

Some of the Other Works of the Torah: Boundaries and Inheritance as Legal Metaphors in the Hebrew Bible and Hellenistic Jewish Literature

Author: Daniel Jon Vos

Persistent link: <http://hdl.handle.net/2345/bc-ir:108730>

This work is posted on [eScholarship@BC](#),
Boston College University Libraries.

Boston College Electronic Thesis or Dissertation, 2020

Copyright is held by the author, with all rights reserved, unless otherwise noted.

SOME OF THE OTHER WORKS OF THE
TORAH: BOUNDARIES AND
INHERITANCE AS LEGAL
METAPHORS IN THE HEBREW BIBLE
AND HELLENISTIC JEWISH
LITERATURE

Daniel Jon Vos

A dissertation

submitted to the Faculty of

the department of Theology

in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Boston College
Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences
Graduate School

March 2020

**SOME OF THE OTHER WORKS OF THE TORAH: BOUNDARIES AND
INHERITANCE AS LEGAL METAPHORS IN THE HEBREW BIBLE AND
HELLENISTIC JEWISH LITERATURE**

Daniel Jon Vos

Advisor: David S. Vanderhooft, Ph.D.

In this dissertation, I explore the metaphorical value of law in the Hebrew Bible and Hellenistic Jewish literature. While the study of biblical law and Hellenistic Jewish halakah is well established, less attention has been paid to the intentional use of legal diction to create legal metaphors—metaphors that draw upon legal language for the sake of generating new ethical and theological insights.

My argument is based upon Roger White's theory of metaphor which states that a metaphor juxtaposes two otherwise unrelated vocabularies in order to produce new meaning. Thus, I draw upon comparative study of ancient Near Eastern law as a means of understanding the register of biblical Hebrew legal diction concerning land tenure and inheritance. With the legal background established, I investigate three sets of metaphors, one drawn from the prohibition against violating established property boundaries and two drawn from the legal domain of inheritance: the inheritance of wisdom and the inheritance of glory.

These legal metaphors demonstrate the profitability of attending to legal diction. The boundary metaphor demonstrates that when attempting to describe the good or virtuous life, law served not only to provide a description of obligations, it also shaped the way in which early Jewish communities understood reality itself. The inheritance of wisdom metaphors demonstrate that sophisticated comparisons could be drawn between legal concepts and scribal learning, particularly when wisdom was thought of as a document. The inheritance of glory metaphors demonstrate the way in which semantic shifting impacts the meaning of a metaphor.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	iv
List of tables	viii
List of figures	ix
Abbreviations	x
Acknowledgements	xi
Introduction	1
1.0 Chapter 1: SOME OF THE OTHER WORKS OF THE TORAH	3
1.1 BOUNDARIES AND INHERITANCE AS LEGAL METAPHORS	7
1.1.1 Investigating a Lacuna in the Scholarship of Biblical Law	8
1.1.2 The Scope of this Dissertation.....	11
1.1.3 Studying Property and Inheritance as Metaphors in a Broad Textual Corpus	12
1.2 METAPHOR AS A METHODOLOGICAL TOOL	13
1.2.1 Recognizing Metaphor: Kittay and White	15
1.2.2 Two Challenges in Recognizing Biblical Legal Metaphors Subsection	17
1.2.3 Metaphorical Systems	20
1.2.4 Analyzing Metaphor.....	21
1.3 THE OTHER USES OF THE LAW	24
1.3.1 Law in Narrative	26
1.3.2 Legal Structures for Religious Thought	29
1.4 OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION	29
1.4.1 Chapter Two.....	30
1.4.2 Chapter Three.....	30
1.4.3 Chapter Four.....	31
1.4.4 Chapter Five	32
1.4.5 Chapter Six.....	32
2.0 Chapter 2: BOUNDARIES AND INHERITANCE IN LAW: LAW AS A BACKBONE FOR METAPHOR	33
2.1 WRITING BIBLICAL LAW	33
2.2 ESTATES AND THEIR DISPOSITION	39
2.2.1 Granting an Estate.....	41
2.2.2 Excursus: Roland Boer and the Redistribution of Property in Ancient Israel.....	42
2.2.3 Purchase and Sale	47
2.2.4 Redemption	49
2.2.5 Inheritance.....	51
2.2.6 Seizure	53

2.3 HOLDING AND INHERITANCE: THE VALENCES OF LANDHOLDING VERBS IN THE HEBREW BIBLE	55
2.3.1 Early Biblical Land Tenure Terminology: ירש and נחל	56
2.3.1.1 ירש as (Succession to an) Inheritance	58
2.3.1.2 ירש as Conquest	61
2.3.1.3 Conclusions on the Origins of ירש	63
2.3.2 The Origins and Legal Valences of נחל	63
2.3.2.1 Could * <i>nhl</i> Designate an Inheritance?	64
2.3.2.2 * <i>nhl</i> According to Levine	69
2.3.2.3 Summary Concerning Levine's Earliest Stratum of Hebrew Land Tenure Terminology	71
2.3.3 Priestly Land Tenure: אחז / אחזה	72
2.3.4 Late Priestly Land Tenure? The Use of החזיק in Land Tenure	77
2.3.5 Other Verbs of Seizure	80
2.3.5.1 לקח	80
2.3.5.2 תמך	82
2.3.5.3 חסך	83
2.3.6 Conclusion regarding the Origins and Specific Valences of Land Tenure Terms	85
2.4 CONCLUSION	86
3.0 Chapter 3: BOUNDARIES LEGAL AND METAPHORICAL: TRACING THE FIGURATIVE USAGE OF THE LEGAL PROHIBITION AGAINST VIOLATING BOUNDARIES.....	87
3.1 ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN LEGAL CONCERNS OVER VIOLATED BOUNDARIES	89
3.1.1 What is a Boundary? Boundary Terminology in Kudurrus	91
3.1.2 The Middle Assyrian Laws and the Punishment of Boundary Crimes	94
3.1.3 The Wisdom of Amenemope and Violated Boundaries in Proverbs	96
3.1.4 Summary	99
3.2 FIGURATIVE BOUNDARIES IN AKKADIAN TEXTS.....	99
3.2.1 Transgressing Set Boundaries	100
3.2.2 Boundary Offenses as Paradigmatic Sins	103
3.2.3 Life Span as a Fixed Boundary	105
3.2.4 Summary	106
3.3 VIOLATED BOUNDARIES AS A LEGAL CONCERN IN THE HEBREW BIBLE.....	107
3.3.1 The Philology of הסיג גבול	108
3.3.2 Proverbs and Deuteronomy: The Legal Language in Context	110
3.3.2.1 Proverbs 22:28 and 23:10–11	111
3.3.2.2 Deuteronomy 19:14 and 27:17	112
3.4 FIGURATIVE USAGE OF הסיג גבול IN HOSEA 5:10.....	113
3.4.1 Albrecht Alt and the Historical Interpretation of Hos 5:10.....	114
3.4.2 Challenges to Alt's Position	115
3.4.3 Figurative Usage of the Prohibition Against Violating Boundaries	117
3.4.4 Summary	118
3.5 METAPHORICAL BOUNDARY VIOLATIONS IN HELLENISTIC JEWISH TEXTS	119
3.5.1 Violating Boundaries as a Spatial Metaphor for Sin	119
3.5.2 4QInstruction and the Boundaries of a Divinely Granted Inheritance	125
3.5.3 Setting a Boundary as Personal Piety	129
3.5.4 Other Examples in the Dead Sea Scrolls	130
3.5.5 The Testament of Issachar	131
3.5.6 Conclusions Regarding Boundary Violation in Hellenistic Jewish Texts	132
3.6 CONCLUSION	132

4.0 Chapter 4: INHERITING WISDOM IN HELLENISTIC JEWISH TEXTS: TRACKING A NETWORK OF INHERITANCE METAPHORS.....	134
4.1 ACQUIRING WISDOM IN HELLENISTIC JEWISH TEXTS	136
4.1.1 Wisdom as Divine Revelation	136
4.1.2 The Relationship between Wisdom and Truth (Aramaic קשט).....	143
4.1.3 Texts that Collocate Wisdom or Truth and Inheritance.....	145
4.2 WISDOM AND INHERITANCE METAPHORS.....	146
4.2.1 The Inheritance That Wisdom Provides	147
4.2.1.1 Prov 8:17–21	147
4.2.1.2 Sirach 4:16	151
4.2.1.3 Sirach 24:20	155
4.2.2 The Sage as Father	156
4.2.3 Wisdom as Inheritance	160
4.2.4 Text as Conveyance	164
4.2.5 The Outsider as Illegitimate Heir.....	175
4.3 CONCLUSION	178
5.0 Chapter 5: INHERITING GLORY: ACQUIRING PRIESTLY STATUS IN SIRACH AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS	180
5.1 PROVERBS 3:35 AND THE INHERITANCE OF GRAVITAS	181
5.2 THE INHERITANCE OF כבוד IN HELLENISTIC JEWISH TEXTS.....	185
5.2.1 The Semantic Range of כבוד in Hellenistic Jewish Texts	187
5.2.1.1 כבוד as <i>Gravitas</i> Human and Divine.....	188
5.2.1.2 כבוד and Sacred Space	190
5.2.1.3 כבוד and Sacred Duties.....	192
5.2.1.4 Summary.....	193
5.2.2 Proverbs-like כבוד in Hellenistic Texts	193
5.2.2.1 Inheriting Honor in Sirach	194
5.2.2.2 Posthumous Honor in 4QBeatitudes	195
5.2.2.3 Inheriting Honor in the Aramaic Levi Document.....	196
5.2.2.4 Restored Honor in 4QInstruction (416 2 III, 10–11 4Q418 9, 9–10)	196
5.2.2.5 Summary.....	197
5.2.3 Priestly Glory Texts	198
5.2.3.1 Priestly Glory in Sirach	198
5.2.3.2 The כבוד אדם in the Damascus Document	200
5.2.3.3 The כבוד אדם in 1QH ^a IV, 27	201
5.2.3.4 Divine Benefactions in 1QS XI	202
5.2.3.5 Priestly Language in 4QInstruction (4Q418 81)	204
5.2.3.6 Summary.....	205
5.3 ESCHATOLOGICAL כבוד IN 4QINSTRUCTION?.....	205
5.3.1 The Inheritance of כבוד in 4QInstruction	206
5.3.1.1 4Q416 2 II, 17–18.....	207
5.3.1.2 4Q416 2 III, 8–12 4Q418 9, 8–12	208
5.3.1.3 4Q417 2 I, 10–11 4Q416 2 I, 5–6.....	212
5.3.2 Conclusions Regarding Inheriting כבוד in 4QInstruction.....	215
5.4 CONCLUSION	215
6.0 Chapter 6: CONCLUSIONS	219
6.1 SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS.....	219
6.2 THE CHARACTER OF LEGAL METAPHORS	222
6.3 FURTHER PROSPECTS	223

6.3.1 Inheriting Folly in 4Q184	224
6.3.2 Inheriting Joy.....	227
Appendix A	230
Appendix B	232
Bibliography	249

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: An Example of <i>warrāšu</i> at Emar	59
Table 2.2: <i>yr̄t</i> in the Baal Cycle	61
Table 2.3: <i>yr̄š</i> in the Mesha Stele	62
Table 2.4: * <i>nhl</i> at Alalah	67
Table 2.5: * <i>ḥz</i> as Political Control.....	73
Table 2.6: <i>ḥz</i> in the Mesha Stele	74
Table 2.7: * <i>ḥd</i> as possession at Elephantine	75
Table 3.1: Boundaries in MAL B.....	95
Table 3.2: Boundaries in Amene mope	98
Table 3.3: A Set Boundary in Enuma Elish IV	101
Table 3.4: The Boundary of Šamaš in the Etana Epic.....	101
Table 3.5: Boundary Violations in Šurpu II, III, and VIII	105
Table 3.6: A Bounded Lifespan in STT 73	106
Table 4.1: Wisdom or Truth and Inheritance	146
Table 4.2: ירש and κληρονομέω in Genesis 15.....	152
Table 4.3: ירש and κληρονομέω in Tobit.....	153
Table 4.4: κατακληρονομέω in Sirach 4:16.....	153
Table 4.5: 4Q185 1–2 II, 8b–15a	161
Table 4.6: Wisdom in 4Q541 fragment 7	169
Table 5.1: The Inheritance of כבוד	186

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Paulus's Spatial Representation of Boundary Terminology in Mesopotamian <i>Kudurrus</i>	92
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations will be employed when consistency and clarity allow:

BDB = Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*.

CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2006.

DCH = *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Edited by David J. A. Clines. 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 1993–2014.

DJD = Discoveries in the Judaean Desert

DNWSI = *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. Jacob Hoftijzer and Karel Jongeling. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

DSSSE = García Martínez, Florentino and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. 2 vol. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

DUL = Olmo Lete, Gregorio del, and Joaquín Sanmartín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Translated by Wilfred G.E. Watson. HdO 67. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Gesenius = Meyer, et al., *Gesenius Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 18. Auflage; Heidelberg: Springer, 2013.

HALOT = *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999.

KTU = *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*. Edited by Manfred Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013. 3rd enl. ed. of KTU: *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places*. Edited by Manfred Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the conclusion of this project and my time as a doctoral student at Boston College, I am grateful to the Biblical Studies faculty that have taught and mentored me: Dr. Pheme Perkins, Dr. John Darr, Dr. Yonder Gillihan, Dr. Jeff Cooley, and Dr. David Vanderhooft. I am thankful to you for deepening my knowledge of biblical texts and the cultures that shaped them. I am thankful for pedagogical lessons. I am thankful (often) for the terrifying honesty of constructive criticism and the editing process. I am particularly grateful to my readers, Yonder and Jeff, and my advisor, David, for their knowledge, skill, and encouragement throughout the process of developing and writing this dissertation.

I am grateful to Dr. Natana Delong-Bas for lessons I learned as her teaching assistant and for the affirmation and support offered in the years since.

I am grateful to have had colleagues and friends within the biblical studies doctoral cohort: Tom Fraatz, Kim Bauser McBrien, Joel Kemp, Clint Burnett, Jenna Whalley-Kokot, Noemi Palomares, Chris Williams, Gustavo Assis, Stephen Rugg, Jeffrey Jordan, and Sophia Miura. Tom, Kim, Joel, and Clint commented on early stages of this project. Joel and Noemi have shared my interest in biblical law. Clint was my companion for much of this journey—two shared, strenuous years of coursework, preparation for comps, and our first forays into teaching. I have been blessed through all of it by his friendship. Beyond the cohort, I must acknowledge Andrew Massena, Clifton Stringer, Andy Vink, and John Carter, among other friends.

For the past two years, I have had the opportunity to teach as adjunct faculty at Boston College; I am grateful for the opportunity. Dr. Katherine Wrisley-Shelby and Dr. Teva Regule, as office mates for the past two years, have been deeply appreciated for their camaraderie and encouragement. This past year, I have also had the opportunity to teach as adjunct faculty at Merrimack College; I am grateful to the department co-chairs, Warren Kay and Joseph Kelley, for their confidence in me.

My family and I found a church home at Fairlawn Christian Reformed Church in Whitinsville, Massachusetts, and my children have had a wonderful education at Whitinsville Christian School. We had hoped to find a good place for our family and have been blessed beyond our expectations. I have been deeply privileged to teach, preach to, sing with, and minister in times of grief to my brothers and sisters at Fairlawn. I have also been blessed by you all.

We have been blessed by our extended families and frustrated by the constraints that schedules and distance have placed on our opportunities to spend time with them. I am particularly grateful for my parents-in-law, David and Joy Koning, for bridging the gap with numerous visits, annual summer trips to New Hampshire, and consistent encouragement.

When I began this program, my children were little. That is no longer true. I am proud of the capable young men that Justin, Nathanael, and Michael are becoming.

And to Lisa, what can I say? I worried about the impracticality of this journey and what it might cost our family in comfort and security. There have been struggles, but we have faced them together.

I have thought repeatedly over the past months of the way in which this study intersects with the interests and livelihoods of my father and grandfathers, Roger Vos, Ben Vos, and Bert Den Herder—a lawyer, a farmer, and a pastor. Grandpa Den Herder was the only one of them to see the beginning of the doctoral process, but did not live to see its completion. All three have left a lasting imprint on who I am. This dissertation is dedicated to their memory.

INTRODUCTION

The title of this dissertation is a play on the well-known phrase found in 4QMMT from which the document is given its modern English designation, *miqṣat maʿaśe ha-torah* – MMT. Most completely represented in 4Q398 14–17 II, 3, the phrase reads, (ואף אנחנו כתבנו אליך מקצת מעשי התורה שחשבנו לטוב לך ולעמך) “But we have written to you some of the works of the Torah (*miqṣat maʿaśe ha-torah*) which we deem to be for your good and for (the good of) your people.”

MMT is concerned with halakah, the proper interpretation of regulations concerning cultic performance and ritual purity found in the Torah. Its goal, as expressed a few lines later at the documents conclusion, is to convince its audience that “It will be reckoned as righteousness on your behalf when you do what is upright and good before him—for your good and for (the good of) Israel.” (ונהשבה לו צדקה) (ויחשבה לו צדקה); 4Q398 14–17 II, 7–8). The allusion to Genesis 15:6b is unmistakable, since 4QMMT borrows verb, preposition, and object (ויחשבה לו צדקה), and demonstrates that the composers of 4QMMT could appropriate biblical narrative for hortatory purposes.

This dissertation investigates the mirror image of this phenomenon—the use of legal language, not as halakah, but as the raw material for theological or ethical reflection. As such, I will investigate texts in which lives may have boundaries that

must not be tampered with, appropriating the language of a law protecting the boundaries of fields. I will investigate inheritances that would test the capacity of a testament's executor, because the bequest is piety rather than an estate; or inheritances that promise identification with a priestly community rather than wealth.

These textual images are legal metaphors, drawn from the quotidian world of property disputes, land tenure, and inheritance, but applied to a different part of the human experience. Their effectiveness as metaphors depends on the ability of their legal language to communicate beyond the legal realm—to juxtapose the legal with the ethical or theological.

I have entitled this dissertation “Some of the Other Works of the Torah” to acknowledge the reality that law often serves this role of creating extra-legal meaning, but is less often recognized for doing so. This is true of the study of the Hebrew Bible, in which fine scholars have often separated legal, halakic exegesis from haggadic exegesis. In this dissertation, I will show that legal metaphors reconnect halakah and haggadah. Biblical and Hellenistic Jewish composers did not separate legal exegesis from other kinds of exegetical processes. As a result, legal metaphor is another work of the Torah, distinguishable in purpose from halakic exegesis, but no less legal in origin.

1.0 SOME OF THE OTHER WORKS OF THE TORAH

In the Damascus Document, violators of the Damascus covenant are warned twice that “there is no portion for them in the house of Torah” (אין להם חלק בבית התורה) [XX, 10]; ולא יהיה להם ולמשפחותיהם חלק בבית התורה [XX, 13]). The warning comes within a longer section concerning judgment for those who reject the covenant:

And thus is the judgment for all entering the assembly of the men of perfection of holiness. But should he become loath to do the precepts of the upright ones, he is the man who is melted in the furnace. When his works become evident, he will be sent away from the assembly, as one whose lot did not fall among those taught by God. According to his infidelity, the men of knowledge will reprove him until the day he returns to stand within the place of the men of perfection of holiness. And when his works become evident by the authority of the study of the Torah by which the men of perfection of holiness conduct themselves, a man will not be in accord with him concerning wealth or work, since all the holy ones of the Most High have cursed him. And according to this judgment for any despiser among the first one and among the last ones who set idols in their hearts and who walk in the stubbornness of their heart—*there is no portion in the house of Torah for them*. According to the judgment of their evil in which they turned away with arrogant men they will be judged, since they spoke error against the statutes of the righteous and rejected the covenant and faithfulness which they had raised in the land of Damascus, which is the new covenant. *So there will not be for them or for their families a portion in the house of Torah* (XX, 1–13).¹

¹ Italics mine. The Hebrew text reads:

וכן המשפט
לכל באי עדת אנשי תמים הקדש ויקוץ מעשות פקודי ישרים
הוא האיש הנתך בתוך כור בהופע מעשיו ישלח מעדה
כמו שלא נפל גורלו בתוך למודי אל כפי מעלו יוכיחוהו אנשי
דעות עד יום ישוב לעמד במעמד אנשי תמים קדש
ובהופע מעשיו כפי מדרש התורה אשר יתהלכו
בו אנשי תמים הקדש אל יאות איש עמו בהון ובעבודה
כי אררוהו כל קדושי עליון וכמשפט הזה לכל המאס בראשונים
ובאחרונים אשר שמו גלולים על לבם וילכו בשרירות
לבם אין להם חלק בבית התורה כמשפט רעיהם אשר שבו
עם אנשי הלצון ישפטו כי דברו תועה על חקי הצדק ומאסו
בברית ואמנה אשר קימו בארץ דמשק והוא ברית החדשה
ולא יהיה להם ולמשפחותיהם חלק בבית התורה

The intent of XX, 10 is generally clear: Those who have placed idols in their hearts (XX, 8) and walked in the stubbornness of their hearts (XX, 9) have no place within the community delimited by the Damascus Document. This is reiterated and expanded in XX, 13, which links the offenses to violating the new covenant and broadens the exclusion from the individual to the clan. The exclusion of these people from the covenant community is justified by their failure to follow the Torah.

The identity of the *בית התורה* is not entirely clear. The phrase is not found in the Hebrew Bible or other Dead Sea Scrolls. Louis Ginzberg first suggested that it referred to “the headquarters of the sect in Damascus” and later modified his opinion to suggest that the phrase was equivalent to the *בית מדרש*, “house of study,” of Sirach 51:23.² Joseph Baumgarten and David Hamidović both compare the phrase to 1QpHab VIII, 1’s “all who observe the Torah in the House of Judah” (כול כושי התורה בבית יהודה).³ Thus, for Baumgarten and Hamidović, the phrase speaks elliptically of the group’s self-identification.⁴ Philip R. Davies, followed by Maxine

² Louis Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1970). See Ginzberg 103 for original, 298 and 298 n. 84 for the correction. Sir 51:23 reads, “Draw near to me, foolish ones, and lodge in the house of instruction” (MS B: פנו אלי סבליים ולינו בבית מדרשי; LXX: ἐγγίσατε πρός με, ἀπαιδευστοι, καὶ ἀνλίσθητε ἐν οἴκῳ παιδείας). Patrick Skehan and Alexander DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes*, AB 39 (New York: Doubleday, 1987) suggest that MS B of Sir 51:23 marks the earliest known occurrence of the expression *בית מדרש* (578); they state further that the Greek implies *בבית מוסר*. 11QPs^a is lacking 51:23.

³ Joseph M. Baumgarten, “Damascus Document II, Some Works of the Torah, and Related Documents” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls, III. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*; eds. James H. Charlesworth and Henry W. M. Rietz, PTSDDSP 6 (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 35. David Hamidović, *L’écrit de Damas: Le Manifeste Essénien*, Collection de la Revue des Études Juives 51 (Paris: Peeters, 2011), 61.

⁴ However, the parallel is fairly inexact, because there is no necessary connection between Torah and house in 1QpHab VIII, 1. The House of Judah is a polity, of which the observers of Torah are a distinct subset. CD seems ambivalent about the polity of Judah, since its community has made some kind of journey (whether real or fictive) beyond its boundaries to Damascus (IV 3, VI 5).

Grossman, argues that there is no identifiable historical referent behind the term.⁵ Chaim Rabin suggested on the basis of a Mishnaic parallel, in which a sinner has no place in the world-to-come (אין לו חלק לעולם הבא), that בית התורה referred to “the post-Messianic era of resurrection.”⁶ The multiple options presented—a historical reference to the headquarters of the community, a historical reference to something of a proto-synagogue within the community’s institutional orbit, a historical expression for the community’s self-identification, or a non-historical expression for the eschatological future—demonstrate the interpretive difficulties a single term may convey. For these scholars, the house could be a textual repository, a group’s self-identification, or a group’s eternal destination. The variety is striking.

Exclusion from a house in these lines is clearer because biblical antecedents demonstrate that this is the language of disinheritance. It is clear that the Damascus Document could speak of exclusion from the community in other ways. CD XX 8

⁵ Philip R. Davies, *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics*, South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 134 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 49, comments, “On the possible description of the community as a ‘house,’ we have the evidence of CD 3:19 which alludes to the *byt n’mn* of 1 Sam. 2:35. We may compare 20:10,13 *byt htwrh*, but this has little or no independent value.” Maxine Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Method*, STDJ 45 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), does not comment on the phrase at all.

⁶ Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents*, 2nd rev. ed (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 39. Rabin cites Avot 3:15, but appears to have intended 3:11. Rabin points to an interesting verbal parallel with the Mishnaic אין לו חלק לעולם הבא visibly similar to the construction of CD XX 10’s אין להם חלק בבית התורה. However, two issues weaken Rabin’s suggestion. First, the phrase אין לו חלק לעולם הבא is fairly common in rabbinic literature—it can apply to various other spiritual and moral failures. As a result, greater attention needs to be placed on whether the preceding contexts are similar enough to suggest a close association. Both CD XX and Avot 3:11 describe sins, but Avot specifically refers to profaning the holy, despising appointed times, public humiliation of a friend, reversal of circumcision, and false interpretation of the Torah. CD XX is concerned with covenant apostasy, described as idolatry and stubbornness. So the comparisons are too general to provide confidence that אין לו חלק לעולם הבא and אין להם חלק בבית התורה are necessarily equivalent. Second, the אין לו חלק לעולם הבא construction can be used with other consequences, as in Bekhorot 30b:5, which excludes from the priesthood anyone with even one disagreement with the law of the priesthood. An exclusion of this sort seems just as likely as exclusion from the world to come.

evokes the language of falling under a divine curse. CD XX 26 states that transgressors will be cut off from within the camp (יכרתו מקרב המחנה). Yet CD XX 10 and 13, quoted above, evoke the legal metaphor of (dis)inheritance to articulate a particular view of exclusion. For it is a *legal* idiom that has been employed to make the point. The root חלק is readily identified as a legal term related to the apportionment of property.⁷ Coupled with בבית, the phrase could describe the division or distribution of an estate. There are echoes of this kind of language in Gen 31:14, when Rachel and Leah denounce Laban for effectively disinheriting them: “Is there still any portion or inheritance for us in the house of our father?” (העוד לנו חלק) (ונחלה בבית אבינו).⁸ So in CD XX 10 and 13, the lack of a portion means the loss of legal status—one no longer belongs.

This lack of belonging requires further consideration of the בית התורה. The Torah is given symbolic authority by the phrase—on the analogy to the patrimonial household, Torah is the head of this community. Torah has a בית, perhaps in the same way that Wisdom has a בית in Proverbs 9. Torah, like the head of a patrimonial household, must be respected and obeyed. The metaphor entails further possibilities: Membership in the household confers life and blessing as long as one is willing to remain within the boundaries established by Torah (and covenant). But

⁷ See, for example, Proverbs 17:2: “a skillful slave will rule over an embarrassing son and among brothers will apportion an inheritance” (עבד-משכיל ימשל בבן מביש ובתוך אחים יחלק נחלה).

⁸ Rachel and Leah are effectively claiming Laban has acted in bad faith with their bridewealth. This point was already noted by Speiser: “[P]art of the bride payment was normally reserved for the woman as her inalienable dowry. Rachel and Leah accuse their father of violating the family laws of their country.” (Speiser, *Genesis*, AB 1 [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964], 254.) So also Sarna, “Normally the groom deposited with the bride’s father or guardian a sum of money to be settled on the bride. In the present case, the impecunious Jacob gave fourteen years of service instead. The wives accuse their father either of the improvident disposition of the monetary equivalent of this service or of outright larceny” (*Genesis* ברשית: *The Traditional Hebrew Text with New JPS Translation* [Philadelphia: JPS, 1989], 215).

failure to remain within the boundaries of Torah (וכל אשר פרצו את גבול התורה) “and whoever breaks out of the boundary of the Torah,” XX 25) will cause disinheritance. The metaphor opens up a range of possibilities by evoking the social and legal entity of the household. These possibilities encourage and warn the member and violator of the value and risk of belonging to, or removing oneself from, the covenant community.

CD XX 10 and 13 employ this legal metaphor to create meaning, which is the goal of metaphor. A metaphor creates meaning through the juxtaposition of two separate registers of speech. The religious language of Torah, covenant, obedience, blessing and curse were common for the early audiences of the Damascus Document. The language of property and inheritance would have been familiar as well, indeed, some of this language could be found within the Torah itself. By juxtaposing these registers of speech, another way of conceiving of the consequences of religious behavior is made possible: expulsion from the community is disinheritance.

1.1 BOUNDARIES AND INHERITANCE AS LEGAL METAPHORS

In CD XX, the Torah collocates with house, boundary, and disinheritance, terms that can be readily identified in other contexts as part of the legal register of ancient

Israel and Judah in the Hebrew Bible and in Hellenistic Jewish texts.⁹ CD XX is not overtly concerned with that legal register; it offers admonition and exhortation to right behavior. However, other portions of the Damascus Document are overtly concerned with halakic matters and legal interpretation; hints of this concern for the proper conveyance of immovable property may be found in a fragmented section of the Damascus Document that Charlotte Hempel refers to as “agricultural halakhah” (4Q271 2, 5–6).¹⁰ But rather than presenting the reader with halakic argumentation, CD XX exploits the legal register for hortatory purposes.

1.1.1 Investigating a Lacuna in the Scholarship of Biblical Law

The exploitation of legal thought and language in pursuit of other rhetorical, ideological, or theological purposes falls within a modest lacuna in biblical scholarship. At least since the pioneering work of Michael Fishbane, it has been recognized as a form of haggadic exegesis. Fishbane describes haggadic exegesis as “primarily concerned with utilizing the full range of the inherited traditum for the sake of new theological insights, attitudes, and speculations.”¹¹ Fishbane considers

⁹ I will employ the term Hellenistic Jewish rather than Second Temple throughout the dissertation in an effort to more precisely define the historical milieu of the broader corpus of texts to which the Dead Sea Scrolls belong.

¹⁰ Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 56–57.

¹¹ Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 282.

haggadic exegesis to be distinguishable from legal exegesis because legal exegesis is “distinctively concerned with making pre-existent laws applicable or viable in new contexts.”¹² The contrast in intent, however, belies the similarity of exegetical practice. David Andrew Teeter has argued that a distinction between legal and haggadic exegesis is questionable in Hellenistic Jewish texts because the methods of exegesis are not distinctly different.¹³ I accept that the purposes of legal metaphor often fall in line with Fishbane’s description of haggadic exegesis. But Teeter’s point requires a revision of Fishbane’s distinction. A legal metaphor is a *legal* metaphor. It produces meaning because it draws upon legal diction and legal reasoning.

Finn Makela has recently suggested four relationships between law and metaphor. He argues that there are legal metaphors, in which law functions in non-legal texts; metaphors in law, in which metaphors enlighten legal thinking; metaphors of law, conceptual metaphors that make law work; and metaphors about the law, a society’s overarching conceptions of law.¹⁴ The first of his categories, legal metaphors, are the phenomena this dissertation is concerned with. Makela offers the example of Shakespeare’s *Sonnet 46*, in which the speaker’s eye and heart are engaged in conflict over which one may retain his beloved.

¹² Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 282.

¹³ Teeter, *Scribal Laws: Exegetical Variation in the Textual Transmission of Biblical Law in the Late Second Temple Period*, FAT 92 (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 207: “[A]nalysis of this material supplies no evidence for the special treatment of legal texts, nor do the interpretive changes attested suggest the operation of a distinct interpretive mode or set of interpretive procedures customized to the transmission of law. One finds evidence not of a special legal hermeneutics, but rather of a common textual hermeneutics.”

¹⁴ Finn Makela, “Metaphors and Models in Legal Theory,” *Les Cahiers de droit* 52 (2011): 397-415. I am grateful to Job Jindo for introducing this article to the Biblical Law section of the Society of Biblical Literature at SBL 2018 and for subsequently providing me with the bibliographical reference.

Mine eye and heart are at a mortal war
How to divide the conquest of thy sight;
Mine eye my heart thy picture's sight would bar,
My heart mine eye the freedom of that right.
My heart doth plead that thou in him dost lie—
A closet never pierced with crystal eyes—
But the defendant doth that plea deny
And says in him thy fair appearance lies.
To 'cide this title is impanneled
A quest of thoughts, all tenants to the heart,
And by their verdict is determined
The clear eye's moiety and the dear heart's part:
As thus; mine eye's due is thy outward part,
And my heart's right thy inward love of heart.

The legal language is evident: there are pleas, a defendant, and a verdict or settlement.¹⁵ But the sonnet does not employ the legal language for its own sake, but rather to assert the depth of the speaker's love and the beloved's loveliness. The legal language is metaphorical.

Makela states that a legal metaphor is employed in non-legal literary settings. I do not find the distinction between legal and non-legal fully satisfactory, since Hellenistic Jewish texts like the Damascus Document may blend halakah and exhortation, but I will follow the principle Makela espouses: A legal metaphor is deployed in a context that is not overtly concerned with defining legal obligations.¹⁶

¹⁵ Makela, "Metaphors and Models," 400.

¹⁶ Moshe Bernstein and Shlomo A. Koyfman, "The Interpretation of Biblical Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. Matthias Henze, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 83, describe the phenomenon of "metaphorical analogy" at two points in the Damascus Document. The first example is using Deut 27:18's curse on misleading a blind man to support the requirement that a father disclose any physical blemishes of his daughter. The second is comparing an improper marriage to the prohibition against mingling two kinds (כלאיִם). These analogies would be thought of as legal metaphors except that under Makela's description, their purposes are legal, rather than non-legal: they serve to affirm halakic argumentation.

In this dissertation, I contend that legal diction provided ancient Israelite and Hellenistic Jewish composers of texts with images and concepts that could be developed or exploited beyond the boundaries of legal practice in order to shape other religio-social conceptions and practices. The Torah was not just something that Hellenistic Jewish communities received and exegeted for halakic purposes. Legal diction was a productive part of the theological imagination, providing the raw material from which ethical and theological metaphors could be constructed.

1.1.2 The Scope of this Dissertation

It lies beyond the scope of this dissertation to explore every legal metaphor employed in the Hebrew Bible or Hellenistic Jewish texts.¹⁷ The legal metaphors studied in this dissertation draw upon the diction of immovable property, particularly its protection and conveyance through the mechanism of inheritance. I will investigate three locutions: the violation of boundaries, the inheritance of wisdom, and the inheritance of glory. These locutions are rooted in the legal language of the Hebrew Bible and patterns of legal thought found there and elsewhere in the ancient Near East.

¹⁷ Legal metaphors are pervasive in the Hebrew Bible, such as the depiction of Jerusalem as a rejected wife in Isaiah 54:6. Technical language of divorce and repudiation are employed to make the imagery effective; cf. Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001), 443–444.

1.1.3 Studying Property and Inheritance as Metaphors in a Broad Textual Corpus

While previous studies of biblical metaphors have tended to focus on the Hebrew Bible or specific books within the Hebrew Bible, I will also include Hellenistic Jewish texts in my study. My rationale draws on David Andrew Teeter's contention that distinguishing between the Hebrew Bible and Hellenistic Jewish literature when considering both method and content overlooks the close similarity in exegetical and text-productive processes that these corpora share: "[T]he nature of compositional activity in the Second Temple period underscores the necessity of considering these texts *together*."¹⁸ For Teeter, the necessity of this approach is based on the lines of continuity of scribal and hermeneutic processes employed in both the Hebrew Bible and Hellenistic Jewish texts. What Teeter posits concerning biblical texts, he also posits concerning Hellenistic Jewish texts:

[D]ynamic development characterizes all varieties of biblical literature: individual narratives and large scale narrative complexes, legal material, prophetic books, Psalms, wisdom—all of these compositions are born out of a continuous process that is in a broad sense "exegetical." ...The same can be said for much of the literary production of Judaism *outside* of the biblical corpus during the late Second Temple period. Indeed, nearly the entire corpus of "non-biblical" documents found in the Qumran caves can be considered in some sense "exegetical."¹⁹

This similarity should not be seen as a rejection of diachronic developments; indeed, semantic change will be a major concern in Chapter Five. But, following Teeter, I find the field of investigation that includes both the Hebrew Bible and other

¹⁸ David Andrew Teeter, "The Hebrew Bible and/as Second Temple Literature," *DSD* 20 (2013): 357.

¹⁹ Teeter, "Hebrew Bible and/as Second Temple Literature," 360.

Hellenistic Jewish texts to be compelling. With the limitations listed above, I will trace three legal metaphors: the violated boundary, the inheritance of wisdom, and the inheritance of glory, through this broad corpus.

1.2 METAPHOR AS A METHODOLOGICAL TOOL

There have now been several generations of studies on metaphor in the Hebrew Bible.²⁰ Most studies have been directed either at metaphors in a specific body of text, often a book of the Hebrew Bible; at a specific metaphor;²¹ or at some combination of metaphor and corpus.²² A few studies have focused on metaphor more generally.²³ There has also been an overwhelming tendency to focus on metaphors pertaining to God.²⁴ Most also apply the work of a small group of

²⁰ In her 1989 study, *There is Hope for a Tree: The Tree as Metaphor in Isaiah*, JSOTSup 65 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1989), Kirsten Nielsen lamented the lack of studies of metaphors in the Hebrew Bible. Nielsen turned to work on New Testament parables to provide a conceptual basis for her theory of metaphor. Nielsen's work, as well as studies by Brettler, Galambush, and Pfisterer Darr, began to address that shortcoming in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

²¹ Cf. Marc Brettler, *God is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor*, JSOTSup 76 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989).

