 33.18,¹⁰⁸ these opening lines¹⁰⁹ begin what is a marked penitential shift from Manasseh's wicked, idolatrous ways to worship of the Lord the

¹⁰⁴ Also, *Jub.* 2.2, *Jos.Asen.* 12.4, *Pr.Man.* 2, Philo, *Opif* 29, and possibly Josephus, *Ant.* 1.27-29.

¹⁰⁵ Greek text in *Apos.Con.* 2.22.12a, per Denis, ed., *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum Graeca*, 115-116.

¹⁰⁶ Codex Alexandrinus adds ἐπουράνιε, though Rahlfs thinks this is misplaced from Od.14.11, cf. A. Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi cum Odis*, (*Septuaginta - Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum.*, 10, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931) 362.

¹⁰⁷ The 7th c. ms, T (Municipal library, Zürich), reads ...καὶ σφραγισάμενος αὐτὴν..., see Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 362.

¹⁰⁸ W.M. Schneidewind, "A Qumran Fragment of the Ancient "Prayer of Manasseh"?", *ZAW* 108 (1996) notes that on 4Q381 33,8 (cf. E.M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection*, (HSS 28; Atlanta: Scholars, 1986) 267-283, plate IX) there is a superscription reading תפלה למנשה - The Prayer of Manasseh – though the prayer that it heads bears no further resemblance to the Greek *Pr.Man.* What is of interest is his suggestion that the Qumran Prayer of Manasseh could be a different interpretive tradition about Manasseh parallel and possibly pre-dating the Chronicler's reworking of 2 Kings 21.10-18. (105-107)

¹⁰⁹ On the structure of *Pr.Man.* D.J. Harrington, "Prayer of Manasseh," in *The Harper Collins Bible Commentary* (ed. J.L. Mays; San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2000) notes that vv.1-7 function as an invocation, with v.1 as a naming of God and vv.2-3 as an accounting of creation (798). For some reason, he treats v.4 separately, a choice which does not seem in line with the text, as v.4 describes the effects of the divine name. It may be that he is

God of Israel.¹¹⁰ It is likely that it was originally composed in Greek.¹¹¹ It is also preserved in other languages and is found in the psalm-like addition to LXX Psalms called *Odes*, a collection of songs and prayers from Hebrew Bible, New Testament, with the one exception being *Odes* 12 – the *Prayer of Manasseh*. *Odes*, a compilation of prayers from both Hebrew Bible and New Testament, is used liturgically in Orthodox Churches¹¹² and is in all Greek Psalms manuscripts from the 5th c. CE.¹¹³ It is somewhat misleadingly included in modern critical editions of the LXX, including Rahlfs'.¹¹⁴ *Pr.Man.* most likely falls within the historical scope of this study, as it is used in *Didascalia Apostolorum*, giving it a *terminus ante quem* of third century CE.¹¹⁵ While many scholars are eager to ascribe Jewish authorship, it seems an open question.¹¹⁶

The above pericope is an intertext with LXX Gen 1.1-5 (ποιέω, οὐρανός-γῆ, ἄβυσσος).¹¹⁷ While repentance is the primary theme of the psalm as a whole, *Pr.Man.* 1-4 is a theological statement about the one to whom Manasseh is repenting – the God of the Patriarchs and the Creator God. LXX Gen 1.1 bears close resemblance with *Pr.Man.* 2, absent any temporal reference. In addition to the all-encompassing nature of God's creative influence, the author of the *Prayer of Manasseh* is also concerned with creation by limitation, specifically of the sea (θάλασσα) by 'the word of your command' and the abyss (ἄβυσσος)¹¹⁸ by the fear- and glory-inspiring name of God.¹¹⁹ In this there are intertextual links here with LXX Job 26.10, where the divine command (πρόσταγμα) encircles the face of the water (ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ὕδατος – cf. LXX Gen 1.2),¹²⁰ and more generally with creation by enclosing the waters such as in LXX Job 38.8,10, 11 and LXX Ps 103.7, 9 (MT Ps 104).

following the punctuation in Rahlfs, ed., *Psalms - Göttingen*, which places a high-dot at the end of v.3 and a comma at the end of v.4 (362).

¹¹⁰ The Chronicler's expansion of Manasseh's legacy is considerably kinder than the account in 2 Kings 21.10-18, where there is no record of his Babylonian captivity or change of heart.

¹¹¹ A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux Pseuépigraphes Grecs d'Ancien Testament*, (SVTP 1; Leiden: Brill, 1970) 181.

¹¹² H.B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, (2nd revised ed.; London: Cambridge, 1914) 253-254.

¹¹³ M. Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of its Canon* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2002) 59.

¹¹⁴ Jobs and Silva, *Invitation*, 78 n.22.

¹¹⁵ Denis, *Introduction aux Pseuépigraphes Grecs*, 181.

¹¹⁶ Note the article by J.R. Davila in a forthcoming Festschrift for Betsy Halpern-Amaru, in which he scrutinizes *Pr.Man.* with his method for establishing the provenance of pseudepigrapha. Elsewhere, Davila outlines his method and in passing notes that it is possible that *Pr.Man.* is of Jewish provenance, but there is little positive evidence, cf. *Provenance*, 234. An abbreviated form of the method and argument can be found in J.R. Davila, "The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha as Background to the New Testament," *ExpTim* 117 (2005) 53-57. An example of a text that assumes ancient and Jewish authorship of *Pr.Man.*, cf. B.M. Metzger, *An Introduction to the Apocrypha*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957) 123-128.

¹¹⁷ One might also consider ἐπουράνιε, cognate of οὐρανός, as found in Codex Alexandrinus.

¹¹⁸ There are at least two other texts that juxtapose sea (θάλασσα) and abyss (ἄβυσσος) in creation(-like) contexts: Sir 24.5-6, in which sea and abyss occur together in a longer list of primal/cosmic elements which Wisdom has held sway; and Job 41.31, which describes the affects of the Leviathan on the waters.

¹¹⁹ D. Sperber, "On Sealing the Abysses," *JSS* 11 (1966) 168-174, elaborates on textual similarities around the idea of the name of God sealing the abyss. This theme is picked up in two related accounts, *b.Sukkah* 53a & *y.Sanh.* 10, in which a potsherd bearing the divine name is used to seal the Abyss and thereby save creation from the threatening waters. Sperber sees *Pr.Man* 3 in this thread, noting in passing (1) that in *Midrash Shemuel* the potsherd was placed over the *Tehom* at the beginning of creation and (2) that there may be an alternative creation story that accounts for this thread and is related to the likes of *1 En* 69.16-25.

¹²⁰ One could also tacitly include other texts in which there is creation by speech, e.g. LXX, Jer 28.16; Amos 5.8, 9.6; Ps 32.6, Ps 148.5.

4.2.13 Sirach 1.1-10¹²¹

- ¹πᾶσα σοφία παρὰ κυρίου
καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔστιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
- ²ἄμμον θαλασσῶν καὶ σταγόνας ὑετοῦ
καὶ ἡμέρας αἰῶνος τίς ἐξαριθμῆσει
- ³ὕψος οὐρανοῦ καὶ πλάτος γῆς
καὶ ἄβυσσον καὶ σοφίαν τίς ἐξιχνιάσει
- ⁴προτέρα πάντων ἔκτισται σοφία
καὶ σύνεσις φρονησεως ἐξ αἰῶνος
- ⁶ρίζα σοφίας τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη
καὶ τὰ πανουργεύματα αὐτῆς τίς ἔγνω
- ⁸εἷς ἔστιν σοφός φοβερὸς σφόδρα
καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ
- ⁹κύριος¹²² αὐτὸς ἔκτισεν αὐτὴν καὶ εἶδεν καὶ ἐξηρίθμησεν αὐτὴν
καὶ ἐξέχεεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ
- ¹⁰μετὰ πάσης σαρκὸς κατὰ τὴν δόσιν αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἐχορήγησεν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν

- ¹All wisdom is from the Lord
and it remains with him forever.
- ²Sand of the sea and drops of rain
and days of eternity – who can count them?
- ³(The) height of heaven, the breadth of earth
and [the] abyss and wisdom, who can explore them?
- ⁴Wisdom was created before everything,
and prudent intelligence (is) from of old.
- ⁶For to whom has the root of wisdom been revealed
and who knows her great deeds?
- ⁸(Only) one is wise, to be exceedingly feared,
sitting upon his throne –
- ⁹this same Lord created her and examined and accounted (for) her
and poured her upon all his works,
- ¹⁰among all flesh according to his gift,
and giving her generously to those who love him.

These first lines from Sirach set the tone for the book as a whole as they tell of the primary status of wisdom within the created order (1.4) and clarify that wisdom was created by the Lord (1.9). This pericope is extant in Greek and not preserved in any of the extant Hebrew manuscripts. While this pericope has an obvious focus on creation, it is not the strongest intertext (οὐρανός-γῆ, ἄβυσσος) with LXX Gen 1.1-5. One thing that distinguishes this text is its clear combination of creation and wisdom.¹²³

The intersection of this pericope with LXX Gen 1.1-5 comes most clearly in the second question of the first stanza (v.3). The question is asked, who can explore the heights of heaven, the breadth of earth, the abyss, and

¹²¹ The Greek text comes from Ziegler, ed., *Sirach - Göttingen*, 128-129. The poetic arrangement reflects Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 137. The pericope is missing vv.5, 7, and 10cd, in line with the judgment of Di Lella that these are later additions found in the manuscripts labeled GII. (55, 136)

¹²² Ziegler, ed., *Sirach - Göttingen*, notes a preferable variant reading, καὶ κυριεύων, reflected in a variety of textual witnesses, including the Latin, *et dominans deus*. (129)

¹²³ Cf. LXX Jer 10.12, 28.15; Ps 103.24; Prov 8.22-31; Job 38.37; Sir 24.1-12; *Herm* 3.4.

wisdom? The implied answer is the Lord alone. In this case, the lack of personification becomes apparent. Wisdom is one of the first things created, and thus not a co-creator. Flowing from the placement of wisdom with three other primal first things, it seems that the phrase *προτέρα πάντων* in v.4, is less about chronology and more about rank.¹²⁴ Though it should be noted that there does appear to be a chronological statement placing wisdom first in order of creation in Sir 24.9. Overall, there is little formal resemblance with LXX Gen 1.1-5.

4.2.14 Additional Jewish Texts

What follows are some brief comments about texts that, while of note, fall very near if not beyond the boundaries, semipermeable as they are, of this study. These are the tattered edges of the larger tapestry. As noted earlier, the texts and translation of these texts are located in Appendix D.

1 Enoch 17.1-19.3

This text comes from the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1-36), a Greek translation of the Aramaic.¹²⁵ This pericope is an account of Enoch's journey to the Northwest (17.1-7 & 18.6-19.3) with a summary of what Enoch saw on the journey (18.1-5).¹²⁶ This pericope is more cosmography than cosmogony as it explores the geography of heaven (17.1-7 & 18.6-9), including the throne of God (18.8), and the great chasm beyond heaven where the disobedient stars and the Watchers are imprisoned. While the intertextual markers in this text (*οὐρανός-γῆ, ἄβυσσος, ἐν ἀρχῇ, νύξ-ἡμέρα, σκοτός*) are quite disparate and it is not necessarily a creation text, there are intersections with the intertextual tapestry as a whole worthy of note. There is a concern for boundaries in this pericope, not establishing but reporting that they exist. In particular, Enoch sees the boundaries (*πέρας*) of the earth¹²⁷ and everything.¹²⁸ Also, the commodification of stars and thunder¹²⁹ and winds¹³⁰ is evident in their placement in celestial treasuries.

¹²⁴ The occurrence of *προτέρα* in Wis 7.29 reflects a similar use, ranking wisdom above or superior to light.

¹²⁵ There are at least five Aramaic mss from Qumran Cave 4 that contain portions of the Book of the Watchers (4QarEnoch^{a-c}).

¹²⁶ Following A. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt*, (Leipzig: Vogel, 1953) 118, and R.H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch: Edited from Twenty-Three MSS. together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions*, (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1906) 42, G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch*, (ed. K. Baltzer; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001) suggests that *1 En* 19.1-2 is out of place, and on stylistic grounds ought to be inserted after *1 En* 18.11. (287)

¹²⁷ *1 En* 18.5, 10

¹²⁸ *1 En* 19.3

¹²⁹ *1 En* 17.3

¹³⁰ *1 En* 18.1 Within the tapestry of LXX Gen 1.1-5, Ps 134.7 [EV 135.7] includes the 'treasures of the winds.' Of note here is the difference between the MT and LXX of Jeremiah. As noted in Chapter 2 (see above, pp. 78-79), what are the treasuries of winds in MT Jer 10.13 & 51.16 are the treasuries of light in LXX Jer 10.13 and 28.16.

I Enoch 21.1-3

As with the longer text from the Book of the Watchers above, this pericope is a translation of what was likely an Aramaic original.¹³¹ Similar to *I En 17.1-19.3*, this is a cosmographic snapshot from Enoch's eastward journey to the place of punishment for disobedient stars.¹³² Of special note in this text is the occurrence of ἀκατασκεύαστος, which is otherwise absent from the intertextual tapestry of LXX Gen 1.1-5. In this text, ἀκατασκεύαστος is coupled with φοβερός and describes a place that is both unformed / chaotic and fear-inspiring. The relation of this unusual and possibly unique use of ἀκατασκεύαστος in *I En 21.1-3* with LXX Gen 1.2 was noted as early as Origen's *De principiis*.¹³³ The use of ἀκατασκεύαστος in *I En 21.2*, if it is in direct conversation with LXX Gen 1.2, may be making a value judgment on the unformed-ness of Gen 1.2.

Philo, *Quod Deus sit immutabilis* 58

Light, because of its intimate connection with sight in Philo's estimation,¹³⁴ is a central concept that gets tossed about in a variety of ways. For the purposes of this study, *Deus 58* illustrates Philo's understanding of the light of Day One in relation to the Creator and the lights of the fourth day: 'But that light is created, whereas God saw before creation, being Himself His own light.'¹³⁵ Also along these lines, though without a specific relation to creation, is *De migratione Abrahamo 40*,¹³⁶ in which Philo equates the light of Day One with wisdom. Finally, the idea that God is God's own light may also be expressed in Philo's understanding that the Holy of Holies is never dark.¹³⁷

Philo, *De aeternitate mundi* 17-19

Philo here asserts that Moses' law/philosophy precedes any of the philosophers.¹³⁸ In this pericope,¹³⁹ Philo is specifically in dialogue with Hesiod, whom he quotes verbatim.¹⁴⁰ Moses, Philo's philosopher *par excellence*,¹⁴¹

¹³¹ This portion of *I Enoch* is preserved in one Greek manuscript, the Cairo Papyrus 10759 (6th c. CE), which includes *I En 19.3-21.9* in duplicate, cf. M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, (PVTG 3; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970) 7-8. This manuscript, discovered in a Christian grave in Akhmim, Egypt, in 1886-87, cf. *APOT* 1.6.

¹³² *I En 20-36*

¹³³ In *De principiis* 4.4.8 (first quarter of the third century CE) Origen draws an allegorical connection between *I En 21.1* and LXX Gen 1.2 based on their common word, ἀκατασκεύαστος. He reads Enoch's journey to the East to the unformed (place) – *ad imperfectum* (*I En 21.1*) in line with LXX Gen 1.2, equating the imperfection (*ad imperfectum*) that Enoch saw to the imperfection at the beginning of creation – *imperfectus* being roughly equivalent to ἀκατασκεύαστος. Cf. Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 90-91.

¹³⁴ Philo speaks of sight as the 'queen of the senses' (cf. *Abr.* 150) Elsewhere, he looks to the first light – the light of Day One (LXX Gen 1.3) – and asserts that this light is the first thing to be called good, καλός, (*Abr.* 156) because it is the best of gifts facilitating human observation and intellectual exploration (cf. *Spec.* 3.185, 194, 202).

¹³⁵ τὸ δὲ αἰσθητὸν φῶς γενητόν, ἑώρα δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πρὸ γενέσεως φωτὶ χρώμενον ἑαυτῷ. *Deus 58*.

¹³⁶ *Migr.* 40:

au[th qeou/ to. avrce,tupon @h'li.ou# fe/ggoj(ou- mi,mhma kai. eivkw.n h[lioj)

She/This one (wisdom) is God's archetypal luminary, and the sun is a copy and image of it/her.

¹³⁷ *Spec* 1.296-298

¹³⁸ Philo names Hesiod, Aristotle, and the Stoics.

is the fountain of all proper philosophy,¹⁴² making it perfectly natural for Philo to move back and forth between philosophy and Torah. His direct quote of LXX Gen 1.1-2a, in this text is a bridge between the philosophy of Moses and, in this case, that of Hesiod.

Sirach 33.7-15

Like the others texts in this section, Sir 33.7-15¹⁴³ is a marginal inclusion. Its primary touchstone with LXX Gen 1.1-5 and this study is its use of διαχωρίζω,¹⁴⁴ expressing the idea of creation by differentiation,¹⁴⁵ an idea evident in LXX Gen 1.4, and throughout LXX Genesis 1.¹⁴⁶ It is in the knowledge of the Lord that seasons and holidays are distinguished from other days.¹⁴⁷ Likewise, people are separated or distinguished, good from bad, blessed from cursed.¹⁴⁸ Thinking in terms of wisdom, it is by the Lord's knowledge (γνώσις in v.8 and ἐπιστήμη in v.11¹⁴⁹) that these opposites are established, day from day, holy-day from ordinary day, good folk from bad, and good from evil. The word σοφία is not found in this text. The idea of wisdom created in the fabric of the universe, however, is present, though not in personified form in the likes of Sir 1.1-10 and 24.1-12.

4.3 Christian Texts

4.3.1 *Epistle to Diognetus* 7.2

ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ παντοκτίστης καὶ ἀόρατος θεός, αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐρανῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἀπερινόητον ἀνθρώποις ἐνίδρυσε καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν· οὐ, καθάπερ ἄν τις εἰκάσειεν, ἀνθρώποις ὑπὴρτέτην τινα πέμψας ἢ ἀγγελοῦ ἢ ἀρχοντα ἢ τινα τῶν διεπόντων τὰ ἐπίγεια ἢ τινα τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰς ἐν οὐρανοῖς διοικήσεις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων, ᾧ τοῦς οὐρανὸς ἔκτισεν, ᾧ τὴν θάλασσαν ἰδίους ὄροις ἐνέκλεισεν, οὗ τὰ μυστήρια πιστῶς πάντα

¹³⁹ This pericope comes from a treatise whose Philonic authorship is questioned because 'the work seems to argue for the uncreatedness of the world'(cf. Schenck, *Brief Guide*, 115), a concept which is clearly outside of Philo's credal formula about creation (cf. *Opif* 171-172; *Mig* 183).

¹⁴⁰ In *Aet.* 17, Philo quotes Hesiod, *Theogony* 116-117. Philo draws from Aristotle's quotation of the same passage from Hesiod's *Theogony* in *Physics* 4.1.208.

¹⁴¹ This idea is brought forward into early Christianity by the likes of Justin Martyr, *First Apology* 59. Also in his *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* 10, Justin mentions both Philo and Josephus for his understanding that Moses received training and wisdom from his teachers in Egypt.

¹⁴² This perception of Moses is portrayed in this pericope, though even more clearly in *Opif* 8.

¹⁴³ Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, define the unit 'the Providence of God' as 32.14-33.18, with 33.7-15 as one poem therein. (393-401)

¹⁴⁴ One will also find ἡμέρα and φῶς, in addition to διαχωρίζω. Manuscript E (an undated Hebrew ms. and the only Hebrew ms. with the whole of 33.7-15) and the Syriac mss. contain an addition to v.14 with the opposites light and dark, a possible 'allusion' to Gen 1.2-3, 'in which darkness is a concomitant of chaos (noncreation) and light is the first of God's creatures.' Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 401. Such a textual variant, even though minor, suggests that this text may have been read in light of Gen 1.1-5 and thus more closely related.

¹⁴⁵ There are two other occurrences of the verb in Sirach (6.13 and 12.9) both of which speak not of creation but of the separation of enemies and friends.

¹⁴⁶ LXX Gen 1.6, 7, 14, 18.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Sir 33.7-9, with διαχωρίζω in v.8. The mention of the ordering of festivals and seasons may build upon the placement of Wisdom in special relationship with Israel, cf. S. Goan, "Creation in Ben Sira," *Mils* 36 (1995) 79. While there may be an allusion to this idea of Israel's specialness in Sir 33.8, it is much clearer in Sirach 24.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Sir 33.10-13, with διαχωρίζω in v.11.

¹⁴⁹ One might expect God's creative actions here to come from the Lord's σοφία.

φυλάσσει τὰ στοιχεῖα, παρ' οὗ τὰ μέτρα τῶν τῆς ἡμέρας δρόμων <ὁ ἥλιος>¹⁵⁰ εἴληφε φυλάσσειν, ᾧ πειθαρχεῖ σελήνη νυκτὶ φαίνειν κελεύοντι, ᾧ πειθαρχεῖ τὰ ἄστρα τῷ τῆς σελήνης ἀκολουθοῦντα δρόμῳ· ᾧ πάντα διατέτακται καὶ διώρισται καὶ ὑποτέτακται, οὐρανοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, πῦρ, ἀήρ, ἄβυσσος, τὰ ἐν ὕψει, τὰ ἐν βάθει, τὰ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ· τοῦτον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλεν.

But he is truly the almighty and creator-of-all and invisible God – he himself from (the) heavens set in place for humankind¹⁵¹ and firmly fixed in their hearts the truth and the holy and unknowable word. Not, as one might guess,¹⁵² did he send to humanity just any attendant or angel or a ruler or any one of those who administer earthly things or any one of those who have been faithful managing things in heaven, but the technician and creator of the whole himself by whom he created the heavens, by whom he contained¹⁵³ the sea by its own borders, the mysteries of whom are guarded faithfully by all the elements, alongside of whom <the sun> continues to take care of the lengths of the courses of the day, whom the moon obeys when ordered to shine at night, whom the stars obey when following the courses of the moon; by whom everything continues to be appointed and boundaried and subjugated, the heavens and that which is in the heavens, the earth and that which is in the earth, the sea and that which is in the sea, fire, air, (the) abyss, that which is in the heights, that which is in the depths, that which is in between. This is the one he sent to them.

The above pericope comes from the *Epistle to Diognetus*, an early Christian text with very limited and late manuscript evidence¹⁵⁴ that likely dates from the second century CE.¹⁵⁵ All difficulties aside, this pericope provides an intersection of creation language and early Christology. There is significant intertextual commonality with LXX Gen 1.1-5 (ἀόρατος, οὐρανός, γῆ, νύξ, ἄβυσσος), though there is little, if any, direct relationship with our primary text. After describing God in three categories: παντοκράτωρ/Almighty; παντοκτίστης/creator of all;¹⁵⁶ and ἀόρατος/invisible,¹⁵⁷ the Christ-figure, possibly referenced in Johannine terms as the λόγος,¹⁵⁸ is pictured as co-

¹⁵⁰ ὁ ἥλιος is in the *editio princeps* of H. Stephanus (Paris, 1592) but absent from Codex Argentoratensis (13th/14th c.) and the late 16th c. transcription of B. Haus (Tübingen, 1580). See A. Lindemann and H. Paulson, *Die Apostolischen Väter*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992) 306, 314; B.D. Ehrman, ed., *The Apostolic Fathers*, (LCL 25 [updated edition] 2 vols., Cambridge: Harvard, 2003) 128-129.

¹⁵¹ ἀνθρώποις

¹⁵² While "guess" bends εἰκάζω a bit, this translation attempts to get at the meaning of the phrase.

¹⁵³ ἐγκλείω

¹⁵⁴ H.G. Meecham, *The Epistle to Diognetus: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1949) outlines the manuscript history of *Diognetus*, which includes the unfortunate fact that the sole manuscript containing the text (12th/13th c. *Codex Argentoratensis*) was destroyed by fire in Strassburg, 24 August 1870, as a result of the Franco-Prussian War. (68) Evidence for the Greek text is based on 16th c. transcripts of the *Argentoratensis*.

¹⁵⁵ Ehrman, ed., *Apostolic Fathers*, 2.127; Meecham, *Epistle to Diognetus*, surveys opinion (pre-1949) on the authorship and date of the epistle (16-19) and cautiously comes down on 150 CE. (19)

¹⁵⁶ This word is not found in the LXX or in LS. As noticed by Meecham, *Epistle to Diognetus*, this may be a coinage from the likes of ὁ πάντων κτίστης in 2 Macc 1.24, or ὁ κτίστης ἀπάντων in Sir 24.8. (118)

¹⁵⁷ With this use of ἀόρατος, *Diognetus* incorporates the middle-Platonic categories of visible and invisible, e.g., Philo, *Opif* 29, *Spec* 1.20, *Legat*. 318; Col 1.15.

¹⁵⁸ It is difficult to assert with any certainty that this use of λόγος in *Diognetus* is Johannine, in line with John 1.1ff. In the above pericope, λόγος is clearly coupled with ἀλήθεια. One might look to the Johannine prologue, specifically to Jn 1.14 and 17, where in the incarnate λόγος grace and truth become evident, though no direct connection or reliance is evident. Within *Diognetus*, Jesus is referred to as the λόγος (cf. 11.2, 3, 7, 12.9), though *Diog* 11-12 are most likely an addition to the original letter, chs. 1-10, cf. Meecham, *Epistle to Diognetus*, 64-66. It is impossible to base a clear argument for the meaning of λόγος in *Diog* 7.2 on internal evidence. Meecham also has a brief

creator (αὐτὸν τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων)¹⁵⁹ – the means by which the Almighty created the heavens, boundrified the sea, organized the celestial time-keepers. The pericope concludes with a laundry list of those things that the Christ-figure has appointed, boundaried, and subjugated: the heavens, the earth, the sea, and all their contents, and also fire, air, the abyss (ἄβυσσος), and everything else.

Of significance in this study are the picture of the Christ-figure and the concern for order in *Diog 7.2*. The Christ-figure is the central focus of the pericope and is clearly present and creatively active from the beginning. This falls in line with other texts that have a first-created figure involved with and/or present at the creation of the physical world.¹⁶⁰ The concern for order, specifically creation by the boundrification of the sea, is a recurring thread throughout the intertextual tapestry of Gen 1.1-5,¹⁶¹ though the language in *Diognetus* does not appear to be reliant on any specific text.

4.3.2 Colossians 1.15-20¹⁶²

¹⁵ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως,

¹⁶ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὄρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα, εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες εἴτε ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἐξουσίαι· τὰ πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται·

¹⁷καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν,

¹⁸καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας·

ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων,

¹⁹ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι

²⁰καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτόν, εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ, δι’ αὐτοῦ¹⁶³ εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

¹⁵He is the image of the invisible God, first born of all creation,

¹⁶because in him all things in heaven and upon earth were created, those which are visible and those which are not visible, whether thrones or dominions or rulers or powers –

all things were created through him and in him.

discussion of this problem, coming to no firm conclusion. (118) Similarly cautious is J.T. Lienhard, “The Christology of the Epistle to Diognetus,” *VC* 24 (1970) 282.

¹⁵⁹ In Heb 11.10, τεχνίτης and δημιουργός are used together to describe God. The context in Hebrews – model of faith, Abraham, while having to live in a tent, anticipates the heavenly Jerusalem (cf. Heb 12.22 – H.W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, (ed. H. Koester; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989) 324) with foundations that are from God the architect and creator – differs from *Diog 7.2*, in which it is the Christ-figure that is the architect and creator of the physical cosmos. Of interest is the suggestion of R.G. Tanner, “The Epistle to Diognetus and Contemporary Greek Thought,” in *Studia Patristica XV* (ed. E.A. Livingston; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1984), that this is an example of an early Christian ‘binitarian’ reading of the Christ-figure in light of contemporary Stoic (τεχνίτης) and Middle-Platonic (δημιουργός) philosophic categories. (503-504)

¹⁶⁰ Wisdom – LXX Prov 8.22-31, Sir 24; Christ – Jn 1.1-5, Col 1.15-20, *I Clem* 33.4.

¹⁶¹ LXX Job 38.10 – sea; LXX 103.9 & Isa 40.12 – waters. Also, *I Clem* 20.5-8, 33.3.

¹⁶² The Greek of the New Testament texts in this chapter is taken from Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, (27 ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993). The following poetic arrangement of Col 1.15-20 comes from N.T. Wright, “Poetry and Theology in Colossians 1.15-20,” *NTS* 36 (1990) 446.

¹⁶³ While the oldest mss include δι’ αὐτοῦ, its problematic nature has been dealt with by even more, mostly later mss that remove it, cf. Nestle-Aland, *Nestle-Aland*, .

¹⁷And he is the first of all, and all things have come together,
¹⁸and he is the head of the body of the Church.

He is (the) beginning, the first born of the dead, in order that he might be first in all things,
¹⁹because in him the fullness of everything was pleased to dwell
²⁰and through him all things, whether upon earth or in heaven, (were pleased) to be
reconciled in him, making peace by the blood of his cross.

This pericope, commonly referred to as the Christ-hymn,¹⁶⁴ comes within a larger section of Colossians about the person of Christ,¹⁶⁵ and it interprets the person and death of Jesus in cosmic terms.¹⁶⁶ While Col 1.15-20 numbers among the few texts in the New Testament that likely have Gen 1.1-5 in mind, it is also sufficiently linked with LXX Gen 1.1-5 intertextually (ἀόρατος, ἀρχή, ποιέω, οὐρανός-γῆ).

In this tightly woven text, the vision of creation portrays Christ as the beginning (ἀρχή) of all, the physical image of the invisible (ἀόρατος) God,¹⁶⁷ and the creative agent or conduit through whom everything came into existence. Christologically, it bears significant similarity with John 1¹⁶⁸ and other Christ-creation texts¹⁶⁹ and also those that place a personified Wisdom-figure at the beginning.¹⁷⁰ It is clear that the author of Colossians posits that the entirety of creation is to be generated through Christ as noted by the use of οὐρανός-γῆ as a form of hendiadys.¹⁷¹ Creation, however, is not the complete focus of the passage. Christ is also placed at the head of the church, though the author indicates nothing here about the nature of the church.¹⁷² Käsemann notes that this reference to church was likely appended by the author as an interpretation of the hymn's original wording that referred to Christ as head

¹⁶⁴ On independent nature of this pericope, cf E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, (trans. W.R. Poehlmann and R.J. Karris; ed. H. Koester; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 41-61, especially 41 n.64.

¹⁶⁵ Col 1.9-23

¹⁶⁶ While I am convinced by Käsemann that Col 1.15-20 is a Christian hymn that has been adapted by the author of Colossians [see E. Käsemann, "A Primitive Christian Baptismal Liturgy," in *Essays on New Testament Themes* (trans. W.J. Montague; SBT 41; Naperville: Alec R. Allenson, 1964) 154], there is no need for this study to wade too deeply into the debate over the origin and authorship of this pericope. For a relatively recent survey, see L. Helyer, "Recent Research on Col 1:15-20 (1980-1990)," *GTJ* 12 (1992) 51-67.

¹⁶⁷ There is a striking similarity in the Christological language of Col 1.15 and the anthropological statement of Philo, *Mos* II.64, in which expounding about the significance of Noah being the postdiluvian father of all he refers to humanity as εἰκὼν τῆς ἀόρατου, or the image of the invisible (God).

¹⁶⁸ There is a difference between Col 1.15-20 and John 1 – John 1 stresses the eternal λόγος, whereas Col 1.15-20 is as, if not more, interested in building up the cosmogonic significance of the Christ in order to provide the means through which the Creator can reconcile the world in its entirety to himself. On a different note, there is a significant Christological similarity with Heb 1.1ff, where through Christ the worlds are created (δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνες – 1.2) and Christ is (the) radiance of God's glory and a likeness of God's very being (ὄς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ,... – 1.3).

¹⁶⁹ *I Clem* 33.4, *Diogn* 7.2, and less so *Herm. Vis.* 3.4.

¹⁷⁰ Eg. *Prov* 8.22f, *Sir* 24.9f, *Wis* 6.22.

¹⁷¹ Col 1.16, 20

¹⁷² In *Herm. Vis.* 8.1 (II.4.1) it is stated that the church was the first thing created, and that for the sake of the church (διὰ ταύτην ὁ κόσμος κατηρτίσθη), the world was created. Less specific, though no less implied, is the placement of the creation of the church at the beginning of creation in *Herm. Vis.* 3.4 (I.3.4).

of the body or cosmos.¹⁷³ If so, the cosmological Christology of the hymn may have been even stronger at one time. Finally, the personhood of Christ as ἀρχή is used to validate the reconciliatory¹⁷⁴ effect of the cross of Christ.

This text falls into the category of the mythologizing of Jesus as the Christ. It places him in a cosmological framework in the tradition of the wisdom traditions. It is this mythologizing that brings LXX Gen 1.1-5 into play. It is most likely that the similarities with LXX Gen 1.1-5 come via the wisdom tradition rather than direct imitation. One reason for thinking this is the Platonic use of ἀόρατος describing God, and its use again in describing the whole, via hendiadys, of the created world – visible and invisible. This is the only place where ὄρατος and ἀόρατος are used in conjunction in the New Testament.

4.3.3 1 Clement 20.1-12

^{20.1} οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῇ διοικήσει αὐτοῦ σαλευόμενοι ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὑποτάσσονται αὐτῷ. ² ἡμέρα τε καὶ νύξ τὸν τεταγμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρόμον διανύουσιν, μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐμποδίζοντα. ³ ἡλιός τε¹⁷⁵ καὶ σελήνη, ἀστέρων τε χοροὶ κατὰ τὴν διαταγὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν ὁμοιῳα δίχα πάσης παρεκβάσεως ἐξελίσσουσιν τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους αὐτοῖς ὀρισμούς. ⁴ γῆ κυοφοροῦσα κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἰδίους καιροῖς τὴν πανπληθῆ ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ θηρῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν οὐδῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ζώοις ἀνατέλλει τροφήν, μὴ διχοστατοῦσα μηδὲ ἀλλοιοῦσά τι τῶν δεδογματισμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ⁵ ἀβύσσων τε ἀνεξιχνίαστα καὶ νερτέρων ἀνεκδιήγητα κλίματα¹⁷⁶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς συνέχεται προστάγμασιν. ⁶ τὸ κύτος τῆς ἀπείρου θαλάσσης κατὰ τὴν δημιουργίαν αὐτοῦ συσταθὲν εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς οὐ παρεκβαίνει τὰ περιτεθειμένα αὐτῇ κλείθρα, ἀλλὰ καθὼς διέταξεν αὐτῇ οὕτως ποιεῖ. ⁷ εἶπεν γὰρ ἕως ὧδε ἤξεις, καὶ τὰ κύματα σου ἐν σοὶ συντριβήσεται. ⁸ ὠκεανὸς ἀπέραντος ἀνθρώπων καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν κόσμοι ταῖς αὐταῖς ταγαῖς τοῦ δεσπότη διευθύνονται. ⁹ καιροὶ ἔαρινοὶ καὶ θερινοὶ καὶ μετοπωρινοὶ καὶ χειμερινοὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ μεταπαπαδιδοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις. ¹⁰ ἀνέμων σταθμοὶ κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον καιρὸν τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν ἀπροσκόπως ἐπιτελοῦσιν· ἀνεμοὶ τε πηγαί, πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ ὑγείαν δημιουργηθεῖσαι, δίχα ἐλλείψεως παρέχονται τοὺς πρὸς ζωῆς ἀνθρώπων μαζοὺς· τὰ τε ἐλάχιστα τῶν ζώων τὰς συνελεύσεις αὐτῶν ἐν ὁμοιῳα καὶ εἰρήνῃ ποιοῦνται. ¹¹ ταῦτα πάντα ὁ μέγας δημιουργὸς καὶ δεσπότης τῶν πάντων ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμοιῳα προσέταξεν εἶναι, εὐεργετῶν τὰ πάντα, ὑπερεκπερισσῶς δὲ ἡμᾶς τοὺς προσπεφευγότας τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ¹² ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

^{20.1}The heavens, moving about by his governance, are subject to him in peace. ²Day and night complete the course which has been assigned by him, without hindering each other. ³Sun and moon, the dances¹⁷⁷ of the stars unfold¹⁷⁸ in harmony not crossing each other¹⁷⁹ according to his ordinance. ⁴(The) earth, giving birth according to his will at the particular time/season, brings forth the full nourishment for people and beasts and all the living things upon it, without

¹⁷³ Käsemann, “Primitive Christian Baptismal Liturgy,” 150-153.

¹⁷⁴ The verb used here, ἀποκαταλάσσω, is used similarly to describe reconciliation with God through the cross of Christ, though not in terms of all creation but of believers in Col 1.22 and Eph 2.16.

¹⁷⁵ The τε is absent in manuscript Hieroslymitanus (1056), cf. Lindemann and Paulson, *Apostolischen Väter*, 102. A clearer overview of the manuscripts available of 1 Clement is given by Ehrman, ed., *Apostolic Fathers*, 28-30.

¹⁷⁶ All the mss have here κρίματα; κλίματα, cf. Ehrman, ed., *Apostolic Fathers*, 1.73; Lindemann and Paulson, *Apostolischen Väter*, 104.

¹⁷⁷ This may be taking too much poetic license with χορός, but the reasoning behind using ‘dances’ rather than ‘chorus’ is that the author here is describing the movement of the stars. Also, it should be noted that χορός is singular in C (4th c. Coptic ms) and L (11th c. Latin ms), cf. Lindemann and Paulson, *Apostolischen Väter*, 102.

¹⁷⁸ If one understands that the author is talking about orderly motion, then it seems that ‘wheeled out’ seems a better translation of ἐξελίσσω; above, I’m going with a less dance-like idea, which may ultimately undermine reading χορός as ‘dance’.

¹⁷⁹ ‘not crossing each other’ = δίχα πάσης παρεκβάσεως

dissension or change for any of the things, which have been decreed by him.⁵ The unsearchable regions the abysses and the ineffable regions of (the) netherworld are constrained by the same commands.⁶ The hollow of the boundless sea, formed by his workmanship into the gathered (waters¹⁸⁰), does not transgress the barriers, which had been placed around her, but just as he arranged her, thus she¹⁸¹ does.⁷ For he said, ‘You will come this far, and your waves crashing within you.’⁸ (The) ocean, infinite to humans, and the worlds beyond it are governed by the same decrees of the master.⁹ The seasons – spring and summer and fall and winter – in peace transfer to one another.¹⁰ The stations of the winds in their own appointed time complete their service without stumbling. The eternal fountains, created for enjoyment and health, furnish the breasts, which are for the life of humans, without ceasing. The smallest of the living creatures have intercourse¹⁸² with one another in harmony and peace.¹¹ The great Creator and Master of all things commands these things to be in peace and harmony, bringing good kindness for all things, but especially for us, who flee to his compassion through our Lord Jesus Christ,¹² to him be the glory and the majesty for ever and ever. Amen.

This text includes the whole of *1 Clem* 20, a subsection of *1 Clem* 19.2-21.8.¹⁸³ A *terminus post quem* of 150 CE can be established for *1 Clement* as it is quoted by Dionysius of Corinth,¹⁸⁴ though a more precise date in the early to mid-90s CE during the reign of Domitian (81-96 CE) has been suggested.¹⁸⁵

This text is as much an expression of the orderliness of creation as it is about any creative activity. It largely describes the cosmic order that emanates from the divine command, which regulates the workings of the cosmos like the fine workings of a clock.¹⁸⁶ From the heavens (20.1) to the smallest bits (20.10) God has established a natural order. From this order, harmony and peace result. In addition to naming God as δημιουργός and δεσπότης,¹⁸⁷ the passage combines hands-on creation,¹⁸⁸ creation by word/speech,¹⁸⁹ and creation by divine will.¹⁹⁰ It is clear elsewhere that the author of *1 Clement* did know Genesis 1.¹⁹¹ At the same time, there is no direct conversation in *1 Clement* 20 with either LXX Gen 1.1-5 or Genesis 1 as a whole, though there is a significant intertextual relationship (οὐρανός, γῆ, ἡμέρα, νύξ, ἄβυσσος, ποιέω). About them little needs to be said other than that they, among others, are objects of God's boundrification of the cosmos.

¹⁸⁰ Clarified, ‘...die Sammlungen (des Wassers)...’, Lindemann and Paulson, *Apostolischen Väter*, 105.

¹⁸¹ It goes against the nature of this thesis to translate ποιέω as ‘to do’, but it is difficult to read the subject of the verb in this instance as anything other than the sea. So, in this case ποιέω is the action that is in line with the creator's design rather than the creative action itself.

¹⁸² Another possible translation: ‘The smallest of living creatures have their meetings in harmony and peace.’

¹⁸³ W.C. van Unnik, “Is 1 Clement 20 purely Stoic?,” *VC* 4 (1950) 181.

¹⁸⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, 4.23.

¹⁸⁵ Ehrman, ed., *Apostolic Fathers*, 1.24-25.

¹⁸⁶ I concur with the findings of van Unnik, “Is 1 Clement purely Stoic?,” that *1 Clem* 20 is not purely Stoic but reflects a good deal of influence from the LXX and affinity with contemporary Jewish creation texts. (184-189)

¹⁸⁷ Cf. *1 Clem* 33.2. The article by D.S. Cormode, “The Influence of Hellenistic Judaism on the Concepts of God and the Church in 1 Clement,” *Studia Biblica et Theologica* 17 (1989), suggests that the use of δημιουργός and δεσπότης reflects the influence of Hellenistic Judaism. While there is an affinity to use these terms to describe God in *1 Clement*, Philo, Josephus, etc., Cormode's assertion that they are used to abstract God from the creation (cf. 189, 190, etc.) is an overstretch of *1 Clement's* references to God.

¹⁸⁸ δημιουργία (20.6), δημιουργέω (20.10)

¹⁸⁹ ὑποτάσσω (20.1), τάσσω (20.2), ἐπιτάσσω (20.3), δογματίζω (20.4), διατάσσω (20.6), προστάσσω (20.11)

¹⁹⁰ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ (20.4) Also, LXX Ps 134.6 and Josephus, *C.Ap.* 2.192.

¹⁹¹ See quotations of LXX Gen 1.26-27 in *1 Clem* 33.5, and LXX Gen 1.28 in *1 Clem* 33.6.

One point of interest with this pericope is the intersection that it has with another part of the LXX tapestry of Gen 1.1-5. In *I Clem* 20.7b there is a paraphrase of LXX Job 38.11b.¹⁹² The two texts together look as follows:

καὶ τὰ κύματά σου ἐν σοὶ συντριβήσεται.	<i>I Clem</i> 20.7b
ἀλλ' ἐν σεαυτῇ συντριβήσεταιί σου τὰ κύματα	LXX Job 38.11b

While there are definite similarities, significant differences in word order, conjunctions, and pronouns point to paraphrase rather than quotation.¹⁹³ The passage is introduced in *I Clement* with εἶπεν γάρ, indicating a speaker other than the author of *I Clement* and pointing to divine speech, which fits with the larger context of Job 38. Additionally the paraphrase comes in the midst of a passage about God setting boundaries for the sea (*I Clem* 20.6-7, and possibly 8), which matches the immediate context of LXX Job 38.11, and in *I Clem* 20.6, bars (κλειῖθρα), the same word used to describe the boundaries established by God in LXX Job 38.10, is used to describe the sea.¹⁹⁴

4.3.4 *I Clement* 33.1-8

^{33.1} τί οὖν ποιήσωμεν, ἀδελφοί; ἀργήσωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαθοποιίας καὶ ἐγκαταλίπωμεν τὴν ἀγάπην; μηθαμῶς τοῦτο ἔασαι ὁ δεσπότης ἐφ' ἡμῖν γε γεννηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ σπεύσωμεν μετὰ ἐκτενείας καὶ προθυμίας πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελεῖν. ²αὐτός γὰρ ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ δεσπότης τῶν ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ ἀγαλλιᾶται. ³τῷ γὰρ παμμεγεθεστάτῳ αὐτοῦ κράτει οὐρανοὺς ἐστήριξεν καὶ τῇ ἀκαταλήπτῳ αὐτοῦ συνέσει διεκόσμησεν αὐτούς· γῆν τε διεχώρισεν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος αὐτὴν ὕδατος καὶ ἤδρασεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀσφαλῆ τοῦ ἰδίου βουλήματος θεμέλιον· τὰ τε ἐν αὐτῇ ζῶα φοιτῶντα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ διατάξει ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι· θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ζῶα προετοιμάσας¹⁹⁵ ἐνεκλείσεν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμει. ⁴ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ ἐξοχώτατον καὶ παμμέγεθες κατὰ διάνοιαν,¹⁹⁶ ἄνθρωπον, ταῖς ἱεραῖς καὶ ἀμώμοις χερσὶν ἔπλασεν, τῆς ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνας χαρακτήρα. ⁵οὕτως γὰρ φησιν ὁ θεός· ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς. ⁶ταῦτα οὖν πάντα τελειώσας ἐπήνεσεν αὐτὰ καὶ ἠλόγησεν καὶ εἶπεν· αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε. ⁷ἴδωμεν, ὅτι ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς πάντες ἐκοσμήθησαν οἱ δίκαιοι, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς ἑαυτὸν κοσμήσας ἐχάρη. ⁸ἔχοντες οὖν τοῦτον τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἀόκνως προσέλθωμεν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ· ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος ἡμῶν ἐργασώμεθα ἔργον δικαιοσύνης.

^{33.1}Therefore, brothers, what shall we do? Shall we be idle from doing good and leave behind love? May the Master not let this come to happen to us. Rather we should hasten to accomplish every good work with zeal and willingness. ²For the Creator and Master of all himself rejoices exceedingly in his works. ³For by his exceedingly great might he fixed (the) heavens, and by his incomprehensible intelligence he regulated them. He separated (the) earth from (the) water that encompassed it, and he placed (them) upon the firm foundation of his own will. By his own arrangement/command he ordered the living things that roam about upon it to be. Preparing beforehand the sea and the living things in it he enclosed it by his own power. ⁴He molded by (his) holy and blameless hands a person who is most eminent and greatest in purpose to all, an impression of his own image. ⁵For thus says God, “Let us make

¹⁹² Also noted by Lindemann and Paulson, *Apostolischen Väter*, 104, and Ehrman, ed., *Apostolic Fathers*, 1.73.

¹⁹³ Of course the possibility exists that this is a quotation from another Greek version of Job, but at this point there is no textual evidence available for such a conclusion.

¹⁹⁴ κλειῖθρα is also found in LXX Job 26.13, a text which is part of the Hebrew tapestry of Gen 1.1-5 (Chapter 1) but did not make it into the Greek (Chapter 2). In LXX Job 26.13 the κλειῖθρα are used as boundaries for heaven, rather than the sea.

¹⁹⁵ The Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and the newer Greek ms, Hierosolymitanus (1056 CE), support προετοιμάσας, whereas the elder Greek ms, Alexandrinus (5th c. CE) reads προδημι[ουργή]σας. Cf. Lindemann and Paulson, *Apostolischen Väter*, 116.

¹⁹⁶ κατὰ διάνοιαν is only found in the Greek mss.

humankind according to our image and likeness.” And God made humankind, male and female he made them.’ ⁶When (he) had finished all these things he applauded and blessed them and said, ‘Increase and multiply.’ ⁷We should know that all the righteous were adorned with good works, and the Lord himself, when adorned with good works, rejoiced. ⁸Therefore having such a pattern we should go toward his will without hesitation – out of the whole of our strength we should do righteous work.

This second text from *1 Clement* is more explicitly tied to Genesis 1, though more to the second and sixth days than Day One;¹⁹⁷ and like *1 Clement* 20, this passage bears little interest in or knowledge of LXX Gen 1.1-5.

The argument in this pericope is that if people are made in the likeness of God (Gen 1.26-27) and God has done all these wonderful acts of creation, then humans ought to work to conform themselves to this pattern. God as δημιουργός and δεσπότης¹⁹⁸ is joyful in his creative work, especially at the creation of humans (33.6), including the idea of a Christ-figure that is the firstborn human (33.4). Interestingly, there appears to be no particular need on the part of the author to place the ‘molding’ of Christ specifically first, as is done in Jn 1.1-5 and Col 1.15-20.

The intertextual markers (οὐρανός, γῆ, διαχωρίζω, ὕδωρ) are found only in *1 Clem* 33.3. In large part this portion of the text is a reiteration of the establishment of boundaries as outlined more extensively in *1 Clement* 20, with the fixing and regulating of the heavens (οὐρανοί), and the separation (διαχωρίζω) of earth (γῆ) from the waters (ὕδωρ). The most interesting point of resemblance is the use of διαχωρίζω. It is quite apparent that the author of *1 Clement* does not have the use of this verb in LXX Gen 1.4 in mind. Rather, if (stressing the ‘if’) the author of *1 Clement* had Genesis 1 in mind, it was most assuredly LXX Gen 1.7 and the separation of the earth and the water of the second day.