²² Examples of such studies in the Hebrew Bible include Sarah Dille, *Mixing Metaphors: God as Mother and Father in Deutero-Isaiah* (London: T & T Clark, 2004); Benjamin A. Foreman, *Animal Metaphors and the People of Israel in the Book of Jeremiah*, FRLANT 238 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011); Sharon Moughtin-Mumby, *Sexual and Marital Metaphors in Hosea, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Job Y. Jindo, *Biblical Metaphor Reconsidered: A Cognitive Approach to Poetic Prophecy in Jeremiah 1–24*, HSM 64 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010); Joseph Lam, *Patterns of Sin in the Hebrew Bible: Metaphor, Culture, and the Making of a Religious Concept* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

²³ Cf. Peter Macky, *The Centrality of Metaphors to Biblical Thought* (Lewiston, New York: Mellen Press, 1990) and David Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities: Metaphor, Semantics and Divine Imagery*, Brill Reference Library of Ancient Judaism 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

²⁴ As noted by Foreman, *Animal Metaphors*, 2.

theorists of metaphor, such as the interactive theory of metaphor generally attributed to Ivor Richards and Max Black²⁵ or the cognitive theory of metaphor of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson.²⁶ Studies that are more linguistically focused often mention Eva Kittay's *Metaphor: Its Cognitive Force and Linguistic Structure*.²⁷ Andrea Weiss makes a notable step forward in her *Figurative Language in Biblical Prose Narrative: Metaphor in the Book of Samuel*,²⁸ which makes careful use of Roger White's theory of metaphor.²⁹ Weiss examines metaphors outside of poetry, metaphors that do not focus on the divine, and does so using White's heuristic device for analyzing metaphor. White's work, in turn, is an advance over previous scholarship because he examines complex metaphors in literary contexts.³⁰ I will use insights from the study of metaphor, particularly those of Eva Kittay and Roger White, to identify and analyze property and inheritance metaphors; that method will be further explained below.

²⁵ Max Black, "Metaphor," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* NS 55 (1954–55): 273–294.

²⁶ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

²⁷ Eva Kittay, *Metaphor: Its Cognitive Force and Linguistic Structure* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987).

²⁸ Andrea Weiss, *Figurative Language in Biblical Prose Narrative: Metaphor in the Book of Samuel*, VTSup 107 (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

²⁹ Roger White, *The Structure of Metaphor: The Way the Language of Metaphor Works* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996).

³⁰ Multiple theorists of metaphor, including Lakoff and Johnson, focus on A is B metaphors such as "man is a wolf" or "argument is war." Such a presentation has the unintended consequence of underrepresenting the variety and subtlety of metaphors.

1.2.1 Recognizing Metaphor: Kittay and White

Contemporary theorists of metaphor have struggled to provide guidelines for demonstrating that a word or phrase is metaphorical. In her 1987 study of the linguistic structure of metaphor, Eva Kittay argued that recognizing a metaphor depends on recognizing the second-order usage of language in a metaphorical expression. For Kittay, it is specifically the difficulty caused by a word or phrase whose plain sense does not fit its context that signals the need for metaphorical interpretation.³¹ Building on Kittay's argument, the metaphorical use of legal language can be identified when it no longer occurs in its typical social or legal context. This may be indicated by changes in the subject, object, or recipient of property or inheritance law. For example, in the Damascus Document (CD XX 25), transgressing the boundary *of Torah* is forbidden. The Torah is *not* a geographical territory. It possesses no geographical boundaries that can be moved or guarded. It is not, as such, an economically valuable/agriculturally productive property that is worth inheriting. Biblical texts make clear that multiple generations have an obligation to uphold and teach its precepts, but it is not conceived of in that corpus as of heritable value.³² Thus, the plain sense of the word Torah and the plain sense of property boundaries do not yield a straightforward phrase. So while the Torah as a bounded entity becomes common in rabbinic thought, in CD XX 25, it represents

³¹ Kittay, *Metaphor*, 40–44, 140–155.

³² Deut 6:6–8.

an innovation not found in the Hebrew Bible. Its meaning depends on juxtaposing Torah and property in a non-literal way.

Roger White makes a similar argument to Kittay, also citing the trailblazing work of Max Black in the mid-twentieth century: “I accept without reservation Black’s initial idea that in a metaphor, we have a sentence containing two different kinds of words, and that, *in some sense*, the significance of the metaphor arises from an interaction of these two sets.”³³ White continues,

In general, when we speak of a metaphor, we are referring to a sentence or another expression, in which some words are used metaphorically, and some are used non-metaphorically... a metaphor contains two different kinds of vocabulary, a *primary* vocabulary, consisting of those words that would belong in a straightforward, non-metaphorical, description of the situation being metaphorically presented, and a *secondary* vocabulary that introduces the metaphorical comparison into the sentence.³⁴

For White, the interaction takes place within a sentence.³⁵

The theories of Kittay and White vitally inform the methodology of this dissertation for the identification and analysis of property and inheritance metaphors. Kittay’s distinction between first-order and second-order language enables the recognition of metaphors on the basis of their context. White provides a method for analyzing the comparison made by a metaphor.

³³ White, *Structure of Metaphor*, 16–17.

³⁴ White, *Structure of Metaphor*, 17.

³⁵ White makes an extensive argument against the idea that the meaning of a metaphor resides in a single word, which under the influence of the metaphor, takes on a meaning outside of its normal semantic field. White summarizes the inadequacies he perceives in that approach in *Structure of Metaphor*, 163–168.

1.2.2 Two Challenges in Recognizing Biblical Legal Metaphors

Two additional challenges must be addressed with Kittay's distinction between first-order and second-order language. Kittay proposes that difficulty with understanding the first-order or plain sense of a locution is an indicator of a metaphorical phrase. But it is possible that the difficulty rests with the interpreter rather than the text. For example, Proverbs 3:35 describes the inheritance of כבוד, conventionally translated in English as glory.³⁶ Because of the difficulty of imagining glory as a heritable object, a modern reader might assume that this must be a metaphor. Glory is not a commodity that can be bought and sold or, presumably, acquired in any other commercial way. This, essentially, is Kittay's test for a metaphor: If glory is not a heritable commodity, then a first-order understanding of the term is impossible. And if that first-order understanding, the plain sense of the phrase, is unintelligible, then the inheritance of glory must be a metaphor. However, in the case of Proverbs 3:35, the difficulty may depend on a failure to understand כבוד. In Proverbs, כבוד often occurs in conjunction with עשר, "wealth," and appears to have similar connotations.³⁷ כבוד may refer to a person's

³⁶ This issue will be addressed more fully in Chapter Five. But it is necessary to note here that the inadequacy of the conventional translation of כבוד gives rise to the question of its metaphorical meaning. James Aitken, "The Semantics of 'Glory,'" in *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages: Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, held at Leiden University, 15-17 December 1997*, ed. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 3, protests the oversimplification of translation of כבוד in Sirach, echoing a complaint leveled against facile translations of δόξα in Wisdom by Frederic Raurell, "The Religious Meaning of 'Doxa' in the Book of Wisdom" in *La Sagesse de l'Ancien Testament*, ed. Maurice Gilbert, BETL 51 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979), 370–383.

³⁷ Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9: A New Translation with Commentary and Introduction*, AB 18A (New

high social standing, but it can also be the means that support that social standing. כבוד as wealth is heritable; even כבוד as social standing might be conceived of as heritable. Some further semantic shift in the meaning of כבוד away, entirely, from financial wealth or social standing is necessary before its inheritance should/must be seen as a metaphor. But without that semantic shift, what might seem to be a metaphor is not.

Similarly, the idea of an inheritance possessed by a divine or angelic being might automatically be deemed metaphorical by a contemporary reader on the assumption that divine beings do not possess or inherit. However, it is not at all clear that the composers and first readers of the Hebrew Bible had similar conceptual difficulties. The apportionment and possession of land by divine or supernatural figures is attested in the Hebrew Bible without any suggestion that this is merely figurative. What seems metaphorical to a contemporary reader may not have been metaphorical at all. So while Kittay's test is useful, it must be used with due caution in order to avoid turning a phrase intelligible as a first-order locution within its ancient author's context into a second-order metaphor.

A further difficulty, less easily resolved, inheres to the language of inheritance in the Hebrew Bible. Does a term like נחלה, "inheritance," rooted in legal language from centuries prior, retain specific legal valences when it is encountered in late biblical or Hellenistic Jewish texts? Or has נחלה, "inheritance," become a dead

York: Doubleday, 2000), 157: "*Kabod* usually means 'honor,' but sometimes it means 'wealth.' (The underlying meaning of *k-b-d* is weightiness, substance. In English, 'substance' can refer to material wealth.)"

metaphor, used in everyday discourse without any clear connection to its legal origins. Repeated usage of a metaphor can cause it to be understood without clear recourse to its first-order meaning; at this point, a metaphor may be considered “dead” or, more helpfully, lexicalized.³⁸ Joseph Lam states,

“When a metaphor gets used repeatedly (perhaps over a long period of time) in similar contexts such that the metaphorical construal process is the same each time, the metaphorical sense can become detached from the original literal sense upon which it depended.”³⁹

When a metaphor is lexicalized, it is no longer necessary to draw upon the original register of vocabulary that created it. Is this true of נחלה, which admittedly is a frequently used term both in the Hebrew Bible and the Hellenistic Jewish corpus? While this concern is significant, the metaphors I will consider at length in Chapters Three through Five are encountered in a range of contexts and with varied entailments, such that there is less of a chance that repeated usage has rendered them simply conventional. Particularly in Chapter Four, multiple associations made between wisdom and inheritance—the grantor, beneficiaries, content, and instrument of conveyance of wisdom as an inheritance are all encountered—suggest that the legal concept of an inheritance is still activated. But even if inheritance had become lexicalized, there is scholarly disagreement about whether it should be considered dead: Kittay notes that even when a metaphor has become conventional, it remains a metaphor and can be reactivated by usage in a new setting.⁴⁰

³⁸ The language of dead metaphors is discussed by Gary Long, “Dead or Alive? Literality and God-Metaphors in the Hebrew Bible,” *JAAR* 62 (1994), 509–537.

³⁹ Joseph Lam, *Patterns of Sin in the Hebrew Bible: Metaphor, Culture, and the Making of a Religious Concept* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016): 8.

⁴⁰ Kittay, *Metaphor*, 143.

1.2.3 Metaphorical Systems

In his 1962 analysis of metaphor, Max Black suggests that “a metaphor may involve a number of subordinate metaphors among its implications.”⁴¹ Black then states that the subordinate metaphors typically belong to the same field of discourse as the primary metaphor.⁴² This metaphorical systematicity has been acknowledged by other theorists of metaphor, including Lakoff and Johnson. According to Lakoff and Johnson, a metaphorical comparison equates two concepts: “*The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.*”⁴³ When that comparison is made, there are related and subsequent points of comparison, which they describe as entailments or a network of associations.⁴⁴ Second, these metaphorical entailments give rise to what Lakoff and Johnson see as metaphorical systematicity, the ability of a metaphor to produce a complex set of interactions.⁴⁵ Metaphors do not require that every possible entailment be employed—in their words, metaphors may both highlight and hide entailments.⁴⁶ But this systematicity allows for the development of new and rich comparisons. The

⁴¹ Black, “Metaphor,” 290.

⁴² Black, “Metaphor,” 290. Kittay, *Metaphor*, 31, prefers “semantic field” to field of discourse.

⁴³ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 5. The italics are original.

⁴⁴ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 96. See also Sarah Dille’s appropriation of metaphorical entailments in her *Mixing Metaphors: God as Mother and Father in Deutero-Isaiah* (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 10.

⁴⁵ Dille, *Mixing Metaphors*, 7 and 12, notes that this is anticipated by Max Black’s description of metaphor as a “system of associated commonplaces.” See also Black, “Metaphor,” 287.

⁴⁶ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 10–13.

issue of metaphorical systematicity will be particularly important in Chapter Four, which will compare multiple entailments of inheritance with the process of acquiring wisdom.

1.2.4 Analyzing Metaphor

Once a metaphor is securely identified, the next step is to subject it to analysis.

Roger White provides a useful method; he breaks down a metaphorical sentence into two non-figurative sentences joined to form an analogy. According to White,

Once we grasp the way in which the one sentence is composed of these two vocabularies; not only does the intuitive idea that there *are* two vocabularies at work in metaphor become clarified, to be replaced eventually by an exact statement; in the process, much about the phenomenon of metaphor itself stands out in high relief.⁴⁷

By clearly differentiating these two vocabularies, White enables their further exploration. White does this by analyzing a metaphor spoken by Iago about Othello in Shakespeare's *Othello*: "his unbookish jealousy must construe poor Cassio's smiles, gestures, and light behaviors quite in the wrong." White argues that the use of the word unbookish has typically been seen as an intrusion into an otherwise straightforward sentence. However, White finds that the metaphor is not limited to the word unbookish, but rather, there is a related series of terms in the sentence—unbookish, construe, and "quite in the wrong." Because Othello lacks adequate training in the practices of the court, his uncultured jealousy must construe poor Cassio's smiles, gestures and light behaviors quite in the wrong, just as the

⁴⁷ White, *Structure of Metaphor*, 18.

unbookish schoolboy must construe the *Iliad* quite in the wrong.⁴⁸ The vocabularies of the court and the school, when brought into contact, are what make the metaphor work.

For White, these two vocabularies can be represented heuristically as two sentences joined by an analogy:

We may think of the metaphor as having arisen as a result of conflating two...sentences, thereby establishing an analogical comparison between these two situations, inviting the reader to see the first situation, the situation actually being metaphorically described, in terms of the second situation.⁴⁹

When this approach is applied to legal metaphors, one register of vocabulary will be supplied by legal diction. The other register will vary; with the resulting metaphor varying as well. Legal metaphors employing the biblical legal prohibition against violating boundaries (הסיג גבול) illustrate this variation.⁵⁰ CD V 20–VI 1 reads:

And at the time of the devastation of the land, the violators of the boundary arose and caused Israel to stray. Then the land became desolate, for they spoke apostasy against the commandments of God by the hand of Moses and also by his holy anointed one.⁵¹

At the heart of this description of rebellious speech leading to destruction is the participial phrase “the violators of the boundary” (מסיגי הגבול). The metaphor can be spelled out analogically in this way:

Those who spoke apostasy against the Torah transgressed divine boundaries

⁴⁸ White, *Structure of Metaphor*, 73–80.

⁴⁹ White, *Structure of Metaphor*, 107–108.

⁵⁰ These metaphors will be considered in greater detail in Chapter Three.

⁵¹ The Hebrew text reads:

ובקץ חרבן הארץ עמדו מסיגי הגבול ויתעו את ישראל ותישם הארץ כי דברו סרה על מצות אל ביד משה
וגם במשיחי הקודש

just as

those who violate the boundaries transgress their neighbors' boundaries.

CD XX 25, we saw, does something quite similar when it charges that violators of the covenant “break down the boundary of the Torah” (פרצו את גבול התורה). Torah is the bounded entity in the metaphor. However, the same legal language of violated boundaries in 4QInstruction creates other metaphors. In 4Q416 2 III, 8–9, a man who desires to be rich when he is poor displaces the divinely placed boundary of his life just as a greedy man might coopt the property of his neighbor.⁵² The metaphor might be construed as:

The poor person desiring wealth seeks to undermine divine boundaries

just as

those desiring their neighbor's property seek to undermine their neighbors' boundaries.

In the second (4Q416 2 IV, 6), a man who desires to dominate another's wife violates the boundaries of that household just as one who steals farmland violates the boundaries of a household.⁵³ The metaphor might be construed as:

The man who desires your wife seeks to steal from your household

just as

those violate their neighbor's boundaries seek to steal from their neighbors' household.

⁵² The text reads: “You are poor. Do not covet anything except your inheritance and do not become consumed by it, lest you violate your boundary;” אביון אתה אל תתאו זולת נחלתכה ואל תתבלע בה פן תסיג גבולכה.

⁵³ The text reads: “But whoever would dominate her, if not you, violates the boundary of his life;” ואשר ימשול בה זולתכה הסיג גבול חייהו.

The variation in construing these legal metaphors demonstrates that different aspects of a metaphor may be accentuated by context. It should not be assumed that the meaning of a metaphor drawn from a particular legal phrase will be identical to other metaphors drawn from the same phrase; contextual analysis is always necessary.

1.3 THE OTHER USES OF THE LAW

Teeter asserts that “the interpretation of biblical law [was] of intense interest to most known forms of Second Temple Judaism.”⁵⁴ Contemporary scholarly interest in biblical law is no less intense, with questions concerning the nature, extent, and purpose of biblical law; the relationship between biblical law and ancient Near Eastern legal traditions; and the relationship between biblical law and early Jewish and Christian beliefs and practices as areas of significant scholarly attention. In this dissertation, I will refer to biblical law as the beliefs and practices embodied in biblical legal texts, most prominently in the three legal collections typically identified by Pentateuchal scholars: the Covenant Collection of Exodus 21–23, the laws of Deuteronomy 15–25 and the Holiness Collection of Leviticus 17–27.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ David Andrew Teeter, *Scribal Laws*, 1.

⁵⁵ Raymond Westbrook, “The Laws of Biblical Israel,” in *Law from Tigris to Tiber*, ed. Bruce Wells and F. Rachel Magdalene (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 2:317–340, especially 322. Westbrook was dismissive of the legal status of Leviticus, preferring to compare it to ritual instructions like Maqlû or Šurpû in his 1985, “Biblical and Cuneiform Law Codes” *RB* 92 (1985): 247–264. In “The Laws of Biblical Israel,” he states that “a smattering of laws are found at various points in Leviticus, mostly incidental to regulations regarding purity or priestly functions, and three laws are expounded at length in Numbers” (318).

Biblical law is not limited to these three collections, but can also be found in other sections of the Pentateuch. Allusions to legal practices in other biblical contexts—narratives, prophetic texts, and writings—may also be seen as sources for biblical law.⁵⁶

Rule texts and halakic documents found among the Dead Sea Scrolls amply demonstrate that legal practice was of vital concern for the *Yahad*.⁵⁷ These texts follow the biblical legacy of legal exegesis already traced by Michael Fishbane.⁵⁸ Scholars like Lawrence Schiffman and Joseph Baumgarten pioneered the study of the halakah of the sectarian community in the 1970s.⁵⁹ After the full publication of the halakic texts, scholars such as Alex Jassen have continued to explore the

⁵⁶ Biblical law is directly related to ancient Near Eastern law and to later Jewish law, but the relationships are complex. Ancient Near Eastern law will be discussed below and will significantly shape Chapter Two of this dissertation. Early Jewish law as embodied in Aramaic language legal documents will also figure significantly in Chapter Two. The relationship between biblical law and later Jewish law will not be a major concern of this dissertation; that relationship has recently been treated by Samuel Greengus and Jonathan Milgram. Greengus explores the continuities between ancient Near Eastern, biblical, and rabbinic law in his *Laws in the Bible and in Early Rabbinic Collections: The Legacy of the Ancient Near East* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2011). By contrast, Jonathan Milgram's survey of Tannaitic inheritance law asks the question, "How Jewish is Jewish Inheritance Law?" Milgram concludes that Tannaitic Jewish law is more indebted to ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean legal traditions than to the relatively sparse references to inheritance in the Hebrew Bible. His conclusions complicate the relationship between biblical law and practiced Jewish law; thereby suggesting that a study of legal metaphors in the Hellenistic Jewish tradition must be conscious of extrabiblical Jewish legal sources. Milgram, *From Mesopotamia to the Mishnah: Tannaitic Inheritance Law in Its Legal and Social Contexts*, TSAJ 164 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 145–146.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Aharon Shemesh and Cana Werman, "Halakhah at Qumran: Genre and Authority," *DSD* 10 (2003): 104. They argue that contemporary Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship has correctly begun to recognize the "centrality of halakhah and observance of the commandments in the life and thought of the sect."

⁵⁸ Fishbane devotes two chapters in *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* to the discussion of legal exegesis in Kings, Chronicles, and Ezra-Nehemiah, demonstrating that a concern for clarifying and practicing halakah was already present in these texts.

⁵⁹ Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran*, SJLA 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1975); and *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code*, BJS 33 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983); Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law*, SJLA24 (Leiden: Brill, 1977).

exegetical methods and interpretive choices made by the sectarian community.⁶⁰ Shorter studies by Fraade, Bernstein and Koyfman, and Shemesh and Werman have also explored the methods of legal interpretation employed in the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁶¹ Yonder Moynihan Gillihan has studied the halakah of the community in the light of the organization and structure of other voluntary associations in the first centuries BCE and CE.⁶² The impulse toward halakic application of biblical law, including corrections and harmonization, demonstrates that Hellenistic Jewish communities saw the Torah as something that must be practiced. But alongside the idea that law was something that must be done—and thus, must be made practicable—there have always been other things that can be done with the law, harnessing it for its literary and theological value.

1.3.1 Law in Narrative

Scholars since David Daube have noted the importance of matters of law in shaping various biblical narratives; a phenomenon that provides an analogy for the legal metaphors I will investigate in this dissertation. Daube argued in his 1944 “Law in

⁶⁰ Alex P. Jassen, *Scripture and Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

⁶¹ Stephen D. Fraade, “Looking for Legal Midrash at Qumran” pp. 59–79 in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May 1996*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon, STDJ 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Bernstein and Koyfman, “The Interpretation of Biblical Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Forms and Methods;” Shemesh and Werman, “Halakhah at Qumran: Genre and Authority.”

⁶² Yonder M. Gillihan, *Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls: A Comparative Study of the Covenanters’ Sect and Contemporary Voluntary Associations in Political Context*, STDJ 97 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

the Narratives” that understanding law provided insight into the plotlines of several biblical narratives.⁶³ Building on Daube, several studies have analyzed the role of law in shaping the books of Ruth and Job in particular, as well as shorter narratives in the Pentateuch and Former Prophets. This approach presupposes that there is a reasonable level of verisimilitude between a biblical narrative’s plotline and accepted cultural legal practices; in the words of Derek Beattie,

since legal procedure forms, in a sense, the framework of civilization and law is, by its nature, both definite and widely known, a story-teller, if he is to maintain the credibility of his fiction, will not create a legal situation which his audience will know to be impossible.⁶⁴

Pamela Barmash speaks somewhat more cautiously on this point, but suggests that studying law in narrative can advance understanding of both law and narrative.

Barmash advances beyond Daube’s approach by arguing that legal narratives

can provide evidence for elements essential to legal practice omitted in legal texts. More importantly, they can provide the social setting in which law was used, from which its origins, inadequacies, and psychology can be highlighted.⁶⁵

F. Rachel Magdalene’s *On the Scales of Righteousness: Neo-Babylonian Trial Law and the Book of Job* takes a step beyond previous applications of the relationship between law and narrative.⁶⁶ Magdalene argues that the book of Job extensively reflects neo-Babylonian trial procedure; thus, rather than having a plot that turns on

⁶³ David Daube, “Law in the Narratives,” pages 1–73 in *Studies in Biblical Law* (New York: Ktav, 1969).

⁶⁴ Derek Beattie, “The Book of Ruth as Evidence for Israelite Legal Practice” *VT* 24 (1974), 252.

⁶⁵ Pamela Barmash, “The Narrative Quandary: Cases of Law in Literature.” *VT* 54 (2004): 5.

⁶⁶ F. Rachel Magdalene, *On the Scales of Righteousness: Neo-Babylonian Trial Law and the Book of Job*, BJS 348 (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 2007).

a specific legal point, the plot is built upon a framework established by judicial procedure.

Raymond Westbrook and Bruce Wells describe as “juridical parables” a category of literary texts in the Hebrew Bible that employ legal analogies to demonstrate the moral guilt of the text’s intended audience. They point to three parables in Samuel–Kings: the poor man’s lamb (2 Sam 12:1–14), the story told by the אשה חכמה from Tekoa about one son killing another and their clan’s response (2 Sam 14:4–17) and the prophetic story of the negligent guard (1 Kings 20:35–43). In addition to these, they suggest the song of the vineyard in Isaiah 5:1–7 and the portrayal of Israel or Judah as an unfaithful wife in Hosea, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel function similarly.⁶⁷ As a story within a story, a juridical parable serves both as a plot device that advances its narrative and as a moral guide. Using law as a moral guide is certainly not antithetical to the goal of law; Cathleen Kaveny has argued that “Always and everywhere, law teaches a moral lesson—it imbues a vision of how the members of a particular society should live their lives together.”⁶⁸ A juridical parable moves from the realm of strict legal responsibility to the realm of ethical and spiritual responsibility, with law serving as a mirror for proper behavior.

A legal metaphor depends on knowledge of law in much the same way that the book of Job or a juridical parable does. But where a narrative like Job employs law to build a plot, a legal metaphor employs law to compose an image.

⁶⁷ Raymond Westbrook and Bruce Wells, *Everyday Law in Biblical Israel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2009), 14.

⁶⁸ M. Cathleen Kaveny, *Law’s Virtues: Fostering Autonomy and Solidarity in American Society* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2012), 17.

1.3.2 Legal Structures for Religious Thought

A somewhat similar phenomenon to law as a structuring principle in biblical narratives can be seen in role of law in forming what Shalom Holtz refers to the “social analogy” formed by the Hebrew Bible’s use of legal language to describe elements of prayer and lament.⁶⁹ The social analogy, as Holtz describes it, is broader than the legal metaphors I discuss. But it is exactly law’s broad structuring or explanatory power that makes both a social analogy and a legal metaphor work. Holtz has argued that juridical language pervades the Hebrew psalter, and that “Courtroom metaphors are the common stock-in-trade of prayer, prophecy and even theodicy, both in the Hebrew Bible and in Mesopotamian literature.”⁷⁰ In biblical prayer, God is judge, prayer may be a plea for investigation or redress, and the righteous sufferer claims to have the legal standing to bring the plea before the divine court. All of these depend on the power of the legal realm of judicial procedure to effectively describe the practice of prayer.⁷¹

1.4 OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

In this dissertation, I am arguing that the legal diction available to the composers of the Hebrew Bible and Hellenistic Jewish texts provided a register of language that

⁶⁹ Holtz, *Praying Legally*, BJS 364 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019), 3.

⁷⁰ Holtz, “Praying as a Plaintiff,” *VT* 61 (2009): 259.

⁷¹ Praying as plaintiff dovetails with an even broader social analogy: divine kingship. The literature on divine kingship is broad and diverse, but divine kinship has been explored specifically as a metaphor by Marc Brettler’s *God is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor*.

made possible the development of ethical and theological expressions in the form of legal metaphors. This introductory chapter has provided a theoretical background in metaphor from which to consider specific examples of legal metaphors. It also noted the value of recognizing legal diction functioning in extra-legal literary contexts.

1.4.1 Chapter Two: Boundaries and Inheritance in Law

Chapter Two will address a practical concern: establishing the register of legal diction expressing the possession, conveyance, and inheritance of immovable property in the Hebrew Bible and Hellenistic Jewish texts. This is necessary support for the claim that a metaphor is a legal metaphor, since the theory of metaphor I employ in this dissertation requires the juxtaposition of two registers of language. Therefore, Chapter Two will draw upon comparative ancient Near Eastern legal material and philology in order to establish the legal valences of the relevant Hebrew terms.

1.4.2 Chapter Three: Boundaries Legal and Metaphorical

Chapters Three through Five are the core of the dissertation, exploring three metaphorical phrases in the contexts in which they occur in the Hebrew Bible and Hellenistic Jewish texts. Each metaphor draws upon some of the legal diction established in Chapter Two. And while each chapter is concerned with

demonstrating the interpretive value of the legal metaphors they address, there are subsidiary concerns in each chapter as well.

Chapter Three explores the legal background and figurative use of the phrase *הסיג גבול*, “to violate a boundary.” This specific legal locution occurs in Deuteronomy and Proverbs with the specific goal of protecting bounded agricultural land from usurpation by unscrupulous neighbors. Comparative ancient Near Eastern material provides a legal background for the phrase and raises the first issue the chapter must address: the relationship between a legal locution and its figurative deployment. The relationship between legal diction and extra-legal usage is not a linear evolution. While Mesopotamian and Egyptian texts establish the legal intentions behind the locution, the former also employ the language of violated boundaries in non-legal texts. This pattern is also found in the Hebrew Bible. A second issue, already alluded to above, is the polyvalence of the metaphor. When employed metaphorically, the boundary being violated differs from context to context. This polyvalence will prove significant in Chapters Four and Five as well.

1.4.3 Chapter Four: Inheriting Wisdom in Hellenistic Jewish Texts

In Chapter Four, the inheritance of wisdom is the legal metaphor under discussion. However, the chapter will demonstrate that more than one metaphor is in play; in fact, a constellation of related metaphors developed around the comparison between wisdom and inheritance. Wisdom as an inheritance can be found at the heart of multiple points of comparison, with the legal concepts of bequest,

conveyance, heirs, and testaments all reflected as metaphorical entailments. Thus, one of the significant interpretive issues concerns the logical relationship between these metaphors. I will argue that inheritance lies at the center of these metaphors. A second, subsidiary, concern involves placing these metaphors within a Hellenistic Jewish literary interest in documentarity: documents were things of value as well as instruments that might convey things of value.

1.4.4 Chapter Five: Inheriting Glory

Chapter Five concerns the inheritance of כבוד, usually translated as “glory.” The issue addressed in the chapter is the problem of semantic shifting. Put simply, כבוד is a multivalent term and is quite common in Hellenistic Jewish literature—such as Enochic literature, Sirach, the Dead Sea Scrolls. In texts that speak of inheriting כבוד, it is both vital and difficult to determine the intended valences of the term.

Depending on the text and its scholarly interpreters, the inheritance of כבוד might be a non-metaphorical description of acquiring wealth or honor or the inheritance of כבוד might serve as a metaphorical description of receiving eternal life. Context is clearly important, but does context refer to a general apocalyptic context for a text like 4QInstruction or is context specific to the near context of specific collocations of inheritance and כבוד?

1.4.5 Chapter Six: Conclusion

A final chapter will summarize the conclusions of this study.

2.0 BOUNDARIES AND INHERITANCE IN LAW: LAW AS A BACKBONE FOR METAPHOR

In the previous chapter I introduced the goal of this dissertation, which is an investigation of three legal metaphors that draw upon the legal language of property and inheritance. I argued, using Roger White's theory of metaphor, that legal metaphors would draw upon two registers of vocabulary in order to effectively communicate. The main register must be drawn from law or the metaphor will not be a legal metaphor; the second register varies with the compositional interests of the text. In this chapter, I will address the legal register concerning property and inheritance that serves as the backbone for the metaphors I will examine in Chapters Three through Five.

2.1 WRITING BIBLICAL LAW

While this dissertation is focused on legal metaphors as a means of producing meaning in extralegal contexts, it is dependent upon the broad scholarly discourse concerning biblical and ancient Near Eastern law in several ways. First, I am assuming with scholars like Raymond Westbrook that there is significant continuity between the legal systems of ancient Near Eastern cultures. Westbrook posited a shared legal tradition on a grand scale, with even early Greek and Roman law as

heirs of ancient Near Eastern thought.⁷² Westbrook's main point, that there is significant continuity within the legal reasoning and legal formulations of the ancient Near East, serves as the basis for comparing biblical law to ancient Near Eastern legal traditions.⁷³ As a result, comparative study of the ancient Near Eastern legal diction may clarify the legal diction of the Hebrew Bible and its reception in Hellenistic Jewish literature.

Second, I assume that legal texts were open to revision and reformulation by scribes. Reapplication in new legal contexts was expected. The phenomenon of

⁷² Westbrook, "The Character of Ancient Near Eastern Law," in *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, ed. Westbrook, HdO 72 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1–90. For a recent summary of Westbrook's approach, see Bruce Wells and F. Rachel Magdalene, "The Idea of a Shared Tradition" in *Law from the Tigris to the Tiber: The Shared Tradition; The Writings of Raymond Westbrook*, ed. Wells and Magdalene (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009) xi–xx. For challenges to Westbrook's positions, see Martha Roth, with respect to the idea of a single overarching legal tradition, Bernard Jackson on Westbrook's appropriation of the common law model, and Bernard Levinson's argument that Westbrook underestimated diachronic development in biblical law. Roth, "Ancient Rights and Wrongs: Mesopotamian Legal Traditions and the Laws of Hammurabi," *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 70 (1995): 13–14 states,

Although there are shared traditions, there is no single "common law" throughout the ancient Near East, from the Mediterranean to the Zagros Mountains, from Anatolia to the Sinai, from the third millennium to the conquests of Alexander. There is no uniform "law" of any specific legal category ("law of adultery" or "law of homicide," for example, any more than there is a single rule of royal succession, or a single procedure for animal sacrifice, or a single form of letter address.

Jackson's critique can be found in his "The Development of Law in the Ancient Near East: Modeling Biblical Law: The Covenant Code," *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 70 (1995): 1748:

Overall, Westbrook adopts a model of a legal system based on "sources of law," and the roles he attributes to these sources is highly reminiscent of the Common Law before legislation took on its modern importance. The underlying philosophical model is positivist, and the historical model is English: "Hammurabi" becomes a kind of Glanvill.

Levinson's critique is made in his "The Case for Revision and Interpolation with the Biblical Legal Corpora," in *Theory and Method in Biblical and Cuneiform Law: Revision, Interpolation and Development*, ed. Levinson, JSOT Sup 181 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994).

⁷³ In Baruch Levine's words ("Farewell to the Ancient Near East: Evaluating Biblical References to Ownership of Land in Comparative Perspective," in *Privatization in the Ancient Near East and Classical World*, eds. Michael Hudson and Baruch Levine, Peabody Museum Bulletin 5 [Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 1996], 223–224): "A relatively late arrival on the ancient scene, the Hebrew Bible may represent (in addition to all else) one of the last major collections of ancient Near Eastern literature, a closing statement on that manifold civilization. The biblical record shows how a small nation, inhabiting a vital crossroads of the world, drew on the institutions of the larger Near Eastern societies to structure its life, and to define its collective values and objectives."

legal revision has been ably demonstrated by scholars like David Wright, Bernard Levinson, and Jeffrey Stackert.⁷⁴ Stackert is explicit in stating that the Holiness Code was not practiced law, but was an ideological document in the form of “legal literature.” Revision was expected in law and legal literature; the same kind of revision and reapplication was possible in non-legal contexts.

These studies of legal revision indicate another issue relevant for my dissertation. According to this model, the comprehensiveness of the Torah created a practical difficulty. The originally predatory legal corpora, which had each intended to supplant its forebear, were forced to peacefully graze peacefully side by side. Joel Baden comments: “The laws, for instance, with all of their disparities, were left untouched” in the final compilation of the Pentateuch.⁷⁵ The problem of harmonizing the laws from these collected sources fell to later biblical and early Jewish composers who received a corpus in which the legal corpora coexisted. Michael Fishbane’s *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* represented a landmark attempt to describe the legal exegesis required to make biblical law coherent and practicable. Speaking of the vagaries of biblical law, Fishbane noted that

⁷⁴ David P. Wright, *Inventing God’s Law: How the Covenant Code of the Bible Used and Revised the Laws of Hammurabi* (London: Oxford University Press, 2009); Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1997); Stackert, *Rewriting the Torah: Literary Revision in Deuteronomy and the Holiness Legislation*, FAT 52 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007). Note in particular Stackert’s comment in *Rewriting the Torah*, 164: “As Wright has demonstrated, the Covenant Code reflects a direct literary interaction with the Laws of Hammurabi and thus in all likelihood does not reflect real historical practice or even extensive consideration of the actual ancient Israelite judiciary. . . . The Deuteronomistic Code reflects a similar *modus operandi*: its central legal corpus is a literary revision of the Covenant Collection and is motivated by ideological concerns. The Holiness Legislation fits squarely into this tradition of legal *literature*, and the compositional methods employed by its authors exhibit strong continuity with those of the different legal collections to which it is an heir.”

⁷⁵ Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis* (New Haven: Yale 2012), 221.

gaps in the scope and enforcement of biblical laws, frequent lacunae or ambiguities in their legal formulation tend to render such laws exceedingly problematic—if not functionally inoperative—*without interpretation*.⁷⁶

If biblical law was to be practiced, it required intervention to clarify how that was to happen. Already within the Hebrew Bible, scribal intervention sought to harmonize the various Passover regulations and Sabbath year regulations.⁷⁷ Other attempts to harmonize the varied legal provisions of the Torah are manifested in Hellenistic Jewish texts.⁷⁸ Levinson specifically considers the hermeneutics of legal revision in the Temple Scroll in his *More Perfect Torah*.⁷⁹ Such legal hermeneutics were central to the halakic traditions found in Hellenistic Jewish texts from Qumran. Teeter has recently catalogued the processes of scribal intervention found in biblical law. The virtue of Teeter's study is demonstrating the care with which legal material was curated. As a result, differences large and small produced meaningful variants and exegetical innovations for the communities that saw the Torah as a body of binding legal practices.⁸⁰ The hermeneutics of legal revision will rarely find its way directly into texts I will consider in Chapters Three through Five; however, some of the texts

⁷⁶ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 92

⁷⁷ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 134–143.

⁷⁸ Bernstein and Koyfman, "Interpretation," 68–70, offer two examples from the Temple Scroll: the harmonization of Exod 22:15–16 and Deut 22:28–29 in the Temple Scroll's law on the sexual exploitation of an unmarried woman (11QTLXVI, 8–11), and the obligation to give war spoils to king, priests, and Levites in 58:13–14, which harmonizes Num 31:27–28 and 1 Sam 30:24–25.

⁷⁹ Levinson, *More Perfect Torah: At the Intersection of Philology and Hermeneutics in Deuteronomy and the Temple Scroll* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013).

⁸⁰ Teeter, *Scribal Laws*.

that I will discuss, such as the Aramaic Levi Document, build priestly regulations into their narratives.⁸¹

Scholars who see the ancient Near Eastern and biblical legal collections as ideological instruments have argued for a recognizable distance between practiced law and the legal collections. For some, such as Jeffrey Stackert, the gap is quite large: “the Covenant Code... in all likelihood does not reflect real historical practice or even extensive consideration of the actual ancient Israelite judiciary.”⁸² The argument that Stackert is engaged in obscures an important point—as *legal* literature, to use Stackert’s term, it is *legal* writing that is employed as an ideological instrument. Legal concepts and structures, whether intended to be practiced or not, are the tools of the collections’ composers. The same is true of legal metaphors.

Placing biblical law within the context of ancient Near Eastern law faces two additional and related challenges: the paucity of biblical documentation of actual legal practices from ancient Israel and Judah and the limited register of legal vocabulary in the Hebrew Bible. Speaking of first challenge, Baruch Levine ponders the difference it would make if a cache of legal documents from the time of Hezekiah were uncovered.⁸³ Because such a cache has not been uncovered, as Raymond Westbrook suggests concerning the books of Kings, “a legal historian must, like Ruth

⁸¹ The regulations for the firewood offering in ALD 7 are a good example of this phenomenon.

⁸² Stackert, *Rewriting the Torah*, 164.

⁸³ Baruch Levine, “Farewell,” 225: “Imagine for a moment how the picture would change if 100 court records from Jerusalem of Hezekiah’s time were to be uncovered by archaeologists.”

and Naomi, be contented with gleanings from the narrative.”⁸⁴ Speaking of the second challenge, Westbrook states

Technical legal phrases originate either within a legal system or as lay terms which acquire a special nuance in a legal context. The latter are especially common in ancient Near Eastern languages, and the relationship between lay and legal meaning can be complex. Although the search for the meaning of a legal term will always begin with its literal meaning, it will often end in a totally different semantic sphere.⁸⁵

Thus, for Westbrook, philology is potentially a quite limited tool for determining the technical meaning of a legal term. Technical valences are not necessarily related to the basic meaning of a term. Shalom Holtz similarly acknowledges the problem of general and legal meanings of terms, but notes, by way of contrast, that the basic meaning must always be considered.

In any language, an otherwise common word can acquire a specific, at times even technical, meaning by appearing in a legal context.... However, because the word that the legal context transforms has currency elsewhere in the language, one must always reckon with the basic, non-legal meaning, even in forensic settings.⁸⁶

Holtz’s use of the verb “transforms” is somewhat infelicitous, because the term is not really transformed. As Holtz notes, there is a “basic, non-legal meaning” that must be reckoned with; from this non-legal meaning, the legal valence derives. Because of the nature of the Hebrew Bible’s legal language, Holtz argues that the most effective tools for uncovering legal language are paying attention to context and the clustering of terms with known legal valences.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Westbrook, “Law in Kings,” in *The Book of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography*, ed. André Lemaire and Baruch Halpern, VTSup 129 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 455–466; here 445.

⁸⁵ Westbrook, “A Matter of Life and Death,” *JANES* 25 (1997): 63.

⁸⁶ Holtz, “A Common Set of Trial Terms,” *ZAR* 17 (2011): 2.

⁸⁷ Holtz, “Common Set,” 3.

In this chapter, while recognizing the potential limits of philological analysis of technical terms, I will enlist the aid of comparative Semitic philology to assess several key legal terms pertaining to the possession, inheritance, and conveyance of property in the Hebrew Bible. I will then be able to examine the metaphorical value of these legal terms in the subsequent chapters of the dissertation. Even despite the limited register of legal language employed within the Hebrew Bible, my focus will be limited to land tenure. I will concentrate on the noun נחלה; the verbal roots that are connected to possession of an inheritance in the Hebrew Bible, נחל and ירש; and a series of verbs whose semantic range includes physical holding and may include land tenure by extension. The benefit I will derive from this investigation is a clearer picture of the Hebrew and Aramaic legal register that legal metaphors drew upon.

2.2 ESTATES AND THEIR DISPOSITION

One of the central terms for property in the Hebrew Bible is the נחלה.⁸⁸ The term occurs over two hundred times in the Hebrew Bible and over one hundred in the

⁸⁸ In the Hebrew Bible, the patrimonial household (בית אב) is also a basic economic unit and repository for the wealth and standing of a family in the Hebrew Bible. The בית אב and נחלה are directly linked in Gen 31:14, in which Rachel and Leah state that “there is no longer either portion or inheritance in the house of our father” (העוד לנו חלק ונחלה בבית אבינו). The בית אב is the focus of J. David Schloen’s *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2001) and Shunya Bendor’s *The Social Structure of Ancient Israel: The Institution of the Family (Beit ’Ab): From the Settlement to the End of the Monarchy*, Jerusalem Biblical Studies 7 (Jerusalem: Simor, 1996). Kinship elements of the בית אב are discussed in David Vanderhooft’s “The Israelite *Mišpāhā*, the Priestly Writings, and Changing Valences in Israel’s Kinship Terminology” in *Exploring the Longue Durée: Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager*, ed. J. David Schloen (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 485–496. However, in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the בית אב occurs nearly exclusively

Dead Sea Scrolls. Baruch Levine refers to it as one of the principle terms for land tenure and he glosses its basic meaning as “estate”.⁸⁹ It is clear from biblical texts that a variety of property, such as houses, fields, and vineyards, could comprise a נחלה, an “estate.”

In addition to the sense of “estate,” נחלה develops the meaning “inheritance;” this meaning will be discussed more extensively below in connection with the verbal root נחל. The idea of inheritance is derived from the reality that land tended to be lived on and worked by subsequent generations of a family. As inheritance, נחלה was broadened beyond land tenure:

Virtually all kinds of property appear to have been subject to transfer by inheritance or bequest. Provision for transferring real property (land, fields, and houses) was centrally important in biblical law and tradition. Wealth, generally, and certain particular the same could be inherited or bequeathed, e.g., slaves, silver, and cattle.⁹⁰

As a basic term for an estate, a נחלה could be granted, inherited, bought and sold, redeemed, bequeathed, and seized. That is, it was subject to nearly every form of acquisition or conveyance known in the Hebrew Bible.

in reference to the family of one’s origin (see CD VII, 11; 4Q271 3, 13; 4Q365 26, 8; 35 II, 4; 4Q368 5, 3; 11Q5 XIX, 17; 11Q19 XXV, 16; XLII, 14; LIII, 17; LVII, 16; LVII, 19). Its economic status is no longer prominent.

⁸⁹ Levine, “Farewell,” 236: “The Hebrew Bible uses three principal terms of reference to denote land tenure; or, to put it another way, to designate the legal status of land. All three terms run the gamut from collective to private ownership. They are: 1) *yeruššāh*, 2) *naḥalāh*, and 3) *’aḥuzzāh*. Of the three, *aḥuzzāh* is in my view the latest, or youngest, and its usage is discretely confined to the priestly source of the Pentateuch, and to sources that can be traced to the influence of the priestly school.” For נחלה as “estate, homestead,” see Levine, “On the Semantics of Land Tenure in Biblical Literature: The Term *’aḥuzzāh*” in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*. ed. Mark E. Cohen, Daniel C. Snell, and David B. Weisberg. (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1993), 134.

⁹⁰ Richard Hiers, “Transfer of Property by Inheritance and Bequest in Biblical Law and Tradition,” *Journal of Law and Religion* 10 (1993–94), 122–123.

2.2.1 Granting an Estate

As will be discussed further below, the verbal root **nhl* is well attested in Northwest Semitic as a term describing the granting of property. The distribution of property as grants is also conveyed in the Hebrew Bible through terms such as חלק “to apportion,” חלק “apportionment,” and גורל “lot.”⁹¹ In the logic of the Numbers and Joshua, the territory of Israel and Judah consists of divine grants that are subsequently the heritable property of families and clans.

In Psalm 16:5–6, נחלה occurs in the context of several other property terms (מנת-חלקי, גורלי, חבלים), as well as the verb תמך. The psalm employs language typically used of allocation of property; Armin Lange argues that the imagery employed is instead that of the divine allocation of fate.⁹² YHWH holds the speaker’s lot (תומיך) and is “the portion of my lot and my cup” (מנת-חלקי וכוסי). Lange argues that the presence of the term “cup” among the property terms evokes Mesopotamian cup-oracles.⁹³ He concludes, “That Ps 16:5 describes God as the praying person’s cup and emphasizes that he holds his lot in his hand should thus be understood as a use of different divinatory means by God himself.”⁹⁴ The idea that the details of a

⁹¹ This language of allocation is most prominent in Numbers and Joshua, which describe the division of Israelite territory as a divine apportionment of the land by the leadership of Joshua and Eleazar. While the logic of divine apportionment does not reflect the historical complexities of the origins of Israel and Judah, it mirrors human allocative processes described also in Micah 2.

⁹² Lange, “The Determination of Fate by the Oracle of the Lot in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Hebrew Bible, and Ancient Mesopotamian Literature,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical, and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998, Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*, eds. Falk, Garcia Martínez, and Schuller, STDJ 35 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 46.

⁹³ Lange, “Determination of Fate,” 46.

person's life could be compared to a bounded property will be discussed further in the next chapter.

2.2.2 Excursus: Roland Boer and the Regular Redistribution of Property in Ancient Israel

In *The Sacred Economy of Ancient Israel*, Roland Boer asserts that agricultural land in ancient Israel was routinely redistributed within the communal territory of villages or clans. Taking the phrase חֲלֻקַת הַשָּׂדֶה (“the apportionment of the field”) as his point of departure, he argues that חֲלֻקַת הַשָּׂדֶה and the terms חבל, “rope,” or גורל, “lot,” or נחלה, “inheritance,” refer to the allotment of shares in communal agricultural property.⁹⁵

Boer writes,

To optimize labor, ensure soil preservation and consistent crops, and spread risk (natural and human), members of village communes would allocate to each other strips of usually noncontiguous land. These were social units of measurements rather than clear demarcations of land for the purpose of ownership.”⁹⁶

Boer's reconstruction is not without its difficulties. First, Boer asserts throughout *Sacred Economy* that a perennial shortage of agricultural labor typified the ancient

⁹⁴ Lange, “Determination of Fate,” 48. Anne-Marie Kitz has suggested that the cup is the receptacle for casting lots (Kitz, “The Hebrew Terminology of Lot Casting and Its Ancient Near Eastern Context,” *CBQ* 62 [2000]: 209). In either case, the cup is clearly related to YHWH's determination of the individual's status.

⁹⁵ Roland Boer, *The Sacred Economy of Ancient Israel*, LAI (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2015), 72–73.

⁹⁶ Boer, *Sacred Economy*, 72.

Near East.⁹⁷ It is not clear that this was true of Iron Age Israel and Judah. Lawrence Stager argues that the reverse was the case: Iron Age Israel and Judah may have struggled with a surplus of young men lacking access to sufficient agricultural land to support their own households.⁹⁸ Second, Boer continues,

“The key is that [shares of fields] were constantly reallocated. At different intervals (seasonally, usually annually or biannually) all of the farmers would gather and agree to a realignment of these land shares, in light of the various needs of the village commune.”⁹⁹

⁹⁷ As Boer acknowledges, this is a basic assumption in the work of Diakonoff and other Soviet scholars of the ancient Near East.

⁹⁸ Stager, “The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel,” *BASOR* 260 (1985), 24–28. According to Stager, closing the highland frontier had a significant impact on younger sons in the patrimonial household, prompting the ambitious to seek opportunity by becoming priests, royal courtiers, and mercenaries, etc., because a patrimonial inheritance, subject to further division with each subsequent generation, could no longer sustain them.

⁹⁹ Boer, *Sacred Economy*, 72. On this point, Boer again follows Diakonoff. Diakonoff articulates the idea in his article “Agrarian Conditions in Middle Assyria” in *Ancient Mesopotamia, Socio-Economic History: A Collection of Studies by Soviet Scholars* (Moscow: Nauka, 1969), 204–234, here 206: “In all probability land was subject to periodical re-allotment.” Diakonoff is responding to a unique phenomenon in several Middle Assyrian documents. These documents recorded land sales without a definite set of boundaries; the purchaser was to “choose and take” (*inassaq illaqqe*) the land being purchased. Diakonoff reasons from this phenomenon that the purchaser was buying a share of communally owned property without fixed boundaries. As a result, Diakonoff suggests that these sale documents were somewhat inadequately drafted: “One is tempted to state that in all such cases the transaction can be termed a sale of land only with reservations. Although the ancient lawyers formulated a deal of this kind as a sale transaction, what we actually have before us is only a transfer of the right of use” (207). However, Diakonoff hedges on these assessments by suggesting that the Middle Assyrian period was a transitional time in Assyrian land tenure, because “archaic Assyrian agrarian conditions were undergoing disintegration” (211) and that other MA documents demonstrated that “apparently the larger manors had permanent boundaries” (212).

Diakonoff also interprets the MAL as depicting two different kind of boundary violations. One might violate the “great boundary of companions” (*taḫūma rabia ša tappā šu*), as in B ¶ 8, but one might also violate the small communal lots that were contained within the great boundary (205). The latter category is based on the phrase the “small boundary of the lots” (*taḫūma šeḫra ša pūrāni*) in B ¶ 9. This interpretation requires *ša tappā šu* and *ša pūrāni* to be mutually exclusive; however, in MAL A ¶ 18–20 and Surpu II 47–50, *tappū* simply indicates an acquaintance. Driver and Miles, *Assyrian Laws*, 66–67, believe that an economic partnership might be indicated in A ¶ 18–20 and B ¶ 8–9, but their reasoning is not compelling. They also assert that “There is little evidence that beside ownership by the family there existed also ownership by a community, although it is possible that the *tappau* were or had been bound to one another by a relationship of this nature” (294).

Addressing the same data shortly after Diakonoff’s assessment was published in English, Nicholas Postgate posited a different interpretation (Postgate, “Land Tenure in the Middle Assyrian Period: A Reconstruction,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 34 (1971): 496–520). He argued, as Diakonoff did elsewhere, that land sales typically were the result of economic distress and suggested that the “choose and take” formula was found only in interim sale agreements and not in final sale documents (*tuppu dannutu*). The indefiniteness was not the result of communal reallocation of land, but rather, the result of the interim nature of the document. The purchase price was

This assessment does not mesh well with the language of גבול or נחלה in Deut 19:14, Prov 22:28 and Prov 23:10 (texts cited by Boer without explication). Each of these texts appears to countenance a more permanent allocation of land. The boundaries are set by a previous generation (ראשונים in Deut 19:14 or אבותיך in Prov 22:28).

Richard Nelson comments, “Mention of the first settlers as ‘those of an earlier time’ creates tension with the book’s dramatic premise and suggests that v. 14a is a pre-Deuteronomic law.”¹⁰⁰ That is, Nelson conceives of the act of allocation performed by the ראשונים as something older and more enduring than a seasonal, annual or biannual reallocation of property. Similarly, Prov 22:28 and Prov 23:10 speak of the גבול עולם, which again suggests a lasting demarcation of boundaries.

Boer is correct that there are biblical texts that speak of the reallocation of property; Micah 2:4–5 clearly does so. Some land may well have been communally held by village or clan and been subject to communal reallocation. But the pattern of property ownership was probably more complex and the land subject to communal reallocation was not the only available land. Jesse Casana argues that the

fixed by the need of the distressed seller before the quantity of land that would satisfy the price had been agreed upon. After the sale agreement, but before the final document was created, the land would be surveyed and its boundaries agreed upon (Postgate, “Land Tenure,” 515). According to Postgate, “It seems therefore that the ‘valid tablet’ differed only in two respects from the interim documents we possess: first, it gave evidence of the confirmation of the transaction by the authorities, perhaps in the form of seal impressions of the officials concerned; and second, it contained the exact details of the land or property sold, giving in particular its location, which obviously could not be determined until the purchaser had chosen it, and its dimensions, which had to be established with a standard official measure” (516). Postgate’s assessment is considerably more satisfactory in one significant regard—it does not rely on suggesting that MA legal formulations were inherently inadequate. Postgate also expresses his opinion with considerable caution, noting that the MAL come early in the period, while the sale documents are particular to “a very restricted group of families and villages” (519).

¹⁰⁰ Richard Nelson, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 242.

archaeology of Amuq Valley suggests that the ownership of property in ancient Syria was complex in several ways: first, multiple entities could claim control over the same plot of land, and second, competing systems of land tenure may have existed in near proximity to each other. Casana sees no difficulty with the idea that individual farmers would have understood the property they worked to be their own, although others may have had claims of a different order to the same property.¹⁰¹ Stephen C. Russell has similarly argued that hierarchies of land claims is an important component to understanding biblical land tenure.¹⁰² The idea of complex and competing land tenure claims is helpful for explaining the interests of individuals, clans, tribes, and kings in land. Such a hierarchy of competing claims does not prevent Naboth from understanding his vineyard as his ancestral property, nor does it prevent Ahab from attempting to purchase it directly from him.

Any reconstruction of land tenure in ancient Israel needs to grapple with the language of permanent possession, such as the גבול עולם of Prov 22 and 23. Even the

¹⁰¹ Jesse Casana, "Structural Transformations in Settlement Systems of the Northern Levant," *AJA* 111 (2007): 213. According to Casana, "Agricultural land was not only 'owned' by individual farmers but also may have been managed by the community, controlled by local elites, and owned by the vassal king and ultimately by a foreign ruler as well. The existence of similarly complex institutions of land rights is likely to have been one major factor contributing to the continued concentration of settlement at tell sites throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages, as new or expanding occupation could only take place beyond existing agricultural fields or within established settlements."

¹⁰² Russell bases his arguments on Max Gluckman's anthropologically-informed theory of land tenure, which focuses on a hierarchy of overlapping land claims. At the heart of Russell's understanding of ancient Near Eastern land tenure is the observation that "Several ancient Near Eastern texts from widely differing periods witness the possibility that the suzerain, the local king, the temple, tribal elders, clan members, or local householders could variously hold different kinds of rights in the same property." ("Abraham's Purchase of Ephron's Land in Anthropological Perspective," *Biblical Interpretation* 21 [2013]: 153–170, here 165). Russell has made similar arguments in his "The Legal Background to the Theme of Land in the Book of Joshua," *Hebrew Studies* 59 (2018): 111–128; "The Hierarchy of Estates in Land and Naboth's Vineyard," *JSOT* 38 (2014): 453–469, and "David's Threshing Floor: On Royal Dedication of Land to the Gods" in his *The King and the Land: A Geography of Royal Power in the Biblical World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

language of lot and allocation could apparently be used to determine fixed portions of property as well: in the conceptual world created by Joshua, specific areas were granted to tribes and clans. The description of property theft by violating boundaries assumes recognized and specific boundaries.¹⁰³ Both Deut 19:14 and MAL B ¶ 9 suggest that the boundaries of one’s property were defined in relationship to one’s specific neighbors, a practice already attested in early *kudurrus* and still reflected in Aramaic property documents from the Judaeen Desert.¹⁰⁴ Gelb provides additional evidence that some properties were described by their proximity to static landmarks or features such as canals.¹⁰⁵ If a property is described by its relationship to fixed landmarks, it seems unlikely that it was subject to redistribution. Specific features of land conveyances, such as warranty clauses that guard against future claims made against the owner of a specific property, also suggest permanence. The language of apportionment or lot should not be taken as evidence that a נחלה was generally a share of regularly reallocated communal

¹⁰³ This also seems to be true of the MAL, even though the violated boundary in MAL B ¶ 9 refers to a “small boundary of the lots” (*taḥūma šeḥra ša pūrāni*). The lot could indicate specific property. CAD points to an example in which lot determined the control of a specific portion of a divided inheritance: “Itur-Da and Ipbur-Dagan son of Abika at the death of Abika their father (5) assigned (in their place) the servants and servants of their father; and all that their father left the two of them, they shared. Half of the land next to the house of Ilum-sipit (10) and right of passage to the storehouse for *as far as the lot assigned to him* (constitutes) the part of Itur-Da, the brother, and half the land adjoining the house of the *tukki* (15) (represented) the share of Ipbur-Dagan, the younger brother.” (Marcel Sigrist, “Miscellanea,” *JCS* 34 [1982], 242–246, here 243). Allocation by lot does not require periodic reallocation.

¹⁰⁴ Ignace J. Gelb, Piotr Steinkeller, and Robert M Whiting, *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East: Ancient Kudurrus* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1989-1991), 214. Gelb, Steinkeller, and Whiting give three examples of Akkadian *kudurrus* listing the borders of field by the names of the owners of estates on each side.

¹⁰⁵ Gelb, Steinkeller, and Whiting, *Ancient Kudurrus*, 214.

property. There is simply too much language suggesting more permanent allocations and grants of property.

2.2.3 Purchase and Sale

Genesis 23 presents the narrative of Abraham purchasing a burial site near Hebron after the death of Sarah. The negotiations are detailed and polite, but the apparent sticking point is the permanence of Abraham's control over the site. He is offered use of the site, or any other that he might choose, but he requests the right to purchase a field for full price: "for full silver may he give it to me" (בכסף מלא יתננה לי).

Raymond Westbrook notes that

What Abraham wants is a firm and definite right to ground where he is going to establish a family tomb. His aim is to acquire an inheritable estate (*propriété*) in which he and his descendants may also be buried. This acquisition as an estate can only be made against money.¹⁰⁶

Westbrook argues that land acquired without paying full price would remain subject to legal claim by its previous owner.¹⁰⁷

Provisions for the redemption of property in Lev 25 and the narrative surrounding Naboth's vineyard in 1 Kings 21 have sometimes been taken as evidence that ancestral property could not be sold. Leviticus 25 claims that all the land belongs to YHWH and that any Israelite transaction is limited by the right of redemption and the Jubilee. With Leviticus 25 in the background, many scholars

¹⁰⁶ Westbrook, "Purchase of the Cave of Machpelah," in *Property and Family in Biblical Law*, JSOTSup 113 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 24–35; here 27.

¹⁰⁷ Westbrook, "The Price Factor in the Redemption of Land," in *Property and Family in Biblical Law*, JSOTSup 113 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 106.

have argued that Israelite land was not truly alienable.¹⁰⁸ However, Ahab's behavior suggests that land could be alienated; other monarchs in Sam–Kings (David, Omri) had been able to do so.¹⁰⁹ Raymond Westbrook argues, "the idea that King Ahab could have proposed an illegal transaction for the transfer of inalienable land is illogical, since again, it would not have given him good title."¹¹⁰ Understood in this way, the strongest narrative objection to the alienability of land is removed. Naboth's refusal was based on his familial ties to his vineyard rather than the inalienability of his property. So while the principle of inalienability is strongly supported by Lev 25, actual legal practice likely allowed for the alienation of property. Westbrook adds one caveat: Land needed to be bought for its full value in order for the purchaser to have good title because a distressed sale was subject to redemption. But Westbrook is certain that one could sell a נחלה: "L[and was in principle alienable, but sometimes subject to restrictions such as redemption and debt-release decrees."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Patrick Cronauer, *The Stories about Naboth the Jezreelite: A Source, Composition, and Redaction Investigation of 1 Kings 21 and Passages in 2 Kings 9* (London: T & T Clark, 2005), 211. Cronauer gives Albrecht Alt pride of place in developing this argument. For Alt, the argument hinged on a distinction between Canaanite and Israelite land practices. Alt's distinction between those legal traditions was a staple of his thought (it appears in his 1934 "Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts" as well as his 1955 "Der Anteil des Königtums an der sozialen Entwicklung in den Reichen Israel und Juda."). For Alt, Israelite law treated the land as inalienable, while Canaanite practice allowed land to be purchased. Alt's distinction between Canaanite and Israelite legal systems is forcefully rejected by Raymond Westbrook: "In my view, Canaanite land law is a fictional construct" ("Law in Kings," 452).

¹⁰⁹ While those accounts are silent about whether the property involved would have been considered נחלה אבותי, neither 2 Sam 24:24 nor 1 Kings 16:24 suggests that the offer to buy another person's immovable property was problematic. See, again, Westbrook, "Law in Kings" 452–453.

¹¹⁰ Westbrook, "Law in Kings," 453.

¹¹¹ Westbrook, "Law in Kings," 453.

2.2.4 Redemption

Several texts in the Hebrew Bible describe the redemption of property. Within the legal collections, Leviticus 25 is the key text; it provides for the redemption of various kinds of property that have been lost due to economic distress. As a priestly text, the core term employed by Lev 25 for property is אֲחֻזָּה, rather than נַחֲלָה.¹¹² Lev 25 places redemption within the context of YHWH's absolute control over the land, within which every individual has a lasting claim to "landed property" (אֲחֻזָּה). The mechanism of the Jubilee, central to Lev 25, depends on this principle.¹¹³ Whether the Jubilee was practicable or not, redemption is an attested legal practice in the ancient Near East.¹¹⁴

Two biblical narratives turn on the issue of redemption. In Ruth 4, Boaz and an unnamed Bethlehemite discuss the redemption of property that could be considered to belong to Elimelech and Naomi. There are uncertain legal questions in the narrative, particularly, why there is no indication in Ruth 1–3 that Naomi has any property to sell.¹¹⁵ Those questions notwithstanding, in Ruth 4, redemption

¹¹² However, Ruth 4 speaks of the redemption of Elimelech's נַחֲלָה, so the language of אֲחֻזָּה in Lev 25 is not a barrier to consideration of the redemption of a נַחֲלָה.

¹¹³ Moshe Weinfeld contends that ancient Near Eastern legal practices—particularly, the royal debt relief and manumission edicts—provide proof that biblical legislation like the Jubilee of Lev 25 was practicable (*The Place of the Law in the Religion of Ancient Israel*, VT Sup 100 [Leiden: Brill, 2004], 60–63. Weinfeld admits, however, that the 50-year mechanism of the Jubilee is markedly different from the occasional royal edicts to which he compares the Jubilee.

¹¹⁴ Westbrook, "Redemption of Land," in *Property and Family in Biblical Law*, JSOTSup 113 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 58–68.

¹¹⁵ This is no small problem for those who suggest that biblical narratives that concern legalities must preserve a significant correspondence between the world of the text and actual legal practices. Sasson, "The Issue of Ge'ullah in Ruth," *JSOT* 5 (1978): 52–64 argues that it is unlikely that Elimelech's property would have been sold, since the characters assumed that their absence from Bethlehem would only last as

allows a kinsperson to acquire the right to property lost through a distressed situation. Jer 32:6–15 records another redemption sale: Jeremiah purchases a field in Anathoth from his cousin. The text is clear that Jeremiah purchases the property, he acquires it (ואקנה את־השדה מאת חנמאל בן־דדי אשר בענתות) and weighs out seventeen shekels of silver for it (ואשקלה־לו את־הכסף שבעה שקלים ועשרה הכסף). It is not clear whether this would constitute the full price of the field—Westbrook believes that it would not, but this does not fully address the unique phrase in Jer 32:8, in which Hanamel says that the right to possess (כי־לך משפט הירשה), as well as redemption (הגאולה), belongs to Jeremiah.¹¹⁶ Westbrook suggests that the right to possess denotes a right to inherit—thus, highlighting Jeremiah’s gracious act in paying for property that he might later inherit without cost.¹¹⁷ I do not find this explanation compelling, since the משפט הירשה is part of Hanamel’s sales pitch to Jeremiah; it seems more likely that Hanamel would offer to relinquish a future claim in order to persuade Jeremiah to act. Regardless of the technical details, Ruth 4 and Jeremiah 32 demonstrate that composers of biblical texts were aware of ancient Near Eastern mechanisms for reclaiming immovable property lost due to distressed circumstances.

long as the famine (61). He argues further that Elimelech’s land would not have been left fallow but would have been worked and harvested by another (62). Both suggestions are reasonable. Westbrook does not believe Naomi had property to sell, on the grounds that ownership of land was strictly agnatic in ancient Israel (“Redemption of Land,” 65). However, on the basis of the story of the Shunammite in 2 Kings 8 and documents from Elephantine, I find Westbrook’s argument to be too narrow.

¹¹⁶ Westbrook, “Redemption of Land,” 62; “Price Factor,” 91. Westbrook, “Price Factor,” 117 argues that the weight of comparative ancient Near Eastern data suggests that Jeremiah pays the current, rather than full, value of the land, so that Hanamel or his heirs likely have a right to redeem the field in the future.

¹¹⁷ Westbrook, “Redemption of Land,” 62.

It is not clear that these mechanisms continued to function into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The verbs employed by the Hebrew Bible to describe redemption, גאל and פדה, do not function in the few Hebrew language property documents from the Judaean Desert.¹¹⁸ When they are encountered in the Dead Sea Scrolls, they typically refer to the redemption of people.¹¹⁹ It is more likely that redemption resided in the textual memory of the Dead Sea Scrolls rather than in the property law of Hellenistic Jewish communities.

2.2.5 Inheritance

The central concern of land tenure in the Hebrew Bible was its heritability. The roots נחל and ירש will be discussed in more detail below, but in biblical Hebrew they regularly denote “to inherit” with respect to an estate. Deuteronomy 21:16–18 demonstrates that נחל is appropriately used to describe distribution of one’s estate to one’s offspring:

If there are two wives for one husband, one favored and the other disfavored, and the favored and disfavored wives bear sons for him, with the firstborn son belonging to the disfavored—on the day he establishes the inheritance of his sons, he is not allowed to give the birthright to the son of the favored wife because the son of the disfavored wife is the firstborn. For he must recognize the firstborn, the son of the disfavored wife, by giving him a double portion of everything which might be found of his, for he is the beginning of his virility. The judgment concerning the firstborn.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ It is true that some of the documents from Nahal Hever use a date formula that mentions the redemption of Israel (גאלת ישראל), but the currency of the term is likely attributable to its biblical origins.

¹¹⁹ Compare CD XIV, 16 || 4Q266 10 I, 9; 4Q185 1–2 II, 10. [יגאלו] in 4Q251 14, 2 might be an exception since the next clause refers to a field, but the damage to the context makes certainty impossible.

¹²⁰ The MT reads: כִּי־תֵהִי־לְאִישׁ שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים הָאֶחָת אֲהוּבָה וְהָאֶחָת שְׂנוּאָה וְיִלְדוּ־לּוֹ בָנִים הָאֲהוּבָה וְהַשְּׂנוּאָה וְהָיָה הַבֵּן הַבְּכוֹר לְשְׂנוּאָה וְהָיָה בְיוֹם הַנְּחִילוֹ אֶת־בְּנָיו אֶת־אֲשֶׁר־יְהִי־לּוֹ לֹא יוּכַל לְבַכֵּר אֶת־בֶּן־הָאֲהוּבָה עַל־פְּנֵי בֶן־הַשְּׂנוּאָה הַבְּכוֹר כִּי אֶת־הַבְּכוֹר בֶּן־הַשְּׂנוּאָה יְכִיר לְתֵת לוֹ פִּי שְׁנַיִם בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר־יִמְצָא לוֹ כִּי־הוּא רֵאשִׁית אָנוּ לוֹ מִשְׁפַּט הַבְּכוֹרָה

In Deut 21:16 the C stem infinitive הנהילו indicates the disposition of an estate between two sons, each of whom is due a share of the estate.¹²¹ The sense of נחלה as one's estate presupposes right to bequeath it; it may also, particularly in priestly literature, suggest limits on one's ability to convey it to parties other than one's heirs.¹²² When a נחלה is described in terms of one's ancestors, as in Deut 19:14 or 1 Kgs 21:3, the presupposition of heritability is further demonstrated. The narratives concerning the daughters of Zelophehad illustrate that possession and maintenance of a family's property in the face of a lack of male heirs was a crucial concern and a recurring legal *topos* in the ancient Near East.¹²³ In Numbers 27, a נחלה is granted to these daughters; the decision is questioned and reiterated in Numbers 36 to forbid the alienation of clan property through exogamous marriage; finally, Joshua 17 records the execution of the decision.¹²⁴ These narratives employ numerous terms that describe what could be done with a נחלה; it could be granted (נתן) and inherited

¹²¹ See Bruce Wells, "The Hated Wife in Deuteronomical Law," *VT* 60 (2010): 131–146, for discussion of the technical status of the wives implied by אהב and שונא. The significance of נחלה in allocating the estate is not altered by the precise details of the law.

¹²² This is true of Ezekiel 46:16–18: The prince may make a gift to his sons from his own נחלה (16), but not from property that can be considered the נחלה of other persons (18a), nor can he make a permanently alienable gift outside of his family (17).

¹²³ Cf. Zafira Ben-Barak, *Inheritance by Daughters in Israel and the Ancient Near East: A Social, Legal and Ideological Revolution* (Jaffa: Archaeological Center Publications, 2006), 5: "The most problematic situation, endangering the entire *bet 'ab* structure, was *the absence of sons to inherit*. Such a predicament could wipe it out and make it disappear." Ben-Barak, 102, states that the *bet 'ab* without sons was "the most troubling inheritance issue in Israelite society."

¹²⁴ The names of several of these daughters occur as toponyms within the vicinity of Samaria in the Samaria Ostraca of the eighth century BCE. From a critical perspective, it is just as likely that the toponyms predate the daughters. Edward L. Greenstein makes this argument in "The Formation of the Biblical Narrative Corpus," *AJS Review* 15 (1990): 176. Greenstein states: The little episode in which the five "daughters" of Zelophad inherit his property and establish a legal precedent (Num. 27:1–11) is a more obvious example of a sociopolitical plot in the guise of a domestic tale. We know from the Samaria ostraca and would surmise anyway from other biblical passages that these daughters represent towns in an area of Manasseh."

(ירש), as well as transmitted (העביר; 3x), maintained as a holding (דבק; 2x); transferred (סבב; 2x), and reduced (גרע; 4x).¹²⁵ These latter terms are quite clearly technical in Numbers 27 or 36 but are not used in a similarly technical manner elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Only in Numbers 36 is נחלה the object of דבק. גרע has a legal valence in Ex 21:10 (a man may not reduce his support of his first wife if he takes a second wife) and in Lev 27:8 (the price for the redemption of a field is reduced according to the number of years until the Jubilee), but only in Numbers 36 is the reduction of a land holding described with גרע. While the discussion in Numbers 27 and 36 is made particularly unique by the role of the women involved, the general legal principles guarding against the expropriation of family land demonstrate that more broadly applicable principles are being articulated. Land once granted to a family or clan was to be passed down to subsequent generations.

2.2.6 Seizure

Isaiah 5 and Micah 2 denounce practices that lead to the dispossession of houses and fields. Isaiah 5:8 describes causing house to touch house and joining field to field (מגיעי בית בבית שדה בשדה יקריבו); the apparent result is the disenfranchisement of

¹²⁵ Because דבק, “to cling, to join” twice collocates with hand in the Hebrew Bible (Deut 13:18; 2 Sam 23:10) and can be used in military contexts to denote overtaking, it bears a surface resemblance to Levine’s verbs of seizure which will be discussed later in this chapter. However, a root meaning of “to join” is more compelling based on cognate data: there is a single occurrence of *dabāqu* at Ugarit as an apparent antonym of *purrusu*, “to break apart;” *dbq* has a standard meaning of “to adjoin” at Elephantine, where it occurs seventeen times in the description of the boundaries of property; and occurs once in an economic sense in an Aramaic manuscript of Tobit (4Q197 4 I, 1) where it warns against clinging to silver. The usage in Numbers 36 is “a bit unusual” according to Levine (*Numbers 21–36*, AB 4A [New York: Doubleday, 2001], 579), but its sense is clear: All of the Israelites are to retain their estates.

those who had previously held those properties. Micah 2:1–5 denounces a group of evildoers who dispossess others of fields and houses, that is, the contents of their estates (an individual's נחלתו in 2:2). The parallelism in the indictment in Mic 2:2 provides a range of terms for property and for aspects of property theft (חמד, “to covet”; גזל, “to rob”; נשא, “to take away”; עשק, “to oppress”). The announcement of judgment in Mic 2:4–5 describes the redistribution of property as the sentence is made to fit the crime: the apportionment (חלק) of the people is altered and fields can no longer be apportioned (חלק) and “the line can no longer be cast by lot” (משליך חבל (בגורל)). As noted above, interpreters have differed over the exact nature of this practice, but Micah identifies it as a criminal offense (גזל).¹²⁶

It is entirely possible that some seizures of property were technically legal. Thus, David Clines suggests that violating boundaries might be done openly: “When landmarks are displaced, there is at least a tacit approval by the community, and those responsible believe they are within their rights in so doing, and may in fact have the law on their side.”¹²⁷ The alteration of boundaries will be considered in the next chapter.