4.3.5 John 1.1-5

Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. ² οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. ³ πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν.¹⁹⁹ ὃ γέγονεν²⁰⁰ ⁴ ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ⁵ καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν.

In the beginning was the logos, and the logos was with God, and God was the logos. ²This one was in the beginning with God. ³All things came to be through him, and apart from him not one thing came into being. That which came into being ⁴in him was life, and the life was the light of (all) people, ⁵and the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not overpower it.

While John 1.1-5 is an obvious inclusion in this list, it is nowhere near the most intertextually related text to LXX Gen 1.1-5. While a bit short on intertextual markers (ἐν ἀρχῇ, φῶς, σκότος²⁰¹), its formulaic beginning

¹⁹⁷ LXX Gen 1.7, 1.26-28

¹⁹⁸ Cf. 1 Clem 20.11.

¹⁹⁹ Rather than οὐδὲ ἓν, P⁶⁶ & D along with the *f* family of minuscules read οὐδέν.

²⁰⁰ There is a question of punctuation surrounding ὃ γέγονεν. B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft / United Bible Societies, 1994) points out that while there is of course no punctuation in the oldest textual witnesses, there seems to be a ‘consensus’ among ante-Nicene writers that ὃ γέγονεν ought to go with what follows and from a literary standpoint according to the style (‘climactic or “staircase” parallelism’) of the passage ὃ γέγονεν ought to go with what follows. (166)

²⁰¹ It is actually the feminine σκοτία in Jn 1.5, rather than the masculine σκότος.

mimics²⁰² LXX Gen 1.1, and together with its use of Day One light/dark imagery to describe the creative results of the divine logos provide a firm foundation for inclusion. The relationship between LXX Gen 1.1-5 and Jn 1.1-5 is clear enough that one can say that Jn 1.1 deliberately resembles LXX Gen 1.1.²⁰³

The Prologue of John (1.1-18) is regularly recognized as something separate and introductory to the gospel as a whole, according to Bultmann an ‘overture.’²⁰⁴ The Prologue has also been parsed in a variety of ways with the understanding that behind it lies a hymn, commonly called the ‘logos hymn,’²⁰⁵ identified by Raymond Brown as John 1.1-5, 10-12b, 14, 16.²⁰⁶ Following Brown's analysis, the above pericope comprises the first portion of the ‘logos hymn.’ As for the origins of and influences upon the Prologue and/or the ‘logos hymn,’ there are many perspectives. Most scholars recognize a combination of elements from affinities with creation language in Second Temple wisdom literature to the middle-Platonism of Philo²⁰⁷ to polemics against a growing tide of Gnosticism.²⁰⁸ It is not the purpose of this study to wade into these all-consuming waters.²⁰⁹ Rather, suffice it to say that the background of Jn 1.1-5 remains opaque and likely draws upon a variety of influences. As a text, however, it crosses paths with LXX Gen 1.1-5.

As for the intertextual connections with LXX Gen 1.1-5, the first and most obvious is ἐν ἀρχῇ. Both texts begin with ‘beginning.’ Crossing paths here are the likes of LXX Prov 8.22-23, Sir 24.9, Wis 6.22, all of which place wisdom at the beginning, and Col 1.15-20, *1 Clem* 33.4, *Diogn.* 7.2, which place a Christ-figure at the beginning. Also, we can count here Philo's understanding of the divine λόγος. Two of Philo's texts also included in this chapter are illustrative. In both *Opif* 31 and *Somn* 75, Philo equates the divine λόγος with the incorporeal light of Day One. While it is difficult to say with any measurable certainty that there is a deliberate relationship (e.g. the author of John knew the writings of Philo) between John and Philo, it does appear that Jn 1.1-5, like Philo, ‘was part of the larger world of Hellenistic Jewish speculative interpretations of biblical texts,’ specifically of Gen 1.1-5.²¹⁰

²⁰² E. Haenchen, *John 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of John Chapter 1-6*, (trans. R.W. Funk; ed. R.W. Funk and U. Busse; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) asserts that ‘the agreement is intentional.’ (109)

²⁰³ There seems to be a solid consensus about this among modern commentators.

²⁰⁴ R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, (trans. G.R. Beasley-Murray; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971 [first German edition, 1964]) 13. Similarly, R.H. Lightfoot, *St John's Gospel: A Commentary*, (ed. C.F. Evans; Oxford: Clarendon, 1956) 78.

²⁰⁵ See R.E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, 2 vols. (AB 29-29A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966-1970) 1.3-37, also T.H. Tobin, “The Prologue of John and Hellenistic Jewish Speculation,” *CBQ* 52 (1990) 252ff. Contra this view, C.K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St John*, (2nd ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978) holds the position that Jn 1.1-18 is original to the author of the whole (150-151).

²⁰⁶ Brown, *John*, 1.3-37. G. Rochais, “La formation du prologue [Jn 1, 1-18],” *ScEs* 37 (1985) outlines a variety of different scholarly parsings of the ‘logos hymn’ from the rest of the Prologue (5-9).

²⁰⁷ E.g. Tobin, “Prologue of John,” 252-269. Also of note is the revised doctoral thesis (St Andrews, 2000) of M. Endo, *Creation & Christology: A Study on the Johannine Prologue in the Light of Early Jewish Creation Accounts*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), a study quite similar to this one, which examines a variety of creation texts covering the breadth of genres during the late Second Temple period, including both Wisdom texts and those of both Philo and Aristobulus.

²⁰⁸ E.g. E.H. Pagels, “Exegesis of Genesis 1 in the Gospels of Thomas and John,” *JBL* 118 (1999) 477-496.

²⁰⁹ That said, Endo, *Creation & Christology*, wades fairly successfully through the confluent traditions that come together in John 1.1-5.

²¹⁰ Tobin, “Prologue of John,” 268.

The light/dark dichotomy introduced in Jn 1.4-5, bears at least an intertextual resemblance in particular to LXX Gen 1.2, 4-5 for σκοτός²¹¹ and LXX Gen 1.3-5 for φῶς. While it has been suggested that this light/dark imagery is dependent upon the Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS iii.13-iv.36) from Qumran,²¹² R. Bauckham has rightly corrected this scholarly over-stretch based on the ‘basic symbolism’ of light and darkness.²¹³ More aptly, as pointed out by Bauckham,²¹⁴ and as noted above by Tobin,²¹⁵ there is a general pool of Second Temple Jewish imagery from which the Prologue, Philo, and others drew.

One further note on the difference between the use of light/dark imagery in John 1 and Genesis 1. It is possible to understand that darkness as part of the whole of creation is declared good in Gen 1.31. It is also possible that darkness, along with the rest of Gen 1.2, does not fit the category of stuff mentioned in Gen 1.31, as it is not expressly stated that God created darkness anywhere in the text. Either way, darkness is either good or neutral. Genesis 1 does not judge darkness as good or bad. Rather, God's separation of light and darkness is a fundamental ordering of the cosmos. John 1.1-5, however, does make a value judgment about light and darkness, to the point that the language used about the pair is conflict language. Light is equated with life, and light shines in the darkness. This is not a separation from but a battle with darkness, which is ultimately not able to overpower (καταλαμβάνω) the light.

4.3.6 Shepherd of Hermas *Visions* 3.4²¹⁶

ἰδοὺ ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων, ὁ ἀοράτῳ²¹⁷ δυνάμει καὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ συνέσει αὐτοῦ κτίσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ τῇ ἐνδόξῳ βουλῇ περιθεὶς τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τῇ κτίσει αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ ῥήματι πῆξας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ θεμελιώσας τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ ὑδάτων καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ σοφίᾳ

²¹¹ It ought to be noted that it is the feminine σκοτία used here rather than the masculine σκοτός.

²¹² J.H. Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS 3:13-4:26 and the ‘Dualism’ Contained in the Gospel of John,” in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Crossroad, 1990) 76-106.

²¹³ R. Bauckham, “The Qumran Community and the Gospel of John,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Conference, July 20-25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society with The Shrine of the Book, 2000) 111.

²¹⁴ Bauckham notes five areas more likely to have influenced the Prologue than 1QS: (1) the light/dark imagery of Day One [Gen 1.1-5] as interpreted in the likes of 4 Ezra 6.40, LAB 28.8-9, 60.2; 4Q392 1.4-7; 2 Enoch 24.4J, 25; Aristobulus [Eusebius *PraepEvang* 13.12.9-11]; *JoAsen* 8.9; and Philo, *Opif* 29-35; (2) a prophet/teacher who would shine as a light in the darkness; (3a) Torah as a light which illuminates the path for people to walk and (3b) Torah as a light for the world; (4) Christ as light for the world as an interpretation of Isaiah's prophecies of illumination (Isa 9.1) and a light to the nations; and (5) an association of Jesus with the eternal light in the Holy of Holies. (112-113) Bauckham's #5 is also bolstered by the idea that the high priest bore/wore the whole of creation when in the Holy of Holies in his vestments (e.g. Philo, *Spec* 1.296-298, *Vita* 2.133, etc.). Similarly, Josephus writes about how during the night a light as bright as day shone around the altar in the Holy of Holies (*War* 6.290).

²¹⁵ Tobin, “Prologue of John,” 252-269.

²¹⁶ This numbering follows the renumbering of *Hermas* in M. Whittaker, *Der Hirt des Hermas. Die apostolischen Väter*, vol. 1, (2nd ed.; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1967). The more traditional reference is 1.3.4.

²¹⁷ ὁ ἀοράτῳ is a correction to the Greek text from *invisibili* in the 2nd c. CE Latin version L¹. The 4th c. CE L² reads *sustentabili*. The Greek mss – Codex Sinaiticus (4th c.), Bodmer Papyrus 38 (late 4th/early 5th c.), and Codex Athous (15th c.) – all read ὃν ἀγαπῶ. The Ethiopic (possibly 6th c. CE) reads *in misericordia sua et in amore suo*. Cf. Lindemann and Paulson, *Apostolischen Väter*, 336. Bodmer Papyrus 38 also follows the Greek as noted above, cf. Ehrman, ed., *Apostolic Fathers*, 183. The correction of the Greek from the Latin of the Vulgate was first suggested by Adolphus Hilgenfeld, Leipzig, 1873.

καὶ προνοῖα²¹⁸ κτίσας τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ, ἣν καὶ ἠύλόγησεν, ἰδοὺ μεθιστάνει τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοὺς βουνοὺς καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα ὁμαλὰ γίνεται τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἀποδοῖ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ἣν ἐπηγγείλατο, μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης καὶ χαρᾶς, ἐὰν τηρήσωσιν τὰ νόμιμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἃ παρέλαβον ἐν μεγάλῃ πίστει.

Behold, the God of power(s), who by his invisible power, might, and great understanding created the world, and by his glorious plan encompassed his creation with beauty, and by his powerful word fixed heaven and founded the earth upon [the] waters, and by his unique wisdom and foreknowledge created his holy church, which he also blessed – behold, he transforms the heavens and the mountains and the hills and the seas, and everything becomes level for his elect, that he may deliver over to them the promise he made, with great glory and joy, if they keep the ordinances of God, which they received in great faith.

This apocalypse,²¹⁹ likely dating from the early second century CE,²²⁰ has little formal resemblance to LXX Gen 1.1-5. Nonetheless, it is a creation text with a ‘strong cosmogonic colouring.’²²¹ and it has sufficient intertextual markers (ἀόρατος,²²² οὐρανός, γῆ, ὕδωρ) to warrant inclusion. This text comes from the first section of the Shepherd of Hermas, in the midst of a series of visionary encounters with an ancient lady, later identified as the church.²²³ The above pericope comes from the end of Hermas' first vision. Much of what he is told in this vision is reportedly too terrible to relate. He does, however, relay this final portion of his vision because these words ‘are useful and gentle.’²²⁴ (3.3)

God's creative power provides the foundation for this passage that is ultimately about the creation of the church and an enticement of people to faithfulness. There are three products of God's creative work in this passage – the cosmos, including both heaven and earth, and the church. God's method of creation is the word (ῥῆμα), which is similar to creation by speech in Genesis 1, but lacking any direct intertextual connection. One should also note, though not all the manuscripts support it,²²⁵ the creation of the church is said to come by means of God's wisdom (σοφία) and foreknowledge (προνοία), possibly placing this text in line with other wisdom creation texts. The closest connection with LXX Gen 1.1-5 comes in the phrase ἐπὶ ὑδάτων, which resembles ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος (LXX Gen 1.2). Finally, while this particular text does not expressly state that the church was created at the beginning, the

²¹⁸ τῆ ἰδίᾳ σοφίᾳ καὶ προνοίᾳ is found in Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Athous, and the Ethiopic mss. The Latin mss – L¹ *virtute sua potenti* and L² *potenti virtute* – appear to agree with Bodmer Papyrus 38, which reads τῆ δυνάμει αὐ]τοῦ τῆ κρατ[αίᾳ]. A. Carlini, *Papyrus Bodmer XXXVIII, Erma: Il Pastore (Ia-IIIa visione)*, (Bibliotheca Bodmeriana; Coligny/Genève: Foundation Martin Bodmer, 1991) prefers the text reflected in Bodmer Papyrus 38 and the Latin translations (68 n.5 – transcription at 41-42).

²¹⁹ A. Yarbro Collins, “The Early Christian Apocalypses,” *Semeia* 14 (1979) 75.

²²⁰ See the rehearsal of the debate over the date of *Hermas* in C. Osiek, *Shepherd of Hermas*, (ed. H. Koester; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999) 18-20, noting that range of dates goes from the late 1st c. to the last half of the 2nd c. CE, possibly associated *per* the Muratorian Canon with the bishopric of Pius I in Rome (c.140-c.154 CE). For a transcription of the Muratorian Canon, cf. S.P. Tregelles, *Canon Muratorianus: The Earliest Catalogue of the Books of the New Testament*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897) 58.

²²¹ L. Pernveden, *The Concept of the Church in the Shepherd of Hermas*, (Studia Theologica Lundensia 27; Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1966) 20.

²²² I am including ἀόρατος as an intertextual marker in line with the correction, noted above, from Jerome's 2nd c. CE Latin translation, and on the grounds that ἀόρατος fits better than ὄν ἀγαπῶ, which makes little sense in this context. Also, Osiek, *Shepherd of Hermas*, 50.

²²³ First identified as ἡ ἐκκλησία, *Hermas* 8.1.

²²⁴ Herm. *Vis.* 3.3 (I.3.3).

²²⁵ See above, p.178, n.216.

juxtaposition of the creation of the church with that of heaven and earth can lead one to place the creation of the church at the beginning,²²⁶ to which should be added that in at least one text the church is created first of all²²⁷ and that it is for the sake of the world that the church was created.²²⁸

4.3.7 *Sibylline Oracles 1.5-21*²²⁹

- 5 πρῶτον δὴ κέλεται με λέγειν θεὸς ὡς ἐγενήθη
ἀτρεκέως κόσμος. σὺ δέ, ποικίλε θνητέ, πίφασκε
νουνεχέως, ἵνα μήποτ' ἐμῶν ἐφετιμῶν ἀμελήσης,
ὑψιστον βασιλῆα,²³⁰ ὃς ἔκτισε κόσμον ἅπαντα
εἴπας, γεινάσθω καὶ ἐγείνατο. ἤδρασε γὰρ γῆν
10 Ταρτάρῳ ἀμφιβαλῶν καὶ φῶς γλυκὺ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν·
οὐρανὸν ὕψωσεν, γλαυκὴν δ' ἤπλωσε θάλασσαν,
καὶ πόλον ἐστεφάνωσεν ἄλλις πυριλαμπέσιν ἄστροις
καὶ γαῖαν κόσμησε φυτοῖς, ποταμοῖσι δὲ πόντον
χευάμενος ἐκέρασε καὶ ἀέρι μίξεν αὐτμάς
15 καὶ νέφεα δροσόεντα· τιθεῖς ἄρα καὶ γένος ἄλλο
ἰχθύας ἐν πελάγεσσι καὶ ὄρνεα δῶκεν αὐτμαῖς,
ὑλαῖς δ' αὖ θήρας λασιαύχενας ἠδὲ δράκοντας
ἐρπυστὰς [γαίῃ], καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα νῦν καθαρόρᾳται,
αὐτὸς ταῦτ' ἐποίησε λόγῳ καὶ πάντ' ἐγενήθη
20 ὦκα καὶ ἀτρεκέως· ὅδε γὰρ πέλετ' αὐτολόχευτος,
οὐρανόθεν καθορῶν· ὑπὸ [τῷ] τετέλεστο δὲ κόσμος.
- 5 First of all, God is commanding me to say truly how the
cosmos came to be. But you, shifty mortal, affirm the highest king
in order that (you) never be careless with my commands.
The one who created the whole cosmos,
said, "Let it come into being," and it came into being.
For he placed the earth wrapping (it) with
10 Tartarus, and he himself has given sweet light.²³¹
He lifted up heaven. He stretched out the shining sea.
He crowned the firmament abundantly with fiery stars
and adorned (the) earth with plants. Pouring (them) together
He mixed the open sea with rivers and mixing air with breath and
15 the dewy clouds. And then he placed other breeds, fish,
in the high sea and gave birds to the gales,
and furthermore (he gave) woolly beasts to the woods and creeping
serpents [to the earth] and everything that can now be seen.
He himself made these things by a word, and everything came into being
20 immediately and truly. For this one is the self-engendered
looking down from heaven. Under (Him) the cosmos was completed.

The above pericope comes at the beginning of *Sibylline Oracles 1-2*, 'a unified collection of oracles' that may be Jewish in origin and later adapted by Christians.²³² The Christian interpolations in *Sibylline Oracles 1-2*

²²⁶ Elsewhere in *Hermas* the author suggests a variety of things that were created first: church 3.4, 8.1; angels 12.1, 58.3; Holy Spirit 59.5; and the Son of God 89.2, similarly 91.5.

²²⁷ πάντων πρώτη ἐκτίσθη – *Herm* 8.1.

²²⁸ καὶ διὰ ταυτην ὁ κόσμος κατηρτίσθη – *Herm* 8.1.

²²⁹ The Greek text used is from J. Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, (Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller 8; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902).

²³⁰ βασιλῆα is likely a variant of βασιλέα, the accusative singular of βασιλεύς.

²³¹ φῶς γλυκὺ in the nominative presents a difficulty here.

likely date no later than mid-second century CE, with the original text possibly dating from around the turn of the Era.²³³ *Sib.Or.* 5-21 is roughly the first half of the creation account (*Sib.Or.* 5-37). Our pericope covers the creation of the cosmos absent the creation of humans, which is the focus of the remainder of the account.²³⁴

This is not the weightiest text as far as its intertextual connections with Gen 1.1-5. At the same time, there is some intertextual resemblance (οὐρανός, γῆ, φῶς, ποιέω), along with a few additional similarities that ought to be mentioned.

The account functions as an authoritative tool at the outset of the Sibyl's prophecy. The authority of this account comes from the Sibyl's report that she has been commanded (κέλομαι) by God to say how the world came to be.²³⁵ The creation account itself is meant to undergird the authority of the Sibyl's prophecy, catching the attention of the shifty mortal (ποικίλε θνητέ). The first intertextual touchstone with LXX Gen 1.1-5 comes thinly with the statement that God, the one who created (ποιέω) the whole cosmos, spoke the whole lot into existence. By itself, ποιέω is not strong enough to suggest an intertextual connection with LXX Gen 1.1-5. This titular use of ποιέω, however, is closely connected with the method of creating – creation by speech – a hallmark not just of LXX Gen 1.1-5, but Genesis 1 as a whole. The description of God's creative actions that follow, while containing γῆ, φῶς, and οὐρανός, bears little resemblance to LXX Gen 1.1-5 – God effectively plants the earth, gives 'sweet light', lifts up the heavens, and effectively creates the heavens by mixing-up a batch of celestial batter.²³⁶

There are other intertextual intersections in play here that are worth mentioning. The first is a similar use of ἐδράζω in LXX Prov 8.25, where, though the object of the verb in this case is the mountains, God is the planter and something of earth (mountains) are being planted. This is certainly not a strong resemblance, but given that the verb occurs infrequently,²³⁷ it is worth noting. Another intertextual crossroads evident here is the borrowing from Greek and Roman cosmography. God wraps the earth with Tartarus, one of four elements present at the beginning of creation,²³⁸ a geographic area below Hades²³⁹ that is a place for banishment of troublesome gods²⁴⁰ and for punishment of sinners.²⁴¹ In 2 Peter 2.4,²⁴² this Hellenistic understanding of Tartarus is mingled with Enoch's vision

²³² Yarbrow Collins, "Early Christian Apocalypses," 97. Also, J.J. Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983) 1.330. Davila, *Provenance*, exhibits more caution in ascribing Jewish provenance to *Sib.Or.* 1-2. (188, n.17)

²³³ Collins, "Sibylline Oracles," OTP 1.331.

²³⁴ *Sib.Or.* 22-37 combines, among other things, creation of a human in the image of God (*Sib.Or.* 1.23, cf. Gen 1.26) and a version of the Adam and Eve narrative.

²³⁵ While the Sibyl in *Sib.Or.* 1 does not claim divine parentage, it was commonplace for the ancient Sibyl to identify herself with a god/nymph, e.g. the Delphic Sibyl identified herself with Artemis. See H.W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity*, (ed. B.C. McGing; Croom Helm Classical Studies; London: Routledge, 1988) 10. Also, J.J. Collins, *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism*, (JSJSup 54; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 200.

²³⁶ *Sib.Or.* 1.13-15.

²³⁷ Two examples come in proverbs – Sir 22.17, Wis 4.3.

²³⁸ The four are Chaos, Night, Erebus, and Tartarus, cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 116ff. According to Aristophanes, *Birds*, these four existed before earth, air, and heaven (690-694).

²³⁹ Hesiod, *Theog.* 868; Homer, *Iliad* 8.478-481.

²⁴⁰ Homer, *Iliad* 8.478-481.

²⁴¹ Homer, *Iliad* 8.14; Plato, *Phaedo* 113e.

²⁴² This one occurrence of Tartarus in the New Testament is from the verb form, ταρταρώω.

of the place of punishment of the Watchers,²⁴³ placing sinning angels, presumably the Watchers, in Tartarus. This is clear Hellenistic influence. Finally, there may be an influence, direct or not, of Egyptian cosmology in this pericope as well. The Sibyl describes God's creative actions with the heaven as οὐρανὸν ὑψωσεν – he lifted up the heavens. The affinity of this phrase with Egyptian cosmogony, specifically Heliopolitan cosmogony, is pointed out by Philonenko in his comment on *Joseph and Aseneth* 12.3.²⁴⁴

The remainder of the pericope deals with the creation of things outside the bounds of Day One, and as such will be left in large part alone. Suffice it to say for the purpose of this study, there is an intertextual relationship between *Sib.Or.* 1.5-21, especially 8-11. This pericope, however, draws upon a complex web of creation language from LXX Gen 1.1-5, to Hellenic and Egyptian cosmogonies.

4.3.8 Additional Christian Texts

Ignatius, *To the Ephesians* 19.1-3

At the heart of this Christological text²⁴⁵ from Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, is the possibly intertextual conversation between the star of Bethlehem and the light of Day One. The inclusion of this marginally relevant text pivots upon the statement: ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάμβανεν τὸ παρὰ θεῶ ἀπηρτισμένον / And that which had been completed by God received (its) beginning.²⁴⁶ While there is little resemblance of LXX Gen 1.1 in this use of ἀρχή, Ignatius' use does intertextually bring in a new beginning. The advent of the Christ who ushers in the new age is spoken of in terms of the beginning of creation. Also, it is possible to read this unique star signaling the human manifestation of the divine as something different from the other lights of the sky. Ignatius asserts that it stands apart from sun, moon, and the other stars. When looking at Genesis 1, the one light that comes outside of sun, moon, and stars created on the fourth day is the light of Day One.

Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 129.1-4

What is of interest to this study from this collage of quotations from the Hebrew Bible that under gird Justin's Christology is his equation of wisdom in LXX Prov 8.21b-25 with the Christ-figure. The intertextual markers in large part are found in the quotation of LXX Proverbs, and thus need no further elaboration. The reason for mentioning this text is that it serves to illustrate the deliberate intertextual and theological reading of a text in the larger Greek tapestry in order to make sense of the Christ-figure.

²⁴³ 1 Enoch 17.1-19.3

²⁴⁴ Philonenko, *Josesph et Aséneth*, 60. Also, a similar phrase, ὑψωθῆ ὁ οὐρανός, is also used in LXX Jer 38.35 [31.37].

²⁴⁵ In this passage, Ignatius speaks of the revelation of divine mysteries, a transformation of history with the incarnation and advent of eternal life, a ruler of the present age other than God (cf. Ign. *Eph.* 17.1), and the chaos that the revelation of the divine mystery has caused.