¹²⁶ Westbrook, “Abuse of Power,” in *Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Law* (Paris: Gabalda, 1988), 9–38, identifies גזל as an abuse of power by a social superior, with appeal to a higher authority like the king as the only recourse left to the oppressed party.

¹²⁷ David J. A. Clines, *Job 21–37*, WBC 18A (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2006): 602.

2.3 HOLDING AND INHERITANCE: THE VALENCES OF LANDHOLDING

VERBS IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

I stated above that a נחלה could be inherited, which was usually expressed by the verbal roots נחל or ירש. However, there are several additional verbs in the Hebrew Bible and in Hellenistic Jewish legal texts that focus on land tenure. These land tenure terms have not been the focus of recent sustained scholarly attention.¹²⁸

However, the outline of a diachronically aware approach to the semantics of biblical land tenure may be found in a series of articles written by Baruch Levine. Levine argues that the main terms for land tenure in the Hebrew Bible are derived principally from the semantic domain of physical seizure and holding:

“[S]emantic progression in the meanings of verbs and terms from (a) possession expressed as physical seizure or conquest to (b) some form of contractual possession is typical of many, diverse legal vocabularies. The act of legal possession is normally conveyed in terms expressive of physical holding, or controlling. Often, a symbolic act of physical holding, grasping, or contact of some sort is required to finalize possession.”¹²⁹

Coming from a very different starting point, Meir Malul arrives at conclusions similar to Levine—that the language of legal control was related to the language of physical touch. Thus, for Malul,

The physical aspect of the idea of knowledge, as expressed by terms from the semantic field of physical control, is but a short step from the legal notion of control and domination, for one who physically holds is also one who controls.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Evidence of this lacuna may be seen in Douglas Knight’s 2011, *Law, Power, and Justice in Ancient Israel*. Knight’s footnotes on real property refer to Raymond Westbrook’s 1991 collection of studies *Property and the Family in Biblical Law* and Jeffrey Fager’s 1993 *Land Tenure and the Biblical Jubilee*. Unfortunately, it lies beyond the scope of this dissertation to address this lacuna more fully.

¹²⁹ Levine, “Semantics,” 135.

Malul considers a broader set of terms than Levine because of the nature of his project, of these, the roots תמך and לקח are most clearly relevant. There is undoubtedly some validity to this argument: a *prima facie* examination of verbal roots like אחז and חזק demonstrates that these roots can function to describe “physical holding, grasping, or contact,” military conquest, and land tenure. But other roots like ירש and נחל, *contra* Levine, are less clearly connected to “physical holding, grasping, or contact.”

2.3.1 Early Biblical Land Tenure Terminology: ירש and נחל

Levine argues that biblical land tenure terminology underwent diachronic development with the roots נחל and ירש representing the earliest stratum of land tenure terms in the Hebrew Bible.¹³¹ According to Levine, both predate the priestly literature of the Hebrew Bible.¹³² Examination of the cognates of נחל and ירש makes it clear that both are first attested in West Semitic contexts. Both are attested in Ugaritic (*nḥl* and *yrt*); both also occur in the Akkadian of the Syrian periphery rather than the Mesopotamian core: *naḥālum* is attested at Mari in the 18th c. BCE, *warāšum* at Emar between the 14th and

¹³⁰ Malul, *Knowledge, Control and Sex: Studies in Biblical Thought, Culture, and Worldview* (Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publication, 2002), 155.

¹³¹ Both verbal roots also have related nominal forms (ירשה and נחלה), as does the priestly נאחז (אחזה) that will be considered later in the chapter. Levine suggests that נחלה and אחזה were more significant than their verbal counterparts in the Hebrew Bible, which he claims were essentially denominative verbs (Levine, “Late Language in the Priestly Source: Some Literary and Historical Observations,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Jerusalem, August 16–21, 1981. Vol 2: Panel Sessions: Biblical Studies and Hebrew Language* [Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1983], 72–3). Because ירשה is uncommon in biblical Hebrew, it is difficult to determine its specific legal value.

¹³² Levine, “Late Language,” 73.

12th centuries BCE.¹³³ Daniel Arnaud argues that the terms had specific valences that came to be related to inheritance: **wrt* indicated taking possession in the place of another while **nhl* indicated receiving part of a larger whole.¹³⁴

Dissertations by Phyllis Bird and Harold Forshey in the early 1970s were devoted to establishing the precise senses of ירש and נחל, respectively. Both followed a similar methodology, thoroughly investigating the occurrences of the root in cognate languages such as Akkadian, Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Old South Arabian before turning to the Hebrew Bible. Bird concluded that the base meaning of ירש was “to inherit,” with no necessary connotations of violent possession. Bird states,

In all of the languages in which the root is attested it is used as a technical, legal term for inheriting and inheritance. While the more general idea of possession may also be represented by some uses of the root, in no language is the specific sense, ‘inherit,’ lacking. This latter meaning constitutes the universal common denominator and cannot, therefore, be regarded as secondary or derived.¹³⁵

Forshey drew the conclusion that נחל originally referred to receipt of a feudal grant and not to patrimonial inheritance.¹³⁶ Since these dissertations are substantial contributions to the lexicography of these roots, I will address them now. Both are somewhat dated in that their surveys of cognate material lack relevant material that has since been discovered. More significantly, both seek a single, durable core meaning for each root. I am sympathetic to Bird’s conclusion, but find Forshey’s to be too rigid. Because of the

¹³³ As will be noted below, forms of *nahālum* may also be attested at Alalah and Emar.

¹³⁴ Daniel Arnaud, “Le Vocabulaire de l’Héritage dans les Textes Syriens du Moyen-Euphrate à la Fin de l’Âge du Bronze Récent,” *SEL* 12 (1995): 21.

¹³⁵ Phyllis Bird, “YRŠ and the Deuteronomic Theology of the Conquest” (ThD diss., HDS, 1971), 415.

¹³⁶ Harold Odes Forshey, “The Hebrew Root *NHL* and its Semitic Context” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1973), 233.

legal importance of these roots, I will review Bird’s and Forshey’s arguments and conclusions.

2.3.1.1 **וירש** as (Succession to an) Inheritance

According to Phyllis Bird, the root **וירש** is a Hebrew expression of a West Semitic root originally concerned with the inheritance of property. The West Semitic origins of **wrt* are suggested by its second millennium attestation in Ugaritic and in the Akkadian of Emar and Ekalte; the root is otherwise unattested in Akkadian until its appearance as the Aramaic loanwords *yāritu* and *yāritūtu* in NB texts.¹³⁷ At the heart of Bird’s project was ruling out “to dispossess” as the root meaning of **wrt*, and specifically of the C stem of **וירש** in Deuteronomy.¹³⁸ For Bird, dispossession was a derived meaning from a legal term denoting succession to an inheritance.

Evidence from Emar and its environs, which was not available to Bird, supports her contention that **wrt* denoted succession to an inheritance. In the 1980s and 1990s, over a dozen documents from Emar were published that attest to the use of the verb *warāšu* or the noun *warrāšu*, most typically in testaments. The most common formulation involving *warrāšu* includes a second term, apparently from either *balālu* or *palālu*, and the Sumerian *nu tuk*, the equivalent of *ul išu*:

lúwarrāšu u aballilu ul išu: “there is no (other) inheritor or sharer.”¹³⁹ This standard

¹³⁷ See CAD I-J, p. 325, s.v. *jāritu, jāritūtu*.

¹³⁸ Bird, 417–420. Bird states, “In the older N.W. Semitic languages (Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Moabite) this inheritance language (**WRT*) seems to have been used to describe succession to the place and property of another achieved by violent means or forcible dispossession” (417). Subsequently, Bird adds, “... The idea of forcible possession and dispossession is elsewhere represented by words of the root **WRT* only in the translation of biblical passages (or derived literature) employing this root” (418).

phrase occurs in ten documents from Emar in this form.¹⁴⁰ An example of the phrase can be found in line eleven of the following conveyance:

Table 2.1: An Example of <i>warrāšu</i> at Emar	
Tsukimoto 21 ¹⁴¹	Translation
<i>m</i> ḫi-ma-ši ^d KUR DUMU šur-ši-ia	1-5a <i>Himaši-Dagan</i> , son of <i>Šuršia</i> , said as follows: My father's house and my inherited share I have given to <i>Pullalla</i> , my son.
a-kán-na iq-bi ma-a a-nu-ma	
É a-bi-ia ḪA.LA-ia	
a-na ^m púl-la-al-la DUMU-ia	5b-8 In the midst of my fields, where his brothers are about to work, let <i>Pullalla's</i> oxen cultivate.
at-ta-din ù i-na ŠA A.ŠĀ.meš-ia	
a-šar ŠEŠ ^h á-šu ur-ra-du ₄	
ù GU ₄ ^h á-šú ša ^m púl-la-al-<la >	
li-ri-šu ù ŠEŠ ^h á-šu aš-š[um] ḪA.LA-šú	8b-10 And his brothers shall not lay a claim against him in regards to his inheritance.
a-na UGU-ḫi-šú	
la-a i-ra-gu-mu	
lúwa-ra-ša lúa-ba-li-la NU TUK	¹¹ He has no (other) inheritor or sharer.

¹³⁹ Two lexicographic issues have attracted attention to the second term in the formula, which has been normalized as *aballilu*, *apallilu*, and *muballilu* by translators. The first is von Soden's argument that the *a*-sign should be read as *mu_x*, rendering the word as a D participle (Wolfram von Soden, "Kleine Bemerkungen zu Urkunden und Ritualen aus Emar," *NABU* 2 [1987]: 25; followed by Arnaud). Tsukimoto demurs, arguing that the *mu* sign would have been used instead of von Soden's *mu_x*. The second concerns whether *balālu* or *palālu* is the root of the second term. Arnaud opts for *balālu* in *Recherches au Pays d'Aštata, Emar 6,3: Textes Sumériens et Accadiens. Texte* (Paris: Ed. Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986) and *palālu* in *Textes syriens de l'âge du bronze récent*, AuOr Supplement 1 (Sabadell: AUSA, 1991). He notes in passing that *pll* is preferable to *bll* in "Vocabulaire de l'Héritage," 23, on the basis of Tsukimoto's translations. However, Tsukimoto himself favors *bll* ("Akkadian Tablets in the Hiriyama Collection II" *Acta Sumerologica* 13 [1991]: 283). Arnaud also points to a text in *Textes Syriens* in which *mu-pa-li-la* occurs independently of *warrāšu* in a document in which a man gives his house to his son and daughter (text 47, line 20). von Soden suggests *überwachen* for *palālu* (*NABU* 2 [1987], 25); Pentiuć states that it should be understood in terms of פלל in the Hebrew Bible, meaning "to judge, mediate, arbitrate." See Eugen Pentiuć, *West Semitic Vocabulary in the Akkadian from Emar*, HSS 49 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2001), 128. In CAD, no legal uses for *palālu* A "to go in front, to precede" are listed, although the idea of precedence would be significant in dividing an inheritance. Tsukimoto argues for *balālu*, "to share," which is supported by a parallel from Alalah, in which the verb is used to contest and ultimately affirm a woman's share in her mother's estate (see Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* [London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953], 34. In *UF* 36 (2001), the Alalah text is reedited by Dietrich and Loretz to include the word *naḫilatim* in line 8 (na-ḫi-la-tim ša um-mi-[ia] ba-al-la-ti₄): "Of the property of my mother, I have a share."

¹⁴⁰ See Pentiuć, *West Semitic Vocabulary*, 139–140. Pentiuć lists the following occurrences: Emar 32:9, 128:7, 203:5, 213:6; AuOrS₁ 32:8, 74:12, 75:5', 80:9; ASJ 13 21:11, 31:6; AuOr 5 14:13; RE 27:5, 42:2'.

¹⁴¹ Text and translation from Akio Tsukimoto, "Akkadian Tablets in the Hiriyama Collection II" *Acta Sumerologica* 13 (1991): 281–282.

Most of these are testaments, although two involve the manumission of a slave. As a standard phrase that recurs in testamentary documents, it is evident that *warrāšu* had a fixed, precise legal meaning. The term also occurs outside of the full phrase in several cases. One sale from Ekalte includes the line ŠEŠ *wa-ra-ša i-na KÁ ú-ul šu-ú-ma* = “he is not the brother, the heir in the gate.”¹⁴² Another sale document from the region of Emar lists a specific inheritor should the testator’s wife and children die: *anumma Zu-Bala lúwarrāšu*, “then Zū-Ba⁷la will be the heir.”¹⁴³ At Emar, *warrāša/u* could designate a wife or daughter, an adopted son, or even one out of several brothers, as opposed to others who might claim an inheritance.¹⁴⁴ In three other testaments, a verbal form of *warāšu* indicates the right to inherit; in one case, a daughter will inherit if her sister dies without an heir, in another, two sons (one adopted) will inherit equally.¹⁴⁵ It seems clear from these examples that the chief concern addressed by the use of *warāšu* was succession to control of the property designated by the written instrument.

¹⁴² Following Werner Mayer, *Tall Mumbaqa–Ekalte—II. Die Texte*, DOG 102 (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2001), 113; see also CAD U-W, 405 s.v. *warāšu*, *warrāšu*.

¹⁴³ Gary Beckman, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen* (History of the Ancient Near East Monographs 2; Padova: Sargon, 1996), 40.

¹⁴⁴ In two manumissions that make use of the *lúwarrāšu u aballilu nu tuk* phrase, the manumitted slave is at risk of being claimed as an inheritance by the heirs of her or his owner. This leads me to conclude, with Tsukimoto, that *lúwarrāša/u* referred to an heir who had sole right to one’s heritable property and *aballilu* referred to an individual who could claim some portion of one’s heritable property.

¹⁴⁵ Arnaud, *Emar 6/3*, text 185; Beckman, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar*, text 28; Huehnergard, “Five Texts from the Vicinity of Emar,” RA 77 (1983), text 2. See also CAD U-W, 404.

2.3.1.2 ירש as Conquest

Baruch Levine proposes an alternative understanding of ירש. For Levine, ירש belongs to a series of verbs that originally denoted physical seizure. In multiple essays on land tenure in the Hebrew Bible, he argues that ירש describes possession by seizure:

“The term *yeruššāh* derives from a verb whose primary sense is physical possession by conquest or seizure, and which has the extended meaning of inheritance (Jer 32:8)... By designating family land, tribal lands, or national territory as *yeruššāh* the text is defining it as a possession taken, or received, or even redeemed by a clan member, but not as one purchased or sold.”¹⁴⁶

Levine’s assessment goes beyond what can be determined from the Hebrew Bible; ירשה refers to a divine grant in Deut 2:5, 2:9, 2:12, 2:19, and 3:20, and the right of possession (משפט הירשה) is tied to both redemption and purchase in Jer 32:7–8.

Levine depends on extrabiblical texts that employ the root **wrt* in the context of conflict rather than inheritance for support. This evidence is primarily found in the Baal Cycle and the Mesha Stele. In the Baal Cycle, *yrt* appears to “to take, to possess” rather than “to inherit.”

Table 2.2: <i>yrt</i> in the Baal Cycle	
KTU 1.2 I 18–19	Translation ¹⁴⁷
tn . bʿl [. wʿnnh] . bn . dgn . artm . pdh	Give (up) Baʿlu [and his attendants], (give up) the Son of Dagan, that I might take possession of his gold.
KTU 1.2 I 35	Translation

¹⁴⁶ Levine, “Farewell,” 236–237.

¹⁴⁷ “The Baal Cycle,” trans. Pardee (COS 1.86: 246, 252). Smith and Pitard, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*, vol. 2, VTSup 114 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), are markedly different on 1.3 III 47: “That I might fight for silver; inherit gold.” (205) Smith and Pitard comment further: “The last tricolon of 1.3 III (in lines 45–47a) ends with a reference to the spoils of silver and gold, presumably the result of Anat’s victory over these enemies. This line brings in a political element to the battle(s) that accords well with the idea that Anat’s conflict is not so much cosmogonic; it is primarily related to the theme of Baal’s achievement of authority among the gods. In a political conflict, the seizure of booty is a prime indicator of the extent of the victory.” (265)

tn . b ^l . w ^{nnh} . bn . dgn . artm . pdh	Give (up) Ba ^l u and his attendants, (give up) the Son of Dagan, that I might take possession of his gold.
KTU 1.3 III 46–IV 1	Translation
imtḥs . ksp . itr _t . ḥrṣ . ṭrd . b ^l . b mrym . ṣpn	I have smitten for silver, have (re)possessed the gold of him who would have driven Ba ^l u from the heights of Sapanu...

In the first two instances, from KTU 1.2, Yammu demands that the assembly of the gods give up Ba^lu to his control. Apparently, the claim is based solely on Yammu's titles as master and lord. Ba^lu contests Yammu's claim and ultimately defeats him in combat. The point to be made is that *artm* appears to describe Yammu's desired control of Ba^lu's wealth: possession rather than inheritance that is at stake. The instance in KTU 1.3 is part of ^ʿAnatu's response to seeing messengers from Ba^lu; she assumes that some threat against Ba^lu has arisen. ^ʿAnatu's fear at their appearance is not in keeping with her fierce nature as demonstrated by the actions she recounts. Each occurrence of *yrt* in the Baal Cycle suggests that possession as a result of conquest is the intended meaning of the verb.

The Mesha Stele might also offer an example of possession in the context of military conquest, stating that Omri had possessed the region of Mēdaba. It is clear that the composer of the stele believed that the territory belonged to Moab, since it is returned to Moab by Chemosh. But, by contrast to the use of אהז in the Mesha Stele, it is not clear that ירש indicates conquest; it could simply indicate tenure.

Table 2.3: ירש in the Mesha Stele	
Mesha Lines 7–9	Translation
וירש . עמרי . את . כץ . מהדבא . וישב . בה . ימה . וחצי . ימי . בנה . ארבן . שת . וישבה . כמש . בימי	Now Omri had possessed the region of Mēdaba and he dwelled in it his days and half the days of his son—forty years. Then Chemosh returned it in my days.

2.3.1.3 Conclusions on the Origins of ירש

Arnaud's assessment that **wrt* indicated taking possession in place of another is sufficient to explain both inheritance and conquest. If **wrt* denoted succession to control, conquest would not be necessary for taking possession, but neither would it be somehow illegitimate. Bird's thesis, when supplemented by the evidence from Emar, is consistent with Arnaud's explanation; it seems to me that there is good reason to take **wrt* as an originally legal term denoting succession.

2.3.2 The Origins and Legal Valences of נחל

The legal valences of נחל and נחלה are clearly important, given the frequency of the term נחלה in the Hebrew Bible. However, legal precision is hampered by ambiguity in clearly relevant data from Ugarit and other second millennium Syrian contexts. This ambiguity is most clearly seen in Harold Odes Forshey's argument against the identification of the root **nhl* with inheritance, an argument based upon a survey of **nhl* across a broad sweep of time and places in the ancient Near East.¹⁴⁸ According to Forshey, **nhl* denoted a feudal grant given to a subject. Because feudal grants included perpetual service requirements, they were a separate kind of land tenure agreement than a patrimonial inheritance.¹⁴⁹ Feudal land remained subject to royal allocative control; it

¹⁴⁸ Forshey, "Hebrew Root נחל."

¹⁴⁹ Speaking of a text from Mari, ARM VIII.12, Forshey notes, "Given the penalty clause, the grant is perpetual. But there is no indication that the grant is a patrimonial grant. Against the idea of inheritance or patrimony is the fact that this is crown land or palace land at the disposition of the prince. Although no indications are given as to the nature of the grant, the grant is perhaps in recognition of services rendered or expected" (Forshey, "Hebrew Root נחל," 56).

was not freely heritable. While I will be critical of Forshey's method and conclusions, the connection between **nḥl* and an initial (royal) grant is a valuable insight and has been rightfully affirmed by subsequent scholars.

2.3.2.1 Could **nḥl* Designate an Inheritance?

In his evaluation of feudal interpretations of land tenure at Ugarit, David Schloen states that “almost all land grants were hereditary during the entire period attested by our texts.... [A]ll landholders in Ugarit participated in a single service system.”¹⁵⁰

Bernard Batto argues with respect to texts from Mari,

To put it another way, *naḥālum* denoted a perpetual royal land grant which was therefore heritable and the vocable *naḥālum* could be used to designate either the original act of granting the land by the crown or the passing on of such land to one's heirs (or to a third party through sale).¹⁵¹

Forshey does not admit that **nḥl* could mean or could come to mean “to inherit” in this early stage of attestation.

Some of the evidence that Forshey analyzes make his argument difficult (such as ARM VIII.11–14 and X.90 from Mari and RS16.251 from Ugarit). Forshey acknowledges that there are penalty clauses in ARM VIII.11 and 12 (13 and 14 are damaged at points, making it unclear whether they had similar penalty clauses) that demonstrate that the property in the texts was conveyed permanently; Forshey must deny that the permanence of the conveyance indicates heritability.¹⁵² His treatment of ARM X.90 is more problematic—in the letter, a woman pleads for royal

¹⁵⁰ Schloen, *The House of the Father*, 218.

¹⁵¹ Bernard Batto, “Land Tenure and Women at Mari,” *JESHO* 23 (1980): 229.

¹⁵² Forshey, “Hebrew Root NḥL,” 56.

redress for the loss of her property. She states, “and if my father and mother did not grant me field or vineyard, I ask it from my lord.”¹⁵³ Forshey admits that the letter demonstrates that *naḥālu* “can be used for the conveyance of a patrimonial grant,” but he considered it uncertain whether the letter’s request specifically requested the distribution of a patrimonial estate as opposed to some other kind of grant.¹⁵⁴

Forshey also discounts an Akkadian text from Ugarit, RS 16.251. Nougayrol, in PRU III, transcribed l.7 as *u A.ŠÀ^{meš} na-ḥa-li* and translated it as *et les terres de (son) patrimoine*. In this reading, *naḥali* reflects some form of נחל with the sense of “to inherit.” Forshey, however, argues that *naḥali* represents a geographic term (wadi).¹⁵⁵ He raises and then rejects the idea that RS 16.242, which he states mentions an *eqlat zitta* (A.ŠÀ-ḥi-a ḤA.LA), is speaking of the same kind of field.¹⁵⁶ In Nougayrol’s original translation and in dissertations by Miller and Libolt, the phrase is not taken as a construct. Nougayrol renders the full phrase as *bīta^H eqla^H zitta ša lku-šar-a-bi* and translates it as “maison et terre, part de Kušarabi,” thus seeing *zitta* as specifying house (and) field as the portion of the individual Kušarabi.¹⁵⁷ But while RS 16.242 may not provide a helpful comparison to RS 16.251, there are

¹⁵³ Forshey, “Hebrew Root נחל,” 61.

¹⁵⁴ Forshey, “Hebrew Root נחל,” 62: “Whether, in fact, this is a matter of the distribution of family patrimony cannot be ascertained with certainty.”

¹⁵⁵ This judgment is shared by John Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*, HSS 32 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 152: “More likely, however, the term refers to a geographical feature (as is usually true in such field names/descriptions), and corresponds to alphab. *gt nḥl* in KTU 4.296:9.”

¹⁵⁶ Forshey, “Hebrew Root נחל,” 65 n.22. This reading is followed by Miller and Libolt in their dissertations and makes good grammatical sense.

¹⁵⁷ Nougayrol, PRU III, 108.

occurrences of *šd nḥl(h)* in alphabetic Ugaritic economic texts.¹⁵⁸ The format of RS 16.251, a royal grant by Niqmeša, who removes (*ittāši*) two fields, the field of Allānšeridanu son of Iliištamu and the A.Šā^{meš} *na-ḥa-li* under discussion, and grants them to Šawittenu, bears a closer resemblance to the alphabetic economic texts than has been discussed. Two of the texts that mention a *šd nḥl(h)* (KTU 4.103 and KTU 4.692) are lists related to land tenure.¹⁵⁹ The lists begin each line by noting the field of an individual and then indicate with *bd* + PN (likely a compound preposition formed by *b* and *yd*, yielding “into the hands of”) or *l* + PN that the field is under the control of another individual. In other economic lists, McGeough suggests that the phrase *w nḥlh* typically refers to the heir of an individual mentioned in a previous line.¹⁶⁰ Perhaps RS 16.251 records the transfer of the fields of Allānšeridanu and his heir into the hand of Šawittenu.¹⁶¹ If the *šd nḥlh* parallels are strong, then it seems more possible than Forshey admits that an Ugaritian field might be designated by its inheritors.

Several texts published since Forshey’s thesis are even more problematic for his thesis. Arnaud published a text from Emar that employs the term *tanaḥlati*, “un

¹⁵⁸ KTU 4.7:13 = *šd nḥl bn ṭtry*; 4.103:12 = [*w*] *šd nḥlh*; 4.356:10 = *w d (šd) tn . nḥlh*; 4.692:6 = *w šd nḥlh*. There are no references to a field of the wadi (*šd nḥl*) in alphabetic texts that would support such a reading of RS 16.251, although there is one occurrence of *gt nḥl* (KTU 4.296:9).

¹⁵⁹ Both refer to a kind of field, the *ubdy*. Forshey, “Hebrew Root NḤL,” 96, following Anson Rainey, thought that *ubdy* referred to cleruchy—a type of fiefdom granted to loyal subjects. McGeough states that *ubdy* “refers to an actual, physical field. . . [and] is best understood as the designation for land granted with service obligations attached” (McGeough, *Exchange Relationships at Ugarit*, ANE Studies Supplement 26 [Leuven: Peeters, 2007], 129). McGeough argues that the emphasis of *ubdy* is on the land itself (130). However, Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, *DUL*, 7 propose that *ubdy* refers to leased property.

¹⁶⁰ McGeough, *Exchange Relations*, 140.

¹⁶¹ The argument would be stronger, of course, if *naḥali* looked more like a participle with a possessive pronominal suffix, the presumptive form of the alphabetic *nḥlh*.

hapax legomenon dans le corpus du moyen-Euphrate” to refer to an hereditary claim.¹⁶² The term occurs in a document in which an individual forfeits his property to another.¹⁶³ In 2004, Manfred Dietrich and Oswalt Loretz reanalyzed an Alalah text previously published by Wiseman concerning a dispute between a brother and sister over their mother’s house (20.01, below). On the basis of the more complete rendering of the line on envelope (20.01A), which partially preserves *na* and completely preserves *hi*, Dietrich and Loretz read *na-ḥi-la-tim* at the beginning of the sister’s counterclaim.¹⁶⁴ The improved reading reconfigures Wiseman’s initial translation into a specific claim to an inheritance. As a record of a contested inheritance, this text demonstrates the significance of the root **nḥl* in the context of inheritance, not just as the initiation of a grant.

Table 2.4: *nḥl at Alalah		
BM 131.449 / Dietrich and Loretz 20.01		
20.01 1–10	20.01A 1–11	Translation (COS) ¹⁶⁵
ṛaš-šum ¹ É DAM-at Am-mu-ra-pí	[aš-š]um É DA[M-at Am-mu-ra-pí]	Concerning the estate of Ammurabi’s wife:
^m Ab-ba-an it-ti ^f Bi-it-ta-at-t[i]	[^m A]b-ba-an [it-ti ^f Bi-it-ta-ti]	Abbael has brought a suit against his sister Bittatti,
a-ḥa-ti-šu di- ₁ nam ig ₁ -ri	[a]- ₁ ḥa-ti-šu ₁ [di-nam ig-ri]	
um-ma ₁ šu-ú ₁ -ma ₁ al-ki ₁ -ma É ia-ú-um-ma	[um-]ma šu-ú-m[a al-ki-ma É]	[as foll]ows: “It [is (all) mine.]”

¹⁶² Arnaud, *Textes Syriens* #35, line 10; pp. 69–70. See also Arnaud, “Vocabulaire,” 23. Pentiuć, *West Semitic Vocabulary*, argues that “there is no pattern ***taqatlat-* in Semitic” and suggests that *ta-* was a scribal error (177). Pentiuć takes the emended form *naḥlatu* to mean “inheritance, possession.”

¹⁶³ The forfeiture is marked by the verbs *nadānu* and *parāru*; the property forfeited consists of what seems likely to have been the forfeiter’s estate: “ma maison, mes parts sur la ville et sure les champs, autant qu’avec mes frères il m’en est revenu, tout mon bien qui me vient de possession héréditaire” (Arnaud, *Textes Syriens*, 70).

¹⁶⁴ Dietrich and Loretz, “Alalah-Texte der Schicht VII (I): Historische und juristische Dokumente,” *UF* 36 (2004): 56–57, 59–60.

¹⁶⁵ “Inheritance of a Brother and Sister,” trans. Richard S. Hess (COS 3.129: 283).

<i>f</i> Bi- ^r it-ta ¹ -at-ti i-na É ú-ul ba-al-la-ti	<i>ia-ú-um-ma f</i> [Bi-it-ta-at- t]i <i>i-na É ú-ul, [ba-al-la-]ti</i>	Bit[ta]tti, you are not reckoned (an heir) in this house.”
₁ um-ma ^r Bi-it-ta-at-ti-ma	<i>um-ma f</i> Bi-it-[ta-at-ti]-ma	[B]ittatti [replied as follows:]
<i>ki-^rma at-ta¹ i-na</i> URU.Zu- ₁ ḥa- ₁ -ru-we.KI	<i>ki-ma at-ta i-n[a URU.Zu]- ḥa-ru-we.KI</i>	“...in the town of Suharuwa,
^r na-ḥi ¹ -la-tim ₁ ša ₁ um-mi- [ia] ba-al-la-ti ₄	<i>[n]a-ḥi-la-tim ša ^rum¹-mi- ia ba-al-la-t[i]</i>	<i>I share the inheritance of our mother.</i> ¹⁶⁶ [W]hy
<i>e-le-nu-ia zi-it-tam wa-at- ra-am</i>	<i>e-le-nu-ia zi-it-tam wa-at- ra-am</i>	have you taken the extra share (of the estate)?”
₁ te- ₁ el-qú-ú	<i>te-[e]l-qú-ú</i>	

Turning to evidence from Ugarit, Kevin McGeough’s publications on exchange relationships at Ugarit and economic texts from Ugarit treat *nḥl* as “heir.” McGeough suggests that the designation *nḥlh* instead of a personal name designates a minor rather than an adult.¹⁶⁷ Mark Smith, while acknowledging Forshey in a footnote, proceeds to translate the *arṣ nḥlth* of a god in the Baal cycle as “the land of his family estate.”¹⁶⁸ Smith and Pitard argue that the epic tradition applies *nḥlt* analogically to the realm of the gods:

Both the Baal Cycle and the Mari letter apply *nḥlt* to the divine property analogically: just as the family has a legal right with respect to the family land, so too the deity has a legal claim to his/her sanctuary. From the more mundane aspect, this reflects, as the Mari letter shows, the practice of the

¹⁶⁶ Hess translates this line, line 6 (20.01) and 7 (20.01A), as “with my mother I am reckoned (as an heir).” On the basis of Dietrich and Loretz’s reconstruction *na-ḥi-la-tim ša um-mi-ia ba-al-la-ti*, I have translated “I share in the inheritance of our mother.”

¹⁶⁷ McGeough, *Exchange Relations*, 140–141. “Frequently, instead of a person’s name, their relationship to another individual is the primary means of identifying them administratively. Words other than personal names can be used in these name lists in place of personal names. In KTU 4.311, KTU 4.315, KTU 4.413, KTU 4.571, KTU 4.581, and KTU 4.605 the designation *wnḥlh* (‘and his heir’) is used in reference to a previously listed personal name.” After listing three other impersonal designations (*wlmdh* ‘and his apprentice’, *sgr*, and *r^h*), McGeough suggests that these lists imply a hierarchy in which the named figures are more significant. He then speculates, “Perhaps this is a distinction in age (as is very likely the case with the use of *nḥlh*).”

¹⁶⁸ Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*, vol. 1, VTSup 55 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 166 and 166 n. 91.

deity's priests making the legal claim explicitly for the god and implicitly for themselves.¹⁶⁹

This distinction recognizes that the epic material is not concerned with providing precise descriptions of land tenure. For Smith and Pitard, the lines of analogy do not extend to the question of whether the god's property was received as a grant, taken by conquest, or inherited; the point of comparison is simply the recognized right to one's own property. The Baal Cycle presents no difficulty for asserting that a grant could be inherited.

This review of evidence considered by Forshey and made available since Forshey's dissertation strongly suggests that **nḥl* had two recognizable legal valences: both an initial grant and its inheritance are attested in the second millennium sources.

2.3.2.2 **nḥl* According to Levine

Baruch Levine accepts Forshey's contention that **nḥl* did not initially denote inheritance.¹⁷⁰ Unlike Forshey, however, Levine does not balk at what he sees as the developed sense of נחלה as inheritance. Levine places greater attention on the actual usage of נחלה, rather than on the original valences of the root **nḥl*. He notes that נחלה is roughly three times more common than verbal forms of נחל and argues, "It is probable, therefore, that the Hebrew verb *nāḥal* normally functions as a

¹⁶⁹ Smith and Pitard, *Baal Cycle*, vol. 2; 234–235.

¹⁷⁰ Levine, *Numbers 1–20*, AB 4 (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 450: "Initially the verb *nāḥal*, and the term *naḥalāh*, had nothing necessarily to do with inheritance.... In reality, the *naḥalāh* was initially obtained by a family or clan either by conquest or by purchase or grant."

denominative of *naḥalāh* (ultimately Mari *niḥlatu*, Ugaritic *nḥlt*), and means ‘to receive a *naḥalāh*.’”¹⁷¹ Second, Levine argues that נחל in biblical Hebrew

more often connotes receipt of a possession, not the conveyance of property to another.... I doubt if in biblical usage (apparently in contrast to Mari usage) land classified as *naḥalāh* could have been purchased in the first instance; it can only be granted by some authority, human or divine, and consequently received or inherited, as within a family; or, it can be physically possessed as through conquest.”¹⁷²

So while Forshey also emphasized that **nḥl* refers to a grant, Levine’s description can encompass both the initial act of granting land tenure and subsequent acts of granting an inheritance. This is borne out by examining the pattern of use for נחל in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁷³ In the Hebrew Bible, instances of נחל referring to an initial grant are numerically more frequent. However, texts that describe the division of the land by tribe in Numbers and Joshua plainly anticipate that these grants will be of an enduring nature and will thus be heritable by subsequent generations.

Deuteronomy 19:14 explicitly links the initial grant and subsequent possession: “Do not violate the boundary of your neighbor by which the predecessors bounded your inheritance which you will receive in the land which YHWH your God has given to you to possess it” (לא תסיג גבול רעך אשר גבלו ראשנים בנחלתך אשר תנחל בארץ אשר יהוה אלהיך (נתן לך לרשתה)). In this verse, several generations of possession are envisioned. First, YHWH grants the land (נתן) to the people. Then, the predecessors (ראשנים) marked bounded properties within it. Finally, the addressees are told not to violate the

¹⁷¹ Levine, “Semantics,” 135 n. 4

¹⁷² Levine, “Farewell,” 237.

¹⁷³ See Appendix A.

boundaries of their inherited property when they receive them. Both initial grant and subsequent reception are envisioned by the provisions of the law.¹⁷⁴

2.3.2.3 Summary Concerning Levine's Earliest Stratum of Hebrew Land Tenure Terminology

As Daniel Arnaud notes, the verbal roots **nhl* or **wrt* become nearly synonymous over time, although their more specific valences of “to receive a part of a greater whole” and “to succeed to control of property” were likely distinct.¹⁷⁵ Arnaud's account of their origins is satisfactory. Second millennium texts discussed above demonstrated the semantic routes that these roots took toward inheritance: **nhl* at Mari could refer to a permanent grant (and perhaps a patrimonial grant) and at Alalah is found in a dispute over a divided inheritance; **wrt* at Emar indicates succession to an estate. Levine's argument that these terms originated in semantic domain of physical touch is not compelling, however. Rather than Levine's suggestion that these terms migrated from the realm of conquest, Westbrook's suggestion that some legal terms originate in a system is appealing.¹⁷⁶ The initial meanings of these terms as Arnaud outlines them belong in legal contexts. While these roots may appear in varied contexts, they were at home in testamentary contexts.

¹⁷⁴ Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 242.

¹⁷⁵ Arnaud, “Vocabulaire,” 21.

¹⁷⁶ See note 85 above.

It is difficult, however, to achieve greater precision with the biblical sense of these terms. In Jer 32:8, Jeremiah's cousin Hanamel states, כִּי־לְךָ מִשְׁפַּט הִרְשָׁה וְלֶךְ, הגאולה קנה־לְךָ, “you have the right of possession and you have redemption; acquire for yourself [the field]!” The משפט הירשה seems like it a technical term; given the generally laconic nature of ancient Near Eastern legal instruments, it would seem like the right of possession and redemption should be two distinct things rather than two ways to say the same thing.¹⁷⁷ However, there are no other biblical passages that describe a משפט הירשה; nor do the other occurrences of ירשה provide clarification.¹⁷⁸

2.3.3 Priestly Land Tenure: אחזה/אחז

אחזה/אחז is the parade example for Levine's thesis that land tenure is closely related to physical holding. The verb can clearly denote physical holding.¹⁷⁹ It is also clear that it can describe military conquest and political control, which is confirmed by comparative data: CAD lists “to seize, hold a person” and “to take a wife, to marry” as

¹⁷⁷ Ignacio Márquez Rowe comments that “As an instrument of temporal and spatial generality, law shows an overriding concern for precise, consistent and traditional linguistic usage” (Márquez Rowe, *Royal Deeds of Ugarit: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Diplomatics* [AOAT 335; Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2006], 169). While, by contrast, the Jewish Aramaic and Nabataean Aramaic deeds of the first centuries CE found at Naḥal Ḥever appear to multiply nearly synonymous terms, even there, the apparent prolixity of the document may be an attempt to cover all possible eventualities (see Baruch Levine, “The Various Workings of the Aramaic Legal Tradition: Jews and Nabataeans in the Naḥal Ḥever Archive,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery* [Jerusalem: Shrine of the Book, 2000], 844).

¹⁷⁸ Six of the fourteen occurrences of ירשה in the HB are found Deut 2. Each occurrence designates an inviolable polity. In Deut 3:20, Josh 1:15, and Josh 12:6–7, four occurrences of the term refer to the allotment for the Transjordanian tribes. Judges 21:17 refers to the need for a ירשת פליטה לבנימין: a sustainable holding for the survivors of Benjamin. None of these occurrences explain the mechanism by which property was recognized as a ירשה or what kind of right is indicated by the משפט הירשה.

¹⁷⁹ Malul, *Knowledge, Control, and Sex*, 103, 158.

the first two meanings for *ahāzu*, but the third listed meaning “to hold, possess, to take over, to take to (a region)” expands into the idea of political control, although the term was not apparently used for land tenure in Akkadian.¹⁸⁰ In Ugaritic, *ahd* occurs multiple times with the sense of political control—the conquest of lands or cities.¹⁸¹ Additional Northwest Semitic data can be found in the Adon letter (KAI 266) which describes an incursion by the king of Babylon to the Levantine coast and asks for assistance from Pharaoh Necho II.¹⁸² The context just before the verb *ahzu* is broken, but the broader context suggests that it is referring to conquest. Hoftijzer, et al., notes that the G stem is used to describe political control through conquest in the Mesha Stele (mid-9th c. BCE). It indicates political control through possession of the kingship in the phrase *yahzu htr* in the Hadad inscription (KAI 214), dating to the mid-8th c. BCE) and *ahzu bbt abi* in the Bar-Rakib inscription (KAI 216), dating to the last third of the 8th c. BCE.

Hadad (KAI 214)		COS ¹⁸³
3b	פמוז . יאחזו . בידוי	“so whatever I grasped with my hand...”
15b, 20, 24–25	ומנמן . בני . יאחזו . [חטר] . וישב . על . משבי	“and whoever of my sons grasps the scepter and sits upon my throne...”
Bar-Rakib (KAI 216)		COS ¹⁸⁴
11b–12a	ואחזת . בת . אבי .	“and I took control of the house of my father”

¹⁸⁰ See CAD A/1, 177, s.v. *ahāzu*.

¹⁸¹ Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, *DUL*, 38. Olmo Lete and Sanmartín list both *d* and *ḏ* as final consonants, but none of their examples have *ḏ*.

¹⁸² Levine, “Semantics,” 135.

¹⁸³ “The Hadad Inscription,” trans. by K. Lawson Younger, Jr. (COS 2.36:156–158).

¹⁸⁴ “The Bar-Rakib Inscription,” trans. by K. Lawson Younger, Jr. (COS 2.38:161).

Levine notes that the Mesha stele employs אָחַז to describe military taking. The Mesha stele employs אָחַז four separate times (lines 11, 14, 16, and 20), each time in the G stem, to describe the taking of a polity, such that Mesha could subsequently dispose of the polity as he pleased. חֶמֶשׁ is designated for Chemosh and Moab (חֶמֶשׁ . ולמאב); נֶבֹּה is taken in battle by the order of Chemosh; and יְהִיָּז was taken and added to Dibon (על . דיבן . לספת . על . דיבן).

Table 2.6: אָחַז in the Mesha Stele	
Lines 14–16	
ויאמר . לי . כמש . לך . אחז . את . נבה . על . ישראל וא הלך . בלילה . ואלתחם . בה . מבקע . השחרת . עד . הצהרם ואח זה . ואהרג . כל]	And Chemosh said to me, “Go, seize Nebo from Israel.” So I went at night and I joined battle against it from the break of the dawn until noon. And I seized it and I killed all [of its inhabitants].
Lines 18–21	
ומלך . ישראל . בנה . את יהץ . וישב . בה . בהלתחמה . בי ויגרשה . כמש . מפני ו אקה . ממאב . מאתן . אש . כל . רשה ואשאה . ביהץ . ואחזה . לספת . על . דיבן	Now the king of Israel built Yhş. And he dwelled in it while making war against me. But Chemosh drove him from before me, so I took from Moab two hundred men, all of its chiefs. And I took (Moab) against Yhş and I seized it in order to add to Dibon.

Thus, in the mid-9th c. BCE, the political/military use of the root occurred in a near neighbor of Israel and Judah.

In the Hebrew Bible, the land tenure valences of אָחַז are specifically limited to priestly literature—primarily with the noun אָחִיזָה, but also with the N stem of the verbal root. The root אָחַז occurs 65 times in the Hebrew Bible, but only its N stem has property connections.¹⁸⁵ Levine notes that verbs denoting physical holding may often have the sense of land tenure: “The act of legal possession is normally

¹⁸⁵ Levine, “Semantics,” 135.

conveyed in terms expressive of physical holding, or controlling. Often, a symbolic act of physical holding, grasping, or contact of some sort is required to finalize possession.”¹⁸⁶ The legal valence of אָחַז is seen in Genesis 34:10, in which the sons of Jacob are invited to acquire land holdings in Shechem (וְהָאֲחִיזוּ בָהּ). Levine notes that in Lev 25, אָחַז is contrasted to land with a hereditary claim; this distinction is also seen in Ezekiel 46.

Specific legal usage of the root in Aramaic is found at Elephantine and Naḥal Ḥever, and is supported by the Targumim. At Elephantine, TAD B3.8 29 states that a woman, Yehoishma, will hold her husband’s property if he dies without children:

Table 2.7: *ʕd as possession at Elephantine	
Aramaic	Translation
וְחָ[י] מוֹת עֲנִיָּה וְבֵר זָכָר	But should Ananiah die, and have neither male
וְנִקְבָּה לְאִיתִי לֵה מִן [יְהוֹיִשְׁמָה] [יְהוֹיִשְׁמָה] וְנִקְסוּהָ	nor female child from Yehoishma his wife, Yehoishma will possess his house and his goods
וְקִנְיָנָה [וְתַכּוֹנְתָהּ] וְכָל [ל] זֵי אִיתִי [ל] הָ	and his purchases...

In a parallel clause several lines later, Ananiah will inherit (יִרְתְּנָהּ) Yehoishma’s property if she dies without children.¹⁸⁷ Clauses in TAD B 4.3 and 4.4 authorize seizure of collateral for non-payment using the phrase שליט למאחד, “power to seize.” A variant form occurs in TAD B3.13: שליט בערבני למחד, “power to seize my pledge.” A fragmentary court document, TAD B 8.10, appears to record to seizure of a field for

¹⁸⁶ Levine, “Semantics,” 135.

¹⁸⁷ Reuven Yaron, *Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 69–70, notes that the difference in verbs has led to the suggestion that Yehoishma’s holding is for her lifetime only, while Ananiah would fully incorporate her possessions into his estate. However, Yehoishma does not bring any immovable property into the marriage, according to the accounting in the document. In a subsequent document (TAD B 3.10), Yehoishma receives a portion of her father’s house and is given full control over her portion in perpetuity—Yehoishma and her children after her have the power to give it to whomever they designate.

a debt: “he seized in this year,” ([א אחז בזא שנתא]). At Naḥal Ḥever, a Nabataean loan document states that “any person who this contract shall possess, by right of possession, may take hold of any holding which is theirs, concerning all that is stipulated in this contract.”¹⁸⁸ The relevant clause reads: [א דנה יחסן מן ואנוש די שטר]א. מלמיה למאחד כל אחד די להם על כל די בשטרא דנה. The similarity to the Elephantine loan documents should be noted; as at Elephantine, the Nabataean clause employs the root to describe seizure of collateral for debt.¹⁸⁹ When the Targumim translate אחזה, one of their options is the cognate אחודה, as in Targum Onqelos of Numbers 27:7.¹⁹⁰ In summary, priestly use of אחז to indicate land tenure is clear and straightforward. The earliest attestations of the verbal root conform with Levine’s theses that land tenure terminology often derived from verbs denoting physical touch and that military conquest and land tenure often overlapped. The usage of the root in Jewish Aramaic legal documents supports the legal valence observed in priestly texts.

¹⁸⁸ Yigael Yadin, et al., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri*, 2 vols; JDS 3 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the Shrine of the Book, 2002), 181

¹⁸⁹ Yadin, et al., *Cave of Letters*, 199.

¹⁹⁰ It is worth noting that Onqelos uses חסן or its derivatives instead of אחז or its derivatives on several occasions. Neofiti avoids אחז and its derivatives in all the relevant places that Onqelos uses אחודה. However, at times, as in Num 27:7, Onqelos employs אחז.

אחז in Numbers 27:7 in Targum Onqelos	
BH	כֹּן בנות זלפחד דברת נתן לתן לקם אחזת נחלה בתוך אחי אביהם והעברת את נחלת אביהן להן:
Onqelos	איות בנת זלפחד ממלקן מיתן תמין להון אחזת אחסנא בגו אחי אביהון ומעבר ית אחסנת אביהון להון:
Translation	Then the daughters of Zelophehad said, “You must give us an inheritable possession among the brothers of our father and you must transmit the inheritance of our father to us.”

2.3.4 Late Priestly Land Tenure? The Use of **החזיק** in Land Tenure

Levine's final stratum of land tenure terminology in the Hebrew Bible is the verb **החזיק**, a C stem form of the root **חזק**.¹⁹¹ By contrast to **אחז**, the applicability of **החזיק** within biblical or Hellenistic Jewish land tenure is uncertain. Also by contrast to the previously assessed verbal roots **ירש**, **נחל**, and **אחז**, there is limited cognate data for **חזק** in land tenure contexts.¹⁹² The root is not attested in NW Semitic languages that predate Classical Hebrew.¹⁹³ Like **אחז**, **החזיק** participates in the semantic domains of physical holding and political control in the Hebrew Bible: In Ex 9:2, **מחזיק** indicates Pharaoh's political control or ownership of the Israelites.¹⁹⁴ Lev 25:35 uses **החזיקתו** to describe indenturing a poor fellow Israelite.¹⁹⁵ In 2 Kings 15:19, **להחזיק** **הממלכה בידו** describes Menahem's cementing political control over the Northern Kingdom through paying tribute to the king of Assyria.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ This is a staple of Levine's early articles on priestly property language ("Late Language" and "Semantics"), but is not mentioned in his 1996 "Farewell to the Ancient Near East." It is unclear whether Levine reconsidered his argument or whether it did not fit within the scope of that paper.

¹⁹² HALOT and AHW lists a possible Akkadian cognate in the adjective *ešqu*, "strong." AHW I:257: "(s. *ħzq* he. stark sein; aram., ar. binden, gürten) „massiv“, jB." This suggested cognate is not particularly satisfying: Akkadian š was not typically represented in Hebrew cognates by z. See Sabatino Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages: Phonology and Morphology*, PLO NS 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980), 34.

¹⁹³ DNWSI, 361. DNWSI mentions only Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic occurrences.

¹⁹⁴ Martin Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions*, trans. and introduction by Bernhard W. Anderson (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972) attributes the passage to J; so also Baden, *Composition of the Pentateuch*, 75.

¹⁹⁵ The date of H remains a significant interpretive crux, but there is a body of opinion that suggests H (or portions of it) is pre-Persian. Some scholars, such as Erhard Gerstenberger (*Leviticus: A Commentary* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996]) and Sara Japhet, "The Relationship between the Legal Corpora in the Pentateuch in Light of Manumission Laws" in *Studies in Bible 1986 (Scripta Hierosolymitana)*, ed. Sara Japhet (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986), 63–90, suggest that Lev 25 itself is quite early material preserved in Leviticus.

Levine hypothesizes that *החזיק* as a land tenure term originated as a loan-translation for the Imperial Aramaic *החסן*.¹⁹⁷ In the fifth century BCE, *מהחסן* is used to designate ancestral property at Elephantine.¹⁹⁸ Levine argues that usage of *החזיק* to indicate land tenure in the Hebrew Bible is limited to Nehemiah 3, which he reads (uniquely) as a description of the inhabitation, rather than the repair, of Jerusalem.¹⁹⁹ Levine supports his argument by demonstrating that Mishnaic Hebrew employs *החזיק*, *מחזיק*, and *חזקה* to describe a category of land tenure gained by occupation.²⁰⁰ Several documents from Naḥal Ḥever demonstrate its currency in land tenure during the Second Jewish Revolt. The first of these is 5/6Ḥev 44, a lease agreement entered into by three men for sites administered by Yehonathan, son of Maḥaniah, on behalf of Simon bar Kosiba. Twice in the description of the leased property, it is stated that tenure of the properties is “as is seemly for them and

¹⁹⁶ Commentators have not directed significant attention to the phrase. There is a clear parallel in 2 Kings 14:5, in which Amaziah executes his father’s murderers “after the kingdom was firmly in his hand” (ויהי כִּאֲשֶׁר חִזְקָה הַמַּמְלָכָה בְּיָדוֹ). Cogan and Tadmor, *2 Kings*, AB 11 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1988), 172, note that LXX^B does not have the phrase, but it is included in the Lucianic tradition.

¹⁹⁷ Levine, “Semantics,” 139, “Aramaic *hḥsn* is a semantic equivalent of Hebrew *heḥezîq* ‘to take hold of.’” The etymology of *חסן* will be addressed later in this chapter.

¹⁹⁸ Bezalel Porten and H. Z. Szubin, “‘Ancestral Estates’ in Aramaic Contracts: The Legal Significance of the Term ‘Mḥsn’,” *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2 (1982): 3–9.

¹⁹⁹ Levine, “Semantics,” 138. Levine proposes a close connection to a Neo-Assyrian phrase, GN *ana eššūti ašbat*, “I took over X-place for purposes of renewal,” with Nehemiah 3’s use of *החזיק*. Levine’s full argument is that the Hebrew term *heḥezîq* finds its way into land tenure usage because of its suitability for translating *hḥsn*, and then in Nehemiah 3 *hḥsn* takes up a technical use of *šabātu*. Most translations of Nehemiah 3 suggest that *החזיק* refers to the act of rebuilding portions of the wall of Jerusalem rather than the resettlement of Jerusalem with the C stem as equivalent to the D stem, for which “rebuilding” is an attested meaning. I think that the single D stem in Neh 3:19 (וַיִּחְזַק) should be understood as a defectively written C stem; it is the only preterite in Neh 3. However, even if Neh 3 is consistent in its use of the C stem, it is difficult to construct a distinct layer of Hebrew land tenure from that account.

²⁰⁰ Levine, “Semantics,” 139. “Effectively, specialized usage of the verb *heḥezîq* in Nehemiah 3 anticipates the term *ḥazāqāh* ‘land tenure; possession,’ and denominative, Hiphil forms (participial *maḥazîq* and perfective *heḥezîq*) in Rabbinic Hebrew.”

according to their tenure” (כראוי להם וכחזקתם).²⁰¹ A second lease agreement, 5/6Hev 46, designates a new lessor’s property as “all that Ḥananiah, son of Ḥayyaṭa’ held prior to this” (תכל שהחזיק חנניה בן חיטא מלפני מזה).²⁰² In these texts, nothing more than legitimate use of the property is indicated; as leased land, the tenants’ tenure is not permanent. Two centuries prior to the evidence of 5/6Hev 44 and 46, החזיק occurs in 1QS^a II, 5 to describe possession of a priestly office by a physically excluded individual: וכול איש מנוגע באֵלה לבִלתי החזיק מעמד בתוך העדה, “but any man afflicted with these shall not hold office within the assembly.” The problem is whether this usage can be effectively traced back into the Hebrew Bible; I do not believe that Levine’s suggestion with respect to Nehemiah 3 has sufficient support.²⁰³ This leaves the date at which the C stem could denote land tenure rather indeterminate, with texts like 1QS^a, the Damascus Document, and 4Q185 as examples of texts that might demonstrate this usage in the first centuries BCE and CE. 4Q185 1–2 II, 14 and CD III, 20 will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five, respectively.

²⁰¹ See 5/6 Hev 44, lines 10 and 13, in Yadin, et al., *Cave of Letters*, 44.

²⁰² See 5/6 Hev 46, line 6, in Yadin, et al, *Cave of Letters*, 66.

²⁰³ It is difficult to gauge whether this is the result of direct disagreement with Levine’s proposal or because of the relative obscurity of the proposal, which was made and reiterated in several essays in which it was not the main point. For instance, Oded Lipschits’ “Nehemiah 3: Sources, Composition, and Purpose,” in *New Perspectives on Ezra–Nehemiah: History and Historiography, Text, Literature, and Interpretation*, ed. Isaac Kalimi (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 73–99, does not mention any of Levine’s essays in the text or the extensive footnotes. Lipschits prefers to read החזיק in Nehemiah 3 in terms of financially supporting the rebuilding.

2.3.5 Other Verbs of Seizure

I noted above that Levine argues that אהז, ירש, נחל, and החזיק all derive from the realm of physical control and that his arguments regarding these roots are not equally satisfying.

There are other verbal roots that may derive from a similar semantic domain. Meir Malul's attempt to identify every verb denoting physical touch and feel offers several other terms for consideration: משש, חבל, תפש, לקח, and תמך. Of these, only לקח and תמך might add concrete examples of land tenure.

2.3.5.1 לקח

The root לקח is an extremely common in the HB (over 950 occurrences); thus, the difficulty for my project lies not in demonstrating that לקח can function in terms of controlling property, but rather in determining which occurrences connote the control of property.²⁰⁴ Here, the corpus of Jewish Aramaic property economic documents is helpful. At Elephantine, לקח is relatively common, occurring fourteen times in eleven documents in TAD B.²⁰⁵ Three occurrences are in the context of marriage (2.5:2, 3.8:36, 6.4:1), a context familiar from usage in the Hebrew Bible. The most common use at Elephantine was in situations in which a creditor was entitled to take a share of the harvest or to take collateral for non-payment of a

²⁰⁴ Levine "Semantics," 135. Levine uses *lāqah* as his first example of physical seizure coming to describe legal possession. DCH notes that the objects of לקח may include polities, movables, and inheritance terms like נחלה and חלק.

²⁰⁵ Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt; vol. 2: Contracts* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1989).

loan.²⁰⁶ TAD B 2.4 deserves mention because לקח is used to describe reclaiming property in case of a divorce. The document concerns the grant of land rights to a son-in-law; the son-in-law is to build up a plot of ground (ארקא זך חבנה) and is given the assurance that even in the case of divorce, he will not lose control of it. His former wife “will not have authority to take it from him or give it to another” (לא [שליטה הי למלקחה ולמנתנה לאחרנן]). In the case of divorce, “half of the house will be hers to take” (פלג ביתא [יה]ו[ה] לה למלקח), but he will retain the right to the other half. Neither husband nor wife is granted the right to alienate the property; the couple’s children will have the ultimate property rights. A final document, TAD B 2.3, uses לקח in a rather different way, employing a clause rejecting any future documentary claim against a bequest as a forgery “which will not be accepted” (ולא יילקח). The Elephantine data is significant because it demonstrates that לקח functioned well in describing the seizure of goods. But it also suggests that there were no standard clauses in land tenure documents that employed לקח. This observation is reinforced by texts from the Judaean Desert: לקח is not found in the Wadi Daliyeh Samaritan Papyri and occurs only once at Naḥal Ḥever, in an Aramaic postscript to a Greek-language marriage contract.²⁰⁷ However, a new usage of לקח is found in sale documents from Wadi Murabbaʿat, where it designates the act of purchase (Mur 42) or a purchaser (as the participle לוקח; Mur 22, Mur 30). The general absence of לקח in economic documents outside of Elephantine suggests that it did not have a fixed

²⁰⁶ In TAD B, see 1.1:9, (2.4:9), 2.9:6, 3.1:9, 3.1:17, 3.13:10, 7.2:6, 7.2:9, 8.4:4.

²⁰⁷ 5/6 Hev18 OTR 68. Naphtali Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar-Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri* (Jerusalem: IES, 1989), 79.

technical sense. Its presence in the Hebrew language documents from Wadi Murabba⁵at as “purchaser” is a development in the first centuries CE; it is also found in Mishnaic Hebrew.²⁰⁸ In summary, לקה is not a significant land tenure term in the Hebrew Bible or Hellenistic Jewish literature.

2.3.5.2 תמך

The root תמך has an ambiguous relationship with land tenure. Like תמך, ההזיק and אהזו denotes physical holding and may denote political control. In the Hebrew Bible and several cognate inscriptions, תמך denotes the holding of a symbol of political power; it may also indicate political control without such a symbol. Twice in Amos 1, the phrase תומך שבט מן- indicates the ruler of a specific polity: Beth Eden in Amos 1:5 and Ashkelon in Amos 1:8.²⁰⁹ While תמך does not independently indicate legitimate control in these instances, its symbolic utility is clear in Amos—the one who holds the scepter controls the polity.²¹⁰ In a Punic inscription, CIS I 5510, ותמך indicates the military conquest of the city of Agrigentum.²¹¹ In a Greek-Nabataean bilingual inscription dating to between 166–169 CE, which describes Roman emperors as κρατησεως or מתמכין, תמך again denotes political control.²¹² But while the verb may

²⁰⁸ Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2006), 717.

²⁰⁹ Noted by Shalom Paul, *Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) as being very similar to the Aramaic אהזו הטר of Panamuwa (KAI 214).

²¹⁰ This use of תמך also parallels the use of אהזו in the Panamuwa inscription.

²¹¹ See Krahmolkov, *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar*, HdO 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 45. The inscription dates to 406 BCE and celebrates Carthaginian forces taking the city of Agrigentum.

²¹² Josef T. Milik, “Inscriptions Grecques et Nabatéennes de Rawwafah” in Parr, Harding, and Dayton, “Preliminary Survey in N.W. Arabia, 1968,” *BIA* 10 (1971), 55–56.

indicate political control and military conquest, there is no cognate evidence that it functioned in land tenure contexts.

In the Hebrew Bible, תמך functions roughly synonymously with other verbs of physical holding.²¹³ The root occurs twenty-one times in the Hebrew Bible; none of these are found in Pentateuchal legal material, while there are nine occurrences in Proverbs.²¹⁴ In Proverbs, it may indicate acquisition or control. In Proverbs 11:16, a wise woman acquires honor (תתמך כבוד) and aggressors acquire wealth—both acquisitions are expressed by a G imperfect of תמך. In Proverbs 29:23, a humble person acquires honor (יתמך כבוד). The inheritance of כבוד will be discussed further in Chapter Five. In Proverbs 3:18, the possession of wisdom is indicated with the C participle מחזיקים and the G participle תמכיה. Proverbs suggests that תמך was nearly synonymous with החזיק or לקח; but in Proverbs, as in the rest of the Hebrew Bible, תמך does not clearly indicate land tenure.

2.3.5.3 חסן

The Aramaic root חסן deserves inclusion in this survey because it clearly functions to describe land tenure in Jewish Aramaic texts. Levine suggests that it was as a translation of החסן that החזיק came to indicate land tenure.²¹⁵ However, it is not clear that physical touch is its original semantic field. CAL suggests “to be strong” for its

²¹³ However, there is one possible exception; unlike the other considered here, תמך does not appear to take personal objects.

²¹⁴ The only two occurrences in the Pentateuch are Gen 48:17 and Ex 17:12.

²¹⁵ Levine, “Semantics,” 139: “Aramaic *hḥsn* is a semantic equivalent of Hebrew *heḥezîq* ‘to take hold of.’” So also Levine, “Late Language,” 73: “[החזיק] may represent a loan-translation of Imperial Aramaic *hḥsn*.”

root meaning; several other significant property terms express power or control without a clear relationship to the physical act of seizing or holding an object (רשה, תקף, שלט).²¹⁶ Porten and Szubin argue that מהחסן designated the owner of ancestral property in documents from Elephantine.²¹⁷ They argue that, when compared to otherwise similar demotic property documents, documents with מהחסן had lacunae in the “pedigree”—the chain of documented custody of a property. מהחסן functioned to fill a lacuna by noting that the property holder had an ancestral claim.²¹⁸ חסן also functions to denote royal power: the noun חסן occurs in Daniel 2:37 and 4:27 to denote royal power; the verb occurs in Daniel 7:18 and 7:22 to describe the holy ones taking possession of the kingdom (ויחסנו קדישין ; ויחסנו מלכותא). The Vision of Amram (4Q243, 4Q543) and 4Q558 fragment 20 also appears to collocate חסן and some form of מלכות. These collocations suggest that חסן fit quite comfortably in contexts denoting political control, as was true of many of the Hebrew verbs surveyed above. However, the ease with which forms of חסן translate גחל, ירש, and (occasionally) the N stem of אהז in the Targumim,²¹⁹ coupled with the fact that חסן doesn’t translate verbs like חבל or תפש, suggests that it did not originally denote physical seizure. Rather, חסן expressed one’s right or control over property, including a hereditary right.

²¹⁶ CAL, s.v. ḥsn.

²¹⁷ Porten and Szubin, “Ancestral Estates,” 4.

²¹⁸ Porten and Szubin, “Ancestral Estates,” 6.

²¹⁹ This was true of Onqelos; Neofiti uses the quadriradical form אהסן similarly.

2.3.6 Conclusion Regarding the Origins and Specific Valences of Land Tenure

Terms

Baruch Levine deserves credit for attending to the semantics of biblical land tenure. Ultimately, I find that his account of semantic progression from physical seizure to contractual holding useful but incomplete. It does not fully account for the land tenure terminology of the Hebrew Bible, nor does it adequately account for the roots נחל and ירש. It does adequately explain one kind of land tenure term, the verbs of seizure embodied by אהזה and החזיק, and it opens the door to consideration of the diachronic development of Hebrew land tenure terminology. But Levine does not address another category of land tenure terms, those which are semantically related to the idea of power, which I have suggested includes the Aramaic חסן. There is not a single path of semantic development in land tenure terminology.

Is it possible to draw any firm semantic conclusions? That is, is it warranted to translate נחלה as “inheritance” or ירש as “to inherit” in the light of the studied philological judgments discussed above? Yes. Levine demonstrates that “heritable estate” is a defensible translation of נחלה in the Hebrew Bible. ירש and נחל may both denote inheriting in the Hebrew Bible. It seems likely that the audience of Prov 3:35 would have understood נחלה as an “inheritance” rather than a “royal grant.”

2.4 CONCLUSION

My goal in this chapter was to set the stage for the next three chapters, which will explore three metaphors that build on the register of Hebrew land tenure terms. In order to do so, I began with a description of the challenge of building that register of Hebrew land tenure terms; a challenge rooted in the relative paucity of directly legal texts in the Hebrew Bible. Through careful reading and through the comparison of biblical language with the legal registers of other ancient Near Eastern cultures, the legal register can be developed. Turning to the work of Baruch Levine, I analyzed his claim that the principle land tenure terms in the Hebrew Bible acquired technical legal senses alongside an original sense of physical touch or holding. I do not find Levine's thesis to be fully compelling; specifically, I do not believe that it adequately explains the origins of ירש and גהל. There are also verbal roots with an original sense of "to be strong, to have power" like חסן that are significant in the Aramaic legal tradition; these do not develop in the way Levine describes, but are potentially significant in the Aramaic texts I will explore in the subsequent chapters. This survey illustrates that there is no single, simple set of origins for the land tenure terms employed by the Hebrew Bible or by Hellenistic Jewish composers. Finally, I briefly outlined the major contours of land tenure in the Hebrew Bible: land could be sold, redeemed, inherited, apportioned, and stolen. The subsequent chapters will focus on land, particularly, its boundaries, its (divine) apportionment and preservation, and inheritance as productive bases for figurative development.

3.0 BOUNDARIES LEGAL AND METAPHORICAL: TRACING THE FIGURATIVE

USAGE OF THE LEGAL PROHIBITION AGAINST VIOLATING BOUNDARIES

In his *Special Laws 4*, addressing Deuteronomy 19:14, Philo of Alexandria writes,

Another commandment of general value is “Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour’s landmarks which thy forerunners have set up.” Now this law, we may consider, applies not merely to allotments and boundaries of land in order to eliminate covetousness but also to the safeguarding of ancient customs. For customs are unwritten laws, the decisions approved by men of old, not inscribed on monuments nor on leaves of paper which the moth destroys, but on the souls of those who are partners in the same citizenship. For children ought to inherit from their parents, besides their property, ancestral customs which they were reared in and have lived with even from the cradle, and not despise them because they have been handed down without written record.²²⁰

Philo acknowledges that Deut 19:14 properly refers “to allotments and boundaries of land” (κλήρων ... γῆς ὄρων) “in order to eliminate covetousness” (πρὸς πλεονεξίας ἀποκοπήν) before interpreting the prohibition as a plea for “the safeguarding of ancient customs” (πρὸς φυλακὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθῶν) and traditions as unwritten laws whose content ought to be safeguarded. The law concerning agricultural property becomes a symbol for a cultural inheritance; Philo addresses his concern to children who might reject the cultural inheritance received from their parents.²²¹

²²⁰ Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.149–150 (Colson LCL), 100–101. The Greek text reads as follows:

Ἔτι καὶ τοῦτο προσδιατέτακται κοινωφελὲς παράγγελμα, “μὴ μετακινεῖν ὄρια τοῦ πλησίον, ἃ ἔστησαν οἱ πρότεροί σου.” τοῦτο δ’ ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ περὶ κλήρων αὐτὸ μόνον καὶ γῆς ὄρων νομοθετεῖται πρὸς πλεονεξίας ἀποκοπήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς | φυλακὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθῶν· ἔθη γὰρ ἄγραφοι νόμοι, δόγματα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ στήλαις ἐγκεχαραγμένα καὶ χαρτιδίους ὑπὸ σιγῶν ἀναλισκομένοις, ἀλλὰ ψυχαῖς τῶν μετεληφότων τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας. ὀφείλουσι γὰρ παῖδες παρὰ γονέων <δίχα> τῶν οὐσιῶν κληρονομεῖν ἔθη πάτρια, οἷς ἐνετράφησαν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν σπαργάνων συνεβίωσαν, καὶ μὴ καταφρονεῖν, παρόσον ἄγραφος αὐτῶν ἢ παράδοσις·

²²¹ Philo’s concern for unwritten customs is mirrored by the Testament of Qahat’s concern for the safeguarding of the *written* documents of the priesthood; this will be discussed in the next chapter.

Philo provides a key starting point for this chapter because he explicitly states that the plain sense of Deuteronomy 19:14 concerns property law. This plain sense is then immediately exploited for its metaphorical value in defense of customs and traditions.²²² Philo’s understanding of the metaphor can be outlined as follows:

Ancestral customs are inheritances that must be protected from subsequent disregard

just as

agricultural fields are inheritances that must be protected from covetous seizure.

Philo, paraphrased, says, “We all know what violating boundaries is about—it is about property and inheritance. But that isn’t the only thing it *means*.” The utility of the prohibition extends to include boundaries set by customs or norms inherited from one’s ancestors.²²³

In this chapter, I will explore the utility of the prohibition against moving boundaries, for Philo was not alone among biblical and Hellenistic Jewish composers in finding it useful. I will build upon the foundation established in the

²²² Menahem Kister, “Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakhah” in Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, eds., *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991*, STDJ 11/2 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 575, argues that Philo’s frequent references to Deut 19:14 show that Philo is concerned with a broad sense of unwritten law (*agraphos nomos*) that includes both general custom and natural law.

²²³ Philo employed Deut 19:14 or 27:17 figuratively in several other works. In *Allegorical Interpretation* 3.107, virtue is the landmark for the soul. “‘Accursed,’ says Moses in the Curses, ‘is he who removes his neighbour’s landmarks’ (Deut. xxvii. 17): —for God set as a landmark and law for the soul virtue, the tree of life.” (φησὶ δὲ Μωυσῆς ἐν ταῖς ἀραῖς, ἐπικατάρατον εἶναι τὸν μετατιθέντα τὰ ὄρια τοῦ πλησίον· ὄρον γὰρ ἔθηκε καὶ νόμον ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆ ψυχῆ). In *On the Posterity of Cain* 83–89, the boundaries of goodness have been fixed by God into the fabric of the universe. In paragraph 88, Philo states, “the man who removes the boundaries of the good and beautiful both is accursed and is pronounced to be so with justice” (ὥσθ’ ὁ μετατιθεὶς ὄρους τοῦ καλοῦ δικαίως ἐπάρατος ἔστι τε καὶ λέγεται).

previous chapters in this chapter and the two that follow by analyzing three property-related metaphors in the Hebrew Bible and Hellenistic Jewish literature. Chapters Four and Five will address specific metaphors drawing upon the concept of inheritance. In this chapter, I will argue that use of the boundary metaphor was dependent upon knowledge of its legal meaning, just as Philo demonstrated. I will begin by surveying the ancient Near Eastern social-legal background of the biblical prohibition. I will then consider the legal and figurative use of the prohibition in the Hebrew Bible. Finally, I will address the metaphorical uses of the prohibition in Hellenistic Jewish texts. Two subordinate points will be developed: the first, that metaphorical use is always possible; the second, that the meaning of a metaphor is dependent upon context.

3.1 ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN LEGAL CONCERNS OVER VIOLATED BOUNDARIES

The protection of property boundaries was a matter of broad legal concern in the ancient Near East. I will consider three texts or groups of inscriptions that addressed preserving the integrity of property boundaries. The first of these bodies of text are Mesopotamian boundary markers, *kudurrus*, that express concern about the violation of boundaries through the removal or destruction of markers or the changing of their position.²²⁴ Second, the Middle Assyrian Laws present the

²²⁴ See Kathryn E. Slanski, *The Babylonian Entitlement Narûs (Kudurrus): A Study in their Form and*

violation of a boundary as criminal rather than metaphorical, an act punishable with fines, loss of property, and corporal punishment.²²⁵ Third, the Wisdom of Amenemope describes violating a boundary as an offense against the fabric of society with both social costs and the threat of divine retribution. This Egyptian evidence is particularly relevant to the locutions in the Hebrew Bible that prohibit violating boundaries because the Wisdom of Amenemope directly influences the prohibitions found in Proverbs.²²⁶

Function, ASOR Books 9 (Boston: ASOR, 2003) and Susanne Paulus, *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Inschriften von der kassitischen bis zur frühneubabylonischen Zeit: Untersucht unter besonderer Berücksichtigung gesellschafts- und rechtshistorischer Fragestellungen*, AOAT 51 (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2014). Slanski and Paulus analyze material from the 14th through the 7th centuries BCE. The corpus of *kudurru*s analyzed by Gelb, Steinkeller, and Whiting, *Ancient Kudurru*s, demonstrate that concern for marking and protecting boundaries can be extended into the third millennium BCE.

²²⁵ The Middle Assyrian Laws will be abbreviated MAL from this point forward. Although the Hittite Laws also place the concern for boundaries within their legal collection, I will exclude the Hittite Laws (§§ 168–169) because of the difficulties related to positing direct Hittite influence upon Israelite or Judean literature. David Wright argues with respect to the Covenant Collection of Exodus 21–23 and the Hittite Laws: “...It is clear that CC could not have used the Hittite Laws. These were composed and copied in a geographically remote area (Hittite Anatolia), not transmitted as far as the record attests after the fall of the Hittite kingdom in about 1180 BCE, and in a language that would have not been accessible to the Israelite or Judean writer, even if copies were available” (Wright, *Inventing God’s Laws*, 110).

²²⁶ The influence of the Wisdom of Amenemope on Prov 22:17–24:22 is well established, as the survey of Fox shows. Similarly, Prov 22:28 and 23:10–11 seem to influence Deut 19:14, and, by extension, Deut 27:17. The impact of neo-Assyrian texts on Deuteronomy is also non-controversial (see HeBAI 8/2, which considers “the Treaty Framework of Deuteronomy”); it also seems to me that Deut 19:14 might also be impacted by MAL B ¶ 8, which refers to the boundary of one’s neighbor (*taḥūma rabia ša tappā’šu*; perhaps equivalent to גבול רעך in Deut 19:14). The neighbor is not mentioned in the Egyptian formulations or in Proverbs. The models scholars have used to explain the textual dependence of these passages in the Hebrew Bible upon ancient Near Eastern formulations differ significantly, particularly with respect to avenues for Egyptian cultural contact with Israel or Judah. Resolution of the debate is not relevant for my purposes. The recent arguments of David Carr (*The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2011], 415–416) and William Schniedewind that Proverbs served as part of the scribal curriculum represents a helpful advance (see Schniedewind, *The Finger of the Scribe: How Scribes Learned to Write the Bible* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019], 139–140). Once it is asserted that Proverbs was part of the education of the composer of Deut 19:14, there is an avenue for reception of Amenemope in Deut 19:14. Schniedewind argues that legal collections were not a regular part of scribal education; however, the impact of the neo-Assyrian *adē* on Deuteronomy has been clear since Wiseman first published the VTE and Moran reflected on its significance in his “The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy” (*CBQ* 25 [1963], 77–87). David Wright argues that provisions from MAL A may be reflected in Deuteronomy as well (*Inventing God’s Law*, 112–115). It seems plausible that something like MAL B may have been available to the scribe of Deut 19:14 as well.