²⁴⁶ Ign. *Eph.* 19.3

Sibylline Oracles 3.8-23

The primary interest of this study in this portion of *Sib.Or.*²⁴⁷ is that it is a creation text, especially lines 20-24, in which God creates with the word.²⁴⁸ It also uses *ἀόρατος* not for the earth but for God. The latter intertextual relation of this pericope with LXX Gen 1.1-5 is rooted in its theological argument against idolatry and for monotheism. Even though humans are made in the image of God,²⁴⁹ God is most certainly the immortal creator (*ἀθάνατος κτίστης* – 3.10), self-generated and invisible (*ἀόρατος* – 3.11). While the use of *ἀόρατος* here makes an intertextual bridge with LXX Gen 1.2a, the use of the term in *Sib.Or.* 3.11, bears a closer resemblance to Philo's use of the term to make a theological statement about who God is.²⁵⁰

4.4 Conclusions

The intertextual afterlives of the Greek texts of Gen 1.1-5 materialize out of the amorphous intertextual haze in a variety of ways different from the Hebrew.

4.4.1 Re-tellings of Gen 1.1-5

Of all the texts covered in this chapter, there are four that can be classified as deliberate re-tellings of Gen 1.1-5. *Jub* 2.2 and Josephus, *Ant.* 1.27-29, are clear examples of eisegetical re-tellings of LXX Gen 1.1-5. They are clearly engaging with, expanding upon and / or clarifying the text of Gen 1.1-5. With these I include Jn 1.1-5. It is a re-telling that appears to draw together LXX Gen 1.1-5 and wisdom traditions. What Justin Martyr, *Dia.* 129.1-4, does by deliberately quoting LXX Prov 8.21b-25, Jn 1.1-5 does by refitting LXX Gen 1.1-5 with a Christ-version of the personified wisdom in the tradition of Proverbs 8 and Sirach 24. Finally, I include with these Philo's *Opif* 26-35, which is a commentary on the Greek text of Gen 1.1-5. As it is Philo's deliberate commentary on Gen 1.1-5, it differs from the other re-tellings, though as pointed out above, Philo does not follow Gen 1.1-5 in a verse by verse format but treats the text piecemeal at the behest of his own allegorical aims. I place *Opif* 26-35 in the category of re-telling because of Philo's allegorical aims, an example of which can be seen in his treatment of *ἀόρατος* of LXX Gen 1.2. Philo, in effect, re-tells the Genesis creation story realigning *ἀόρατος* from a description of the earth prior to the creation of light to Middle-Platonic philosophical categories of intelligible and sense-perceptible.

The flip-side of these deliberate re-tellings are two texts from Philo which are deliberate in their accidental, intertextual connections with LXX Gen 1.1-5. In both texts, *Somn.* 1.72-76 and *Gig.* 22-23, LXX Gen 1.1-5 enters into Philo's hermeneutical meanderings because of certain intertextual markers. In *Somn.* 1.72-76, Philo is expounding upon the beginning of Jacob's dream at Bethel,²⁵¹ and in the course of dealing with *ὁ ἥλιος*²⁵² ends up at

²⁴⁷ For this text, I err on the side of caution with the question provenance. While it could have originated in Egypt (cf. J.J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*, (SBLDS 13; Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1974) and be 'late hellenistic or early Roman' (cf. Collins, "Sibylline Oracles," OTP 1.360) there is a lack of clear evidence. On the ambiguity of the provenance of *Sib.Or.* 3, see Davila, *Provenance*, 181-186.

²⁴⁸ Cf. *λόγω* in 3.20

²⁴⁹ *Sib.Or.* 3.8 comes the closest to LXX Genesis 1 with the assertion that humanity is created in the image of God, per Gen 1.26.

²⁵⁰ E.g., Philo, *Cher* 101, *Sacr* 133, *Det.* 31, 86, *Plant.* 18, *Som* 1.72, etc.

²⁵¹ Gen 28.10-22

²⁵² LXX Gen 28.11a

the creation of light in LXX Gen 1.3-4. Likewise in *Gig.* 22-23, Philo, while working out the meaning of πνεῦμα in LXX Gen 6.3, comes to the occurrence of πνεῦμα in LXX Gen 1.2. LXX Gen 1.1-5 is intertextually involved in both of these sets of texts, the deliberate and the accidental, though in different ways. If these two groups of texts represent the ends of a continuum between deliberate and accidental, then what follows is an examination of what comes between.

4.4.2 Methods of Creation

Within the creative methods employed in the texts in this chapter, two stand out: creation by boundrification and creation by word.

4.4.2.1 Creation by boundrification

Generally speaking, creation by the establishment of boundaries is a thread that runs through many of the texts in this chapter. Of these there are two major groupings – the boundrification of watery things and of light and darkness, the latter being more directly related to Gen 1.1-5.

First of all, the watery things: in *Pr.Man.* 3, it is God who fetters the sea and seals the abyss with the divine name. In *Diogn.* 7.2, the sea is mentioned individually as the subject of the Christ-figure's creative boundrification, and at the end of the pericope there is a general statement that the on-going creative activity of the Christ-figure is the ordering of all things, including the heavens, the earth, the sea, and all that is in them, and also fire, air, the abyss, and everything else from top to bottom. In *1 Clem* 20.6-7, the sea is also boundaried and at the command of the Creator, similar to LXX Job 38.11. A similar concern is expressed in *1 Clem* 33.3, in which the sea and all in it is enclosed by God's power. In *1 Clem* 33.3, there is another boundary mentioned – the boundary between earth and waters reminiscent of the third day.²⁵³ Each of these texts uses the verb, κλείω,²⁵⁴ or one of its cognates, ἐνκλείω²⁵⁵ and κλείθρον.²⁵⁶ This is of note as none of these forms are found in the Greek intertexts of chapter two.

The second block of texts is concerned with the boundaries of light and darkness, day and night. Philo, who equates order with beauty,²⁵⁷ shows concern for this separation in multiple places. In *Opif* 29-34, he is concerned with explicating the intelligible, not the sense-perceptible,²⁵⁸ creation of Day One. This intelligible creation is the pattern or paradigm for the dimmed (ἀμαυρόω) sense-perceptible creation. As part of this paradigm, God builds a wall between the opposites of light and darkness, so that they do not have the opportunity to quarrel and create cosmic disorder and war.²⁵⁹ These walls are dawn and dusk.²⁶⁰ In *Somn.* 175-176, Philo highlights God's creation of the sun as a separator between light and darkness – the sun being an visible image of the invisible God. And in *Her* 163b-164, he expresses a slightly different though related idea of the equality of opposites – night and

²⁵³ Gen 1.9-13

²⁵⁴ *Pr.Man.* 3

²⁵⁵ *1 Clem* 33.3, *Diogn.* 7.2

²⁵⁶ The plural, κλείθρα, is found in *1 Clem* 20.6.

²⁵⁷ καλὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν ἀταξία. *Opif.* 28.

²⁵⁸ Note the 'pure and undiluted radiance' of the intelligible light when it becomes perceptible, *Opif.* 31.

²⁵⁹ *Opif.* 33

²⁶⁰ *Opif.* 34

day, light and darkness, man and woman. From the last of these he looks to Gen 1.26, and sees that this equality must be a reflection of the divine. From a slightly different vantage, Sir 33.7-15 also shows a concern for separation, though not expressly between light and darkness. Sir 33.7-15, like Philo, shows a general concern for separation and opposites.²⁶¹ Ben Sira, first of all, stresses the separation of days, holy from ordinary,²⁶² possibly related to light and darkness, and secondly between human beings.²⁶³ Last of this grouping is Jn 1.1-5, a text that is less explicitly concerned about boundaries between light and darkness but does state that darkness can not overtake (καταλαμβάνω) light, the implication being that there is a boundary between the two.

Finally, at tattered edges of the tapestry, in *1 Enoch* 21.2 and 33.7-15, the reader is carried with Enoch to the limits of the cosmos and given a cosmographic glimpse of the boundaries of the earth²⁶⁴ and the whole lot,²⁶⁵ with the ever-elusive ἀκατασκεύαστος, distinguishing the place where disobedient stars are punished.²⁶⁶

4.4.2.2 Creation by Word/Speech

A second method of creation that is a dominant thread throughout the texts in this chapter is creation by word or speech. In some cases this is manifest in the actual speech of the divine, along the lines of ‘and God said...’ in Gen 1.3. Related to this is the idea that a divine λόγος or logic is involved at the beginning, either as a creative force or a paradigm of creation.

In *1 Clem* 20, after God crafts the boundaries of the sea,²⁶⁷ God speaks and commands the sea to remain within its boundaries.²⁶⁸ Similarly, in *Sib.Or.* 1.9, all of God’s creative speech is apparently summarized with four words, εἶπας, γεννάσθω καὶ ἐγένετο – He said, ‘Let it come into being,’ and it came into being. There are also examples of creation by speech where there is no quotation of the divine. In *Pr.Man.* 3, God fetters the sea by the word of God’s command. In both *Sib.Or.* 1.19 and 3.30, it says that by a word God created everything. These three examples all employ λόγος as a dative of means.²⁶⁹ A clear example of this from the Greek tapestry of Gen 1.1-5 is LXX Ps 32.6 [33.6] in which the heavens are created by the word of the Lord.²⁷⁰ Similar to creation by the word of God’s command in *Pr.Man.* 3 is creation by divine commands²⁷¹ in *1 Clem* 20.5. Similar to creation by

²⁶¹ ¹⁴The opposite of evil is good,
and the opposite of death is life,
just so the opposite of the pious is the sinner.

¹⁵And so look into all the works of the Most High,
they are two by two, one opposite the other.

²⁶² Sir 33.7-9

²⁶³ Sir 33.10-13

²⁶⁴ *1 En* 18.5, 10

²⁶⁵ *1 En* 19.3

²⁶⁶ *1 En* 21.2

²⁶⁷ *1 Clem* 20.6

²⁶⁸ *1 Clem* 20.7. Introducing a paraphrase of LXX Job 38.11b, are the words, εἶπεν γάρ. Similarly, in the context of the creation of humankind the author of *1 Clem* 33.5 quotes divine speech from LXX Gen 1.26, introducing it with οὕτως γάρ φησιν ὁ θεός.

²⁶⁹ Another example of this dative of means, though with ῥήμα, comes in Herm. *Vis.* 3.4, where God fixes heaven and founds the earth by means of his powerful word.

²⁷⁰ Also, Wis. 9.1

²⁷¹ προστάγμασιν – another dative of means.

speech is creation by will. Josephus, *C.Ap.* 2.192, goes out of his way to tell the reader that the divine did not create by hand, nor by hard labor, nor by need of any fellow workers, but that he willed (θέλω) the whole lot into being.²⁷²

Related to the above examples is Philo's idea of the divine λόγος²⁷³ – the invisible paradigm of the visible creation. The idea appears in two texts found in this chapter both of which deal with the creation of light. In *Somm.* 1.75, Philo, quoting from LXX Ps 26.1 [27.1], 'the Lord is my illumination and my savior,' suggests that God's λόγος is the intelligible light. That is, the light of Day One is the paradigm or archetype for all visible lights. Slightly different from this is Philo's contention in *Opif.* 31 that the intelligible light comes into being through the divine λόγος.²⁷⁴ There are two Christian texts that come close to Philo's understanding(s) of the divine λόγος. The first of these is *Diogn.* 7.2, in which the invisible God places in the hearts of humans the truth and the holy and unknowable λόγος. While it is not entirely clear, it seems that this λόγος is not the same as the Christ-figure with whom the remainder of the text is interested. The second, *Jn* 1.1-5, equates the divine λόγος with the Christ-figure. The λόγος is placed at the beginning, equated with God, the one through whom all things came to be.

A segue into the next section is one last text that notes creation by speech. This is *Sir* 24.3, in which wisdom states that she came out (was generated) from the mouth of the Most High.²⁷⁵

4.4.3 Creation involving a first-figure (Wisdom / Christ-figure)

In the tradition of *Prov* 8.22-31, and (as above) not completely divorced from the idea of creation by divine speech, is the idea that created first of all at the beginning is wisdom. This thread is reinterpreted in *Sirach*. While in *Sirach* 1 the point is made that wisdom was created prior to everything else,²⁷⁶ in *Sirach* 24 wisdom's place in the cosmos is clarified. That is, wisdom resides first in the clouds of heaven,²⁷⁷ and then at the behest of God takes up residence in the Jerusalem Temple,²⁷⁸ ultimately being associated with the Law of Moses.²⁷⁹

This wisdom thread seems related to the Christian idea of the Christ-figure present and creatively active from the beginning. While none of these texts identifies this first-figure as the Christ by name, it is clear that these

²⁷² Also, LXX Ps 134.6, *1 Clem* 20.4.

²⁷³ For Philo, the intelligible cosmos, the subject of God's creative actions on Day One, is located in the divine λόγος, cf. *Opif.* 20. Runia, *On the Creation*, suggests that Philo's understanding of the divine λόγος is a confluence of Hellenistic philosophical categories and biblical ideas, e.g. God creates by speaking in *Genesis* 1. (142-143)

²⁷⁴ Runia, *On the Creation*, suggests that Philo may be referring here to God's speaking light into existence in *Gen* 1.3. (168) While this may be the case, Philo's understanding of the λόγος as the intelligible paradigm of the perceptible cosmos must remain in our frame of reference.

²⁷⁵ Quite similar to this is *Jdt* 16.14

σοὶ δουλευσάτω πάντα ἢ κτίσις σου·
ὅτι εἶπας, καὶ ἐγενήθησαν·
ἀπέστειλας τὸ πνεῦμα σου, καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν·
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς ἀντιστήσεται τῇ φωνῇ σου.

Let the whole of your creation serve you;
Because you spoke, and they came into being;
You sent your spirit, and they were built/made;
And there is no one who can resist your voice.

²⁷⁶ *Sir* 1.4a

²⁷⁷ *Sir* 24.1-5

²⁷⁸ *Sir* 24.8-12

²⁷⁹ *Sir* 24.23-33

Christian texts all share a theological interest in interpreting the person of Jesus in relation to the creator of the cosmos. Wisdom provides a paradigm for these interpretations, an interpretation illustrated by Justin Martyr's deliberate Christological interpretation of LXX Prov 8.21b-25.²⁸⁰ Colossians 1 states that this Christ-figure is the image of the invisible God, the first born of all creation²⁸¹ and the one in whom all things were created.²⁸² In a similar way, John 1.1-5, though referring to this figure as the λόγος, strengthens the relationship between the λόγος or Christ-figure and God by equating the two. *Diogn* 7.2 identifies this Christ-figure as the technician and creator of the whole.

Marginal reference should also be made to two additional texts. The first of these is *Herm. Vis.* 3.4, in which the church is created by wisdom and foreknowledge. Though this text does not explicitly place the creation of the church at the beginning, by juxtaposing the creation of the church with the fixing of the heaven and the founding of the earth the text infers that the church was created at least among the first things.²⁸³ Secondly, in the retelling of Gen 1.1-5 in *Jub* 2.2-3, the author interprets אלהים / πνεῦμα θεοῦ of Gen 1.2 as reference to the angelic hosts.²⁸⁴

4.4.4 The Invisible – ὁ ἀόρατος

The rendering of רבו וברו as ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος provides for an interesting portion of the afterlives tapestry of LXX Gen 1.1-5. The latter of the Greek pair, ἀκατασκεύαστος, appears only in the cosmographic text of *I En* 21.1-3 and is used there to describe the place where disobedient stars are punished. The lack of use of this word makes any firm conclusions difficult, though this occurrence in *I En* 21.2 can be read in light of a chaos idea in LXX Gen 1.2. The former, ἀόρατος, occurs repeatedly throughout the tapestry, though never in terms of chaos. When used in relation to the created world, ἀόρατος is used by Philo to describe the paradigmatic, intelligible earth²⁸⁵ and light²⁸⁶ of Day One, and elsewhere the human soul – an invisible image of the invisible God.²⁸⁷ *Jos.Asen.* 12.2 echoes a similar idea in that God's creative activity brings into the light things that are invisible.²⁸⁸ In addition to describing the created, ἀόρατος is also used to describe the creator. For Philo, God is invisible and supreme.²⁸⁹ For Josephus, the invisible divine is visible in works and graces.²⁹⁰ In Christian texts, God²⁹¹ and God's power²⁹² are invisible, though God is made visible in the Christ-figure.²⁹³

²⁸⁰ *Dialogue with Trypho* 129.1-4

²⁸¹ Col. 1.15

²⁸² Col. 1.16

²⁸³ Col 1.18 mentions the church, though in this text it is in reference to the Christ-figure.

²⁸⁴ M. Alexandre, *Le Commencement du Livre Genèse I-V: La version grecque de la Septante et sa réception*, (Christianisme Antique 3; Paris: Beauchesne, 1988) gives a summary of both Jewish and Christian creation accounts that include angels. (61-63)

²⁸⁵ *Opif.* 29

²⁸⁶ *Opif.* 31

²⁸⁷ *Somn.* 1.73-74

²⁸⁸ Josephus, *Ant.* 1.27, speaks of the act of creation similarly though without ἀόρατος.

²⁸⁹ *Somn.* 1.72

²⁹⁰ Josephus, *Dialogue with Trypho* 190, does not specifically use ἀόρατος.

²⁹¹ Col 1.5; *Diogn.* 7.2; *Sib.Or.* 3.12

²⁹² *Herm. Vis.* 3.4

While there is variety in the use of ἀόρατος in the intertextual afterlives of LXX Gen 1.2, what is clear is that ἀόρατος is not a negative concept. While some of this may be due to the influence of Hellenistic philosophy, it is within the realm of possibility that this positive interpretation is due at least in part to a movement toward *creatio ex nihilo*.

4.4.5 *Creatio ex nihilo*

Outside of Isa 45.7 and the Greek version of Gen 1.1-5,²⁹⁴ there is little deliberate concern in the books of the Hebrew Bible and their Greek equivalents for expressly stating a doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*. While I make no claims on the origins of this thinking, it is apparent in texts of this chapter that *creatio ex nihilo* has become of concern. While it is often suggested that 2 Macc 7.28 is the oldest expression of this idea, *Jub* 2.2 appears to precede it. The list in *Jub* 2.2 of the seven things that were created on the first day accounts for all of the nouns of LXX Gen 1.1-5, leaving none to have existed prior to Day One. This zero-sum subtlety effectively proposes a version of *creatio ex nihilo*, picked-up and with some minor modification repeated by Philo.²⁹⁵ On the flip-side of this, in the third of the retellings of Gen 1.1-5, Josephus appears unconcerned about *creatio ex nihilo*.²⁹⁶

To *Jub* 2.2 and *Opif* 29, there are texts less interested in maths though no less interested in starting from nothing. *Jos.Asen.* 12.2 states that God is the maker of everything. *Pr.Man.* 2, though less explicitly, states that God created heaven and earth and everything else in them. Also, Col 1.16 states that in the Christ-figure everything was made, and John 1.3 states that all things came into being through him.

It is true that none of the texts in this chapter deal as expressly with the problem of evil as does Isa 45.7, that is, none ascribe the creation of evil (שׁוֹר / κακός) to God. It does appear to be the case, however, that the concern for a theological expression of *creatio ex nihilo* is more pronounced in these texts than in those of previous chapters.

This concludes the glimpses at individual portions of the tapestries of Day One. What follows in the conclusion is an attempt to step back further still to see the whole – to draw together the otherwise disparate threads of the intertextuality of Day One – and to reflect on this methodological excursion.

²⁹³ Col 1.15; *1 Clem* 33.4

²⁹⁴ On LXX Gen 1.1-5, see above, pp. 49-50.

²⁹⁵ *Opif.* 29

²⁹⁶ *Ant* 1.27-29

CONCLUSION

THE TAPESTRIES OF GENESIS 1.1-5

While researching and writing this thesis occasionally I have been accused, usually tongue-in-cheek, of not getting very far in my study of the Bible. After all, the first five verses of Genesis are just that – five verses. Quite contrary to these mostly friendly quips, this study wanders far afield of Day One, going from *the* beginning to prophetic wonderings about creation to eschatological longings within early Judaism to Christological imaginings in early Christianity. What holds these many texts together is their intertextuality with Genesis 1.1-5.

While tying up loose ends may well run contrary to the very idea of intertextuality, what follows is a summation of this ‘unfamiliar’ history.¹ The plan for these final few pages is as follows. First of all, I return to the question of method. Of what value is intertextuality in the history of interpretation? From method, I turn to praxis. What do we learn by employing this method that we would not otherwise know by way of a more conventional method of historical inquiry? To do this I follow the basic outline of the thesis as a whole, first of all summarizing the intertextuality of MT Gen 1.1-5 (chapter one) and LXX Gen 1.1-5 (chapter two), and then comparing the Hebrew intertextual afterlives (chapter three) with the intertextuality of MT Gen 1.1-5 and the Greek intertextual afterlives (chapter four) with the intertextuality of LXX Gen 1.1-5. Finally, I offer an observation on the impact of language on the intertextuality of a text.

5.1 The Question of Method

At its core, this thesis is an experiment in methodology. This thesis proposes and implements a new method for viewing the interconnectedness of texts with a view toward the history of interpretation. This method works from a reader-focused² understanding of text and seeks to provide a systematic means for identifying and examining the intertextuality of a given text,³ the *débordement* of text à la Derrida. This method provides a glimpse of how texts live and breathe and develop⁴ in the readings and interpretations of individuals and communities. The resulting tapestry of a text and its intertexts – these many threads woven together – provides a partial look into the

¹ M.L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study*, (STDJ 45; Leiden: Brill, 2002) ix.

² It may be helpful here to recall a quote from R. Barthes, “From Work to Text,” in *Image - Music - Text* (ed. S. Heath; Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1977), ‘...there is one place where this multiplicity [intertextual mosaic] is focused and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author. The reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed....’ (148)

³ On a ‘systematic means,’ see p.5 above.

⁴ When I was originally proposing the idea for this thesis, I was set on using the word ‘develop’. My thinking then was that with reading and interpreting, with the variety of readers reading from a variety of contexts for a variety of purposes, the meaning of a text would develop. My use of the word ‘develop’ was met with some skepticism in that ‘develop’ could be understood to include the idea of an eschatological goal-oriented perfection. As such I only use the word ‘develop’ here at the end and only with some caution. To clarify, the theological implication is not that interpretations become better (‘more developed’) over time. Rather, in my use of ‘develop’ I intend to highlight the dynamic quality of text and undermine a static understanding of text.

interpretive possibilities of the reader,⁵ and an accounting of a text's intertextuality within a specific body of literature and within defined historical boundaries – an intertextual history.

This study has the interpreter in mind. It would be wonderful to know the mind of the interpreter, but this is impossible given that there is no possibility for dialogue with or questioning of the ancient interpreter. Rather, texts are what remains. And so, with the interpreter in mind, this study provides a glimpse of the complex interconnectedness of texts in order to get as broad a view of the text and its intertexts as possible – a window into the intertextual possibilities available to the ancient interpreter.

To review more specifically, the method works through five steps: (1) examine the primary text under consideration; (2) identify and study the intertextual markers from the primary text within a given corpus of texts; (3) identify texts that have an intertextual commonality with the primary text (i.e., significant repetition of intertextual markers and its general theme); (4) examine the texts compiled by way of step three looking for common and contrasting threads; and (5) identify subsequent intertexts or afterlives and compare them to the wider tapestry.

By no means does this thesis exhaust the intertextual possibilities available to the ancient interpreter. There are lacunae in this method and the resulting thesis. Some obvious limitations are evident when imagining possible interpreters: a bi-lingual or multi-lingual interpreter drawing upon both corpora (Hebrew and Greek) and/or texts in other languages; an interpreter who is unfamiliar with the corpora either in part or in total; an interpreter working not with written but with oral 'texts', which may be more fluid, etc. One must only recall the possible intertextual / intercultural / interreligious relationship between *Jo.Asen.* 12.3 and the Egyptian / Heliopolitan cosmogony to then ponder the infinite possibilities. When one also takes into account the fact that Aramaic texts contemporary with historical bounds of this study are not considered and the accidents of history, whereby the complete library of texts of the ancient world is not extant, the method and its product are partial. The whole is not retrievable. Any conclusions, therefore, are partial and must be left open to critique and additions. At the same time, this method does provide a systematic means to explore the intertexts available to the ancient interpreter, and as such provides a new vantage on the material.

5.2 The Intertextuality of MT Gen 1.1-5 in the Hebrew Bible

Chapter One provides a look at the intertextuality of MT Gen 1.1-5 within the Hebrew Bible. These texts vary widely in their length and language, in their commonality with MT Gen 1.1-5 and their creation theology. For the purposes of summation and comparison with the wider study, I return to some of the more relevant themes.