3.1.1 What is a Boundary? Boundary Terminology in *Kudurrus*

The *kudurrus* give us a variety of boundary terms and show that the removal of boundary markers and violation of boundaries was a pressing concern.²²⁷

According to Kathryn Slanski, the essential function of these inscriptions was to preserve “an entitlement to an ongoing source of income” and that “By means of verbal and visual representations of the gods, the *narû* was intended to protect and preserve the right to that entitlement for all time.”²²⁸ The *kudurrus* are typically described as boundary markers, with the earliest examples dating to the third millennium BCE.²²⁹ While there are obvious differences accorded by the materiality of the *kudurru*, the *kudurru* often preserves material found in other deeds and documents—a description of the property’s history and boundaries, the transaction(s) that secured it for its present owner, etc. Susanne Paulus has advanced this discussion by analyzing the spatial language employed in describing boundaries in Mesopotamian *kudurrus*; her findings are summarized in the following graphic.²³⁰

²²⁷ There is disagreement among Assyriologists about the terminology. Kathryn Slanski argues in favor of the term *narû* instead of *kudurru*. Slanski notes that *narû* is the more common term in the corpus she considers. However, Slanski’s argument that *narû*, rather than *kudurru*, is the proper descriptor of monumental inscriptions has been questioned by Charpin and Brinkman who both note that *kudurru* and *narû* may both be found in the title or self-description of these monuments (Brinkman, “Babylonian Royal Land Grants,” *JESHO* 49 [2006]: 6–8; Charpin, “La Commémoration D’Actes Juridiques,” 190–191). Susanne Paulus’ recent work opts for the traditional *kudurru*. I will also opt for the term *kudurru*.

²²⁸ Slanski, *Babylonian Entitlement Narûs*, 151.

²²⁹ See, for example, Gelb, Steinkeller, and Whiting, *Ancient Kudurrus*.

²³⁰ Susanne Paulus, *babylonischen Kudurru-Inschriften*, 43.

Figure 3.1: Paulus's Spatial Representation of Boundary Terminology in Mesopotamian *Kudurrus*

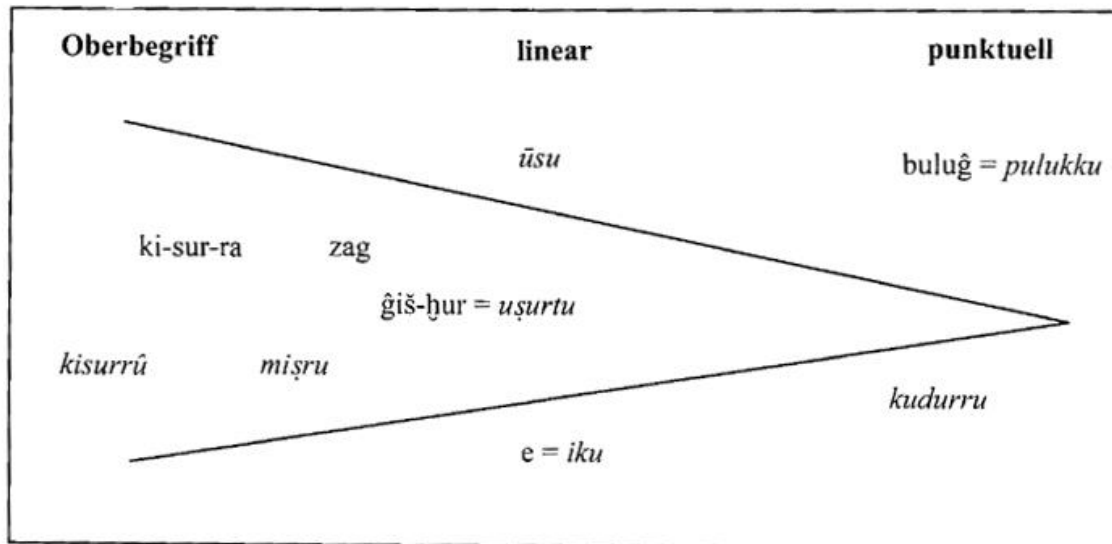


Abb. 5: Schaubild zur sumerischen und akkadischen Grenzterminologie

According to Paulus, *pulukku* and *kudurru* are terms that mark a point on a boundary.²³¹ A boundary line between fields was designated with the term *ūsu* while a boundary along a ditch was designated with the term *iku*.²³² The general region of a boundary was designated by terms like *kisurrû* or *mišru*.²³³ There are two other terms that Paulus does not include in her chart but that are relevant in the MAL: *itû* and *taḥūmu*. CAD translates *itû* as “border, border line” and *taḥūmu* as “border, boundary; border zone, territory.”²³⁴ Multiple boundary terms might be

²³¹ Paulus, *babylonischen Kudurru-Inschriften*, 40.

²³² Paulus, *babylonischen Kudurru-Inschriften*, 39. There is no discussion in Paulus about whether the *ūsu* was directly marked or whether it was derived from visual markers at specific points.

²³³ Paulus, *babylonischen Kudurru-Inschriften*, 38–39. In CAD Š/1 28, s.v. *šadādu* 4f, it is noted that one could drag a line (*šadādu*) to mark either a *kisurrû* or *mišru*.

²³⁴ Grayson, “Grenze” (RIA3, 639), notes the importance of *taḥūmu* as a boundary term. See also CAD I-J 312, s.v. *itû*; CAD T 56, s.v. *taḥūmu*.

employed in a single *kudurru* because both the boundary marker and the border it served to create were potential targets of violation.

Almost any physical referent mentioned in the previous paragraph could be changed or transgressed. A *pulukku* could be changed (*nakāru*)²³⁵ or not established (*la šitkunu*), but its destruction was not a typical concern.²³⁶ A boundary line (*itû*) might be transgressed (*etēqu*) or changed (*nakāru*).²³⁷ Another boundary line (*ūsu*) could be changed or removed (*šanû*, *nasāḫu* or *elû* Š stem), the latter particularly when in combination with *mišru* or *kudurru*.²³⁸ An *iku* could be transgressed (*etēqu*) or disturbed (*seḫu*). In MAI 1, a Middle Babylonian *kudurru*, an *iku* and a *mišru* can be transgressed while a *kudurru* can be changed (*nakāru*).²³⁹ By contrast, the *kudurru* or *narû* could be subjected to a surprising variety of violence. It might face burial, burning in fire, throwing into water, or (simply) destruction.²⁴⁰ Thus, it seems that the *kudurru* or *narû* was treated differently than the boundaries themselves or the *pulukku*. The other markers might be displaced or removed or

²³⁵ According to CAD P, 374, s.v. *pilku*, the related term *pilku* could also be changed or displaced (*enû*).

²³⁶ Paulus, *babylonischen Kudurru-Inschriften*, 696.

²³⁷ CAD I-J, 313–314, s.v. *itû*, devotes a subsection to the collocation of *itû* and *etēqu*, but does not discuss its use with any other verb of transgression or alteration. Positively, an *itû* can be established (*kanû*) or made (*epēšu*).

²³⁸ CAD U-W, 283, s. v. *ūsu*. See Šurpu II 46 for *ušteli*.

²³⁹ Paulus, *babylonischen Kudurru-Inschriften*, 433. See CAD I-J, 67, s.v. *iku*, which discusses the relevant line in the *kudurru* as MDP 6 10 iv 18.

²⁴⁰ Cf. BBSt 10/ŠŠU 2, in Paulus, *Babylonischen Kudurru-Inschriften*. In lines 36–37, one who would harm a *narû* by destroying it deceitfully, throwing it into water, burning it with fire, or removing it to a place where it cannot be seen is warned of divine retribution in the subsequent lines. (NA4.RÚ.A šu-a-tú ina ši-pir né-keš-ti ub-ba-tu lu-ú a-na [A.MEŠ ŠUB^ú] ina IZI i-qal-lu-ú a-šar la a-<ma>-ri pu-^ruz^l-r[i išakkanu/ušahazu)

transgressed, but there are varieties of physical destruction possible to the monumental inscription that would not make sense, e.g., for a border or a ditch.

This sketch of boundary terminology and boundary violations will be useful in two ways later in the chapter. First, when I turn to the philology of the Hebrew below, I will draw on the variety of boundary terminology presented here to support my assertion that גבול refers to a boundary line or area and not to a stone marking it. Second, when a גבול is violated in the Dead Sea Scrolls, verbs other than הסיג are employed. That variety, I will argue, mirrors some of the variety of violations seen in the *kudurrus*.

3.1.2 The Middle Assyrian Laws and the Punishment of Boundary Crimes

Three provisions in Tablet B of the MAL deal with annexing property illegally by altering boundaries. B ¶ 8 and B ¶ 9 outline infractions that differ in scale and punishment, but in both cases, the border area (*taḥūmu*) of another property has been annexed. Because it is only partially extant, B ¶ 20 is more difficult to assess, but it appears to involve claiming, improving, and marking property that belonged to someone else.

Table 3.1: Boundaries in MAL B	
MAL B ¶ 8 (iv 11–19) ²⁴¹	B ¶ 8
<i>šumma a'īlu taḥūma rabia ša tappā' šu ussammeḥ ubta' eruš' ukta' inuš eqla</i>	If a man should incorporate a large border area of his comrade's (property into his

²⁴¹ Normalization and translation by Martha Tobi Roth, in Roth, et al., *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (2nd ed.; WAW 6; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997), 178, 182.

<i>ammar usammehuni šalšāte iddan 1 ubānšu inakkīšu 1 meat ina haṭṭāte imahḥušuš iltēn uraḥ ūmāte šipar šarre eppaš</i>	own) and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, he shall give a field “triple” that which he had incorporated; they shall cut off one of his fingers; they shall strike him 100 blows with rods; he shall perform the king’s service for one full month.
B ¶ 9 (iv 20–28)	B ¶ 9
<i>šumma a`īlu taḥūma šeḥra ša pūrāni usbalkit ubta`eruš ukta`inuš iltēn bilat annaka iddan eqla ammar usammehuni šalšāte iddan 50 ina haṭṭāte imahḥušuš iltēn uraḥ ūmāte šipar šarre eppaš</i>	If a man transfers a small border area of the lots and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, he shall give 3,600 shekels of lead; he shall give a field “triple” that which he had incorporated; they shall strike him 50 blows with rods; he shall perform the king’s service for one full month.
B ¶ 20 (vii 18–25)	B ¶ 20
<i>[šumma a`ī]lu ina la eqlišu [...] -x-ša itruḥ [taḥ]ūma ilbi [kudur]ra ukaddir [...] -x-me iqbi [ubta`e]ruš [ukta`in]uš [...]</i>	If a man digs [...] in a field not belonging to him, surrounds it with a border, sets up a boundary stone, and says, [“...,”] and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, [...]

The key term for boundary in MAL B ¶ 8–9 is *taḥūmu*. According to CAD, *taḥūmu* can refer to the border between polities, the border between smaller areas, or border zone or territory. MAL B ¶ 8–9 use two verbs: *samāḥu*, “to incorporate” (three times), and *šubalkutu* (Š stem from *nabalkutu*), “to change/cancel” (once). In MAL B ¶ 20, the term *taḥūmu* is mentioned again as a boundary area that can be circumscribed or fenced (*ilbi*, from *lamû*); the word *[kudur]ra* is reconstructed by Roth’s translation because of the presence of its cognate verb *ukaddir*.

MAL situates the concern for boundaries within a context of legal process. Any violation is subject to investigation and prosecution. Upon reaching a guilty verdict, the violator is subject to various penalties. So while the exact genre of the legal collections is a subject of considerable debate, the MAL envision boundary violations as a matter of law.

A court record from Nuzi confirms that boundary violations were a matter of law. The case, recorded in JEN 653 and 348, involves a man accused of stealing (*ištariq*) a field (A.ŠÀ) and destroying its boundary (*miširšu iḫtepi*). Samuel Greengus argues that this case validates the concern for property manifested in legal collections like the MAL:

In the Nuzi archives, from the last half of the second millennium, we have a record wherein a man confesses that he did indeed steal an area of his neighbor's field lying next to the boundary of his own and that he did destroy the existing boundary line between their properties. He was sentenced to repay an area twice what he stole plus amounts of grain and straw equal to what would be expected as yield from the area taken, multiplied by the number of years (three) that he held illegal possession of that area.

Greengus comments, "The centuries of cuneiform writing yield further evidence that boundary violations were indeed prosecuted and punished."²⁴² The violation of boundaries was not merely a literary topos found in the Mesopotamian legal collections; instead, the literary topos is related to a demonstrable legal concern.

3.1.3 Protecting Boundaries in *The Wisdom of Amenemope*

The Mesopotamian material surveyed above must may be supplemented by reference to the Wisdom of Amenemope, which influenced the prohibition of violating boundaries in Prov 22:28 and 23:10–11. Amenemope warns against encroaching on the fields of others by violating boundaries or displacing their markers. According to Harold Washington, displacing a boundary in Egypt would most typically have been performed by corrupt officials or scribes on behalf of

²⁴² Greengus, *Laws in the Bible*, 239.

wealthy clients.²⁴³ Fox notes that this was a particular problem in Egypt, since fields were marked off yearly after the Nile had flooded:

The scribes who kept records of the landholdings would mark the boundaries anew with measuring lines. The mention of the cord indicates that the crime envisioned here is that of a scribe aggrandizing his own property, or, more likely, a protector's or briber's, by the dishonest configuration of the fields.²⁴⁴

James Roger Black notes that Amenemope is described as an official “who establishes markers upon the boundaries of the fields.”²⁴⁵ As such, Amenemope is presented as precisely the kind of figure who would be concerned with the actions addressed in Amenemope Chapter Six, which is presented below.²⁴⁶

Table 3.2: Boundaries in Amenemope		
Line	Text ²⁴⁷	Translation ²⁴⁸
7.11	<i>hw.t mh-6.t</i>	<i>Chapter 6</i>
7.12	<i>m-ir-rmn-wd hr-t:š.w n- šh.wt</i>	Do not move the markers on the borders of fields
7.13	<i>mtw=k-tfi-hšw n-nwh</i>	Nor shift the position of the measuring

²⁴³ Harold Washington, *Wealth and Poverty in the Instruction of Amenemope and the Hebrew Proverbs*, SBLDS 142 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 188. Clines argues a similar point regarding Job 24:2: “We need to observe that people do not get up in the middle of the night and displace a neighbor’s boundary stone, to the consternation of the landholder the next morning. When landmarks are displaced, there is at least a tacit approval by the community, and those responsible believe they are within their rights in so doing, and may in fact have the law on their side” (Clines, *Job 21–37*, 602).

²⁴⁴ Fox, *Proverbs 10–31: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 18B (New Haven: Yale, 2009), 732.

²⁴⁵ James Roger Black, “The Instruction of Amenemope: A Critical Edition and Commentary Prolegomenon and Prologue” (PhD diss.; University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2002), 466.

²⁴⁶ Despite the lack of Egyptian legal collections, the similarity between wisdom literature from Egypt and some forms of biblical law has long been noted. Cf. Rudolf Kilian, “Apodiktisches und kasuistisches Recht in Licht ägyptischer Analogien.” *BZ* ns 7 (1963): 185–202, and Joseph Jensen, “Eighth-Century Prophets and Apodictic Law” in Maurya P. Horgan and Paul J. Kobelski, eds., *To Touch the Text: Biblical and Related Studies in Honor of Joseph A. Fitzmeyer* (New York: Crossroads, 1989), 103–117; especially 116.

²⁴⁷ From Vincent Laisney, *L'Enseignement d'Amenemopé*, StPohl 19 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2007), 87–88.

²⁴⁸ “Instruction of Amenemope,” trans. by Miriam Lichtheim (COS 1.47: 117).

		cord. ²⁴⁹
7.14	<i>m-ir-snk.tyr-mh-^ςn-³h.t</i>	Do not be greedy for a cubit of land
7.15	<i>tnm n-hb hb n-p³-^ςh^ς.w</i>	Nor encroach on the boundaries of a widow.
7.16	<i>p³-^ςsg=k-sw n(m)-sh.wt</i>	The trodden furrow worn down by time,
7.17	<i>wn=f-sh^t m-^ςnh^y.w n^ςd³</i>	He who disguises it in the fields,
7.18	<i>iw=f-sph n-m-b³w n-^ςh</i>	When he has snared (it) by false oaths,
7.19	<i>i.ir=k-si³ r-p³-iry-sw hr-tp-t³</i>	He will be caught by the might of the Moon.
8.1	<i>iw=f-hnty n-qb n-whn m-h^ς=k</i>	Recognize him who does this on earth:
8.2	<i>iw-n hm-^ςnh m-ir.t=f</i>	He is an oppressor of the weak,
8.3	<i>iw-p³y=f-pr hfty n-p³-dmi</i>	A foe bent on destroying your being,
8.4	<i>iw-n³y=f-^ςh³-wgp</i>	The taking of life is in his eye.
8.5	<i>iw-p³y=f-pr hfty n-p³-dmi</i>	His house is an enemy to the town,
8.6	<i>iw-n³y=f-^ςh³-wgp</i>	His storage bins will be destroyed
8.7	<i>iw=w-t³i-³h.t=f m-dr.t-ms.w=f</i>	His wealth will be seized from his children's hands,
8.8	<i>di.tw-p³y=f-nkt n-kii</i>	His possessions will be given to another.
8.9	<i>s³w-tw r-hd-t³š.w n-³h.wt</i>	Beware of destroying the borders of fields
8.10	<i>tm-hry.t in.t=k</i>	Lest a terror carry you away;
8.11	<i>tw.tw-s htp-ntr n-m-b³w n-nb</i>	One pleases god with the might of the lord
8.12	<i>wp-t³š.w n-³h.wt</i>	When one discerns the borders of fields.

The Wisdom of Amenemope demonstrates concern for boundaries in several ways: the designation of Amenemope the scribe as an official whose work included determining boundaries, as well as the warning of social costs and divine sanctions for those who violate the boundaries that border them. The impact on Proverbs will be discussed below.

²⁴⁹ The marker or stone (*w^d*) and the boundary (*t³š*) are both represented in line 7.12; see Black, "Amenemope," 476–477 for vocabulary of a similar phrase in the introduction (line 1.19).

3.1.4 Summary

It is not surprising to find explicit concern for the preservation of boundaries in ancient Near Eastern legal contexts. The texts surveyed above make it clear that social convention, legal sanctions, and divine sanctions could be employed or invoked to protect the integrity of agricultural property against violation. As will be demonstrated more fully below, prohibitions in the Hebrew Bible employed similar methods to protect agricultural property against violation.

3.2 FIGURATIVE BOUNDARIES IN AKKADIAN TEXTS

Not only did the Mesopotamian texts reflect a social and legal concern; but the same kinds of language could be applied figuratively. The transgression of a boundary could describe violating the authority of a deity, an act of impiety that could lead to judgment. Several prayers and rituals record requests on behalf of a supplicant who confesses to such a violation. In addition, in a prayer preserved in STT 73, the life span of an individual is described as a boundary marked by the gods. The legal metaphors employed in the Hebrew Bible have analogs in Mesopotamian textual traditions.

3.2.1 Transgressing Set Boundaries

CAD notes that the combination of *itû* and *etēqu* functioned in both legal and metaphorical contexts. The legal senses have been discussed above: a boundary line was not to be transgressed. When used metaphorically, the boundary that was to be preserved was not a physical demarcation. Rather, the phrase seems to mark proper behavior, often with respect to a deity.

One exception must be noted first. In *Enuma Elish* IV, the decision of the gods to grant kingship to Marduk in return for his service as their champion includes the promise that *mamman ina ilāni itukka la ittiq*—“none of the gods will transgress your boundary.”²⁵⁰ Because the next two lines concern the provisioning of the gods and the placement of their shrines, this is not metaphorical. Rather, the behavior is analogous to the legal behaviors described above; the boundaries separate the territory controlled by the various gods.²⁵¹

Table 3.3: A Set Boundary in Enuma Elish IV	
<i>Enuma Elish</i> IV 9–12 ²⁵²	Lambert’s Translation
<i>lu-ú ki-na-at ši-it pi-i-ka la sa-ra-ar sè-kàr-ka</i>	Your utterance is sure, your command cannot be rebelled against,
<i>ma-am-ma-an i-na ilāni i-tuk-ka la it-ti-iq</i>	None of the gods will transgress the line you draw.
<i>za-na-nu-tum er-šat pa-rak ilānī-ma</i>	Shrines for all the gods need provisioning,

²⁵⁰ Wilfred G. Lambert, *Babylonian Creation Myths*, Mesopotamian Civilizations 16 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 86–87. The phrase clearly establishes Marduk’s authority, but that authority may also include the precise provisioning of the gods. Tablet VII 84–85 makes the same connection between Marduk’s authority and the provision of the gods (Lambert 128–129). The verbal root *palāku* is employed in VII 84.

²⁵¹ Compare the division of territory among the בני אלהים in Deut 32:8–9 and the *nḥlt* of various gods in Ugaritic epic literature.

²⁵² Lambert, *Babylonian Creation Myths*, 86–87.

<i>a-šar sa-gi-šu-nu lu-ú ku-un áš-ruk-ka</i>	That you may be established where their sanctuaries are.
-----------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------

But while Enuma Elish is not metaphorical, *etēqu* and *itû* do collocate to form a metaphor in the Etana epic. In Tablet Two, the eagle and serpent make an oath before Šamaš, with Šamaš as the guarantor of their behavior. Whoever of them might violate the oath will transgress the boundary of Šamaš (*ša itâ ša dUTU ittiqu*) and be delivered by Šamaš into the hands of the executioner. Their oath makes them subject to Šamaš’s judgment; the boundary that will be violated is their non-aggression that is sealed by the oath.

Table 3.4: The Boundary of Šamaš in the Etana Epic	
Text ²⁵³	Translation ²⁵⁴
<i>al-¹ka¹ ni-zaq-pa-am-ma [šá-da-a ni-li]</i>	“Come then, let us set forth [and go up a high mountain],
<i>ni-it-ma-a KI-tim [DAGAL-tim]</i>	“Let us swear [an oath] by the netherworld.
<i>ina ma-har dUTU qu-ra-di ma-mit it-[mu-ú]</i>	Before Shamash the warrior they swo[re] the oath,
<i>[šá] i-ta-a šá dUTU [it-ti-qu]</i>	“Whoever [transgresses the limits of Shamash [],
<i>dUTU lem-niš ina qa-at ma-hi-š[i li-mal-li]</i>	“May Shamash [deliver him] as an offender into the hands of the executioner,
<i>šá i-ta-a šá dUTU [it-ti-qu]</i>	“Whoever [transgresses] the limits of Shamash,
<i>li-is-su-šu-ma né-re-[bé-ti šá KUR-e]</i>	“May the [mountains] remove]their pas]ses far away from him,
<i>GIŠ.TUKUL mur-tap-pi-du UGU-šu [li-še-er]</i>	“May the oncoming weapon [make straight for him],
<i>giš-par-ru ma-mit dUTU lib-bal-ki-tu-šu-ma l[i-ba-ru-šu]</i>	“May the trap and curse of Shamash overthrow him [and hunt him down]!” (ll. 14–22)

²⁵³ Jamie Novotny, *The Standard Babylonian Etana Epic*, SAACT 2 (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001), 29. The repetition of *ša itâ ša dUTU ittiqu* in lines 17, 19, and 49 (which includes the verb *ittiqu*) makes the reconstruction secure.

²⁵⁴ Benjamin R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 545–546.

The connection between boundaries and right behavior is also emphasized in several Mesopotamian prayers. In these prayers, supplicants confess transgression of the boundary set by Marduk or one's personal god and seek divine relief from the distress that their wrongdoing has brought upon them.²⁵⁵ In PBS 1/1 14:28, the supplicant confesses to Marduk, *itaka danniš e[tetiḳ]*, "I have greatly transgressed your boundary."²⁵⁶ In BMS 11, the supplicant confesses to having "transgressed [the limits] set by the god" (...*a ša ili lu itiq*).²⁵⁷ The incantation series Šurpu also employs the locution. The supplicant, who is in need of relief, "has transgressed the boundary of wickedness" (II 66; *itē raggi itiqu*).²⁵⁸ In TCL 3, narrating Sargon's eighth campaign, Ursâ, the king of Urartu is charged with transgressing the boundaries of Šamaš and Marduk and not keeping the oath of Aššur.²⁵⁹ According to the text, Sargon justly defeats the impious king. He proclaims his own piety a few lines later: he does not transgress the boundaries of Aššur or Šamaš (II 156).²⁶⁰ And while these examples concern human or divine subjects crossing divinely set boundaries, a letter from Hammurabi to Šamaš-ḥašir describes the failure of Šamaš-

²⁵⁵ PBS 1/1 14:28, trans. Langdon, "A Tablet of Prayers from the Nippur Library," *PSBA* 34 (1912), 75–79.

²⁵⁶ Langdon, "Tablet of Prayers," 76.

²⁵⁷ King, BMS #11, 51; translation from Foster, *Before the Muses*, 680–681.

²⁵⁸ Reiner, *Šurpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations*, AfO 11 (Graz: Weidner, 1958), 15. Reiner translated, "[who has] transgressed the borderline of right." Reiner's SAL.GI has been interpreted by Rykle Borger ("Šurpu II, III, und IV in Partitur," 24) as *rag-gi*, from *raggu*, "wicked." He states that "Ein Sumerogramm munus-gi = *kīttu* wäre nur hier belegt."

²⁵⁹ François Thureau-Dangin, TCL 3, 24–25; II 148: ^l*Ursâ malikšunu šá itē^d Šamaš^d Marduk ētiquma*. According to Zimansky, "Urartu's Geography and Sargon's Eighth Campaign," *JNES* 49 (1990): 3, Ursâ should be identified as Rusa I of Urartu.

²⁶⁰ Thureau-Dangin, TCL 3, 26–27: *anāku^l Šarrukîn našir kītti lā ētiq itē^d Ašur^d Šamaš*.

ḥašir to provide for several of Hammurabi's dependents as "comparable to transgressing a great boundary; it will not be forgiven."²⁶¹

In summary, Enuma Elish extends the legal concern for maintaining boundaries to the divine realm. However, Etana, Šurpu, and the various prayers listed mentioned in this section demonstrate that proper conduct could be thought of as staying within boundaries set by gods. Failure to maintain that proper conduct violated the boundaries and rendered one subject to divine punishment.

3.2.2 Boundary Offenses as Paradigmatic Sins

In Šurpu tablets II and III, violation of boundaries is described as a paradigmatic sin, a set of offences within the long lists of generic violations of which the supplicant might be guilty. The first occurrence comes in II 45–46, where the supplicant confesses to setting up an unjust *kudurru* (and not setting up a just *kudurru*) and violated various boundaries (*ūsa*, *mišra*, and *kudurru*).²⁶² There is no indication that this usage is metaphorical for some other kind of offense, but it stands alongside other offenses like disinheriting an heir, having intercourse with a neighbor's wife, and cheating with weights and measures. As such, the list of offenses is somewhat similar to the catalog of sins committed by the wicked in Job 24, which also includes violating boundaries: violation of these social norms characterizes the guilty individual.

²⁶¹ François Thureau-Dangin, "Correspondance de Hammurapi avec Šamaš-Ḥašir;" *RA* 21 (1924): 12. The relevant line reads: *kīma ša itām rabiām tētiqa panukunu ul ibbabbalu*.

²⁶² Reiner, *Šurpu*, 14.

The logic of admission of guilt in Šurpu is to effect healing through acknowledgement of the offense.²⁶³ For Holtz, confession in prayer is akin to a guilty plea, which “ends suffering by mitigating the need for punishment.”²⁶⁴ In Šurpu tablet III, a series of oaths to commit evil are brought before Marduk in the hope that they can be undone; among the oaths that the incantation seeks to undo are oaths to change a boundary or its marker (*mišru* and *kudurru*).²⁶⁵ Šurpu VIII 51 also mentions the oath to change *mišru* and *kudurru*. These examples from Šurpu, unlike the divine boundaries violated in the prayers mentioned above in II.A, do not use violation of boundaries to stand for some other kind of moral conduct. Rather, the violated boundary is offered as an example of personal wrongdoing that might incur divine punishment.

Table 3.5: Boundary Violations in Šurpu II, III, and VIII	
Šurpu II 45–46 (Borger Nin1 I 34–36)	Translation ²⁶⁶
<i>ku-dúr-ru la kit-ti uk-ta-dir ku-d[úr-ru ki]t-ti ul ú-k[a]-dir</i>	he set up an untrue boundary, (but) did not set up a true boundary
<i>ú-sa mi-iš-ra ù ku-dúr-ru [uš?]-te-li</i>	he removed mark, frontier, and boundary
Šurpu III 54–56²⁶⁷ (Borger Nin 15 II 3’; Nin 2A II 1–2)	Translation
<i>[m]a-mit [ku]-du- [] nu-u[k-ku-ru ú]</i>	the ‘oath’: to fix a [bou]ndary, but change it
<i>[ma-mit] ʿqaʿ-ʿbéʿ-e u e-né-e ú</i>	the ‘oath’: to promise, but change (one’s word)

²⁶³ Reiner, *Šurpu*, 1: “Tablet II contains an invocation to the gods and goddesses, beseeching them to forgive and release the sick, downcast patient who suffers as a consequence of his moral or cultic offenses or of a mere accidental contact with an unclean person. Since any such offense may have caused the patient’s plight, the subsequent enumeration endeavors to include every possibility and is therefore rather lengthy.”

²⁶⁴ Holtz, *Praying Legally*, 69; Holtz cites *Šurpu* II.5–103 as a comparison to the confession of guilt in Psalm 41:5.

²⁶⁵ See lines III 53–54; III 60. III 53 appears to conclude with *mišru elû* based on As3A I 21’, which reads *[mi-i]š-ru e-lu-ú*; Reiner translates “(and) ... a frontier.”

²⁶⁶ Translations from Reiner, *Šurpu*, 14, 20, 42.

²⁶⁷ Borger notes the less damaged parallel As3A I 22’: *[ma]-mit ku-du-ru ù n[u]-ku-ru*. Reiner’s composite text reads: *[m]a-mit [kud]-du-ru u nu-u[k]-ku-ru*.

<i>ma-mit i-te-e dingir e-te-qu ú</i>	the ‘oath’: to transgress the commands of god
Šurpu III 60 (Borger Nin2A II 6)	Translation
<i>ma-mit ud-de-e mi-iš-ri u ku-dúr-ru ú</i>	the ‘oath’: to mark frontier or boundary
Šurpu VIII 51 (Borger Nin1 34’) ²⁶⁸	Translation
<i>ki ma-mit ^{gis}apin ^{gis}tukul ħar-bu šír-’u mi-iš-ru ku-dúr-ru u mu-sa-re-e min min min</i>	Together with the ‘oath’ of the seeder plow, the share of the subsoil plow, furrow, frontier, boundary, and inscription ²⁶⁹ ditto ditto ditto ²⁷⁰

3.2.3 Life Span as a Fixed Boundary

In STT 73, a ritual and omen text copied at Sultantepe, a portion of the text is a prayer on behalf of a supplicant who fears impending death. In one portion of the plea, the supplicant’s life is described as having its boundaries fixed by the Anunnaki—however, the Anunnaki are accused of violating fixed boundaries and leading the supplicant toward an untimely death.

Table 3.6: A Bounded Lifespan in STT 73	
STT 73 36–38 ²⁷¹	Reiner’s translation
^d 600 su-ut ku-dúr-ra šá LIL NENNI ik-di-ru ú-ru-uḫ KUR.NU.GL ₄ .A na-šu-šu	The Anunnaki who have fixed the boundaries (of the life) of NN, now are leading him on the road to the netherworld;
DINGIR-šú u ^d XV-šu u ₄ -um-šu ù šim-tá-šu	his personal god and goddess have disregarded the day of his natural death;

²⁶⁸ Borger, Šurpu II, III, IV und VIII in “Partitur,” 85

²⁶⁹ CAD M/2, 232, s.v. *musarû*. CAD describes a *musarû* as “an object bearing a royal inscription.” As a near-synonym for *narû*, a *musarû* can be displaced (*nakāru*), effaced (*pasāsu*) and destroyed (*abātu*).

²⁷⁰ The min min min / ditto ditto ditto refers to the threefold release found two lines previously (line 49): *lu-u pa-aṭ-ra-nik-ka lu-u pa-áš-ra-nik-ka lu-u pa-as-sa-nik-ka* “may they be released for you, absolved for you, wiped off you” (Reiner, 42).

²⁷¹ Reiner, “Fortune-Telling in Mesopotamia,” *JNES* 19 (1960): 26, 32.

ú-maš-ši-ru-šu-ma ur-ḫa šu-te-šu-ra // ù ḫar-ra-an la ta-ri te-bu-ú	he is (now) engaged on a direct road and a road of no return...
------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------

In this instance, the boundary is indicated by the term *kudurru*; the denominative verb *kadāru* is used to denote its previously fixed status. The subsequent lines describe the supplicant’s impending death with other images: “his day” and the “road of no return.” The image of a set boundary for the supplicant’s life is conceptually similar to Psalm 16—because YHWH allots the supplicant’s fate, the supplicant is confident that he will not be abandoned to Sheol (כִּי לֹא־תַעֲזֹב נַפְשִׁי לְשֵׂאוֹל), but will see the path of life (תְּהַדִּיעֵנִי אֶרֶץ חַיִּים). For both texts, life may be thought of as a divine allocation; for STT 73, that allocation may specifically be thought of as a bounded property.

3.2.4 Summary

I draw two conclusions from these texts. First, these Mesopotamian texts required careful analysis: Enuma Elish does not conceive of the boundaries set by Marduk as metaphorical and Šurpu’s use of boundary violations as a paradigmatic sin is also not a metaphor. Perhaps by Makela’s definition of legal metaphors, they are metaphorical simply because they occur outside of legal writing; however, they do not invoke the violation of boundaries to speak of some other kind of violation. There is no second register of vocabulary with which boundaries are juxtaposed. Second, the use of boundary language to describe pious behavior and the span of a life aptly fits the theory of metaphor I employ in this dissertation. The legal prohibition of violating boundaries provides the necessary background for its

metaphorical reapplication. Just as the boundary of a field could be violated, so also a boundary set by a god could be violated. Just as a field could have set boundaries, so also the span of a life could have set boundaries. The Mesopotamian instances of figurative use of property language will prove comparable to the violation of boundaries (הסיג גבול) in the Hebrew Bible as well as several Hellenistic Jewish texts, which will now be investigated in greater detail.

3.3 VIOLATED BOUNDARIES AS A LEGAL CONCERN IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

Philo's acknowledgment of the plain sense of Deut 19:14 and its immediate figurative reapplication in *Spec. Laws* 4.149–150 was mirrored by the Mesopotamian uses of boundary language surveyed above. The *kudurrus* and the MAL demonstrated that boundaries could be set and violated in several ways and set about through divine and legal sanctions to protect property from violation. At the same time, that legal language could serve figurative purposes. The same proves true for the Hebrew Bible's הסיג גבול. In this section, I will address the philology of הסיג גבול in order to address ambiguity about whether גבול is a landmark or region. I will then demonstrate that Proverbs and Deuteronomy establish a legal concern for preserving boundaries. Against this legal background, the figurative usage of boundary language in the Hebrew Bible and Hellenistic Jewish literature can then be understood.

3.3.1 The Philology of הסיג גבול

הסיג גבול is a fixed phrase encountered six times in the Hebrew Bible. The C stem of verb סוג, either in the imperfect or as a participle, with the noun גבול as its object.²⁷² The root סוג in the G stem is typically translated as “to turn back” or “act faithlessly;” in the N stem as “to flee, be put to flight” or “turn oneself away;” in the C stem, “to remove, move back.”²⁷³ Tigay comments on Deut 19:14 that the C stem means “Literally, ‘move back’ the landmark into his property so as to extend your own.”²⁷⁴ With Tigay, I agree that the locution appears to assume the perspective of the perpetrator, with the boundary moved away from where it had been. But it need not be a single landmark that is being moved.