⁵ As D.R. Blumenthal, "Many Voices, One Voice," *Judaism* 47 (1998), shows in his juxtaposition of (re)written accounts of Gen 1.1-5 based on the interpretive work of four Medieval Jewish commentators (469-471), it is difficult to argue that there is a *sensus literalis* or *peshat*. Blumenthal suggests, however, that the common denominator among interpreters is not a common understanding of the text but a common understanding of the origin of the text – a Voice. (467) While this thesis is not primarily interested in the question of a divine origin for any of the texts involved, it does seem clear that all of the texts covered in this thesis assume 'a Voice' as Blumenthal calls it. For all of the diversity within the intertextual tapestry, there may be this one assumption inherent in each of the texts.

Not surprisingly, YHWH plays a masterful role in these creation texts. With the exception of two texts that long for the reversal of the created order⁶ and two that view YHWH as a divine warrior who intervenes on the field of battle, by and large YHWH is in charge of the creative forces. This mastery is reflected in a unique thread of creation by the boudrification of certain cosmic elements. As with the separation (בדל) of light and darkness in MT Gen 1.4, God places boundaries between light and dark,⁷ between seasons,⁸ between earth and God's dwelling,⁹ and most frequently between forms of water.¹⁰ Also under the umbrella of 'mastery' is creation by speech or word. Creation by speech, a definite hallmark of MT Gen 1.1-5 and Genesis 1 as a whole, appears in a corner of Chapter One.¹¹ A natural extension of this overarching idea of mastery comes in two observations concerning forms in the intertexts of Chapter One: the titular references that make God's creative activity central to who God is¹² and the instances where God's creativity is the object of praise.¹³

While the idea of *creatio ex nihilo* appears to be of little interest in MT Gen 1.1-5 or in the whole of the tapestry represented in Chapter One, there is one text that is related. MT Isa 45.7 is the sole text that attempts to explicitly state that everything comes from God, light and darkness, good and evil. Is this text exegetically 'correcting' MT Gen 1.2, which when read parenthetically opens the door for darkness existing before God begins creating in MT Gen 1.3? If it is not, then it provides fertile ground for later developments of *creatio ex nihilo*.

Another prominent thread in Chapter One is the statement that God stretches out (נטה) the heavens, a thread that runs through over one quarter of the texts. This is especially notable in that the thread of stretching out the heavens is nearly absent in later Hebrew intertexts. Also prominent for their absence later are the primordials (לַיְיִתָּן, רַהַב, תַּיִנִּים, and possibly תְּהוֹם).¹⁴ God's creative combative and/or taming actions with these often dangerous primordial beings (e.g. the crushing of the heads of the Leviathan in MT Ps 74.14 or the butchering of Rahab in MT Isa 51.9) figures quite prominently in the intertextual tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5, but is absent later. On the other hand, while wisdom appears rather prominently in Chapter One as an instrument of God's creative actions,¹⁵ it is only personified and placed at the beginning in one text – MT Prov 8.22-31. Also along the lines of

⁶ MT Jer 4.32-28; Job 3.3-10

⁷ MT Job 26.10, 38.19-20

⁸ MT Ps 74.17

⁹ MT Isa 40.22

¹⁰ תַּיִן - MT Isa 40.12; Ps 104.9, 148.6; Job 26.10; יָם - MT Job 38.10, Prov 8.29; תְּהוֹם - MT Prov 8.27.

¹¹ Of the four examples of this in Chapter One, most interesting are MT Ps 33.6, which says that heaven was created by the word of YHWH (בְּדַבַּר יְהוָה) and the heavenly host by the breath of his mouth (בְּרוּחַ פִּי), MT Ps 148.5, which, with reference to the angels/hosts and celestial lights/beings (vv.2-4), says that God commanded (צוה) and they existed, and MT Amos 9.6, in which YHWH calls or summons the waters of the sea and pours them upon the surface of the earth.

¹² MT Isa 42.5, 45.18, 48.12-13, 51.13; Amos 4.13, 5.8, 9.5-6; Zech 12.1; Prov 30.4; Neh 9.6

¹³ MT Ps 33.6-7, 104.1-30, 135.6-7, 136.1-9, 148.1-13; and Prov 8.30-31, in which Wisdom is portrayed as rejoicing in God's creative handiwork.

¹⁴ לַיְיִתָּן - Ps 74.14, 104.26, Job 3.8; יָם - MT Isa 51.10, Amos 9.6, Ps 74.13, 104.25, Prov 8.29, Job 26.12; רַהַב - MT Isa 51.9, Job 26.12; תַּיִנִּים - MT Isa 51.9, Ps 74.13, 148.7, Job 26.13 (?), 28.14; תְּהוֹם - MT Gen 1.2, Isa 51.10, Ps 104.6, 148.7, Prov 8.27, 28, Job 28.14.

¹⁵ MT Jer 10.12, 51.15; Ps 104.24; Prov 3.19; Job 28.12; similarly, YHWH's understanding (תבונה) and knowledge (דעה) are also used as instruments of YHWH's creative power, e.g. MT Jer 10.12, 51.15; Ps 136.5; Prov 3.19; Job 28.12.

forces external to God, there are just three texts that make mention of angels.¹⁶ Final brief mention should be made of the texts that combine creation and temple language. While there is no hint of Temple imagery evident in MT Gen 1.1-5 itself, in MT 2 Sam 22.7 and Ps 18.7[6] it is clear that YHWH hears the cry of the people in a heavenly temple and then descends from the temple to the battlefield. Two additional texts, MT Isa 40.22 and Amos 9.6, may offer allusions to a cosmic temple.

5.3 The Intertextuality of LXX Gen 1.1-5 in the Greek equivalents of the Hebrew Bible

Chapter Two generally follows the same pattern of inquiry as Chapter One with the difference being the language of the texts. The move from Hebrew to Greek texts has three notable effects on the complexion of Chapter Two. The first is that there is a minor difference in intertextual markers. That is, when the words of LXX Gen 1.1-5 are examined within the larger corpus of Greek texts a slightly different list of intertextual markers emerges.¹⁷ A second effect is the inherent difficulty with that which is commonly called the Septuagint. While this study works from the assumption that most (if not all) of the Greek versions of the texts in the Hebrew Bible were available in Greek by the first century CE, certain books (e.g. Daniel, Job, Jeremiah, etc.) had multiple versions. How this affects this study is evident in LXX Job 26, a text that figured prominently in Chapter One. Without the asterisked material (likely attributable to Origen and thus outside the historical scope of this study), there is not enough intertextual commonality with LXX Gen 1.1-5 in the un-asterisked material to warrant the inclusion of this text. Finally, the grammatical construction of the primary text, LXX Gen 1.1-5, is of concern. As was shown at the beginning of Chapter One,¹⁸ there is an inherent ambiguity in the grammar of the Hebrew of Gen 1.1-5 – an ambiguity that leaves the door open to seeing the whole of MT Gen 1.1-5 as a unit, with the creation of light in MT Gen 1.3 being the first act of creation. Such a reading necessitates that there was an earth that existed in a pre-created (MT Gen 1.2) state prior to the creative speech of MT Gen 1.3. The grammar of LXX Gen 1.1-5, on the other hand, is not ambiguous. LXX Gen 1.1 and 1.3 are both independent clauses that leave little room but to say that there are two creations¹⁹ in LXX Gen 1.1-5 – the heaven and the earth in v.1 and light in v.3. Is this an attempt by the translator to address the grammatical and theological ambiguity of MT Gen 1.1-3? It is impossible to know the aims of the Greek translation, but it is within the realm of possibility that this translation is in line with and possibly fosters an idea of *creatio ex nihilo*.

The intertexts in Chapter Two are quite similar to their Hebrew counterparts in their general portrayal of God as ‘master’ of the cosmos. As in Chapter One, this mastery is displayed by God’s ordering of the cosmos by placing boundaries around water,²⁰ between the earth and the divine dwelling,²¹ and around everything.²² Notably

¹⁶ MT Ps 104.4 has God making angels from the winds; MT Ps 148.2 has angels praising YHWH; and similarly, MT Neh 9.6 has the host of heaven worshipping YHWH.

¹⁷ Examples of this are that φῶς and the word-pair, οὐρανός – γῆ, are omitted from the list of intertextual markers used throughout Chapter Two because their usefulness in identifying intertexts is limited because they occur too frequently.

¹⁸ Chapter 1.2

¹⁹ What W.P. Brown, *Structure, Role, and Ideology in the Hebrew and Greek Texts of Genesis 1:1-2:3*, (SBLDS 132; Atlanta: Scholars, 1993) calls a ‘double creation’. (35)

²⁰ ὕδωρ – LXX Ps 103.9f, Isa 40.12; θαλάσσα – LXX Job 38.10

²¹ LXX Job 38.19-20, Isa 40.22

absent from the boundrification of watery things in Chapter Two are boundaries for the equivalents of מַיִם in LXX Ps 148.6 and Prov 8.29 and מַיִם הַיָּם in LXX Prov 8.27, all of which no longer exist in the Greek versions. Also in terms of ‘mastery’, LXX Gen 1.1-5, like its Hebrew counterpart, presents the creation of light as creation by speech, a theme slightly more prevalent than in Chapter One.²³

The ‘primordials’ of Chapter One are in a way demythologized.²⁴ They lose their primordial-ness in translation. For example, both לַיְלִי and בַּיּוֹם found in MT Ps 74.12-14 are translated as $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$ in LXX Ps 73.12-14. The Greek translation smoothes any distinction between these two otherwise differentiated creatures. Similar to the Hebrew חַכְמָה , $\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ plays a role in creation. While LXX Prov 8.22-31 clarifies that Wisdom’s role in creation is not equal to the role of *the* Creator, this remains the only text in which Wisdom is personified. Wisdom plays a role in other texts as a means by which God created the earth,²⁵ and possibly in a comparison of the wisdom of those who make the priestly vestments and the tapestries of the Holy of Holies with God’s wisdom in numbering the clouds.²⁶ Also important to note is the place of angels, however slight, in the Greek tapestry.²⁷

Finally, creation and temple language also plays a minor though significant role in Chapter Two.²⁸ One curious addition to this is LXX Job 38.36, which, in a shift from the MT text of Job, seemingly compares the wisdom needed to create the priestly vestments and the tapestries of the Holy of Holies with the wisdom used by God to number the clouds.

5.4 The Intertexts of MT Gen 1.1-5 compared with its Intertextual Afterlives

Chapter Three explores the intertextual afterlives of MT Gen 1.1-5, most of which come from among the Dead Sea Scrolls, with a few texts from Sirach and the Mishnah. The fragmentary nature of most of the texts naturally affects the nature of the conclusions.

When looking into the intertextuality of MT Gen 1.1-5 in this accidental medley of texts, there are some threads that bear highlighting. The first of these is the sole deliberate re-telling of MT Gen 1.1-5 in 4QJubilees^a. This eisegetical reading of Day One is severely damaged leaving little text with which to play. What can be read with some certainty is that a battery of spirits/angels were created on Day One and that it is likely that God’s organization of day and night, evening and dawn was done with God’s knowledge. While חַכְמָה appears to play no part in 4QJub^a, it is likely that God’s knowledge (תְּבִינָה)²⁹ is a means to God’s creative ordering. Within the

²² LXX Ps 73.17, Isa 45.18

²³ The objects of God’s creation by speech are heaven (LXX Ps 32.6, 148.5), the waters in/above the heavens (LXX Jer 28.16, Ps 148.5), the waters of the sea (LXX Amos 5.8, 9.6), and humans (LXX Ps 32.9, 103.30). One might also consider creation by will ($\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$) in LXX Ps 134.6 to be a similar concept.

²⁴ $\acute{\alpha}\beta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ – LXX Job 38.16, 30; Ps 32.7, 76.17, 103.6, 134.6, 148.7; Prov 8.24; Isa 44.27 (not in the MT), 51.10; $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ – LXX Exod 20.11; Job 38.8, 16; Ps 32.7, 73.13, 76.20, 134.6; Amos 5.8, 9.6; Isa 51.10, 15; $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$ – LXX Ps 73.13-14, 103.26, 148.7.

²⁵ LXX Ps 103.24, Jer 10.12, 28.15

²⁶ LXX Job 38.36-37

²⁷ LXX Ps 103.4, 148.2; Job 38.7, and possibly Isa 44.26.

²⁸ LXX 2 Kgdms 22.7 and Ps 17.7 definitely have references to a heavenly temple, and LXX Isa 40.22 and Amos 9.6 may have references to a heavenly temple.

²⁹ 4QJub^a v.10

intertextual tapestry of Chapter One, God's knowledge is a creative instrument only in MT Prov 3.20, the object being the *הַדְּרוֹמוֹת*, which are broken open thereby. It does not appear that 4QJub^a draws directly from another text within the tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5 in its use of God's knowledge. What can be said, however, is that there is an intertextual connection between 4QJub^a and MT Prov 3.20 in their use of God's knowledge as a creative instrument.³⁰

Several threads that appear in these later intertexts can be pulled together briefly. The first of these is the idea of stretching out (*נִמְדָה*) the heavens, a thread that appears in about one quarter of the intertexts in Chapter One. The idea appears only twice in Chapter Three. In 1QH^a ix.9-10 reads, 'you stretched out (the) heavens for your glory,' and *Hymn* 8 (11Q5 xxvi.14-15) reads, 'By his understanding he stretched out (the) heavens and brought forth [wind] from [his] store[houses].' Neither of these are direct quotations or paraphrases of an individual passage in the Hebrew Bible, though they both share a common intertextual thread.³¹ Secondly, when comparing creation by boudrification in the Hebrew Bible and in later intertextual afterlives, two texts have an intertextual resemblance to MT Gen 1.4,³² insofar as God is attributed with the separation of light and darkness.³³ In addition, attention is paid to the ordering of time,³⁴ the boundaries of the earth,³⁵ and the sea.³⁶ Thirdly, there are only two texts in Chapter Three that speak of creation by speech. 1QH^a xx.9 makes clear that the order of what is and what will be comes from the mouth of God (*לִפְּי אֱלֹהִים*); and it appears that 4QNon-canonical Psalms B (4Q381 1) has in mind some kind of creation by speech or breath. Finally, though wisdom personified is absent from these later intertexts,³⁷ wisdom as an instrument of God's creative actions is present in two texts. In 1QH^a ix wisdom is present most likely as a creative instrument of God, though the damage to the text makes it difficult to know what the object(s) of this creative activity are.³⁸ In *Hymn* 7, God creates the world (*הַכֹּלֵל*) with his wisdom (*בְּחִזְקוֹכְמוֹתוֹ*) as in MT Jer 10.12 and 51.15, making a particular connection with the intertextual tapestry in Chapter One.

A thread that deserves more attention is the exit of primordials and the entrance of angels within the afterlives of MT Gen 1.1-5. Along with obvious concern in 4QJubilees^a, there is a wider concern for the creation of angels. 1QH^a v.14 speaks of the creation of the 'host of your spirits'; 1QH^a ix.10-13 mentions the transformation of

³⁰ The title, God of knowledge (*אֱלֹהֵי הַדְּעוּת*), is found twice in the text of Chapter Three. In 1QH^a xx.10, it is the God of knowledge who establishes orderly time; and in 1QS iii.15, it is the God of knowledge who is the source of all that is and will be.

³¹ Of interest is that both of these texts come in psalm-like texts, whereas the majority of the intertexts in the Hebrew Bible are from prophetic texts. Of the texts that speak of the stretching out of the heavens, three are either psalms or psalm-like – MT 2 Sam 22.10, Ps 18.10, 104.2; and eight are found in prophetic texts – MT Isa 40.22, 42.5, 44.24, 45.12, 51.13, Jer 10.12, 51.15, Zech 12.1.

³² One can also include here MT Job 26.10 and to a lesser degree of commonality Job 38.19-20.

³³ 4QWorks of God (4Q392 1 5-6) asserts that it is God alone who separates light and darkness; and *Hymn* 4 reads, '(after) separating light from deep darkness, [God] established the dawn by the understanding of his heart.'

³⁴ 1QH^a xx.4-10 speaks of a general ordering of night and day; and 4QSapiential Work A^b (4Q416 1 2-3) may speak of an ordering of seasons.

³⁵ 1QM x.12

³⁶ 1QM x.13

³⁷ There is no extant Hebrew text for Sirach 24, which if it were extant and it did reflect the Greek of Ben Sira's grandson, would be a personification of Wisdom.

³⁸ 1QH^a ix.7 may and lines 19-20 have humankind as the object, and line 14 may be the seas or deeps or their contents.

spirits into angels; and 4Q416 1 7 likely mentions the establishment of the hosts of heaven. These, together with 4QJub^a, make for an interesting, if not a prominent thread in the over all tapestry. Among the Hebrew Bible intertexts of MT Gen 1.1-5, there are two texts that make mention of angels or heavenly hosts worshipping YHWH,³⁹ and one text, MT Ps 104.4, in which God makes the winds/spirits his angels/ messengers.⁴⁰ Add to this the סְלֵהִים רֹחַ הַיָּם hovering upon the face of the primal waters in MT Gen 1.2, and it is clear that there is plenty of fodder for and evidence of speculation about the origins of angels especially in relation to *the* beginning. While it is quite clear that 4QJubilees^a is an eisegetical reading of MT Genesis 1, seeing the whole of this angelic thread of the wider Hebrew tapestry of MT Gen 1.1-5 provides a glimpse into the textual world(s) and concerns of the ancient interpreter.

Finally, there is development in language evident in the later intertexts of MT Gen 1.1-5. This is the nominalization of בְּרֵאשִׁית in the Mishnah⁴¹ and possibly in Sir 15.14 MS A. Outside of these texts, בְּרֵאשִׁית is neither used in the form (with -ב) in which it is found in MT Gen 1.1 nor is it used as a proper noun in any of the other intertexts of MT Gen 1.1-5 inside or outside the Hebrew Bible. This development, if that is what it is, shows the metamorphosis of the language of the primary text into a proper noun.

5.5 The Intertexts of LXX Gen 1.1-5 with its Intertextual Afterlives

Among the Greek intertextual afterlives of LXX Gen 1.1-5, there are four texts which are deliberate readings of LXX Gen 1.1-5. Two of these, *Jub* 2.2 and Josephus, *Ant.* 1.27-29, are eisegetical retellings of Gen 1.1-5. They read-into and expand upon the text of Gen 1.1-5 as a means of clarifying the text's ambiguities. A third text, *Jn* 1.1-5, retells LXX Gen 1.1-5 together with a Christological version of the personified wisdom figure of Proverbs 8 and Sirach 24. This text too is eisegetical, with the Christological confluence of at least two major threads, i.e. creation and Wisdom. The fourth retelling is that Philo's *Opif* 26-35. Philo does not simply retell LXX Gen 1.1-5, he quotes from and comments upon the LXX text of Genesis. Philo's reading of LXX Gen 1.1-5 through the lenses of Middle-Platonic philosophical categories is the closest thing to an exegetical commentary in the whole of this study.

Philo also provides two examples of pure intertextuality at work, recalling one of which is sufficient here. In one of these,⁴² *Gig.* 22-23, Philo works out the meaning of πνεῦμα in LXX Gen 6.3 and draws upon the occurrence of πνεῦμα in LXX Gen 1.2. There is no logical connection between the two texts, other than the occurrence of a common word. Philo, as interpreter, reads intertextually. The common word, πνεῦμα, there is an intertextual thread that connects the two texts in the interpretation of Philo.

There are two basic subjects of divine creative boundrification – forms of water and forms of light and dark – the former⁴³ being foreign to LXX Gen 1.1-5 and latter being central.⁴⁴ A unique appearance of the boundary

³⁹ MT Ps 148.2, Neh 9.6

⁴⁰ עֲשֵׂה בְּלִאֲכִי רִחְוּת – MT Ps 104.4a.

⁴¹ *m.Ber* 9.2 and *m.Hul* 5.5, also *m.Ta'an* 4.2-3 and *m.Meg* 3.6.

⁴² The other is *Somn.* 1.72-76.

⁴³ The separation of the waters takes center stage in the First Creation Story on the third day, Gen 1.9-13.

⁴⁴ Gen 1.4

thread is the cosmographic glimpse of the boundaries in *1 Enoch*,⁴⁵ especially the glance at the elusive ἀκατασκεύαστος, which is used to describe the place where disobedient stars are punished.⁴⁶

It is safe to say that creation by speech, central to LXX Gen 1.3, also appears prominently in the afterlives of LXX Gen 1.1-5. Closest to a record of the speech of the divine like LXX Gen 1.3 are *1 Clem* 20.7 and *Sib.Or.* 1.9, both of which include the creative speech of God. In addition, there are at least three texts that employ the divine word (λόγος) in creative acts, along the lines of LXX Ps 32.6 [33.6], in which the heavens are created by the word of the Lord. Related to this are the uses of λόγος by Philo, as the invisible paradigm for the visible creation,⁴⁷ and the λόγος in John 1.1 that is placed at the beginning, equated with God, and the one through whom all things were made. A possible parallel to creation by speech is creation by will, a thread that is found in LXX Ps 134.6 and again in Josephus, *C.Ap.* 2.192 and *1 Clem* 20.4.

If there is an evident trend of placing angels at the beginning of creation in the Hebrew intertextual afterlives,⁴⁸ there is a similar concern with placing the first-figures of wisdom and Christ at the beginning in the Greek afterlives. The personified wisdom-figure that appears first in Proverbs 8 reappears in *Sir* 24. In *Sir* 24, the place of wisdom is clarified by housing her in the Jerusalem Temple⁴⁹ and ultimately associating her with the Torah of Moses.⁵⁰ This personification of wisdom appears to be at least intertextually informative for, if not paradigmatic of the early Christological moves to place the Christ-figure at the beginning of creation. Justin Martyr's deliberate Christological interpretation of LXX Prov 8.21b-25, stands beside the more nuanced understandings of Col 1.15-20, which claims that the Christ-figure is the image of the invisible God, the first born of all creation, and the one in whom all things were made, John 1.1-5, which also states that the Christ-figure was from the beginning and equates the λόγος with God, and finally *Diogn.* 7.2, which identifies the Christ-figure as the technician and creator of the whole cosmos. With the absence in the Hebrew afterlives of a personified wisdom-figure and the focus on the creation of angels at the beginning, the prominence of a personified wisdom / Christ-figure in the Greek afterlives is significant. From the hypothetical standpoint of the interpreter, it seems that the desire to make sense of or *read* the significance of Jesus of Nazareth was intertextually informed by the general desire to understand the first things created (e.g. the concern for angels) and specifically the Proverbs 8 and *Sirach* 24 tradition of a wisdom-figure present and active at the beginning of creation.

One final and related thread of note is that of *creatio ex nihilo*. The creation of both light and darkness in MT Isa 45.7 seems fertile ground for *creatio ex nihilo*, insofar as it could be a clarification of MT Gen 1.1-3, which has no creation of darkness. Another clarification of MT Gen 1.1-3 might well be seen in the two creative acts in LXX Gen 1.1-3. The first is that God creates heaven and earth in LXX Gen 1.1, with v.2 serving to describe this as-yet-unformed earth. The second is the creation of light in LXX Gen 1.3. Like MT Isa 45.7, LXX Gen 1.1-5 by way

⁴⁵ *1 En* 18.5, 10, 19.3

⁴⁶ *1 En* 21.2

⁴⁷ The λόγος that is placed by the invisible God in the hearts of humans in *Diogn.* 7.2 appears to be more closely related to the paradigmatic λόγος of Philo, than the Christ-figure of John 1.

⁴⁸ Of course, the placement of the creation of angels on the Day One of creation is central in the Greek text of *Jubilees* 2.2-3, as covered in Chapter Four.

⁴⁹ *Sir* 24.8-12

⁵⁰ *Sir* 24.23-33

of its grammar is fertile ground for *creatio ex nihilo*. More deliberate expressions of *creatio ex nihilo* appear in the Greek afterlives. While 2 Macc 7.28 is obvious, the list of seven things created on Day One in *Jub.* 2.2 and slightly modified by Philo in *Opif.* 29 provide a zero-sum expression of *creatio ex nihilo*.⁵¹ If it is expressly stated that all these things were created, there is nothing left to have existed before God began creating.

5.6 The Role of Language

One thing that is relatively clear when looking back at the texts of this thesis is that language plays a role in the intertextual history of a text. By examining Day One and its intertextual histories in both Hebrew and Greek it is apparent that language affects interpretation.