According to HALOT, גבול may denote a “landmark”—a boundary or stone—deriving this meaning specifically from the phrase הסיג גבול.²⁷⁵ If the sense of the

²⁷² There are only eight occurrences of the C stem of סוג in the Hebrew Bible. Six of these collocate with גבול; the two that do not occur in Micah 6:14 and Isaiah 59:14. Micah 6:14 is textually difficult. The MT reads, אתה תאכל ולא תשבע וישחך בקרבך ותסג ולא תפליט ואשר תפלט להרב אתן, “you will eat but not be satisfied and it will cramp you within you; and you will turn it back but you will not deliver; and whatever you rescue, I will give to the sword.” ותסג is difficult, because it lacks an object. Hillers emends ותסג to ותשיג “you will catch;” nearly every other major English commentator considers the phrase difficult and proposes emendation. As an alternative to emendation, it could be argued that the Masoretic pointing is in error. The G stem, “to turn aside, turn back,” would be appropriate, particularly if ולא תפליט could be understood as a passive “but you will not be rescued.” Isaiah 59:14 is unusual because it is the only occurrence of the Cp stem (*hophal*) and the only collocation of a causative stem with אהור, while the G and N stems frequently collocate with אהור. In Isa 59:13, the N stem נסוג occurs in a phrase describing apostasy: ונסוג מאהר אלהינו, “and turning back from (following) after our God.” Isa 59:14 probably intends to build on that image; just as the people have turned back, so also justice has been turned back.

²⁷³ Cf. HALOT, DCH.

²⁷⁴ Jeffrey Tigay, *Deuteronomy* דברים: *The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1996), 183.

²⁷⁵ HALOT, 171. DCH simply translates “border.” Gesenius focuses on *Grenze* and *Gebiet*, and does not mention any specific object such as a *Grenzstein* or *Grenzmarker* (192). BDB also does not mention a specific marker. Otto, *Deuteronomium 12,1–23,15*, translates with *Grenze* (1512; further discussion in 1537–38). The translation “landmark” is also adopted by Weinfeld (*Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic*

phrase is directly dependent upon comparison with Amenemope, this is logical. However, Amenemope uses two terms, designating both stone and boundary. This is transparently not the case with the Hebrew *הסיג גבול*. Other than the collocations with *הסיג*, there are no clear examples of *גבול* as a specific marker in the Hebrew Bible. Rather, *גבול* consistently indicates a boundary region or area.²⁷⁶ For example, in Numbers 21:13, the Arnon is the *גבול* of Moab; while in Deut 3:16, the wadi Arnon is the *גבול* of Reuben and Gad. In Num 22:36, an additional term, *קצה*, is necessary to specify the extremity of a region (*בקצה הגבול*).²⁷⁷ Like Akkadian *itû*, *idu* or *taḥumu* or Aramaic *תחום*, *גבול* can refer to boundaries to the north, south, west, or east.²⁷⁸ However, there are no extant examples of *גבול* delineating the boundaries of a specific property.²⁷⁹ One other piece of biblical data is relevant to the definition of

School [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972], 265), who accepts the influence of Proverbs, and Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 183.

²⁷⁶ Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 159, re: Deut 2:4: “*You will be passing through the territory*. Literally, ‘through the border,’ but the Hebrew word for border, *gēbûl*, denotes territory (cf., e.g., Exod 13:7).” Comparisons to the inscriptional use of *גבל* in Phoenician and Aramaic strengthens this case.

²⁷⁷ Levine notes that “Hebrew *qāṣeh*, in geographical descriptions, seems to refer to the nearest contact point, as seen by the eye of the beholder” (Levine, *Numbers 21–36*, 160). Compare also Hoftijzer, et al., DNSWI, 209–210. The Azatiwada inscription (KAI 26 A) similarly describes building fortresses on the edges of the borders (*ובן אנך חמית עזת בכל קצית על גבלם*) and settling his people at the edges of my borders (*ישבם אנך בקצת גבלי*). By further specifying the edges with *קצת*, the inscription suggests that *גבל* was not a discrete endpoint.

²⁷⁸ See use of *idu* in Gelb, Steinkeller, and Whiting, *Ancient Kudurrus*, 214. For biblical *גבול*, see Num 34; Joshua 15–19.

²⁷⁹ This is likely due to the absence of any Iron Age Hebrew language property documents; cf. Levine, “Farewell,” 224. In Hebrew and Aramaic property documents from the Judaeen Desert, *תחום* occurs instead of *גבול* in legal documents, although *גבול* continued to be used in non-legal texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Targumim support this equivalence, translating *גבול* with *תחום* in each occurrence of the Hebrew phrase *הסיג גבול*. The Targumim typically translate *הסיג* with *שני*, “to change.” Targum Neofiti opts for *ארע*, “to attain, to reach,” in Deut 19:14. There are no examples of *תחום* collocating with the verbs employed by the Targumim to translate *הסיג גבול* in the property documents from Elephantine and the Judaeen Desert. These documents deal with boundaries have been fixed, making it difficult to determine whether a technical phrase like *שני תחום* existed in Aramaic property law.

גבול. In Psalm 104:9, YHWH sets a boundary for the sea that cannot be transgressed (גבול-שממת בל-יעברון).²⁸⁰ In this case, גבול indicates something like a line that cannot be crossed, protecting the dry land from inundation.

What kind of offense is הסיג גבול? The evidence is most consistent with violating a boundary that could be marked with a line. Hebrew usage of גבול to describe political boundaries on the east, west, north, or south or to describe the boundaries of the sea suggests a linear or regional understanding, rather than a specific point. Perhaps, following Tigay, one should think of “moving back” the boundary on the basis of the G/N stem understanding of סוג, particularly when paired with אהור, “to turn back.” From the vantage point of the individual committing the offense, turning back a boundary will increase the property of the individual at the expense of the neighbor.²⁸¹ Therefore, I conceive of הסיג גבול as an act of altering boundary lines in order to incorporate property belonging to a neighboring landholder. Put more simply, הסיג גבול involves violating a set boundary. This could be done by moving stone boundary markers, as Amenemope and *kudurrus* make clear, but it could be accomplished in other ways as well.

3.3.2 Proverbs and Deuteronomy: The Legal Language in Context

In the four occurrences of הסיג גבול in Proverbs and Deuteronomy, the social and legal concern for preserving boundaries intact is described. As with the

²⁸⁰ Compare also Jeremiah 5:22.

²⁸¹ Levine’s comment that קצה reflects the vantage point of the beholder (above, note 277) seems appropriate here as well.

Mesopotamian *kudurrus*, the MAL, and Amenemope, the boundaries are not figurative.

3.3.2.1 Prov 22:28 and Prov 23:10–11

Prov 22:28 reads, אל־תסג גבול עולם אשר עשו אבותיך (“Do not move back the permanent boundary which your forefathers made”). Prov 23:10–11 expands the prohibition: אל־תסג גבול עולם ובשדי יתומים אל־תבא כי־גאלם חזק הוא־יריב את־ריבם אתך (“Do not move back the permanent boundary and do not enter into the field of orphans, since their redeemer is strong; he will prosecute their claim against you”). Fox argued that both verses were drawn from a single passage in Amenemope, with Prov 23:10–11 expanding upon YHWH’s role in protecting the socially vulnerable.²⁸² Both textual occurrences describe actual human behavior.

Both 22:28 and 23:10–11 describe the boundary as a גבול עולם, a phrase which suggests permanence. The phrase אשר עשו אבותיך, “which your ancestors made” has a similar effect. In 23:10–11, the distinction between the Hebrew text’s “orphan” and Amenemope’s “widow” has led some commentators to propose emending גבול עולם to גבול אלמנה, which would then match Prov 15:25 and parallel יתום. However, Fox rejects the proposed emendation due to its graphic dissimilarity.²⁸³ Orphans and widows were economically vulnerable persons throughout the ancient Near East. The offense against the orphan in 23:11 (ובשדי)

²⁸² Compare Prov 15:25 in which YHWH tears down the house of the arrogant, but fixes the boundary of the widow (בית גאים יסחו יהוה ויצב גבול אלמנה). הסיג גבול may be the antonym of גבול.

²⁸³ Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*: 730.

אל־תבא, “do not enter the field of the orphan”) is not entirely clear. Fox reads it as an act of encroachment equivalent to הסיג גבול. Finally, “their redeemer” (גאלם) in 23:11 is potentially ambiguous as to whether its referent is human or divine.

However, both Fox and Harold Washington argue on the basis of Amenemope that a divine protector is understood. Amenemope refers to the moon god Thoth as the one who ensnares the greedy. Washington argues that Proverbs adapts this to fit with Yahwistic piety.²⁸⁴

3.3.2.2 Deuteronomy 19:14 and 27:17

In Deuteronomy, displacing the boundary occurs in an explicitly legal setting in Deut 19:14: לא תסיג גבול רעך אשר גבלו ראשנים בנחלתך אשר תנחל בארץ אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך לרשתה: (“Never displace the boundary of your neighbor which former generations established as your inheritance which you will inherit in the land which YHWH your God is giving to you”).²⁸⁵ This is the only occurrence of the phrase within the established confines of the biblical legal collections.²⁸⁶ The key word גבול may account for the location of Deut 19:14; Jack R. Lundbom notes that גבול occurs in

²⁸⁴ Washington, *Wealth and Poverty*, 189: “The Moon again represents Thoth, so the threat, ‘He will be caught by the might of the Moon’ is materially identical to the Hebrew warning, ‘Their Redeemer is strong, and he will plead their case against you’ (Prov 23:11). The Hebrew passage adapts the expression to the Israelite cultural context.”

²⁸⁵The paraenetic features of Deuteronomy lie behind Matthew Goff’s characterization of the biblical background of displacing the boundary in *4QInstruction* as “sapiential and covenantal” (Goff, *4QInstruction*, WLAW 2 [Atlanta: SBL, 2013], 130).

²⁸⁶ That is, within either the Covenant Collection (Exodus 21–23), the laws of Deuteronomy (12–26), or the Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–26).

19:3 and 19:8.²⁸⁷ However, Deut 19:14 is not closely related in other ways to its near context: Deut 19:1–13 is concerned with unintentional homicide or cities of refuge, while Deut 19:15–21 is focused on witnesses. Deut 27:17, on the other hand, mentions displacing the boundary among a series of curses: ארור מסיג גבול רעהו ואמר (“Cursed is the displacer of the boundary of his neighbor!’ And all the people will say, ‘Amen.’”). The curses of Deut 27 likely acknowledge the difficulty of determining the guilt when crimes are committed in secret.²⁸⁸

3.4 FIGURATIVE USAGE OF הסיג גבול IN HOSEA 5:10

In Hosea 5:10, violating the boundary is encountered in this form: היו שרי יהודה כמסיגי גבול עליהם אשפוך כמים עברתי (“The officials of Judah are like the displacers of the boundary; over them I will pour out my wrath like water”). Although the noun גבול occurs elsewhere in prophetic material, it does not collocate with the verb הסיג in those instances. A closer examination of Hosea is necessary before it is possible to determine the exact nature of its figurative employment of “displacing the boundary.”

²⁸⁷ Jack R. Lundbom, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 564, citing Rofé and Carmichael.

²⁸⁸ See, for example, Jeffrey Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 253: “The people are to anathematize eleven specific sins and a twelfth, all-inclusive one. The eleven are all prohibited elsewhere, many on pain of death. They often escape attention because, as Ibn Ezra and Rashbam note, they are commonly committed in secret or are hard for their victims to publicize.” So also Peter C. Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 331. Craigie writes, “It is difficult to determine a single unifying theme underlying the various acts that are placed under the curse. It is possible, however, that *secrecy* (see *in secret*, vv. 15, 24) might be considered such a theme. That is to say, there were certain crimes committed which by their very nature might not be discovered and therefore would not be brought to trial.”

3.4.1 Albrecht Alt and the Historical Interpretation of Hosea 5:10

Albrecht Alt argued that Hosea 5:10 was the second in a series of oracles concerning a Syro-Ephraimite conflict with Judah in 733/732 BCE.²⁸⁹ Alt rejected the idea that Hos 5:10 condemned *latifundia*, the annexation of property by wealthy elites.²⁹⁰ Rather, he argued that the officials of Judah sought to annex territory from Israelite land while Israel was occupied with the approaching Assyrian threat, an act that drew Hosea's condemnation.²⁹¹ Thus, for Alt, Hos 5:10 depicted a historical, political situation. Hosea's use of language is appropriate to the situation: a simple analogy can be drawn from the prohibition found in Proverbs or Deuteronomy to the political situation of Judah and Israel: the territory belonging to another is usurped in both cases.

3.4.2 Challenges to Alt's Position

Alt's historical reconstruction of Hos 5:8–6:6 was influential throughout the mid- to late- twentieth century.²⁹² There have been a few noteworthy challenges,

²⁸⁹ Albrecht Alt, "Hosea 5,8–6,6: Ein Krieg und seine Folgen in prophetischer Beleuchtung," in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 2 (München: C.H. Beck'sche, 1953), 163–187.

²⁹⁰ Alt, "Hosea 5,8–6,6," 172.

²⁹¹ Alt, "Hosea 5,8–6,6," 173: "Die Annexionspolitik der Judäer bedroht Hosea mit einem Erguß des göttlichen Zornes" (Hosea threatened the Judean policy of annexation with an outpouring of godly wrath).

²⁹² Alt's reconstruction is presumed by Nadav Na'aman in his "Saul, Benjamin, and the Emergence of 'Biblical Israel'," *ZAW* 121 (2009): 211–224. Alt was followed by most scholarly commentaries into the 1980s or 1990s, such as Wolff (Hermeneia), Stuart (WBC), and Andersen (AB). MacIntosh, *Hosea* (ICC, 1997), 195, argues that "it is reasonable to follow but modify the theory of A. Alt that Judah took advantage of the situation to make incursions into Benjamite territory." However, more recent commentaries have heightened the challenge raised already by Edwin M. Good, "Hosea 5:8–6:6: An Alternative to Alt," *JBL*

particularly the one raised by Edwin Good.²⁹³ Good challenged Alt on two major points: the assumption that historical reconstructions can be made from a poetic text and the liberal use of emendation to reshape the text of Hos 5:8–6:6.²⁹⁴ Good notes that Alt’s analysis begins by presuming that a specific political situation can be reconstructed from the prophet’s words.²⁹⁵ For Good, this historicization is speculative at best.

Good suggests two major flaws in Alt’s understanding of Hosea 5:8–6:6. First, he argues that Alt missed a structural pattern of accusation and threat in Hos 5:10–14, first for Judah in 5:10, then for Ephraim in 5:11–12, then for both in 5:13–14.²⁹⁶ Second, he argues that Alt has overlooked a cultic interpretation for the שופר, trumpets and shouts mentioned in 5:8, as well as the possible religious significance

85 (1966): 273–286. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets* (Berit Olam; 2000), 1:60–61, considers Alt’s reconstruction problematic given the weakness of Judah and the total historical silence concerning a Judahite attack on Israel. Ehud Ben Zvi, *Hosea* (FOTL, 2005), 140: “In fact, it is very unlikely that the intended readers of the book would have imagined that the latter refers to a Judahite annexation of territories held by the northern kingdom, following the failure of the Aramean-Israelite coalition to conquer Jerusalem—an annexation that is not, incidentally, reported elsewhere.” (140). J. Andrew Dearman, *The Book of Hosea*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), prefers Edwin Good’s analysis in his commentary.

²⁹³ Edwin M. Good, “Alternative to Alt,” 275.

²⁹⁴ Good, “Alternative to Alt,” 276, lists a dozen significant emendations proposed by Alt, only two of which he considers likely, although a third is possible. More recently, Frederic Gangloff has similarly rejected a number of Good’s emendations (Gangloff, “La ‘Guerre Syro-Ephraïmite’ en Osee 5:8–14? Quelques Observations Critiques Breves.” *BN* 118 [2003]: 76–80). One example may be cited to demonstrate the significance of Alt’s employment of emendation. In 5:13, Alt proposes to replace וישלח with בית יהודה for the sake of parallelism. As a result, Alt would read, “Ephraim went to Aššur and Judah [went] to the Great King (also re-dividing ירב מלך רב as מלכי רב)” instead of “Ephraim went to Aššur and sent to a king who contends.” Gangloff notes that the emendation conveniently serves to link Hos 5:13 to Ahaz’s appeal to Tiglath-Pilezer, recorded in 2 Kgs 16:7–9 (79). Without the emendation, that historical link dissolves.

²⁹⁵ Good, “Alternative to Alt,” 275.

²⁹⁶ Good, “Alternative to Alt,” 276–277: “This pattern is too consistent to be accidental, and such a structure ought not to be destroyed, as Alt does, by cutting across it.”

of the towns of Gibeah, Bethel, and Ramah.²⁹⁷ Thus, Good argues that Hos 5:8–6:6 is marked throughout by the announcement of a legal decision and by liturgical overtones:

The poem does not turn on a prophet's private view of certain historical events, though the one clear historical allusion, Ephraim's going to Assyria in 5:13, is not to be denied, nor does it undercut the present argument. The poem turns on the imagery associated with the renewal of the covenant and the maintenance of God's justice in and over Israel.²⁹⁸

As a result, Hos 5:8–6:6 belongs within the generic category of covenant lawsuit.

Within this context, the act of displacing boundaries becomes evidence of covenant-breaking activity:

When we note that the curse of Deut 27:17 is in the context of cursing in a covenantal ratification ceremony, it may be suggested that the princes of Judah are being here declared 'beyond the pale' of the covenant by their transgression of its law.²⁹⁹

Job 24:2 may provide indirect support for Good's contention that *הסיג גבול* is a figure of speech to describe actions that are beyond the pale. Job 24 accuses the deity of failing to notice injustice and describes the displacing of boundaries (*גבולות* (ישיגו) as the first instance of injustice. There are no indications that Job 24:2 should be read figuratively, rather, all the injustices in Job 24 are intended to be understood as actual breaches of proper social conduct that the deity should punish.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ Good, "Alternative to Alt," 282. Good notes that Gibeah is a source of primal sin for Israel in Hosea 9:9 and 10:9, while Bethel and Ramah were sanctuary towns.

²⁹⁸ Good, "Alternative to Alt," 283–284.

²⁹⁹ Good, "Alternative to Alt," 277. The letter of Hammurabi to Šamaš-Ḥašir cited above is relevant to this discussion; Šamaš-Ḥašir's failure is not a boundary violation, but rather it is the severity of the breach that is comparable (Thureau-Dangin, "Hammurapi avec Šamaš-Ḥašir," 12): *kīma ša itām rabiām tētiqa panukunu ul ibbabbalu*.

³⁰⁰ So Clines, *Job 24–37*, 602–603.

Violating boundaries in Job 24:2 is a textbook case of social injustice.³⁰¹ This generic use of displacing boundaries as a paradigmatic crime is comparable to the generalized confessions made in Šurpu II and III. In Šurpu II and III, as in Job 24:2, there is no indication that violating the boundary was figurative. Rather, it was a generic offense, one type of offense that could incur divine punishment.

3.4.3 Figurative Usage of the Prohibition against Violating Boundaries

A subtle textual detail in Hos 5:10 must be addressed at this point. Through the use of the preposition כ (כמסיגי גבול), Hos 5:10 has created a simile that compares the chiefs of Judah to those who displace boundaries. The intent of this figuration is the issue at the heart of Good's disagreement with Alt. Using Roger White's heuristic approach, the difference between Good and Alt can be illustrated clearly.³⁰² For Alt,

The chiefs/princes of Judah annex the territory (גבול) of Benjamin

just as

violators of the boundary violate the boundary of their neighbor (גבול רעיכם).

³⁰¹ Under the influence of Good's reading of Hosea, J. Andrew Dearman states, "The displacing of a family or clan's boundary is a crime in the Deuteronomic code and resides under a collective curse (Deut. 19:14; 27:17) It is an affront to the ancestors, a threat to the inheritance and livelihood of a family, and strikes at the heart of a community's life. If the accusation in 5:10 is influenced by the ethos of the Deuteronomic code, then it is tantamount to saying that Judah resides under a curse overseen by YHWH" (Dearman, *Hosea*: 184–185).

³⁰² White, *Structure of Metaphor*, 107–108: "We may think of the metaphor as having arisen as a result of conflating two . . . sentences, thereby establishing an analogical comparison between these two situations, inviting the reader to see the first situation, the situation actually being metaphorically described, in terms of the second situation."

For Alt, the reconstructed actions of the princes of Judah is property theft writ large; the point of comparison for the simile is theft. Good proposes a different comparison:

The chiefs/princes of Judah break covenant with YHWH

just as

violators of the boundary break covenant with YHWH by stealing property.

Alt's reconstruction is almost completely non-figurative. A simple analogy is drawn between an individual's territory and the territory of Benjamin. In Good's reconstruction, the violated boundary is figurative and pertains more generally to the right conduct required by obedience to YHWH.

3.4.4 Summary

Hos 5:10 is the only possible example of *הסיג גבול* as a legal metaphor in the Hebrew Bible. Following Good, I think that it intends to convey breaking faith with YHWH rather than the specific act of Judahite officials annexing territory from Benjamin. The idea of violating a boundary as paradigmatically evil behavior in Job 24:2 suggests that the behavior might have been seen as a particularly paradigmatic example of breaking faith with YHWH.

3.5 METAPHORICAL BOUNDARY VIOLATIONS IN HELLENISTIC JEWISH TEXTS

Hellenistic Jewish texts, including Philo's works, employ the prohibition against violating boundaries as a metaphor for prohibiting various kinds of unethical behaviors. Employment of the prohibition, moreover, is often clearly dependent upon biblical allusions.³⁰³ None of the extant Hellenistic Jewish texts use the prohibition to express a legal concern for preserving property lines, although Philo demonstrates that this first-order legal usage was still current. Hellenistic Jewish usage of the prohibition displays a diversity of formulation not found in the Hebrew Bible in the verbs that govern גבול: boundaries can be transgressed (עבר), broken out of (פרץ), and removed (נסע), as well as violated. Other diversity is encountered as well: the boundaries that must not be displaced or transgressed include those of Torah, marriage, and wealth; there are divinely set boundaries that demarcate all the significant details of a person's life; and individuals may set their own boundaries in the light of divine ordinances as an act of piety.

3.5.1 Violating Boundaries as a Spatial Metaphor for Sin

In CD I 16 and V 20, removing the boundary is one of the sins committed by previous generations. The identity of the sinners is somewhat obscure. Menahem

³⁰³ This is most clearly seen in CD I 16, which nearly exactly matches Deut 19:14, and CD XIX 15–16, which employs a citation formula before its quotation of Hos 5:10.

Kister argues that CD I speaks of a halakic disagreement in the community's recent past.³⁰⁴ By contrast, Yonder Gillihan argues that the similar language in CD V 20 refers to the devastation of the land by Babylon.³⁰⁵ Whether in the recent or distant past, both passages use (re)moving the boundary in similar ways as part of a scripturally-tinged argument against breaking covenant with God. In CD I 14–15, a “scoffer” (איש הלצון) dripped the water of lies (מימי כזב) on Israel and caused Israel to wander in a trackless wilderness. The actions of the scoffer, which led to the judgment coming upon the community (I 17), are further described with three infinitival phrases: bringing down ancient heights (להשח גבהות עולם), turning away from righteous paths (ולסור מנתיבות צדק), and removing the boundaries with which the former ones marked their inheritance (ולסיע גבול אשר גבלו ראשנים בנהלתם).³⁰⁶ The passage as a whole is replete with allusions to the Hebrew Bible.³⁰⁷ The scoffer is reminiscent of scoffers (אנשי הלצון) encountered in Isa 28:14 and Prov 29:8. In Isa 28:14, these scoffers are rulers who lead the people into an ill-advised covenant with death through their falsehood (כזב). In Prov 29:8, scoffers inflame a city (אנשי

³⁰⁴ Kister, “Qumran Halakhah,” 576.

³⁰⁵ Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 141–142.

³⁰⁶ Because both CD and 4Q266 2 II read לסיע rather than לסיג, this reading is not likely to be a simple scribal error. The C stem of נסע, employed here, has the sense of “to remove.” Rofé suggests a scribal error in the other direction, stating that the Septuagint’s μετακινήσεις in Deut 19:14 and CD’s לסיע suggest that נסע was original to Deut 19:14 and that the MT was emended by a scribe who recognized the more common הסיג גבול (Rofé, *Studies*, 39). Rofé adduces support from the fact that נסע is translated with κινεω three times in the Septuagint (Gen 11:2, Gen 20:1, and Isa 33:20). However, the numbers are not necessarily in Rofé’s favor: μετακινεω is not used to translate נסע in the Septuagint, and נסע occurs 146 times in the MT, thus indicating that κινεω is not its typical translation. While it is noteworthy that סוג is translated differently by the Septuagint in Deut 19:14 and 27:17, the best explanation is not a textual error in the MT of Deut 19:14. As will be noted, CD pairs גבול with several verbs. Intentional choice by the composer of CD is the best explanation of its textual phenomena.

³⁰⁷ See Jonathan Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8, 19–20*, BZAW 228 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), especially pages 56, 92.

(לצון יפיהו קריה), by contrast, wise persons turn aside wrath (והכמים ישיבו אף). Wandering in a trackless waste reflects Job 12:24 or Psalm 107:40 (ויתעם בתהו לא-), (באר-חצדקה אהלך בתוך נתיבות משפט) (דרך). The paths of justice occur in Prov 8:20 (מסיגי הגבול), although not with the exact phrasing. The reference to bringing down the eternal heights does not have clear biblical antecedents. The overall effect of the web of allusions draws attention to treacherous leadership and its devastating communal effects. Within this allusive context, the boundary prohibition countenances transgressing the boundaries of proper behavior.

CD V 20 uses similar terminology, sharing the collocation of displacing the boundaries (מסיגי הגבול) and leading Israel astray (ויתעו) in the age of devastation. The age of devastation (קץ חרבן הארץ) and the desolation of the land (V 21, ותישם) likely refer to the conquest by the Babylonians.³⁰⁸ In these two passages, the metaphor might be construed as follows: Past transgressions of divine law fell under divine judgment *just as* the displacement of the boundaries lies under divine judgment.

CD XIX 15–16 and XX 25 speak of future judgment for those who displace the boundaries; CD XIX 15–16 includes a formal citation of Hos 5:10.³⁰⁹ In the context, Hos 5:10 is linked to a coming day of punishment (הוא היום אשר יפקד אל; XIX 15). CD XX 25 also speaks of a future judgment for all those who enter, and subsequently violate, the covenant. (וכל אשר פרצו את גבול התורה). The verbal root פרץ further

³⁰⁸ Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 141.

³⁰⁹ There are three differences between MT Hos 5:10 and CD XIX 15–16, two of which are orthographic. In the third, CD drops the MT's 1cs possessive suffix on עברה.

develops the imagery. Although DCH suggests that transgression is intended, פָּרַץ may connote a more destructive act like breaching.³¹⁰ The usage in these examples is similar to CD I 16 and V 20, although XX 25 is striking by further specifying the boundaries of Torah. Those who breach the boundaries of divine Torah will suffer divine judgment just as those who violate boundaries also face divine judgment.

In 4Q266 (4Q Damascus Document^a), two additional references are found. First, in an introduction not found in CD, the text warns of God's wrath against the displacers of the boundaries (למסיגי גבול). Second, in fragment 11, lines 12–13, while blessing God, the priest says, "You established boundaries for us and you curse those who transgress them" (וגבולות הגבלתה לנו אשר את עובריהם ארוותה). A different verb has been used to describe the act of wrongdoing, so the metaphor is slightly different—transgressing (עבר), rather than altering, a fixed boundary.³¹¹ However, the language is still strongly reminiscent of Deuteronomy, sharing Deut 19's use of the denominative verb גבל to describe God setting a boundary as well as the curse language of Deut 27.

One noteworthy aspect of these Damascus Document references is the variety of verbal roots employed. Where the boundary prohibition in the Hebrew Bible consistently employed הסיג, the Damascus Document uses the roots נסע, עבר, and פָּרַץ in addition to the expected ש/סוג. Several points should be made. First, in CD I 16, there is only one consonantal difference between the text's ולסיע and the

³¹⁰ DCH s.v. פָּרַץ meaning 11 for "transgress" (citing only CD and Hos 4:2); meaning 4 for "breach, break down; cf. wall, fence Is 5:5; Ps 80:13; Eccl 10:8, גדרה wall Ps 89:41."

³¹¹ As noted above, boundaries and their markers were subject to both violation and destruction in Mesopotamian texts.

anticipated ולסיג. This form, ולסיע, is unlikely to be a scribal error in CD I 16 because it also occurs in 4Q266 2 I, 19 (להסיע). It is possible that the composer desired to create a subtle pun on the biblical form (which the composer clearly knows, given the explicit citations of Hos 5:10 in CD XIX, 15–16). Second, as noted above, crossing (עבר) a boundary is a biblical locution describing entry into the territory of another polity. Third, since the composer of the Damascus Document routinely alludes to scripture, it is possible that the composer might have conceived of גבול as a barrier or fence that could be breached in CD XX, 25. Indeed, in Ezek 40:12, גבול is some sort of a barrier, and this may have influenced the present usage. In all of these occurrences in the Damascus Document, the figurative sense of גבול seems to be constant, referring to an ethical boundary (set by God or the Torah) that must not be violated. The kinds of violations are more varied, which is a testament to the flexibility with which the composer utilized biblical locutions.

The wisdom text 4Q424 (4QSapiential Text) 3:9 as well as a fragment of the text known as 4QCurses (4Q280) appear to confirm the currency of the metaphor. The fragment from 4QCurses only clearly has the letters [שיגו הגב], However, this led Bilhah Nitzan to conclude that it represents an allusion to violating the boundary. She comments:

This phrase from Deut. 19:14, 27:17 (cf. Prov. 22:28, 23:10; Hos 5:10; Job 24:2) is here used metaphorically to define those who comment falsely on the commandments of the Law, and thus remove its fixed border. Cf. 4Q266 1 4; 4Q 266 3 ii 7 (= 4Q 267 2 4; CD V 20) and 4Q266 2 i 19 – 20 (= CD I 16). The context of this term is obscure here. If it is mentioned within a curse, it may echo Deut. 27:17 or to Hos 5:10 (cf. CD XIX 13–21, where Hos 5:10 is

cited as a proof text for the punishment of those who intentionally break the covenant).³¹²

Although portions of 4Q424 are damaged, John Kampen argues that 4Q424 3, 9 describes a righteous person as one who contends with all those who violate the boundary (הוא בעל ריב לכול מסיגי גבול).³¹³ The pronoun הוא likely refers to איש חיל in line 8. Sarah Tanzer notes that eleven preserved or reconstructed sayings in 4Q424 begin with איש “a person who;” it is one of the identifiable literary forms in the text.³¹⁴ Like occurrences in the Damascus Document, 4Q424 envisions מסיגי גבול as a moral violation worthy of judgment. Significantly, it seems to depict a human agent as the opponent (בעל ריב) of the מסיגי גבול.³¹⁵

This usage of violating the boundary describes sins past and present, in spatial terms. Meir Malul notes that a number of biblical conceptions of sin conceive of it in spatial terms:

A cursory perusal of such Heb. terms and verbs as *pāšaʿ*, *ḥāṭaʿ*, *nābal/nibbel*, *ʿāwâ*, as well as their derived nouns *pešaʿ*, *ḥēṭʿâ*, etc., *nābāl*, *ʿāwôn*, reveals their basically spatial nuance of moving aside or outside of some accepted lines of conduct. The sinner or criminal is the person who transgresses some established border, misses some agreed upon line of conduct, or twists his way.... Crime and sin, according to the biblical *Weltanschauung*, were thus perceived in spatial terms, as displacing out, transgressing, or trespassing the borders of society.³¹⁶

³¹² Bilhah Nitzan, “4Q280” in Chazon, et al., *Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, DJD XXIX (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 8.

³¹³ John Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 306.

³¹⁴ Sarah Tanzer, “4QInstruction-like Composition A” in S. Pfann, et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*, DJD XXXVI (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 335.

³¹⁵ Since Proverbs 23:11 includes the phrase הוא יריב את ריבם אתך, I think there is warrant for considering 4Q424’s language to be a direct reflection of the Proverbs text. This suggestion depends on a change of subject in the no-longer-extant end of the previous line.

³¹⁶ Meir Malul, *Knowledge, Control, and Sex*, 454–455.

Although *הסיג* is not one of the verbs Malul mentions, it fits the pattern. When sin is described in spatial terms, a phrase like *הסיג גבול* is easily employed to describe ethical failures.

3.5.2 4QInstruction and the Boundaries of a Divinely Granted Inheritance

Another metaphorical usage of the boundary prohibition occurs in 4QInstruction, where it occurs twice as a metaphor for moving beyond one's divinely ordained situation in life. In 4Q416 2 III, 8–9, the poor are warned not to long for anything other than their inheritance: *אביון אתה אל תתאו זולת נחלתכה ואל תתבלע בה פן תסיג גבולכה* (“You are poor. Do not desire (anything) except for your inheritance and do not be consumed by it, lest you violate your boundary”). 4QInstruction collocates violating the boundary with one's inheritance, something not seen, e.g., in the Damascus Document. Thus, it is necessary to understand the way in which 4QInstruction understands inheritance. Matthew Goff argues that 4QInstruction describes one's inheritance and boundaries as expressions of one's divinely granted place in life. Goff writes,

In 4Q416 2 iii 8–9 the phrase asserts that the inheritance of the *mebin* is his proper domain. Urging him not to displace the boundary is a spatial metaphor that teaches him not to be confused about his inheritance, and to stay within his assigned allotment in his life.³¹⁷

Goff states that while *נחלה* is frequently an economic term in the Hebrew Bible, it can have a theological meaning, “describing a special allotment given to particular

³¹⁷ Matthew Goff, *4QInstruction*, 102–103.

individuals by God.”³¹⁸ This theological meaning should not be divorced from the legal sense of נחלה. It is precisely because נחלה has legal currency that it helpfully describes divine providence.³¹⁹ Goff contends that 4QInstruction typically uses נחלה to refer to divine allocation and notes further that “4QInstruction, reflecting a deterministic mindset, claims that everyone has an inheritance: ‘For God has distributed the inheritance of [eve]ry [living being]’ (4Q418 81 20; cf. 4Q423 5 3).”³²⁰ Thus, when 4QInstruction warns a poor man not to try to become rich, the metaphor can be construed as follows: A poor man who desires to become rich rejects his divinely set boundaries *just as* a man who annexes part of his neighbor’s field rejects his divinely set boundaries.

4Q416 2 IV, 6, part of a longer passage on the relationship between husbands and wives in the same text, makes another reference to the boundary prohibition. In this section, having dominion over another’s wife is linked to displacing the boundary: ואשר ימשול בה זולתכה הסיג גבול חייהו, “And whoever would have dominion over her, except for you, has displaced the boundary of his life.” The boundary language reinforces the point 4QInstruction makes in its exegesis of Genesis 2–3.³²¹ The metaphor can be construed as follows:

³¹⁸ Goff, *4QInstruction*, 101.

³¹⁹ Cf. White, *Structure of Metaphor*, 117: “Because descriptions of two different situations have been thus superimposed to produce a sentence that may be regarded as simultaneously describing both, we are led to view one situation as if it were the other, and to explore it in terms of the other.”

³²⁰ Goff, *4QInstruction*, 101–102.

³²¹ This fragment begins with a reflection on Genesis 2:24 and its call for exclusivity between husband and wife. The verb משל, found in Genesis 3:16, is used in 4Q416’s reflection on the passage.

A man who exercises dominion over the wife of another rejects his divinely set boundaries

just as

a man who annexes part of his neighbor's field rejects his divinely set boundaries.³²²

The idea that one's spouse is a divine grant is found in Prov 19:14: "House and wealth are a patrimonial inheritance, but an insightful wife is (a grant) from YHWH" (בית והון נחלת אבות ומיהודה אשה משכלת). 4QInstruction therefore speaks against encroaching on the boundaries of such a divine grant.

4QInstruction's use of the boundary prohibition moves into the realm of desires and self-control. John Kampen states, "In *Instruction* the concern about removing the boundary has to do with the religious and personal effects of lusting after something that is beyond you or not yours."³²³ In the case of another person's wife, this is quite clearly also described as sin.³²⁴ The infraction in 2 III, 8–9 has verbal links to the Tenth Commandment and to warnings against desiring the food of rulers, the food of stingy people, or envying the wicked in Proverbs 23–24. So it is possible to argue that 4QInstruction also uses the spatial understanding of sin discussed above. But by adding the element of inheritance in 4Q416 2 III, 8–9, thus linking to the use of inheritance language in 4QInstruction, it becomes apparent that

³²² As noted in Chapter Two, the idea that the boundaries of a person's life resulted from divine benefaction is expressed in Psalm 16.

³²³ Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 75.

³²⁴ Malul, *Knowledge, Control, and Sex*, 240, argues that *משל* can have sexual connotations in the Hebrew Bible and that it probably does in Genesis 3:16 and 4Q416.

a broader legal framework is being employed: Inheritances have boundaries that must not be transgressed.