To illustrate this, I have nearly steered clear of any mention of *תהו ובהו* or *ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος* to this point. This is not because their interpretations are not of interest. On the contrary, they are significant, especially when one considers the role of language in the history of interpretation as viewed through the lens of intertextuality. When *תהו* and *בהו* appear throughout the Hebrew intertextual tapestry (chapters one and three), they are always used negatively. From the use of the pair in MT Jer 4.23 to describe the state of the earth upon its return to a pre-created state, to IQM xvii.4 in which the enemy longs for both *תהו* and *בהו*, *תהו* and *בהו* are never used as positive descriptions. In the Greek there is a marked difference, however. While a *hapax legomenon* in the LXX, *ἀκατασκεύαστος*, in *1 En* 21.1-3 is used to describe a place of punishment, its partner, *ἀόρατος*, is decidedly positive throughout the Greek tapestry. Whether describing the pure invisible paradigm of the visible cosmos as in *Opif.* 29 or invisible God as in Col 1.15, *ἀόρατος* is a uniformly positive term. Not surprisingly the rather positive Platonic baggage of *ἀόρατος* outweighs the relatively obscure and always negative Hebrew *תהו*. This difference in language has a significant impact on the overall picture of the intertextual history of Day One.

5.7 Some Final Thoughts

While it may be taboo to switch metaphors in the last paragraph, the teaching attributed to the school of R. Ishmael is both related and insightful. This school taught/teaches that the biblical text when subject to interpretation is like a rock that shatters upon the strike of a hammer.⁵² The results of the strike of the hammer are pieces, fragments. This thesis has identified and examined the fragments of the rock / the threads of the tapestry / the intertexts of Day One and how they relate to one another. In so doing, this thesis provides solid textual evidence that Kristeva's observation – ...tout texte se construit comme mosaïque de citations, tout texte est absorption et transformation d'un autre texte – proves true to the nature of text.⁵³

There is a theological edge to this 'postmodern' observation in that text is dynamic insofar as it has readers to sort out, organize, and reorganize the intertextuality of the text – to read and interpret. The meaning of a text, then, is not wholly in its author, *Sitz im Leben*, form, literary context, and (most dangerously) in any individual's or community's interpretation. Texts live and breathe by means of their interpretations. Without continued reading

⁵¹ Also, *Jos.Asen.* 12.2, *Pr.Man.* 2, Col 2.16, John 1.3, and Herm. *Vis.* i.6.

⁵² *b.Sanh.* 34a. See epigram at the beginning of the thesis.

⁵³ J. Kristeva, "Le mot, le dialogue et le roman," in *Semiotiké: Recherches pour une sémanalyse* (ed. J. Kristeva; Paris: Seuil, 1969) 146.

and interpretation texts are subject to deaths of irrelevancy and/or petrification. The intertextual history of Day One exemplifies the dynamism of text, the life breath of interpretation. Lest meaning become static and die, this thesis looks to the wondrous diversity of the past with hope for the life of text, today and tomorrow.

APPENDIX A

A LOOK AT THE INTERTEXTUAL MARKERS OF GENESIS 1.1-5 IN THE HB

1. Genesis 1.1

1.1. ראשית

1.1.1. Creation

Gen 1.1; Isa 46.10; Prov 8.22

1.1.2. First born

Gen 49.3; Num 24.20; Deut 21.17; Ps 78.51, 105.36

1.1.3. Choice offering

Exod 23.19, 34.26; Lev 2.12, 23.10; Num 15.20, 21, 18.12; Deut 18.4, 26.2, 10; 1 Sam 2.29; Ezek 20.40, 44.30(2x); Prov 3.9; Neh 10.38, 12.44; 2 Chr 31.5

1.1.4. General adjective – choice

Deut 33.21; 1 Sam 15.21; Jer 49.35; Ezek 48.14; Hos 9.10; Amos 6.1, 6; Dan 11.41

1.1.5. General adjective – temporal

Gen 1.1, 10.10; Deut 11.12; Isa 46.10; Jer 26.1, 27.1, 28.1, 49.34; Mic 1.13; Ps 111.10; Job 8.7, 40.19, 42.12; Prov 1.7, 4.7, 8.22, 17.14; Qoh 7.8

1.2. ברא

1.2.1. *Qal***Heaven and/or Earth**

Gen 1.1; Isa 42.5, 45.18(2x), 65.17

Everything ["everything" unless otherwise noted]

Gen 1.21 [sea monsters], 2.3; Isa 40. 26, 28, 41.20, 45.7 [darkness and evil], 54.16 [weapons and destroyer]; Amos 4.3 [wind]; Ps 51.12 [clean heart], 89.12 [north and south]

Humanity

Gen 1.27(3x), 5.1, 2, 6.7; Deut 4.32; Isa 45.12; Mal 2.10; Ps 89.48[47]; Qoh 12.1

Nation

Isa 43.1, 7, 15

Something New

Num 16.30; Isa 65.17, 18(2x); Jer 31.22

God's Presence

Isa 4.5

1.2.2. *Niphal***Heaven and/or Earth**

Gen 2.4

Everything ["everything" unless otherwise noted]

Exod 34.10 [marvels]; Ps 104.30 [earthly life], 148.5

Humanity

Gen 5.2; Ezek 21.35, 28.13, 15; Ps 102.19[18]

Something New

Isa 48.7

In the case of ברא, when it occurs in the *qal* the subject is always God and the action is God's creative action. As such, the *qal* occurrences are grouped by the object of God's creative action. In the case of the *niphal*, the occurrences are grouped by subject given the passive nature of the verb tense. While God is generally assumed as the actor, there is an ambiguity as to the actor in Ezek 21.35, 28.13, 25; Ps 102.19[18]. The creative action in these occurrences could simply be procreation.

1.3. אָרץ and שָׁמַיִם

1.3.1. Creation

1.3.1.1. General

Gen 1.1, 15, 17, 20, 2.1, 4(2x); Exod 20.11, 31.17; Deut 4.32; 2 Sam 22.8; Isa 44.24, 45.18, 48.13, 51.13, 16; Jer 10.11, 12, 13, 32.17, 50.15, 16; Amos 9.6; Ps 102.26[25], 135.6; Prov 3.19, 30.4; Neh 9.6

- 1.3.1.2. Re-creation**
Gen 8.2-3; Isa 45.8, 12, 65.17, 66.22
- 1.3.1.3. Reversal of Creation**
Gen 6.17, 7.23; Isa 13.13, 51.6(2x); Jer 4.23, 28, 10.13; Joel 2.10, 3.3[2.30], 4.16[3.16]; Hag 2.6, 21
- 1.3.1.4. Titular**
Gen 14.19, 22, 24.3; Isa 40.22, 42.5; Zech 12.1; Ps 115.15, 121.2, 124.8, 134.3, 146.6; 2 Chr 2.11
- 1.3.1.5. Credo**
Deut 3.24, 4.39, 10.14, 11.21; Josh 2.11, 1 Sam 2.10; 1 Kgs 8.23, 27; 2 Kgs 19.15; Isa 37.16, 40.12, 55.9, 66.1, Jer 23.24, 31.37; Hab 3.3; Ps 8.2, 33.5-6, 57.6[5], 12[11], 68.9, 89.12[11], 108.6, 115.16, 119. 89-90, 147.8, 148.13; Job 28.24; Qoh 5.1[2]; 1 Chr 29.11; 2 Chr 6.14
- 1.3.2. Heaven and Earth Personified**
Deut 4.26, 32, 30.19, 31.28, 32.1; Isa 1.2, 44.23, 49.13; Jer 51.48; Hos 2.23[21]; Hag 1.10; Zech 6.5, 8.12; Ps 50.4, 69.35[34], 96.11; Job 20.27; 1 Chr 16.31
- 1.3.3. General Cosmic Framework**
Gen 11.4, 26.4; Exod 20.4; Deut 4.17, 5.8; Judg 5.4; Jer 33.25; Ps 57.6[5], 12[11], 73.9[8], 102.20[19]; Prov 25.3
- 1.3.4. Locative**
Gen 1.26, 28, 30, 9.2, 27.28, 39; Deut 28.26; 1 Sam 17.46; 2 Sam 18.9; Isa 13.5, 14.12; Jer 7.33, 15.3, 16.4, 19.7, 34.20; Ezek 8.3, 29.5, 32.4, 38.20; Hos 2.20, 4.3; Zech 5.9; Ps 73.25, 85.12[11], 103.11, 113.6; Job 12.7-8, 35.11, 37.3, 38.33; Lam 2.1; 1 Chr 21.16
- 1.3.5. Disconnected**
Gen 24.7; Exod 9.22, 10.21, 22, 32.13; Deut 11.11, 25.19, 26.15; Ps 76.9[8], 97.5-6; Zech 2.10; Ezra 1.2; Neh 9.23; 2 Chr 6.18, 7.13, 36.23
- 1.3.6. Verbatim with Gen 1.2 [אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ]**
Exod 20.11, 31.17; Deut 4.26, 30.19, 31.28; 2 Kgs 19.15; 2 Chr 2.12; Isa 37.16; Jer 23.24, 32.17; Hag 2.6, 21

These pairings of שָׁמַיִם and אֶרֶץ are all separated by fewer than five words. All but those in 1.3.6 function together as a pair to varying degrees. Occurrences in 1.3.1 encompass a totality of creation occurrences considering the nuances of re-creation, destruction, and creator titles for the divine. The occurrences in 1.3.1.5 are in statements of belief regarding the relation to heaven/earth of God/humanity and of heaven and earth to each other. 1.3.2 includes occurrences where heaven and earth are given human qualities; 1.3.3 are occurrences that generally place heaven and earth as basic elements of a cosmic framework. The occurrences of 1.3.4 are locative pairings that place something between heaven and earth or utilize parallel references such as "the birds of the air and the animals of the earth." Finally, 1.3.6 lists all occurrences that are verbatim with Gen 1.1. These are also listed above by category.

2. Genesis 1.2

2.1. תְּהִיוּ וַיְבָרֵךְ

- 2.1.1. Creation**
Gen 1.2; Isa 45.18-19 [2x]; Job 26.7; Jer 4.23
- 2.1.2. Exodus Event**
Deut 32.10
- 2.1.3. Divine Judgment**
Isa 24.10, 29.21, 34.11, 40.17, 23, 41.29, 59.4; Jer 4.23; Ps 107.40; Job 12.24
- 2.1.4. Miscellaneous**
Sam 12.21 [2x]; Isa 49.4; Job 6.18
- 2.1.5. תְּהִיוּ and וַיְבָרֵךְ Together**
Gen 1.2; Isa 34.11; Jer 4.23

2.2. **אֱשֶׁר**2.2.1. **Creation**

Gen 1.2, 4, 5, 18; Isa 45.7, 19; Ps 104.20; Job 3.4, 5, 26.10

2.2.2. **Exodus Event**

Exod 14.20; Deut 4.11, 5.23

2.2.3. **Divine Dwelling/Presence**

Exod 14.20; 4.11, 5.23; 2 Sam 22.12; Isa 45.3; Ps 18.12(11), 139.12; Dan 2.22 (Aramaic)

2.2.4. **Light/Dark Dichotomy**

Good/Evil – Isa 5.20 [2x], 30, 58.10; Ps 112.4, 139.11; Job 29.3, 38.19

Punishment/Judgment – Isa 47.5, 60.2; Nah 1.8; Job 10.21, 19.8, 20.26, 22.11; Lam 3.2

Descriptive of the Day of YHWH – Joel 2.2, 3.4(2.31); Amos 5.18, 20; Zeph 1.15 – similarly, אֱשֶׁר יְיָ in Ezek 32.8

A Metaphor of the Human Condition – Sam 22.29; Isa 9.1[2x], 29.18, 42.7, 49.9, 59.9; Mic 7.8; Ps 18.29(28), 107.10

Wisdom/Folly – Qoh 2.13, 14, 5.16(17)

2.2.5. **Death**

1 Sam 2.9; Job 10.21, 15.22, 23, 30, 17.12, 13, 18.18, 23.17; Qoh 6.4, 11.8

In relation to Sheol – 1 Sam 2.9; Job 17.12, 13

2.2.6. **Darkness as a Natural Phenomenon**

Exod 10.21[2x], 22; Josh 2.5; Ezek 8.12; Ps 35.6, 105.28; Job 24.16, 34.22

2.2.7. **Problematic Texts**

Job 28.3 and 37.19

2.3. **תְּהוֹמֹת**2.3.1. **Creation**

Gen 1.2; Ps 33.7, 104.6, 135.6, 148.7; Job 28.14; Prov 3.20, 8.24, 27, 28

2.3.2. **Exodus Event**

Exod 15.5, 8; Isa 51.9, 63.13; Ps 63.10, 106.9

2.3.3. **Component of the Cosmos**

Gen 1.2, 7.11, 8.2, 49.25; Deut 33.13; Hab 3.10; Ps 33.7; 36.7(6), 71.20, 77.17, 107.26, 135.6, 148.7; Job 38.30; Prov 3.20, 8.24, 27, 28. Often in tandem with אֱשֶׁר.

2.3.4. **Judgment**

YHWH's instrument – Gen 7.11, 8.2; Ezek 26.29, 31.15.

An object of YHWH's judgment – Amos 7.4.

2.3.5. **Death/Sheol**

Ps 71.20, possibly Job 38.17.

2.3.6. **Water as a Natural Phenomenon**

Deut 8.7, 33.13; Ezek 31.4; Ps 77.17(16), 107.26; Job 38.30

2.4. **רִיחַ**2.4.1. **Creation**

Gen 1.2; 2 Sam 22.11, 16; Isa 40.13, 41.29, 42.5; Jer 10.13, 51.16; Zech 12.1; Ps 18.11(10), 16(15), 33.6, 104.3, 4, 29, 30, 148.8; Job 26.13

2.4.2. **Exodus Event**

Exod 15.8, 10

2.4.3. **In Relation to YHWH**

Gen 41.38; Num 11.17, 25[2x], 26, 9, 24.2, 27.12; Deut 34.9; Judg 3.10, 6.34, 11.29, 13.25, 14.6, 19, 15.14; 1 Sam 10.6, 10, 11.6, 16.13, 14, 19.20, 23; 2 Sam 23.2; 2 Kgs 2.9, 15, 19.7; Isa 11.2[4x], 28.6, 32.15, 37.7, 42.1, 44.3, 48.16, 59.21, 61.1; Ezek 2.2, 11.5, 19, 36.26, 27, 39.29; Joel 3.1[2x]; Mic 3.8, Zech 12.10; 1 Chr 12.19; 2 Chr 15.1, 20.14, 24.20.

The effect of YHWH's *ruach* on human beings:

Instances where the divine *ruach* causes the physical or spiritual movement of someone: 1 Kgs 18.12, 22.24; 2 Kgs 2.16; Ezek 11.24; 2 Chr 18.23.

Death and destruction – 2 Sam 22.16; Isa 4.4, 11.15, 40.7, 59.19; Jer 51.1; Ezek 13.13, 17.10; Hos 13.15; Ps 31.6(5), 76.13(12); Job 4.9, 13.15.

Life – Gen 6.3; Isa 42.5, 63.14; Ezek 37.6, 14; Hab 2.5; Zach 12.1; Mal 2.15; Ps 51.2; Job 9.18, 27.3, 34.14; Prov 1.23.

The uses of רִיחַ in relation to YHWH are varied, the question of the psalmist may help to encircle these many occurrences: אֵיךְ אֶפְרָח מִרוּחְךָ – Where can I go from your spirit/breath/wind? (Ps 139.7a) The full meaning רִיחַ of YHWH is both extensive and ambiguous, not easily defined.

2.4.4. In Relation to Human/Earthly Life

Gen 26.35, 41.8, 45.27; Exod 6.9, 35.21; Num 5.14[2x], 30, 14.24; Josh 2.11; 1 Sam 1.15, 30.12; 1 Kgs 10.5, 21.5, 22.22; Isa 26.9, 29.24, 54.6, 57.12[2x], 61.3, 65.14, 66.2; Ezek 21.12; Ps 32.2, 34.19(18), 51.12(10), 14(12), 19(17), 77.4(3), 7(6), 78.8, 142.4(3), 143.4, 7; Job 6.4, 7.11, 15.13, 17.1, 21.4, 32.18; Prov 11.13, 15.4, 13, 16.18, 19, 17.22, 27, 18.14[2x], 25.28, 29.23; Qoh 7.8[2x]; Dan 2.1, 2; 1 Chr 28.12; 2 Chr 9.4, 18.21. Also used metaphorically in Hos 4.12, 5.4, as the spirit of whoredom (רוּחַ זְנוּת) within the people, and for bad breath in Job 19.17.

YHWH's Relationship to human/earthly רִיחַ: Human life/breath from God: Gen 7.15, 22; Num 16.22, 27.16; Isa 38.16; Ezek 1.20, 10.17, 37.8, 10; Zech, 12.1; Mal 2.15; Ps 31.6(5), 146.4; Job 7.11, 12.10; Qoh 3.19, 21[2x], 11.5, 12.7. Drawing a distinction between human breath and the lifelessness of idols: Jer 10.14, 51.17; Hab 2.19; Ps 135.17.

Of the many occurrences of רִיחַ in relation to human/earthly life, it can generally be said that רִיחַ is both the simple breath of life and a general term used to describe the human 'being' – that which can be humble or haughty or hungry. And, it can be said that רִיחַ often originates with YHWH, whether the breath of human or beast.

2.4.5. In Relation to Natural Phenomena

General wind – Gen 3.8; 2 Sam 22.11; 1 Kgs 19.11; 2 Kgs 3.17; Isa 32.2; Jer 2.24, 51.16; Ezek 5.2, 12, 12.14, 13.11, 13, 17.21; Jon 1.4; Ps 1.4, 107.25; Job 1.19, 37.21, 41.8(16); Prov 25.14; Qoh 1.6, 8.8[2x], 11.4.

Wind created by God – Jer 10.13; Job 28.25.

East wind – Exod 10.13; Ezek 17.10, 19.12, 27.26; Job 4.8; Ps 48.8(7).

West wind – Job 4.8.

North wind – Ezek 1.4; Prov 25.23.

Four winds – Jer 49.36[2x]; Ezek 37.9, Zech 6.5; Dan 8.8, 11.4.

Wind as tool of YHWH – Gen 8.1; Exod 10.13, 19; Ezek 13.13; Jon 1.4, 4.8; Ps 11.6, 104.4; Prov 30.4.

Metaphorical use – Isa 7.2, 17.13; Jer 22.22; Hos 4.19; Hab 1.11; Zech 5.9; Ps 18.43, 35.5, 78.39, 83.14(13); Job 8.2, 30.15, 22; Prov 27.16.

Wind equated with nothingness – Isa 26.18, 57.13; Jer 5.13; Hos 8.7; Mic 2.11; Ps 103.16; Job 6.26, 15.2, 30; Prov 11.29; Qoh 1.14, 17, 2.11, 17, 26, 4.4, 6, 16, 5.15(16), 6.9.

YHWH as wind – Jer 18.17.

Wind used to indicate direction – Jer 42.16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 49.32; Ezek 5.10; Zech 2.10; 1 Chr 9.24.

2.5. מְרַחֵם

Outside of Gen 1.2, רָחַם of which מְרַחֵם is a piel participle, occurs only twice, neither of which are in creation contexts. The occurrence in Deut 32.11 (also *piel*), speaks of an eagle caring for and protecting its young, the image being of protecting the eaglets by hovering over them (עַל-גִּזְלֵי יִרְחֵם). In Jer 23.9, Jeremiah uses the verb (*qal*) in a description of how distraught he is over the state of the priests and prophets of the day – the situation that causes his heart to be crushed and all of his bones to shake (רָחַפּוּ כָּל-עַצְמוֹתַי).

3. Genesis 1.3

3.1. אֹר

3.1.1. Creation

Gen 1.3(2x), 4(2x), 5, 18; Isa 45.7; Jer 31.35(2x); Ps 104.2, 136.7, 148.3; Job 26.10; Reversal of – Jer 4.23; Job 3.9

3.1.2. Exodus Event

Ps 78.14

3.1.3. Divine Attributes

Will – Isa 2.5, 51.4; Ps 43.3, 44.4, 119.105; Prov 6.23

Presence – Isa 60.1, 19, 20; Mic 7.8; Hab 3.4, 11; Ps 4.7, 27.1, 36.10, 89.16, 139.12; Job 12.22, 25.3, 29.3, 24, 36.30, 32,

Power (Lightning) – Job 36.30, 32, 37.3, 11, 15, 21

Tool of punishment – Hos 6.5

3.1.4. Light/Dark Dichotomy

Good/Evil – Isa 5.20(2x), 30, 59.9; Job 24.13, 16, 30.26; Prov 13.9

Punishment/Judgment – Jer 13.16, 25.10; Ezek 32.7, 8; Job 12.25, 17.12, 18.5, 6, 18, 38.15, 19; Lam 3.2

Descriptive of the Day of YHWH – Isa 13.10(2x); Amos 5.18, 20, 8.9; Zech 14.6, 7

Wisdom/Folly – Qoh 2.13

3.1.5. Human Transformation

Isa 9.1(2x), Isa 30.26(3x), 42.16, 58.8, 10; Mic 7.9; Ps 36.10, 38.11, 56.14, 112.4; Job 22.28, 33.30; Prov 4.18

3.1.6. Light to the Nations

Isa 42.6, 49.6, 60.3; Light of Israel – Isa 10.17

3.1.7. Light as Natural Phenomenon

General – Exod 10.23; Isa 18.4, 60.19; Zeph 3.5; Job 3.16, 20, 24.24, 31.26, 28, 38.24; Qoh 11.7, 12.2

First light – Gen 44.3; Jdg 16.2, 19.26; 1 Sam 14.36, 25.34, 36, 29.10; 2 Sam 17.22, 23.4; 2 Kgs 7.9; Mic 2.1; Ps 49.20; Neh 8.3

3.1.8. Leviathan Attribute

Job 41.10[18]

4. Genesis 1.4

4.1. כִּי-טוֹב

4.1.1. Creation

Gen 1.4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25; Job 30.26

4.1.2. Thanksgiving/Praise of YHWH

Jer 33.11; Ps 34.9[8], 52.11, 54.8[6], 63.4, 69.17[16], 100.5, 106.1, 107.1, 109.21, 118.1, 29, 135.3, 136.1, 147.1; Ezra 3.11; 1 Chr 16.34; 2 Chr 5.13, 7.3

4.1.3. General Adjective

Gen 3.6, 40.16, 49.15; Exod 2.2; Num 24.1; Deut 15.16; Jdg 16.25; 1 Sam 29.9; Isa 3.10; Hos 4.13; Prov 3.14, 24.13, 25.7, 31.18. Comparative use – Exod 14.12; Num 11.18; Hos 2.9; Jon 4.3; Ps 63.4, 84.11[10]; Prov 3.14, 25.7. Superlative use – Gen 45.20; Ps 69.17[16]

4.2. ברל

4.2.1. *Niphal*

Holiness – An act of self-separation for the cause of holiness/purity: Ezra 6.21, 9.1, 10.8, 11, 16; Neh 9.2, 10.29. The separation of Aaron for consecration of "holy things": 1 Chr 23.13.

Military context – 1 Chr 12.9

Simple separation – Num 16.21

4.2.2. *Hiphal*

Creation – Creation by separation – action of God: Gen 1.4, 6, 7, 14, 18

Holiness - Distinguishing between Israel and the nations: Lev 20.24, 26; 1 Kgs 8.53; Neh 13.3

General distinction between clean and unclean: Lev 10.10, 11.47, 20.25(2x); Ezek 22.26.

Technical term in bird offering: Lev 1.17, 5.8.

Distinction of temple personnel: Levites – Num 8.14; Deut 10.8; Korahites – Num 16.9;

Twelve leading priests – Ezra 8.24.

Specifically regarding Temple: Holy from Holy of Holies – Exod 26.33; General temple area – Ezek 42.40.

Military context – 1 Chr 25.1; 2 Chr 25.10

Simple separation – Distinction of cities of refuge – Deut 4.41, 19.2, 7; Burial experts – Ezek 39.14; Punishment of wayward tribes – Deut 29.20; General – Isa 56.3, 59.2

4.3. חֶסֶד and חֶסֶד

4.3.1. **Creation**

Gen 1.4, 5, 18; Isa 45.7; Job 26.10, 38.19

4.3.2. **Divine control over**

Job 12.22

4.3.3. **Divine dwelling/presence**

Ps 139.11

4.3.4. **Light/Dark Dichotomy**

Transformation one of the other – Isa 9.1, 42.16

Judgment – Isa 5.20 (2x), 59.9; Ezek 32.8; Amos 5.18, 20; Mic 7.8; Job 12.25, 18.18; Lam 3.2

Supremacy of light over darkness – Ps 112.4; Qoh 2.13

Confusion of one for the other – Job 17.12, 18.6

4.3.5. **Problematic texts**

Isa 5.30 (corrupt)

5. Genesis 1.5

5.1. לְיָמֵהּ and יוֹם

5.1.1. **Creation**

Gen 1.5, 14, 16, 18; Ps 74.16; Reversal of - Amos 5.8; Job 3.3

5.1.2. **Cosmic Framework**

Gen 8.22; Jer 33.20; Ps 19.3; Transformation of – Zech 14.7

5.1.3. **Divine dwelling/presence**

Ps 139.12

5.1.4. **Temporal**

Gen 7.4, 12, 31.39, 40; Exod 10.13, 24.18, 34.28; Num 11.32; Deut 9.9, 11, 18, 25, 10.10; 1 Sam 19.24, 28.20; 1 Kgs 8.29, 19.40; Isa 27.3, 28.19, 38.12, 13, 62.6; Jer 36.30; Hos 4.5; Ps 32.4, 42.4, 77.3, 88.2; Prov 7.9; Qoh 8.16; Esth 4.16; Neh 1.6, 4.16

5.2. יוֹם אֶחָד

5.2.1. **Creation**

Gen 1.1; Zech 14.7

5.2.2. **Temporal**

Gen 27.45, 33.13; Num 11.19; Deut 1.2; 1 Sam 9.15, 27.1; Isa 9.13[14]; Jon 3.4; Ezra 10.17

APPENDIX B

THE INTERTEXTUAL MARKERS OF LXX GENESIS 1.1-5 IN THE GREEK EQUIVALENTS OF TEXTS IN THE HB¹

- 1 **Genesis 1.1**
 1.1 ἐν ἀρχῇ
- 1.1.1 **Creation**
 Gen 1.1; Prov 8.23; Sir 36.14; Isa 51.9
- 1.1.2 **General**
Locative
 Judg 7.17, 19; 3 Kgdms 20.9, 12; 2 Chr 13.12; Ezek 21.24[21.29], 42.10
Sequential
 Judg 20.18(2x); Ezra 9.2; Ps 136.6[137.6]
Temporal
 Gen 1.1; Judg 7.19; Ruth 1.22; 2 Kgdms 17.9, 21.9, 10; 4 Kgdms 17.25; 1 Chr 16.7; Ezra 4.6; Prov 8.23; Sir 36.14; Isa 51.9; Jer 25.20; Jer 33.1; Ezek 36.11; Dan 9.23
- 1.1.3 **Corrupt Text**
 Jer 28.58

With our first intertextual marker of LXX Gen 1.1-5 we encounter our first problem, or possibly our first point of difference between the Hebrew and the Greek texts and their language in general. On a purely data oriented level, what is clear is that in the searches of the MT, the Hebrew root, **אָרָץ**, occurs 51 times throughout the MT. The relatively low frequency of occurrence that **אָרָץ** has is the major argument for its inclusion as an intertextual marker or flag-word. When looking at the Greek the picture is different, though subtly so. While the Hebrew of Gen 1.5 includes the inseparable preposition **אֶת**, the Greek works differently using a simple preposition + noun construction. Again looking at the numbers, the preposition + noun construction occurs 27 times throughout the LXX, whereas the noun alone occurs 236. The linguistic disparity is here apparent. While the Hebrew root occurs relatively infrequently and as such functions within our definition of a textual marker, the Greek root does not. In the case of the LXX, then, it is the minor phrase, ἐν ἀρχῇ, rather than the noun alone that functions as our intertextual marker. The results of the contextual/semantic study above reflect a very different outcome from the same done for the MT (see Appendix A). As an intertextual marker, ἐν ἀρχῇ, appears in no familial or sacrificial contexts unlike its Hebrew counterpart (e.g. **אָרָץ** in Gen 49.3 and Exod 23.19). At the same time, however, ἀρχή does appear in some places (e.g. Gen 49.3) and not others (e.g. Exod 23.19). This said, as an intertextual marker we will use the word-pair, ἐν ἀρχῇ, within LXX, with ἀρχή alone functioning as an additional word that can help but not make the case for intertextuality.

1.2 οὐρανός and γῆ (together in the accusative - τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν)

- 1.2.1 **Creation**
General
 Gen 1.2, 2.4(2x)
Creation and Sabbath
 Exod 20.11, 31.17
Titular
 Gen 14.19, 22; 2 Chr 2.11; 1 Esd 6.13; Ps 120.2[121.2], 123.8[124.8], 133.3[134.3], 145.6[146.6]; Bel 1.5
Credo
 4 Kgdms 19.25; 2 Macc 7.28; Isa 37.16; Jer 10.11, 23.24, 32.17; Dan 4.37
- 1.2.2 **Heaven and Earth Personified**
 Jdt 7.28

¹ Texts citations in [brackets] refer to English equivalent of LXX versification. The order follows Rahlfs's.

I am treating the word-pair, heaven and earth, differently in Appendix B than in Appendix A. Appendix A looks at the totality of occurrences of רָשָׁתַיִם and אֶרֶץ occurring within five words of one another in the MT. While beneficial for seeing the 'larger picture', it is not necessary to the project as a whole given that the aim of these word studies is to identify intertexts of Gen 1.1-5 that share a common creation theme and significant common vocabulary. As such, I have limited my use of οὐρανός/γῆ as a word-pair to the occurrences of the complete phrase of Gen 1.1 – $\text{τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τῆν γῆν}$. Two notable points in the above list are Gen 2.4, where the order of the second pair of heaven and earth is inverted from the MT, and 2 Macc 7.28, where there is an expression of *creatio ex nihilo*, likely the first.

2 Genesis 1.2

2.1 ἀόρατος

- 2.1.1 **Creation**
Gen 1.2
- 2.1.2 **Divine Presence**
Isa 45.3
- 2.1.3 **Punishment**
2 Macc 9.5

The greatest intertextual disparity between the Hebrew and Greek vocabulary of Gen 1.1-5 comes in the difference between אֲרָצוֹת and ἀόρατος . While אֲרָצוֹת occurs only twenty times, its equivalent in the Greek text, ἀόρατος , occurs only three times. The only point of contact between the occurrences of each is Gen 1.2. This difference between the Hebrew and Greek offers two very different intertextual pictures of the same root idea. Another issue that this difference raises, though tangential to intertextuality, is the question of what, if anything, can be learned from comparing the LXX understanding of אֲרָצוֹת and the LXX understanding of ἀόρατος .

2.2 ἀκατασκεύαστος

- 2.2.1 **Creation**
Gen 1.2

As there is only one occurrence of ἀκατασκεύαστος in the LXX, its intertextual value is nil in that there is no option of comparison, difference, similarity. One thing that the *hapax legomenon* status of ἀκατασκεύαστος does bring into question, is the translation of its Hebrew equivalent, בְּרֵאשִׁית , throughout the LXX. While בְּרֵאשִׁית only occurs three times throughout the MT, all of which are in conjunction with אֲרָצוֹת , one must ask why there is such a disparity between LXX and MT.

2.3 σκότος

- 2.3.1 **Creation**
Gen 1.2, 4, 5, 18; Ps 103.20[104.20]; Job 26.10, 28.3, 37.15, 38.19; Isa 45.7
- 2.3.1.1 **Reversal of**
Add Esth 1.7; Job 3.4, 5, 6; Isa 50.3
- 2.3.2 **Exodus**
Exod 14.20; Ps 104.28[105.28]; Wis 17.2, 16[17], 20[21](2x), 18.4, 19.17
- 2.3.2.1 **Divine tool**
Exod 10.21(2x), 22
- 2.3.3 **Divine Presence**
Deut 4.11, 5.22; 2 Kgdms 22.12(2x); Ps 17.12[18.11], 138.12(2x); Sir 23.18; Dan 2.22

- 2.3.4 Judgment and/or Punishment**
Tob 4.10, 14.10(2x); Ps 34.6[35.6], 90.6[91.6]; Prov 20.9; Job 5.14, 12.22, 25, 15.30, 18.18, 19.8, 20.26, 22.11; Pss Sol 14.9, 15.10; Nah 1.8; Isa 5.20(2x), 30, 8.22(2x), 47.5, 50.3, 60.2; Jer 13.16; Lam 3.2
- Day of the Lord**
Amos 5.18, 20; Joel 2.2, 3.4[2.31]; Zeph 1.15; Ezek 32.8
- 2.3.5 Human Condition**
- Metaphor for**
Deut 28.29; 2 Kgdms 1.9, 22.29; Ps 17.29[18.28], 54.6[55.5], 81.5[82.5], 106.10[107.10], 106.14[107.14], 111.4[112.4], 138.11; Prov 2.13; Eccl 2.13, 14, 5.16, 6.4(2x), 11.8; Job 10.22, 15.22, 18.6, 24.15, 29.3; Mic 7.8; Isa 9.1, 29.15, 18, 42.7, 49.9, 50.10, 58.10(2x), 59.9
- Actual blindness**
Isa 42.16
- Death**
Ps 87.13[88.12]
- Coma/sleep**
2 Macc 3.27
- 2.3.6 Liturgical, Personification**
Odes 8.72, 9.79; Pr Azar 1.48
- 2.3.7 Natural Phenomenon**
Josh 2.5; 4 Kgdms 7.5, 7; 1 Esr 4.24; Prov 7.9; Job 24.14, 16; Ep Jer 1.70
- 2.3.8 Corrupt text**
Isa 47.1(?)
- 2.4 ἄβυσσος**
- 2.4.1 Creation**
Gen 1.2; Ps 32.7[33.7], 41.8[42.7](2x), 76.17[77.16], 77.15[78.15], 103.6[104.6], 134.6[135.6], 148.7; Isa 44.27, 51.10(?); Pr Azar 1.32
- Reversal of**
Job 38.16, 30
- Wisdom**
Prov 3.20, 8.24; Job 28.14; Sir 1.3, 16.18, 24.5, 29
- 2.4.2 Exodus**
Wis 10.19; Isa 51.10(?), 63.13
- 2.4.3 Promised Land, Blessing of**
Deut 8.7, 33.13
- 2.4.4 Judgment**
Ps 70.20[71.20], 70.21[71.21]; Job 36.16; Jonah 2.6; Hab 3.10; Ezek 26.19, 31.4, 15
- Flood**
Gen 7.11, 8.2; Pss Sol 17.19
- 2.4.5 Divine toy**
Job 41.23, 24(2x); Sir 42.18, 43.23; Amos 7.4
- 2.4.6 Divine quality**
Ps 53.7[36.6]
- 2.4.7 Liturgical**
Odes 4.10, 6.6, 8.54, 12.3

2.5 πνεῦμα θεοῦ

2.5.1 **Creation**

Gen 1.2; Job 33.4

2.5.2 **Divine Presence**2.5.2.1 **Prophecy/Prophets**

Num 23.7, 24.2; 1 Kgdms 10.10, 19.20, 23; 2 Chr 24.20; Dan 4.8, 9, 18, 5.11

2.5.2.1.1 **Movement**

Ezek 11.24; 2 Chr 18.23

2.5.2.2 **Human Anointing**

Gen 41.38; Exod 31.3, 31

2.5.2.3 **Judgment**

Judg(A) 6.34

2.5.2.4 **Evil**

1 Kgdms 19.9

2.5.3 **Subset – πνεῦμα κυρίου (29)**2.5.3.1 **Creation**

Wis 1.7

2.5.3.2 **Divine Presence****Prophecy/Prophets**

1 Kgdms 10.6; 2 Kgdms 23.2; 3 Kgdms 22.24; Mic 3.8; Isa 61.1; Ezek 11.5

Movement

3 Kgdms 18.12; 4 Kgdms 2.16; Ezek 37.1

Human Anointing

1 Kgdms 11.6, 16.13, 14(un-anointing); 2 Chr 15.1(leadership), 20.14 (leadership)

Judgment

Judg(A) 3.10, 11.29, 13.25, 14.6, 19, 15.14; Judg(B) 6.34, 11.29, 13.25, 14.6, 14.19, 15.14; Mic 2.7

Evil

1 Kgdms 16.15

2.6 ἐπιφέρω

2.6.1 **Creation**

Gen 1.2

2.6.2 **Flood**

Gen 7.18

2.6.3 **Violent metaphor****Bring hand upon someone**

Gen 37.22; 1 Kgdms 22.17, 24.6, 10, 26.9, 11, 23; 2 Kgdms 1.14; Esth 8.7; Zech 2.9 (affect of prophet's message)

Bring an evil word against

Jdt 8.8

Bring about death

Sus 1.53

2.6.4 **General movement**

Prov 26.15; Job 15.12

3 **Genesis 1.3**

None

4 Genesis 1.4

4.1 ὅτι καλόν

4.1.1 **Creation**

Gen 1.4, 8, 10, 12, 18, 3.6

4.1.2 **Thanksgiving/Worship**

1 Macc 4.24; Ps 134.3[135.3]

4.1.3 **General Adjective**

Num 24.1; Prov 31.18

Comparative

Num 11.18; Sir 46.10; Hos 4.13; Jonah 4.3

4.2 διαχωρίζω

4.2.1 **Creation**

Gen 1.4, 6, 7, 14, 18; Sir 33.8, 11

4.2.2 **Purity/Holiness**

Num 32.12; Judg 13.19; Ezek 34.12

4.2.3 **Military**

2 Chr 25.10; 1 Macc 12.36

4.2.4 **Alienation/Friendship**

Gen 13.9, 11, 14; 2 Kgdms 1.23(2x); Prov 16.28; Sir 6.13, 12.9

4.2.5 **Simple Separation**

Gen 30.32, 40; 1 Macc 12.36; Sus 1.51, 52

4.3 φῶς and σκότος

4.3.1 **Creation**

Gen 1.4, 5, 18; Job 26.10, 37.15, 38.19; Isa 45.7

4.3.1.1 **Reversal of**

Ezek 32.8

4.3.2 **Divine Dwelling**

Ps 138.12; Dan 2.22 (Divine knowledge)

4.3.3 **Light/Dark Dichotomy**

Isa 45.7

Judgment

Tob 14.10; Job 18.18, 22.11; Wis 18.4 (Exodus); Amos 5.18, 20; Lam 3.2

Human Condition

Tbs 5.10 (blindness); Job 12.25, 17.12, 18.6, 24.16, 29.3; Mic 7.8; Isa 42.16, 50.10, 58.10, 59.9; Jer 13.16

Supremacy, one over the other

Ps 111.4[112.4]; Eccl 2.13; Job 12.22; Isa 5.20(2x)

Transformation, one of the other

Ps 138.11[139.11]

4.3.4 **Liturgical**

Odes 8.72; Pr Azar 1.48

5 Genesis 1.5

5.1 ὁ θεός καλεῖ (and variants)

5.1.1 **Creation**

Gen 1.5, 8, 10; Ps 49.1[50.1]; Isa 42.6, 43.1

5.1.2 **Proclamation of Divine Identity**

Exod 34.6; Isa 41.4

5.1.3 **Nation Calling**

Isa 42.6, 43.1

5.1.4 **Summoning**

Gen 3.9, 21.17; Exod 19.3

I have added to the intertextual markers one not examined within the MT, ὁ θεός καλεῖ. A simple, pragmatic reason for this inclusion is the relatively sparse nature of the Greek evidence to this point. As both θεός and καλέω exceed any usefulness by the volume of their occurrences and as God calling/naming elements of creation is an integral creative action (NB Gen 1.5, 8, and 10 in the Greek), I have decided to include this minor phrase in the initial intertextual investigation of Gen 1.1-5 in Greek.

5.2 ἡμέρα and νόξ

5.2.1 Creation

Gen 1.5, 14, 16, 18; Ps 18.3[19.2], 41.9[42.8], 73.16[74.16]; Jer 38.36

Reversal of

Job 3.3, 6, 17.2; Amos 5.8

5.2.2 Divine Presence

Exod 40.38; Num 9.16, 21, 14.14; Deut 1.33; Ps 138.12[139.12]; Isa 4.5, 60.19

5.2.3 Temporal

General

Gen 8.22, 31.39, 40; Lev 8.35; Num 11.32; Deut 28.66; Judg 6.27; 1 Kgdms 25.16; 2 Kgdms 21.10; 1 Macc 5.50; 3 Macc 5.11; Ps 31.4[32.4], 54.11[55.10], 90.5[91.5], 120.6[121.6]; Odes 11.13; Eccl 2.23, 8.16; Job 2.13; Sir 38.27; Isa 27.3, 28.19, 34.10, 38.13, 60.11, 62.6; Jer 43.30[36.30]; Bar 2.25

40

Gen 7.4, 12, 17; Exod 24.18, 34.28; Deut 9.9, 18, 25, 10.10; 3 Kgdms 19.8

3

Jonah 2.1

Exodus/Sinai

Exod 10.13, 13.21, 22, 24.18, 34.28, 40.38; Num 9.16, 21, 14.14; Deut 1.33, 9.9, 18, 25, 10.10; Neh 9.12, 19; Ps 77.14[78.14]; Wis 10.17; Isa 4.5

Devotion/Prayer/Fasting/Worship

Josh 1.8; 1 Kgdms 28.20, 30.12; 3 Kgdms 8.29(2x), 59; 1 Chr 9.33; 2 Chr 6.20(Temple); Neh 1.6, 4.3; Esth 4.16; Jdt 11.17; 2 Macc 13.10; Ps 1.2, 21.3[22.2], 41.4[42.3], 41.9[42.8], 87.2[88.1]; Odes 8.71; Isa 21.8; Jer 8.23[9.1], 14.17; Lam 2.18; Pr Azar 1.47

5.3 ἡμέρα μία

5.3.1 Creation

Gen 1.5; 1 Esd 4.34*(?); Zech 14.7*(?)

5.3.2 Divine Control

Josh 10.13; Sir 46.4*

5.3.3 Temporal

Gen 27.45, 33.13; Exod 21.20, 40.2; Lev 22.28; Num 11.19; 1 Kgdms 2.34, 9.15, 21.29*, 27.1; 3 Kgdms 5.2, 21.29*; 2 Chr 29.6*; 1 Esd 4.34*, 9.11; Ezra 3.6, 10.13, 16, 17; Neh 8.2; Esth 3.7*, 13(2x), 8.12; Jdt 7.21, 12.20; 1 Macc 5.27, 7.16, 45; 2 Macc 15.36*; Ps 83.11[84.10]; Job 14.5*; Sir 38.17, 46.4*; Jonah 3.4; Zech 3.9, 9.12*, 14.7*; Isa 9.13*, 47.9*, 66.8*; Dan 4.17

The intertextual usefulness of ἡμέρα μία, similar to that of ἡμέρα ἓξ, is quite sparse. By and large the use of the word-pair throughout the Greek corpus is temporal. Even the creation texts and those described as "divine control" are temporal in character only being set apart because of larger contextual issues. One note of explanation is that the asterisk indicates a reversal of the word order from that of Gen 1.5.

APPENDIX C

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LXX 2 KGDMS 22.7-18 AND LXX Ps 17.7-18

There is little doubt that the Hebrew antecedents of these two texts are the same text. What becomes obvious when looking at their LXX versions is that the translator(s) did not see or see fit to maintain this parallel. The LXX texts, however, display different translation choices and techniques. The placement of the texts in parallel columns (as on the following page) attempts to highlight these differences. While detailed analysis of these differences is outside the scope of the present study, the purpose of analysing intertextual connections is important. Words in bold are vocabulary in common with LXX Gen 1.1-5, underlined text in Ps 17 highlights differences with 2 Kgdms 22.

LXX 2 Kgdms 22.7-18

⁷ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαί με ἐπικαλέσομαι κύριον
καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μου βοήσομαι,
καὶ ἐπακούσεται ἐκ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ φωνῆς μου,
καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ μου ἐν τοῖς ὠσίν αὐτοῦ.

⁸καὶ ἐταράχθη καὶ ἐσειέσθη ἡ γῆ,
καὶ τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ οὐρανοῦ συνεταράχθησαν καὶ
ἐσπαράχθησαν, ὅτι ἐθυμώθη κύριος αὐτοῖς.

⁹ἀνέβη καπνὸς ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ,
καὶ πῦρ ἐκ στόματος αὐτοῦ κατέδεται,
ἄνθρακες ἐξεκαύθησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

¹⁰καὶ ἔκλιεν οὐρανοὺς καὶ κατέβη,
καὶ γνόφος ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

¹¹καὶ ἐπεκάθισεν ἐπὶ Χερουβιν καὶ ἐπετάσθη
καὶ ὤφθη ἐπὶ πτερύγων ἀνέμων.

¹²καὶ ἔθετο σκότος ἀποκρυφῆν αὐτοῦ κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ,
ἡ σκηνὴ αὐτοῦ σκότος ὑδάτων·
ἐπάχυνεν ἐν νεφέλαις ἀέρος

¹³ἀπὸ τοῦ φέγγους ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ
ἐξεκαύθησαν ἄνθρακες πυρός.

¹⁴ἐβρόντησεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κύριος,
καὶ ὁ ὕψιστος ἔδωκεν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ

¹⁵καὶ ἀπέστειλεν βέλη καὶ ἐσκόρπισεν αὐτούς,
ἀστραπὴν καὶ ἐξέστησεν αὐτούς.

¹⁶καὶ ὤφθησαν ἀφέσεις θαλάσσης,
καὶ ἀπεκαλύφθη θεμέλια τῆς οἰκουμένης
ἐν τῇ ἐπιτιμῇ σου κυρίου,
ἀπὸ πνοῆς πνεύματος θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ.

¹⁷ἀπέστειλεν ἐξ ὕψους καὶ ἔλαβέν με,
εἴλκυσέν με ἐξ ὑδάτων πολλῶν·

¹⁸ἐρρύσατό με ἐξ ἐχθρῶν μου ἰσχύος,
ἐκ τῶν μισούντων με ὅτι ἐκραταιώθησαν ὑπὲρ ἐμέ.

LXX Ps 17.7-18

⁷καὶ ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαί με ἐπεκαλεσάμην τὸν κύριον
καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μου ἐκέκραξα·
ἤκουσεν ἐκ ναοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ φωνῆς μου,
καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ μου ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὰ
ᾠτα αὐτοῦ.

⁸καὶ ἐσαλεύθη καὶ ἔντρομος ἐγενήθη ἡ γῆ,
καὶ τὰ θεμέλια τῶν ὀρέων ἐταράχθησαν
καὶ ἐσαλεύθησαν, ὅτι ὠργίσθη αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός

⁹ἀνέβη καπνὸς ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ,
καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ κατεφλόγισεν,
ἄνθρακες ἀνήφθησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

¹⁰καὶ ἔκλιεν οὐρανοὺς καὶ κατέβη,
καὶ γνόφος ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

¹¹καὶ ἐπέβη ἐπὶ χερουβιν καὶ ἐπετάσθη,
ἐπετάσθη ἐπὶ πτερύγων ἀνέμων.

¹²καὶ ἔθετο σκότος ἀποκρυφῆν αὐτοῦ·
κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ἡ σκηνὴ αὐτοῦ,
σκοτεινὸν ὕδωρ ἐν νεφέλαις ἀέρων.

¹³ἀπὸ τῆς τηλαυγῆσεως ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ αἱ νεφέλαι
διήλθον,
χάλαζα καὶ ἄνθρακες πυρός.

¹⁴καὶ ἐβρόντησεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κύριος,
καὶ ὁ ὕψιστος ἔδωκεν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ·

¹⁵καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν βέλη καὶ ἐσκόρπισεν αὐτούς
καὶ ἀστραπὰς ἐπλήθυνεν καὶ συνετάραξεν αὐτούς.

¹⁶καὶ ὤφθησαν αἱ πηγαὶ τῶν ὑδάτων,
καὶ ἀνεκαλύφθη τὰ θεμέλια τῆς οἰκουμένης
ἀπὸ ἐπιτιμῆσός σου, κύριε,
ἀπὸ ἐμπνεύσεως πνεύματος ὀργῆς σου.

¹⁷ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐξ ὕψους καὶ ἔλαβέν με,
προσελάβετό με ἐξ ὑδάτων πολλῶν.

¹⁸ρύσεταιί με ἐξ ἐχθρῶν μου δυνατῶν
καὶ ἐκ τῶν μισούντων με,
ὅτι ἐστερεώθησαν ὑπὲρ ἐμέ

APPENDIX D

ADDITIONAL TEXTS FOR CHAPTER 4

Jewish

1 Enoch 17.1-19.3

^{17.1}καὶ παραλαβόντες με εἰς τινα τόπον ἀπήγαγον, ἐν ᾧ οἱ ὄντες ἐκεῖ γίνονται ὡς πῦρ φλέγον καὶ, ὅταν θέλωσιν, φαίνονται ὡσεὶ ἄνθρωποι. ²καὶ ἀπήγαγόν με εἰς ζοφώδη τόπον καὶ εἰς ὄρος οὐ ἢ κεφαλὴ ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. ³καὶ εἶδον τόπον τῶν φωστήρων καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τῶν βροντῶν, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀεροβαθῆ, ὅπου πυρὸς καὶ τὰ βέλη καὶ τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀστραπὰς πάσας. ⁴καὶ ἀπήγαγόν με μέχρι ὑδάτων καὶ μέχρι πυρὸς δύσεως, ὃ ἐστὶν καὶ παρέχον πάσας τὰς δύσεις τοῦ ἡλίου. ⁵καὶ ἤλθομεν μέχρι ποταμοῦ πυρὸς, ἐν ᾧ κατατρέχει τὸ πῦρ ὡς ὕδωρ καὶ ῥέει εἰς θάλασσαν μεγάλην δύσεως. ⁶ἶδον τοὺς μεγάλους ποταμοὺς, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ μεγάλου σκότους κατήντησα, καὶ ἀπῆλθον ὅπου πᾶσα σὰρξ οὐ περιπατεῖ. ⁷ἶδον τοὺς ἀνέμους τῶν γιγόντων τοὺς χειμερινοὺς καὶ τὴν ἔκχυσιν τῆς ἀβύσσου πάντων ὑδάτων. ⁸ἶδον τὸ στόμα τῆς γῆς πάντων τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς ἀβύσσου. ^{18.1v}ἶδον τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῶν ἀνέμων πάντων, ἶδον ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκόσμησεν πάσας τὰς κτίσεις καὶ τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὸν λίθον ἶδον τῆς γωνίας τῆς γῆς. ²ἶδον τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τὴν γῆν βαστάζοντας, ³καὶ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἰστάσιν μεταξὺ γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ. ⁴ἶδον ἀνέμους τῶν οὐρανῶν στρέφοντας καὶ διανεύοντας τὸν τροχὸν τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀστέρας. ⁵ἶδον τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνέμους βαστάζοντας ἐν νεφέλῃ. ἶδον πέρατα τῆς γῆς, τὸ στήριγμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπάνω. ⁶παρῆλθον καὶ ἶδον τόπον καιόμενον νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ὅπου τὰ ἐπτὰ ὄρη ἀπὸ λίθων πολυτελῶν, [τρία] εἰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ τρία εἰς νότον βάλλοντα. ⁷καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἀπὸ λίθου χρώματος, τὸ δὲ ἦν ἀπὸ λίθου μαργαρίτου, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ λίθου ταθην, τὸ δὲ κατὰ νότον ἀπὸ λίθου πυρροῦ. ⁸τὸ δὲ μέσον αὐτῶν ἦν εἰς οὐρανόν, ὡς περὶ θρόνος θεοῦ ἀπὸ λίθου φουκά, καὶ ἡ κορυφὴ τοῦ θρόνου ἀπὸ λίθου σαφείρου. ⁹καὶ πῦρ καιόμενον ἶδον. ¹⁰καὶ [πέ]κεινα¹ τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ¹⁰τόπος ἐστὶν πέρας τῆς μεγάλης γῆς· ἐκεῖ συντελεσθήσονται οἱ οὐρανοί. ¹¹καὶ ἶδον χάσμα μέγα εἰς τοὺς στύλους τοῦ πυρὸς καταβαίνοντας καὶ οὐκ ἦν μέτρον οὔτε εἰς βάθος οὔτε εἰς ὕψος. ¹²καὶ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ χάσματος τούτου ἶδον τόπον ὅπου οὐδὲ στερέωμα οὐρανοῦ ἐπάνω, οὔτε γῆ ἢ θεμελιωμένη ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ, οὔτε ὕδωρ ἦν ὑπὸ αὐτὸ οὔτε πετεινόν, ἀλλὰ τόπος ἦν ἔρημος καὶ φοβερός. ¹³ἐκεῖ ἶδον ἐπτὰ ἀστέρας ὡς ὄρη μεγάλα καιόμενα, περὶ ὧν πυνθανομένῳ μοι ¹⁴εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος, Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος τὸ τέλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς· δεσποτήριον τοῦτο ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀστροῖς καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. ¹⁵καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες οἱ κυλιόμενοι ἐν τῷ πυρὶ, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ παραβάντες πρόσταγμα κυρίου ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀνατολῆς αὐτῶν - ὅτι τόπος ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κενός ἐστιν - ὅτι οὐκ ἐξῆλθον ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτῶν. ¹⁶καὶ ὀργίσθη αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτοὺς μέχρι καιροῦ τελειώσεως αὐτῶν ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν,² ἐνιαυτῶν μυρίων. ^{19.1}καὶ εἶπεν μοι Οὐριήλ Ἐνθάδε οἱ μιγέντες ἄγγελοι ταῖς γυναῖξιν στήσονται, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν πολύμορφα γενόμενα λυμάνεται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ πλανήσει αὐτοὺς ἐπιθύειν τοῖς δαιμονίοις μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης κρίσεως, ἐν ἣ κριθήσονται εἰς ἀποτελείωσιν. ²καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τῶν παραβάντων ἀγγέλων εἰς σειρήνας γενήσονται. ³καὶ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἶδον τὰ θεωρήματα μόνος, τὰ πέρατα πάντων, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδῃ οὐδὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἐγὼ ἶδον.

^{17.1}And they led me taking me into a certain place in which those who were there were as flaming fire and, whenever they wished, they appeared as humans. ²And they led me into a dark place and into a mountain the top of which reached to heaven. ³And I saw a place of starlight and the treasures of the stars and of the thunder, and into the air-depth, where both the arrows and their quivers and all the lightning-bolts were of fire. ⁴And they led me as far as (the) waters and as far as the fire of the West, which is also (the) supplier of every setting

¹ Gk reads *κακεινα*, corrected to *κά[πέ]κεινα* by R.H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch: Edited from Twenty-Three MSS. together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions*, (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1906) 49.

² Second "αὐτῶν" omitted by dittography, cf. note in M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, (PVTG 3; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970) 31.

of the sun. ⁵And we came as far as a river of fire, in which fire runs as water and runs into the great sea to the West. ⁶I saw the great rivers, and I arrived at the great river and at the great darkness, and I left where living beings walk.³ ⁷I saw the wintry wind of gloomy darkness and the outflow of all the waters of the abyss. ⁸I saw the mouth of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the abyss.

^{18.1}I saw the treasures of all the winds; I saw that in them he ordered all that is created and the foundation of the earth, and I saw the cornerstone of the earth. ²I saw the four winds bearing-up the earth, ³and the foundation of heaven, and they stand betwixt earth and heaven. ⁴I saw the winds of heaven twisting and the wheel of the sun nodding and all the stars. ⁵I saw winds upon the earth bearing-up the cloud.⁴ I saw (the) boundaries of the earth, the support of heaven above.

⁶I went along and saw a place that was aflame night and day, where (there were) seven mountains of precious stones, [three] being cast into the East and three into the South. ⁷And those to the East (one) stone of skin color, and one was of pearl, and one of ashen color,⁵ but the one down South (was) a stone of fire. ⁸The middle one of them was in heaven, just as the throne of God – of naturally formed stone, and the top of the stone was sapphire. ⁹And I saw burning fire. And beyond these mountains ¹⁰is a place – (the) boundary of the great earth. There the heavens come to an end. ¹¹And I saw a great chasm among⁶ pillars of fire stretching down. They were not measurable either into the depths or into the heights. ¹²Beyond this chasm I saw a place where there was neither firmament upon heaven, nor earth that had been founded beneath it, nor was there water upon it or birds, but (the) place was wilderness/desert and fearful. ¹³There I saw seven stars like great burning mountains. When I inquired about this ¹⁴the angel said, "This is the last place of heaven and earth. This is a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. ¹⁵And the stars are rolling in the fire. These are the ones who transgressed the ordinances of the Lord from the beginning of their rising – because (the) place outside of heaven is empty – because they did not come out in their proper times. ¹⁶And he was vexed with them and bound them until (the) moment of the consummation of their sins – a period of ten thousand years." ^{19.1}And Uriel said to me, "Standing there are the angels who mingled with women, and their spirits, becoming many (different) forms, mistreat humans and mislead them to offer to demons as to the great creator, by which they will be judged in the completion. ²And their wives, that is of the transgressing angels, will become Sirens." ³And I alone, Enoch, saw the visions, the boundaries of everything, and in no way has (another) one of the humans seen as I saw.

³ Lit. ...where every flesh does not walk.

⁴ Lit. ...in the cloud.

⁵ *ταθέν* edges on indecipherable. A possibility would be to read it as a form of *τέλιω*, with the idea being that the stone was the color of death, possibly 'ashen.' While this does not fit the idea of precious stones (18.6), it may go along with the stone that is skin-colored/*χρωμα*, but at its best this is a guess.

⁶ G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch*, (ed. K. Baltzer; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001) reads *έν* for *εις* in light of the Ethiopian *ba-* (277).

1 Enoch 21.1-3

¹ καὶ ἐφώδευσα ἕως⁷ τῆς ἀκατασκευάστου. ²κακεῖ ἐθεασάμην ἔργον φοβερὸν· ἐώρακα οὔτε οὐρανὸν ἐπάνω, οὔτε γῆν τεθέαμαι⁸ τεθεμελιωμένην, ἀλλὰ τόπον ἀκατασκεύαστον καὶ φοβερὸν. ³καὶ ἐκεῖ τεθέαμαι ἑπτὰ τῶν ἀστέρων⁹ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δεδεμένους καὶ ἐρριμμένους¹⁰ ἐν αὐτῷ,¹¹ ὁμοίους ὄρεσιν μεγάλοις¹² καὶ ἐν πυρὶ καιομένους.

¹And I traveled East to the unformed (place). ²And there I saw a terrible business; I have seen neither heaven above, nor have I beheld a firmly founded earth, but a place unformed and terrible. ³And there I beheld seven of the stars of heaven having been bound and hurled into it, together with great mountains and alight in fire.

Philo, *Quod Deus immutabilis* Sit 58

ὀφθαλμῶν γε μὴν οὐκ ἔδειτο, οἷς ἄνευ φωτὸς αἰσθητοῦ κατάληψις οὐ γίνεται· τὸ δὲ αἰσθητὸν φῶς γενητὸν, ἐώρα δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πρὸ γενέσεως φωτὶ χρώμενον ἑαυτῷ.

Nor did He [God] need eyes, which have no power of perception without the light which meets our sense. But that light is created, whereas God saw before creation, being Himself His own light.

Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum heres* 122

γνωριμώτερον μέντοι τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ τέλη κατὰ θεὸν ὠμολόγησεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως εἰπὼν· ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησε καὶ πάλιν συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

Even more clearly he (Moses) acknowledges that beginnings and endings are according to God in the genesis of the cosmos – "In the beginning God made," and again, "God finished the heaven and earth."

Philo, *De aeternitate mundi* 17-19

πατέρα δὲ τοῦ Πλατωνείου δόγματος ἔνιοι νομίζουσι τὸν ποιητὴν Ἡσίοδον, γενητὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον οἰόμενοι τὸν κόσμον ὑπ' ἐκείνου λέγεσθαι, γενητὸν μὲν, ὅτι φησὶν
ἦτοι μὲν πρῶτιστα χάος γένητ',
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα γαί' εὐρύτερνος,
πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ,

ἄφθαρτον δέ, ὅτι διάλυσιν καὶ φθορὰν οὐ μεμίνυκεν αὐτοῦ. ¹⁸χάος δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης τόπον οἶεται εἶναι, ὅτι τὸ δεξόμενον ἀνάγκη προϋποκεῖσθαι σώματι, τῶν δὲ Στωικῶν ἔνιοι τὸ ὕδωρ παρὰ τὴν χύσιν τοῦνομα πεποιήσθαι νομίζοντες.

ὁποτέρως δ' ἂν ἔχοι, τὸ γενητὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον ἐναργέστατα παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ μεμίνυται. ¹⁹μακροῖς δὲ χρόνοις πρότερον ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης Μωσῆς γενητὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον ἔφη τὸν κόσμον ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις· εἰσὶ δὲ πέντε, ὧν τὴν πρώτην ἐπέγραψε Γένεσιν, ἐν ἣ ἄρχεται τὸν πρόπον τοῦτον· ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, εἶτα προελθὼν ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα μηνύει πάλιν, ὅτι ἡμέραι καὶ νύκτες καὶ ὥραι καὶ ἐνιαυτοὶ σελήνη τε καὶ ἥλιος, οἱ χρόνου μετρήσεως φύσιν ἐδέξαντο, μετὰ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ μοίρας ἀθανάτου λαχόντες διατελοῦσιν ἄφθαρτοι.

⁷ ἕως G¹, μέχρι G².

⁸ G² missing τεθέαμαι.

⁹ ἑπτὰ τῶν ἀστέρων G¹, ζ' ἀστέρων G².

¹⁰ ἐρριμμένους G¹, ἐριμμένους G².

¹¹ G² adds ὁμοῦ.

¹² ὄρεσιν μεγάλοις G¹, ὄρασει μεγάλη G².

Some think that the poet Hesiod was the father of Platonic dogma, imagining that the world is said by him [to be] created and incorruptible, because he said:

Chaos was truly the first to be,
and thereafter broad-chested Gaia,
a firm seat for everything forever.¹³

...incorruptible, because he did not reveal that it would be dissolved and destroyed. ¹⁸Chaos according to Aristotle is imagined to be a place, because a body necessarily must have someone/thing to receive it; some of the Stoics think water to have been made from its flood.¹⁴ But whichever of these is correct, that the world came to be is revealed most distinctly by Hesiod. ¹⁹But a long time before (Hesiod), Moses, the lawgiver of the Jews, in the sacred books said the cosmos is created and imperishable. These (books) are five, of these the first he named Genesis, in which he begins (in) this manner, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth, and the earth was invisible and unformed." Then moving on in that which follows he reveals again that days and nights and seasons and years, moon and sun – these by nature show¹⁵ measures of time, with the whole heaven they are incorruptible obtaining immortality.

Sirach 33.7-15

⁷Διὰ τί ἡμέρα ἡμέρας ὑπερέχει,
καὶ πᾶν φῶς ἡμέρας ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀφ' ἡλίου;
⁸ἐν γνώσει κυρίου διεχωρίσθησαν,
καὶ ἡλλοίωσεν καιροὺς καὶ ἑορτάς·
⁹ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνύψωσεν καὶ ἡγίασεν
καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔθηκεν εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἡμερῶν.
¹⁰καὶ ἄνθρωποι πάντες ἀπὸ ἐδάφους
καὶ ἐκ γῆς ἐκτίσθη Ἀδὰμ·
¹¹ἐν πλήθει ἐπιστήμης κύριος διεχώρισεν αὐτοὺς
καὶ ἡλλοίωσεν τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν·
¹²ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐλόγησεν καὶ ἀνύψωσεν
καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἡγίασεν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤγγισεν·
ἀπ' αὐτῶν κατηράσατο καὶ ἔταπείνωσεν
καὶ ἀνέστρεψεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ στάσεως αὐτῶν.
¹³ὥς πηλὸς κεραμέως ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ
πλάσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ
οὕτως ἄνθρωποι ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ποιήσαντος αὐτοῦ
ἀποδοῦναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτοῦ.
¹⁴ἀπέναντι τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ ἀγαθόν,
καὶ ἀπέναντι τοῦ θανάτου ἡ ζωὴ,
οὕτως ἀπέναντι εὐσεβοῦς ἀμαρτωλός·
¹⁵καὶ οὕτως ἔμβλεψον εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ὑψίστου,
δύο δύο, ἐν κατέναντι τοῦ ἐνόος.

⁷Why is one day more important than [another] day
as all the light of day during the year is from the sun?

⁸With the Lord's knowledge they were distinguished,
and he altered [them into] seasons and holidays;

⁹From [among] them he exalted and made holy
and out of them he put an accounting of days.

¹⁰And all humanity is from the ground,
as Adam was built from the earth.

¹¹In the fullness of his knowledge the Lord distinguished them

¹³ Hesiod, *Theogony* 116-117.

¹⁴ Colson translates χύσις "diffusion," which seems more *apropos*, Philo, *Philo with an English Translation*, 10 with 2 supplementary vols. (trans. F.H. Colson, et al.; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard, 1929-1962)9.197.

¹⁵ This translation reads ἔδειξαν for ἐδέξαντο, cf. Colson's notation of Cohn in Philo, *Philo*, 198 n.1.

and altered their ways;
¹²Some he blessed and exalted
 and others he hallowed and brought before him;
 some he cursed and brought low
 and turned them from their place.
¹³As the clay of a potter in his hand
 is to be moulded according to his pleasure,
 so humanity are in the hand of their maker
 to render them according to his judgment.
¹⁴The opposite of evil is good,
 and the opposite of death is life,
 just so the opposite of the pious is the sinner.
¹⁵And so look into all the works of the Most High,
 they are two by two, one opposite the other.

Christian

Ignatius, *To the Ephesians* 19.1-3

καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου· τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπράχθη. ²πῶς οὖν ἐφανερῶθη τοῖς αἰῶσιν; ἄστὴρ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔλαμψεν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἀνεκλάλητον ἦν καὶ ξεινισμόν παρείχεν ἡ καινότης αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἄστρα ἅμα ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ χορὸς ἐγένετο τῷ ἀστέρι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑπερβάλλων τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντα· ταραχὴ τε ἦν, πόθεν ἡ καινότης ἡ ἀνόμιος αὐτοῖς. ³ὅθεν ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία καὶ πᾶς δεσμὸς ἠφανίζετο κακίας· ἄγνοια καθηρείτο, παλαιὰ βασιλεία διεφθείρετο θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερούμενου εἰς καινότητα αἰδίου ζωῆς· ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάμβανεν τὸ παρὰ θεῶ ἀπηρτισμένον. ἔνθεν τὰ πάντα συνεκινεῖτο διὰ τὸ μελετᾶσθαι θανάτου κατάλυσιν.

The virginity of Mary and her giving birth escaped the notice of the ruler of this age; likewise also the death of the Lord – three mysteries of a cry which were accomplished in the silence of God. ²How, therefore, was he made manifest for the ages? A star in heaven shone more than all the stars, and its light was unspeakable and its newness caused astonishment. At the same time all the other stars (together) with sun and moon became a chorus to the star, yet its light exceeded all others, and there was confusion concerning whence the new one had come – the one different from the others. ³Hence all magic was thrown away and every fetter of evil was hidden. Ignorance was canceled out, an ancient kingdom was demolished when God became humanly manifest for (the) renewal of eternal life. And that which had been completed/prepared by God received (its) beginning. Thereafter, all things were stirred up because the end of death was being practiced.

Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 129.1-4¹⁶

¹καὶ νῦν δὲ ἔτι καὶ οὐς εἶπον λόγους εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τούτου ἔρω. ὅταν λέγη· ἔβρεξε κύριος πῦρ παρὰ κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, δύο ὄντας ἀριθμῶ μηνύει ὁ λόγος ὁ προφητικὸς, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς ὄντα, ὅς φησι καταβεβηκέναι ἰδεῖν τὴν κραυγὴν Σοδόμων, τὸν δὲ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχοντα, ὅς καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ γῆς κυρίου κύριός ἐστιν, ὡς πατὴρ καὶ θεὸς, αἷτός τε αὐτῷ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ δυνατῷ καὶ κυρίῳ καὶ θεῷ. ²καὶ ἄλλιν ὅταν λέγη ὁ λόγος εἰρηκέναι τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ· ἰδοὺ Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν ὡς εἰς ἕξ ἡμῶν, τότε ὡς εἰς ἕξ ἡμῶν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἀριθμοῦ δηλωτικόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ προπολογίαν χωροῦσιν οἱ λόγοι, ὡς ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐπιχειροῦσιν οἱ σοφισταὶ καὶ μηδὲ λέγειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν μηδὲ νοεῖν δυνάμενοι. ³καὶ ἐν τῇ Σοφίᾳ εἴρηται· ἐὰν ἀναγγείλω ὑμῖν τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν γινόμενα, μνημονεύσω τὰ ἐξ αἰῶνος ἀριθμῆσαι. κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ. πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με, ἐν ἀρχῇ, πρὸ

¹⁶ Greek text from E.J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1914) 250-251.

τοῦ τὴν γῆν ποιῆσαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τὰς ἀβύσσους ποιῆσαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ προελθεῖν τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη ἐδρασθῆναι· πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνῶν γενεᾶ με. ἡ καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπηγαγον· νοεῖτε, ὧ ἀκροαταί, εἴ γε καὶ τὸν νοῦν προσέχετε· καὶ ὅτι γεγενῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦτο τὸ γέννημα πρὸ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν κτισμάτων ὁ λόγος ἐδήλου, καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον τοῦ γεννώντος ἀριθμῶ ἕτερόν ἐστι, πᾶς ὅστισοῦν ὁμολογήσειε.

"And now I shall again recite the words which I have spoken in proof of this point. When Scripture says, 'The Lord rained fire from the Lord out of heaven,' the prophetic word indicates that there were two in number: One upon the earth, who, it says, descended to behold the cry of Sodom; Another in heaven, who also is Lord of the Lord on earth, as He is Father and God; the cause of His power and of His being Lord and God. Again, when the Scripture records that God said in the beginning, 'Behold, Adam has become like one of Us,' this phrase, 'like one of Us,' is also indicative of number; and the words do not admit of a figurative meaning, as the sophists endeavor to affix on them, who are able neither to tell nor to understand the truth. And it is written in the book of Wisdom: 'If I should tell you daily events, I would be mindful to enumerate them from the beginning. The Lord created me the beginning of His ways for His works. From everlasting He established me in the beginning, before He formed the earth, and before He made the depths, and before the springs of waters came forth, before the mountains were settled; He begets me before all the hills.'" When I repeated these words, I added: "You perceive, my hearers, if you bestow attention, that the Scripture has declared that this Offspring was begotten by the Father before all things created; and that which is begotten is numerically distinct from that which begets, any one will admit."

Sibylline Oracles 3.8-23

10 ἄνθρωποι θεόπλαστον ἔχοντες ἐν εἰκόνι μορφήν
τίπτε μάτην πλάζεσθε καὶ οὐκ εὐθείαν ἀταρπὸν
βαίνετε, ἀθανάτου κτίστου μεμνημένοι αἰεὶ;
εἷς θεὸς ἐστὶ μόναρχος ἀθέσφατος αἰθέρι ναίων
αὐτοφυῆς ἀόρατος ὀρώμενος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα·
15 ὃν χεὶρ οὐκ ἐποίησε λιθοζόος οὐδ' ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ
τέχνησ' ἀνθρώπου φαίνει τύπος οὐδ' ἐλέφαντος·
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀνέδειξεν αἰώνιος αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν
ὄντα τε καὶ πρὶν ἔδοντα, ἀτὰρ πάλι καὶ μετέπειτα
τίς γὰρ θνητὸς ἔων κατιδεῖν δύναται θεὸν ὄσσοις;
ἢ τίς χωρήσει κἂν τοῦνομα μόνον ἀκοῦσαι
20 οὐρανοῦ μεγάλοιο θεοῦ κόσμον κρατέοντος;
ὃς λόγῳ ἔκτισε πάντα καὶ οὐρανὸν ἠδὲ θάλασσαν
ἠελιὸν τ' ἀκάμαντα σελήνην τε πλήθουσιν
ἄστρα τε λαμπετόωντα, κραταιὰν μητέρα Τηθύν,
πηγὰς καὶ ποταμούς, πῦρ ἀφθιτον, ἤματα, νύκτας,

O men, having the God-made form in (his) image,
10 why do you wander randomly, and on a straight path you do not
walk, always remembering the immortal creator?
There is one God, a lone ruler, ineffable, dwelling in the sky
self-generated, invisible, seeing all things himself.
A stonemason did not make him by hand; neither from gold
nor from ivory by human craft does a model (of him) appear;
15 but he himself, eternally himself has revealed himself
being even before being, yet back (from this point) and after (it).
For who, being mortal, is able to behold God with vision/eyes?
Or who might be able even to make room to hear the only name
of the great, heavenly God reigning (over) the cosmos?

20 He, with a word, created everything – heaven and sea,
both untiring sun and full-moon,
shining stars and strong mother Tethys,¹⁷
springs and rivers, imperishable fire, days (and) nights.

¹⁷ Tethys (Τηθύς) is an epic figure in Greek mythology. The wife of Oceanus, daughter of Uranus and Gaia, she is the personification of the sea itself, cf. LJS s.v. E.g. Homer, *Iliad* 14.303.

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