Meir Malul argues that נהלה properly signifies a place within the social matrix of a particular group, such as a family or clan.³²⁵ Malul's analysis offers another way for understanding the use of inheritance language in 4QInstruction: one's inheritance, with its proper boundaries, is a place within a divinely established matrix. In the Community Rule, those who enter the community are to love "all the sons of light, each according to his lot in the counsel of God" (ולאהוב כול בני אור איש) (כגורלו בעצת אל; 1QS I, 9–10). The rigid order and structure described in the Community Rule suggests a similar conception of each person having a specific place within the divine economy, one that can be determined by examination of a person's life (as in 1QS II, 22–23) but which is fixed from all eternity (as in 1QS IV, 1).³²⁶

³²⁵ Malul, *Knowledge, Control, and Sex*, 449: "In discussing the concept of status as it seems to have been perceived by the ancients, we noted its strong spatial load, as is evident from the very etymology of the term itself. Elsewhere I suggested that the Heb. word *māqôm*, lit. 'place, space' (in the physical-local sense) may, in fact, also carry the jural-structural sense of 'position' = status. A person who has a status within the social structure has thus a footing within some social-structural matrix, which appears as though it is actually and physically drawn or incised on the ground."

³²⁶ See also Ari Mermelstein, "Love and Hate at Qumran: The Social Construction of Sectarian Emotion," *DSD* 20 (2013): 237–263. Mermelstein analyzes emotional language at Qumran (primarily love and hatred) as vehicles for shaping the social values of the covenant community. He argues that "love and hate served as vehicles for *constructing* and *embracing* the group's distinctive worldview, according to which only the sect enjoyed a covenantal relationship with God. Divine love and hate, as we will see, were presented as the basis for the relative positions of sectarians and nonsectarians in the divine pecking order, and sectarian love of insiders and hatred of outsiders served as emotional endorsements of this value system (241)." The "divine pecking order" determines the status of individuals; the community's attitudes and behaviors were to reflect that order.

3.5.3 Setting a Boundary as Personal Piety

Two references in 1QS X use גבול without השיג to express a positive commitment to pious behavior. In 1QS X, 10–11, the speaker promises, ובהיותם אשים גבולי לבלתי שוב, “By the existence of [his statutes] I will set my boundary without turning.” Using the verb שים to describe the establishment of a boundary is a biblical locution, occurring twice to describe YHWH’s establishment of a boundary that the sea cannot cross (Ps 104:9, Jer 5:22). Rather than moving a boundary from where it had belonged or transgressing a boundary that had been set previously, the speaker in 1QS promises to establish a boundary in its proper place. This connection between statutes and boundary presents something of a contrast to CD XX, 25 discussed above. There, sin was transgressing the boundary of Torah; here, obedience consists of remaining inside the boundaries created by divine statutes. In the lines that follow, the speaker promises to accept the justice of God, to live according to his judgments, and to continually praise him. These positive acts in 1QS form boundaries within which the pious person can live.

In 1QS X, 25, the speaker promises: ובערמת דעת אשוך ○דה גבול סמוך (“with discretion of knowledge I shall hedge ... with a fixed boundary”). There is a damaged word, which García Martínez and Tigchelaar reconstruct as בעדה, “(behind) him” which is then comparable to Job 3:23: ויסך אלוה בעדו, “when God has hedged him in.”³²⁷ However, Job 3:23 has a clear antecedent for בעדו (גבר, “a man,” occurs at the

³²⁷ García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1:97 (hereafter DSSSE). Sarianna Metso concurs (*The Community Rule: A Critical Edition with Translation* [Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019], 54), citing Pierre Guilbert’s commentary in Carmignac and Guilbert, *Les Textes de Qumran: Traduits et Annotés* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961), 75. Guilbert takes דעת as the object

beginning from the verse), but no clear antecedent occurs in 1QS X, 25.³²⁸ William Brownlee's commentary on 1QS reads הַעֲדָה, "the assembly," which provides a clearer object for אֲשׁוֹךְ.³²⁹ In either reading, the speaker pledges to use wisdom to enclose something "in order to guard faithfulness and strong judgment for the righteousness of God" (לְשׁוֹר אֲמִנִים וּמִשְׁפָּט עוֹז לְצַדִּיקָת אֵל). The speaker will defend and protect these types of boundaries; fittingly, those boundaries will be firm.

The idea that personal and communal boundaries are divinely set and appropriate has already been seen in 4QInstruction. 1QS X adds the idea that an individual might commit to setting and maintaining similar boundaries as an act of piety.

3.5.4 Other Examples in the Dead Sea Scrolls

גבול is relatively common in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but its other occurrences do not connote concern for violated boundaries. John Kampen argues that two occurrences

of בעדה, stating "Une frontière solide entoure ainsi la connaissance et lui permet de rester secrète" (a solid border therefore surrounds knowledge and permits it to remain secret). The difficulty with this reading is that it makes דעת both the protected object and the agent of its protection.

³²⁸ If ה- is a pronominal suffix, then the referent should be feminine, but the closest antecedent would be דעת "knowledge" at the end of X 24. בערמת דעת in X 25 is feminine, but apparently functions similarly to בעצת תושיה in X 24: both seem to describe the wisdom of the speaker that enables the skillful performance of her or his duties. However, while the scribal protection of wisdom is found in texts such as 4Q542, 1QS X, 25–26 seems to express a positive responsibility toward the community of the faithful.

³²⁹ According to William H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline* (New Haven: ASOR, 1951), 43, "a lacuna here makes the word quite uncertain." The lacuna is such that the top half of the final ה can be seen, one horn of the head of the preceding letter can be seen (which would be consistent with the way the scribe wrote other הs in the same column), and, with some imagination, the place where the scribe might have started a letter or two preceding that.

of גבול in 4Q298 3–4 II, 1, 3 should be interpreted in line with the boundary passages in CD, but the text is too broken to allow for certainty.³³⁰ There are no other clear uses of, or allusions to, the boundary prohibition in the published Dead Sea Scrolls. The clear instances of using the phrase show that it could occur in multiple contexts, both positive and negative, as part of two distinguishable metaphorical contexts — sin as transgressing a boundary, with the converse sense of obedience as remaining inside a boundary, and as the boundary of one’s inheritance.

3.5.5 The Testament of Issachar

While the date of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs and the extent of Christian interpolations in the text are matters of significant scholarly debate, the Testament of Issachar includes a clear reference to displacing the boundary in the context of proper piety. T. Issachar 7:1–7 describes the piety of Issachar in terms of sexual propriety, sobriety, refusal to covet property, honesty, solidarity, and hospitality. At the end of this long list, Issachar states, “I did not transgress the boundaries (ὄριον οὐκ ἔλυσσα); I acted in piety and truth all my days.” Two of these concerns have significant similarities to the boundary language in 4QInstruction are striking: Issachar did not have “intercourse with any woman other than [his] wife” and “was not passionately eager for any desirable possession of my neighbor.”³³¹ As the

³³⁰ Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 276–277.

³³¹ The Greek text reads πλὴν τῆς γυναικός μου, οὐκ ἔγνω ἄλλην (7:2a) and πᾶν ἐπιθύμημα τοῦ πλησίου οὐκ ἐπόθησα (7:3b).

concluding sentiment of the list, Issachar's refusal to violate boundaries serves as a metonym for piety in general.

3.5.6 Conclusion Regarding Boundary Violation in Hellenistic Jewish Texts

In the Hellenistic Jewish texts surveyed above, the prohibition against displacing boundaries may refer to the sins of the past, present ethical prohibitions, and pious commitments. The metaphorical use of this prohibition rests upon awareness of this literal meaning, without which, figurative use of the prohibition would be meaningless. The variety of metaphorical uses for which the prohibition is employed demonstrates that displacing boundaries was considered a useful literary device by the composers of these texts.

3.6 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have followed Roger White's argument that metaphor depends not on a special register of language, but upon the juxtaposition of two ordinary sets of vocabulary. The ancient Near Eastern social and legal worlds that prohibit the violation of boundaries provided a register of legal diction from which boundary metaphors could be drawn. Amenemope, *kudurrus*, MAL, and a court case from Nuzi demonstrated that protecting boundaries was a real social concern in these varied times and places. That social and legal concern is mirrored in the Hebrew Bible in

Proverbs, Deuteronomy, and Job. Metaphorical application of boundary language occurred alongside the legal language of violated boundaries, particularly in use of the Mesopotamian phrase *itû etēqu* to describe the transgression of divinely set boundaries and in Hosea 5:10's description of Judahite nobles as מסיגי גבול. Metaphorical application did not supplant or change the meaning of the legal prohibition, but applied it to ethical concerns.

The use of גבול in Hellenistic Jewish texts might seem divorced from the legal context envisioned in Proverbs and Deuteronomy, since הסיגי גבול and its offshoots are not encountered in halakic contexts. I argued that the legal sense of the phrase was still current on the basis of Philo's acknowledgment of the literal, legal meaning in *Spec. Laws* 4.149–150. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, legal metaphors based on the violated boundary apply to ethical behavior guided by Torah and to practices of proper piety.

4.0 INHERITING WISDOM IN HELLENISTIC JEWISH TEXTS: TRACKING A NETWORK OF INHERITANCE METAPHORS

In Lamentations 5:2, the speaker evokes a national crisis: “Our inheritance has been turned over to strangers, our houses to foreigners” (נחלתנו נהפכה לזרים בתינו לנכרים).

This disenfranchisement is described further in the next verse, “We are orphans—without father—our mothers are as widows” (יתומים היינו אין אב אמתינו כאלמנות).

There is little reason to doubt that these words reflect upon real social upheaval caused by Babylonian depredations. A lament found at Qumran, 4Q501, borrows this

language, but changes the voice to the imperative, demanding that God “not give our inheritance to strangers or our produce to foreigners” (אל תתן לזרים נחלתנו ויגיענו לבני

נכר). 4Q501 essentially rephrases biblical laments; although Adele Berlin suggests

that it is a sophisticated appropriation of biblical laments that speaks from a

sectarian perspective about the harm raised by the words of Jewish opponents

rather than foreign conquerors.³³² A more fundamental transformation takes place

in the Testament of Qahat (4Q542) and 4QBeatitudes (4Q525), in which the

language about an inheritance that has been given to foreigners is applied to

wisdom (4Q525) and to priestly teaching (4Q542). The examples of 4Q542 and

4Q525 will be discussed later in this chapter.

³³² Adele Berlin, “Qumran Laments and the Study of Lament Literature,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19-23 January, 2000*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003): 14–15.

The appropriation of inheritance language to depict the transmission of wisdom is the subject of the current chapter. The nature of the inheritance of wisdom will require a somewhat different approach than the previous chapter, which dealt with the use and reuse of a specific phrase, *הסיג גבול*, in the Hebrew Bible and Hellenistic Jewish literature. The antecedents in biblical language about the inheritance of wisdom are less direct and their formulation varies more widely. Nevertheless, in this present chapter, I argue that the inheritance of wisdom draws on legal conceptions of inheritance that were discussed in Chapter Two and applies inheritance language to the reception, possession, and promulgation of wisdom. The idea that wisdom is an inheritance is encountered in Hellenistic Jewish texts such as Sirach, 4QBeatitudes, and 4Q185. It might also occur in fragmentary contexts in 4Q426 and 4Q487. I will further argue that the idea of inheriting truth in texts like the Genesis Apocryphon, the Testament of Qahat (4Q542), and the Aramaic Levi Document is a related concept.³³³ In all of this material, we encounter a significant expansion of the metaphorical reapplication of the inheritance language embedded in law.

The picture that emerges from this investigation is a network of interrelated metaphors pertaining to wisdom as an inheritance. Not only can wisdom be thought of as an inheritance, the conveyance and reception of wisdom can be thought of as a

³³³ I will refer to the Testament of Qahat (4Q542) as TQ and the Aramaic Levi Document as ALD throughout the rest of the chapter. ALD is a composite text reconstructed from several leaves of manuscripts found in the Cairo Genizah, several DSS fragments (4Q213, 4Q213a, 4Q213b, 4Q214, 4Q214a, 4Q214b), and several interpolations in Greek versions of the Testament of Levi. See Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*, SVTP 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1–5.

bequest. Furthermore, the person who is the source of wisdom can be thought of as the grantor of an inheritance, while wisdom, like other tangible objects of inheritance, should not be conveyed to an improper recipient. These images are interrelated, but have not typically been treated as parts of a coherent whole. Benjamin Wright III has argued that a different image, namely the sage as father, is the root metaphor from which the larger network of metaphors just enumerated derives. However, I argue against Wright's position and assert that wisdom as an inheritance is the best way to organize the relationship between wisdom, text, student, and authoritative speaker.

4.1 ACQUIRING WISDOM IN HELLENISTIC JEWISH TEXTS

The acquisition of wisdom is a topic of significant interest in the book of Proverbs; this concern is developed further in subsequent biblical and Hellenistic Jewish texts. In this section, I will trace the development of the idea of wisdom as divine revelation.

4.1.1 Wisdom as Divine Revelation

According to Michael V. Fox, the wisdom found in the book of Proverbs was a combination of acquired knowledge and practical application: "*Hokmah* is essentially a high degree of knowledge and skill in any domain. It combines a broad faculty (including the powers of reason, discernment, cleverness) and knowledge

(communicable information, that which is known and can be learned).”³³⁴ Fox states further, “*Hokmah* is not inert knowledge. You could memorize the book of Proverbs and not have *hokmah*.”³³⁵ Fox’s description of wisdom is even more dynamic in his earlier essay, “Ideas of Wisdom in Proverbs 1–9.” There, he argues,

Wisdom is not an inert body of knowledge, a mass of facts and rules. It is certainly not an esoteric corpus of truths resistant to human penetration. Wisdom is like a living, sentient organism, requiring interaction with other minds for its own vitality and realization.”³³⁶

If wisdom is understood in this way, its pursuit must be a dynamic process of acquisition. This kind of dynamic process is described in Proverbs 3–4. In Prov 3:13, at the beginning of an exhortation to acquire wisdom, wisdom must be found and obtained: “Happy is the person who finds wisdom, and the person who obtains understanding” (אשרי אדם מצא חכמה ואדם יפיק תבונה). At the close of that exhortation, wisdom must be possessed and grasped: “It is a tree of life for those who possess it and the one who grasps it is happy” (עץ-חיים היא (למחזיקים בה ותמכיה מאשר). In Prov 4:5, the listener is exhorted: “Acquire wisdom! Acquire understanding!” (קנה חכמה קנה בינה). In Prov 4:7, the exhortation is expanded: “At the beginning of wisdom, acquire wisdom! And alongside your every acquisition, acquire understanding!” (ראשית חכמה קנה ובכל-קנייך קנה (בינה). These descriptions of the process of acquiring wisdom are tinged with commercial language. Prov 3:18 uses החזיק and תמך—discussed in Chapter

³³⁴ Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 32.

³³⁵ Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 33.

³³⁶ Fox, “Ideas of Wisdom in Proverbs 1–9,” *JBL* 116 (1997): 631.

Two—החזיק clearly can refer to the possession of property in post-biblical Hebrew. The economic value of wisdom is likewise emphasized in Prov 3:14–15: “for its profit is better than profit from silver, and better than gold is its revenue; it is more precious than jewels and all your precious stones are not comparable to it” (כי טוב סחרה מסחר־כסף ומחרוץ תבואתה יקרה היא מפניים וכל־הפציד לא (ישוּר־בה). The verb קנה is primarily an economic term, describing acquisition through purchase.³³⁷ Thus, the acquisition of wisdom is described often with commercial language.

As valuable as Fox’s insight is, his contention that Israelite wisdom was not a body of knowledge that could be mastered must be reconsidered in the light of the use of proverbs as part of a scribal curriculum. William Schniedewind asserts that collections of proverbs served as the final stage of elementary scribal instruction.³³⁸ He states further that “the editors of the Book of Proverbs utilized the scribal curriculum, collecting individual sayings and compiling collections, but that the canonical book was not intended as a school text itself.”³³⁹ As an element of scribal education, the contents of Proverbs included material to be mastered by the proficient scribe. The scribe could then trade on the wisdom he had acquired.

Scribal wisdom continued to develop in the Hellenistic Jewish milieu. There are clear lines of continuity, including direct textual dependence, between Proverbs

³³⁷ HALOT, BDB, DCH; see also Gesenius 1174–1175.

³³⁸ William Schniedewind, “Proverbial Sayings,” in *The Finger of the Scribe: How Scribes Learned to Write the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 120.

³³⁹ Schniedewind, “Proverbial Sayings,” 134.

and texts like Sirach and 4QBeatitudes.³⁴⁰ Torlief Elgvin suggest that most of the wisdom literature at Qumran originated in the broader Hellenistic Jewish culture and these wisdom texts “neither display apocalyptic traits nor identity markers characteristic of the *Yahad*.”³⁴¹ Elgvin places Sirach, 4QBeatitudes, and 4Q185 within this stream of tradition, drawing a contrast between traditional sapiential texts and those with more explicitly apocalyptic concerns and content. For Elgvin, it is apocalyptic thought that marks a separate category of wisdom literature among the texts found at Qumran, distinct from the earlier, non-sectarian wisdom texts.³⁴² The distinction between non-apocalyptic and apocalyptic wisdom cannot be maintained too rigidly, as Machiela also notes: there is “a scholarly trend identifying ‘wisdom’ and ‘apocalyptic’ as intellectual streams that cannot be easily distinguished in at least some literature of the Second Temple period.”³⁴³ For both

³⁴⁰ Uusimäki argues that 4QBeatitudes represents a sustained effort to merge Prov 1–9 and Torah piety. Sirach also clearly reflects upon Proverbs. According to Skehan and DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 43: “Being a wisdom teacher himself, Ben Sira chose to reflect and comment especially on the sacred literature most like his own, the Book of Proverbs.... Ben Sira’s dependence on Proverbs can be detected in almost every portion of his book.”

³⁴¹ Torlief Elgvin, “Wisdom with and without Apocalyptic,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998; Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*, eds. Falk, García Martínez and Schuller, STDJ 35 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 17.

³⁴² There is a general consensus that wisdom and apocalyptic thought blend in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but scholars differ over the extent of apocalyptic influence in individual texts. 4QInstruction is the object of such discussion. The official publication of 4QInstruction by Strugnell and Harrington emphasizes the practical nature of the contents of the document. However, Florentino García Martínez argues that their translations underestimate the apocalyptic tone of the document (“Wisdom at Qumran: Worldly or Heavenly?” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, BETL 168 [Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2003], 1–17, see especially 6). For García Martínez the idea of apocalyptic revelation, prominent at the beginning of the document, is a legitimization strategy for the “corpus of instructions which follow” (“Wisdom at Qumran: Worldly or Heavenly?” 11). Elgvin’s argues for striking a dependence on Enochic literature in 4QInstruction, specifically in 4QInstruction’s appropriation of eschatological imagery from the Epistles of Enoch (diss. 169). Goff challenges Elgvin over the extent to which Enochic literature directly influences 4QInstruction, which will be relevant to the discussion of כבוד in the next chapter (Goff, *4QInstruction*, 262).

streams, true knowledge has become a matter of received divine revelation.³⁴⁴ This true knowledge includes insights into calendrical and astronomical science derived from a broader intellectual milieu, but which is presented as received revelation.³⁴⁵

While Machiela notes the importance of received revelation, the textual nature of the transmission of this revelation deserves greater emphasis. The “venerable figures like Enoch, Noah, Abram, Levi, and Daniel” are depicted either as authors of texts and/or have texts that are presented as authoritative copies of their words.³⁴⁶ The Aramaic testamentary literature is replete with “wisdom motifs,” as noted by Machiela.³⁴⁷ That same literature is also regularly concerned with the preservation and inheritance of wisdom in textual form. This inheritance of wisdom will be analyzed in detail later in this chapter, but deserves acknowledgment at the outset: Wisdom, even if it is perceived as divine revelation, is accessible in written form; as a written text wisdom is tangible and heritable.

³⁴³ Daniel Machiela, “‘Wisdom Motifs’ in the Compositional Strategy of the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20) and Other Aramaic Texts from Qumran,” in *HĀ-ĪSH MŌSHE: Studies in Scriptural Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature in Honor of Moshe J. Bernstein*, ed. Binyamin Y. Goldstein, Michael Segal, and George J. Brooke (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 241.

³⁴⁴ Machiela, “Wisdom Motifs,” 242: “There was one, licit way to attain knowledge of these heavenly ways, and that was by divine disclosure to a worthy recipient.”

³⁴⁵ Traced by Seth Sanders, “Enoch’s Knowledge and Apocalyptic Science” in *From Adapa to Enoch: Scribal Culture and Religious Vision in Judea and Babylon*, TSAJ 167 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017). See also Jonathan Ben-Dov, “Scientific Writings in Aramaic and Hebrew at Qumran: Translation and Concealment” in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence, 30 June-2 July 2008*, ed. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, STDJ 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 379–402; and Mladen Popović, “Physiognomic Knowledge in Qumran and Babylonia: Form, Interdisciplinarity, and Secrecy” *DSD* 13 (2006): 150–176.

³⁴⁶ Machiela, “Wisdom Motifs,” 242 for the “venerable figures...” But see Hindy Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and its Authority Conferring Strategies.” *JSJ* 30 (1999): 379–410 and Annete Yoshiko Reed, “Textuality between Death and Memory,” *JQR* 104 (2014): 381–412, for the importance of textuality. The work Najman and Reed will be discussed in some detail later in the chapter.

³⁴⁷ Machiela, “Wisdom Motifs.”

A further characteristic of Hellenistic wisdom is the equation of wisdom with Torah. This is widely acknowledged, and scholars including Wright, Crawford, and Uusimäki have recently traced the emergence of this equivalence in texts like 4QBeatitudes, 4Q185, Sirach, and Baruch. The composers of these texts align wisdom and Torah to make them nearly indistinguishable. Sirach 24:23 is explicit on this point—after hearing personified Wisdom speak, the text comments that “all this is the book of the covenant of the Most High.”³⁴⁸ The wisdom poem of 1 Baruch 3:9–4:4 is similar, describing wisdom as “the book of the commandments of God, the law that endures forever.”³⁴⁹ 4QBeatitudes, according to Uusimäki, equates wisdom and Torah: “the author of 4Q525 aspired to demonstrate to his audience that the wisdom of Proverbs is about torah.”³⁵⁰ Sidnie White Crawford argues that this is true of both 4QBeatitudes and 4Q185.³⁵¹ For Crawford, 4QBeatitudes makes this clear by saying, “Blessed is the man who attains wisdom and walks in the law of the

³⁴⁸ Skehan and DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, state that “Ben Sira is again the speaker” (336). Thus, Ben Sira is attempting to integrate the independent voice of Wisdom with the voice of Torah. Johann Cook may suggest an analogy rather than an identification between Wisdom and Torah when he translates 24:23 as, “All this is true of the book of the Most High’s covenant, the Law (νόμος) which Moses enjoined on us as a heritage for the community of Jacob” (Johann Cook, “Law and Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls with Reference to Hellenistic Judaism,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, BETL 168 [Leuven: Peeters, 2003], 327). The “all this” is the delightfulness and fulfillment provided by Wisdom in 24:19–22; the Torah is similarly delightful.

³⁴⁹ The dating of Baruch is uncertain (estimates range from 100 BCE to 100 CE), but it suggests proliferation of the equation of wisdom and Torah. It does uniquely tie language characteristic of Job 28 into the discussion; thus, for Baruch, unlike Sirach, wisdom is hidden from other nations.

³⁵⁰ Elisa Uusimäki, *Turning Proverbs Toward Torah: An Analysis of 4Q525*, STDJ 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 233.

³⁵¹ Sidnie White Crawford, “Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly at Qumran,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 365.

Most High” (2 II 3–4).³⁵² As a divine revelation, the Torah is enduring and lasting wisdom.

In summary, and perhaps uncontroversially, scholars have retained the position that Hellenistic Jewish texts often present wisdom as a divine revelation. Both the merger of the sapiential and apocalyptic streams of Jewish literature and the equation of Torah with wisdom share this conviction that wisdom is divinely revealed. But humans may also possess and expound wisdom. The introduction to 4QBeatitudes appears to have set out the text as a sage’s explication of “the wisdom God gave him” (בְּחֹכְמָה אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לּוֹ אֱלֹהִים) (4Q525 1, 1). The overlap between these depictions of wisdom as a divine grant and as a human capacity dovetail with the biblical language of inheritance, for נְחִלָּה can represent both a divinely initiated grant and a heritable human possession. Proverbs 4 presented wisdom as a treasure to be acquired. Wisdom as a נְחִלָּה, an idea not actually present in Proverbs, emphasizes the characteristics of wisdom found in Hellenistic Jewish texts: its origins in divine revelation and scribal reception and promulgation. Particularly when wisdom is textualized, it takes a form that can be received, conveyed, and inherited like other נְחִלּוֹת; this phenomenon is clearly observable in the Hellenistic Jewish texts I will consider in this chapter.

³⁵² Crawford, “Lady Wisdom,” 365.

4.1.2 The Relationship between Wisdom and Truth (Aramaic קשט)

Aramaic testamentary documents from Qumran do not prominently use the term חכמה, but have some notable affinities with several Hebrew language texts.³⁵³ Daniel Machiela argues that texts like the Genesis Apocryphon, ALD and TQ display “wisdom motifs,” which he describes as “a set of interrelated ideas concentrated especially in GenAp 6.1–6 and 19.23–31, grounded in the wide-ranging lexical/conceptual domains of חכמה ‘wisdom’ and קשט ‘truth’.”³⁵⁴ Machiela argues that these terms are inextricably linked in Genesis Apocryphon VI 1–6:

In these few lines, then, we find a dense web of positive terms describing Noah, most prominently קשט “truth” (six times), but also twice חכמה and once the Hebrew word אמת. These are balanced against the negative terms שקר “deceit,” חושך ‘darkness’ and חמס “violence,” which supply the inverted image of Noah’s conduct.³⁵⁵

Armin Lange concurs that that קשט functions in a sapiential or ethical way in the Genesis Apocryphon and other Aramaic texts. Lange argues that this usage of קשט is unique to “literature connected with heroes of Israel’s past such as ׳Amram, Daniel, Enoch, Elijah, Jacob, Levi, Noah, Qohath, and Tobit.”³⁵⁶ Commenting specifically on the Genesis Apocryphon, Lange contends that in VI 4 and VI 6, “חכמה equals קשט as

³⁵³ חכמה does occur prominently in the fragments of ALD (nine times in 4Q213) and occurs four times in the Genesis Apocryphon (VI 4, XIX 25, XX 7 and, according to Machiela’s reexamination, XIX 24; see Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*, STDJ 79 [Leiden: Brill, 2009], 72). חכמה does not occur in the Testament of Qahat.

³⁵⁴ Machiela, “Wisdom Motifs,” 223.

³⁵⁵ Machiela, “Wisdom Motifs,” 227.

³⁵⁶ Armin Lange, “So I Girded My Loins in the Vision of Righteousness and Wisdom, in the Robe of Supplication’ (1QapGen ar VI.4): קשט in The Book of the Words of Noah and Second Temple Jewish Aramaic Literature,” *Aramaic Studies* 8 (2010): 20.

another designation for the ethical order and structure of the universe” and that in XIX 25, “קושטא signifies thus not only a simple truth but the knowledge of the sage about the sapiential (righteous) order of the universe as does חכמה.”³⁵⁷

Genesis Apocryphon VI 1–6 and XIX 24–25 are significant for two additional specific reasons in this chapter. First, in Genesis Apocryphon VI 6, Noah claims to have taken possession of קושט (“when I, Noah, became a man, I took possession of truth and I took hold of...”; ...[בא]ד[ין הוית אנה נוה גבר ואחדת בקושטא ואתקפת ב...]. The verbs אהד and תקף, as discussed in Chapter Two, are also encountered in Aramaic property documents. Second, in Genesis Apocryphon XIX 24–25, the wisdom and truth that Abraham dispenses is textual in nature. The textual nature of wisdom is emphasized in TQ.

Like the Genesis Apocryphon, TQ describes קושט as a possession. TQ does not use the term חכמה, but employs “truth” (קושט) six times in the document. While there is an ethical component to TQ’s use of קושט when it appears in lists alongside terms like ישירו (1 I, 9) and צדקה (1 I, 12), there are other nuances to its use of קושט, such as veracity (“and according to everything that I taught you truly,” וככול די אלפתכון בקושוט 1 II, 1) and in the phrase “among the generations of the truth” (בדרי קושטא).³⁵⁸ Most significantly, קושט comes at the head of the list of seven items that characterize the priestly inheritance in 1 I, 12–13.³⁵⁹ קושט includes the carefully transmitted

³⁵⁷ Lange, “So I Girded My Loins,” 37, 42.

³⁵⁸ Edward Cook, “Remarks on the Testament of Kohath,” *JJS* 44 (1993): 214, notes Enochic parallels in which קושט is rendered in Greek by δακαιο- roots, particularly δακαιοσσύνη. This suggests that TQ displays the same equivalence between קושט and צדקה that Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I (1Q20): A Commentary*, 3rd ed (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004) claimed for Column VI in the Genesis Apocryphon.

inheritance (1 I, 4–5 is clearly related to the character traits of קושט) and proper teaching (אלפתכון בקושוט; of 1 II, 1). This inheritance, in book form, must be preserved and handed on to future generations (2 II, 9–13). The heritability of קושט in documentary form is a striking correspondence to the inheritance of wisdom in 4QBeatitudes and will be discussed further below.

The evidence of TQ and the Genesis Apocryphon is sufficient to argue that קושט overlaps significantly with the idea of wisdom in the Aramaic documents that employ קושט. As a result, I will consider these Aramaic documents alongside Hebrew texts that describe the inheritance of wisdom.

4.1.3 Texts that Collocate Wisdom or Truth and Inheritance

The inheritance of either wisdom or truth is found in the texts listed below in Table 4.1. Some of the texts prove unhelpful because of damage to their contexts; 4Q426 and 4Q487 are examples of this problem with respect to the inheritance of wisdom, several passages in 4QInstruction are examples of this problem with respect to the inheritance of truth. The problem of damaged context limits 4QBeatitudes (4Q525) to a lesser extent. The remaining texts will be considered in some detail as contributors to the network of metaphors surrounding wisdom and inheritance.

³⁵⁹ Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 66, argues that all seven terms qualify the inheritance.

Table 4.1: Wisdom or Truth and Inheritance			
Text	Wisdom as object	Personified wisdom	Truth as object
Prov 8:21		yes	
Sir 4:16		yes	
Sir 24:20		yes	
Sir 24:23	yes		
4Q185	yes		
4Q525 13	likely		
4Q525 14 II, 14	likely		
4Q426	maybe		
4Q487	yes		
1QS XI 5–8	yes		
1QS IV 24			yes
1QH ^a 18,28–29			yes
4Q171 1 IV, 12			yes
4Q284 4,3			yes
4Q413 1-2, 2			yes
4Q416 4, 3			yes
4Q417 20, 5			yes
4Q418 55, 6			yes
4Q418 88 II, 8			yes
4Q418 172, 5			yes
ALD	maybe: 13:7 (reconstruction), 13:10		maybe
4Q542			yes

4.2 WISDOM AND INHERITANCE METAPHORS

In the first chapter, I outlined a theory of metaphor that draws heavily upon the work of Roger White. White argues that metaphor should be understood as the juxtaposition of two vocabularies (such as the vocabularies of scribal education and inheritance law) that are not typically brought into contact with one another. A

metaphor depends upon the ability of its readers to successfully compare those vocabularies. And while the reader does not process a metaphor so simply, a metaphor can be construed heuristically as two sentences joined by a comparison such as this:

Wisdom is a gift that must be preserved

just as

A patrimonial estate is a gift that must be preserved

The two vocabularies under comparison share multiple points of potential contact, including source, content, conveyance, and recipients. I will consider each of these in turn.

4.2.1 The Inheritance That Wisdom Provides

The first texts under consideration present personified Wisdom as the source of an inheritance.³⁶⁰ In these texts, wisdom itself is not inherited, but rather grants an inheritance of other valuable commodities to its devotees. The first of these texts, Prov 8:17–21, likely influences the relatively similar texts in Sirach.

4.2.1.1 Proverbs 8:17–21

In Prov 8:17–21, Wisdom offers a tangible inheritance of wealth to her auditors. As is widely accepted, personified Wisdom is the speaker in Proverbs 8, starting with verse 4. In verses 4–9, she proclaims that her words are valuable for gaining

³⁶⁰ I will distinguish between wisdom and its personification by referring to the latter as Wisdom.

insight; verses 10–11 indicate that there is no precious commodity more valuable than she.³⁶¹ In verses 12–16, Wisdom is depicted as essential for proper governance.³⁶² In 8:17–21, Wisdom demonstrates her worth by emphasizing that she can bestow wealth on those who love her. The passage is replete with legal overtones, as has been partially recognized by commentators.³⁶³ However, several phrases have not been fully considered for their legal connections. When considered in full, Prov 8:17–21 in particular emphasizes that Wisdom grants good title to great wealth.³⁶⁴

The personification of Wisdom as a woman is instrumental in crafting the image of wisdom granting an inheritance. Inheritances are conveyed by persons—even the inheritances possessed by gods in ancient Near Eastern texts are likely the result of the distributions made by the chief gods.³⁶⁵ While Raymond Westbrook argued that property ownership was strictly agnatic in ancient Israel, even in

³⁶¹ The images of wisdom as an object beyond price and as an object that must be acquired at all cost are presented in Proverbs in terms of purchase (קנה); but Proverbs does not present wisdom as an inheritance (נחלה).

³⁶² Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 277.

³⁶³ Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 277–278; Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel. VI. Psalmen, Sprüche, und Hiob* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1918), 41.

³⁶⁴ While the idea of good title might seem anachronistic, Raymond Westbrook has argued that having full rights over access and alienability of a piece of property was significant in several land purchases in the Hebrew Bible, as in Abraham’s negotiations for a burial site in Gen 23. Abraham’s insistence upon paying full price and the reticence of the בני הַתּוֹרַיִם to let him do so is probably related to this concern (Westbrook, “Purchase of the Cave at Machpelah,” 27). Westbrook also believes that Ahab’s ability to purchase Naboth’s vineyard in 1 Kings 21 is legitimate because Ahab would not have attempted to acquire land for which he did not possess good title (Westbrook, “Law in Kings,” 453).

³⁶⁵ Deut 32:8–9; Forshey cites CT 46 7–13 for the gods assigning domains by lots (Forshey, “Hebrew Root NĦL,” 91). Forshey emphasizes that victory in battle, rather than patrimony, gives a god the right to assign domains (92), but it is not difficult to compare the prerogatives of kingship to the prerogatives of patrimony. The more significant point is simply that grants and inheritances are assigned and conveyed by persons.

ancient Israelite literature, a woman could be instrumental to the conveyance of an inheritance, as is demonstrated by the sustained narratives concerning the daughters of Zelophehad.³⁶⁶ In the Hebrew Bible, control of real property by women is exceptional, but Wisdom is exceptional.³⁶⁷ Just as Wisdom is an active divine agent in the creation of the world in Prov 8:30, so Wisdom is active in conveying a legitimate inheritance to her devotees. Prov 8:17–21 should not be read with Wisdom as a passive inheritance.

Wisdom chooses the recipients of her benefactions in Prov 8:17 by stating, “I love those who love me.”³⁶⁸ While Murphy considers the language of love in this verse to reflect erotic overtones, it is better placed in the context of intrafamilial choice.³⁶⁹ The Aramaic interdialectal semantic equivalent, ܪܗܡ, is significant in testamentary documents from Elephantine, where it indicates the designation of a successor. Szubin and Porten argue that אהב “assumes the added legal nuance of a designated heir” in a number of Pentateuchal narratives.³⁷⁰ David Vanderhooft

³⁶⁶ Westbrook, *Property and Family Law*, 65.

³⁶⁷ See Christine Roy Yoder *Wisdom as a Woman of Substance: A Socioeconomic Reading of Proverbs 1–9 and 31:10–31*, BZAW 304 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001). Yoder argues that the image of Wisdom is based upon women of high status in the Achaemenid era. Yoder notes that such women were economically valuable for the assets they could bring to a marriage and could be economically active in managing assets. Yoder does not believe that this was true for most women, but her study does point to the credibility of seeing Wisdom as capable of granting a tangible inheritance. Yoder, *Wisdom as a Woman*, 71–72 summarizes the economic status of elite women in Persian culture; Yoder 98–99 explores the economic rewards promised by Wisdom in Prov 8:17–21.

³⁶⁸ The MT’s אהבתי is in error; Fox calls it “impossible in context” (*Proverbs, An Eclectic Edition with Introduction and Textual Commentary*, HBCE 1 [Atlanta: SBL, 2015], 155). De Waard notes the agreement of the *qere* with G V S T (*Proverbs*, BHQ 17 [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2008], 14).

³⁶⁹ Rowland E. Murphy, *Proverbs*, WBC 22 (Dallas: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 51. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 276, notes parallels to Egyptian formulae in which a deity loves those who love the deity.

³⁷⁰ Szubin and Porten, “Testamentary Succession at Elephantine,” *BASOR* 252 (1983), 37.

similarly argues that אהב in Pentateuchal narratives frequently indicates choice between options (rival wives; multiple sons) in familial settings.³⁷¹ The legal implications of אהב are most clearly seen in Deuteronomy 21:15–17, which prohibits withholding the double share (פי שנים) from the firstborn son even though his mother is hated (השנואה) and there is another wife who is loved (האהובה) with a son of her own.³⁷² Just as “hatred” here pertains to non-favored status rather than emotional revulsion, so אהב denotes the designation of a beneficiary. Rather than reflecting erotic love, a point confirmed when אהב is considered in the light of verse 21’s להנחיל אהבי יש “so as to grant wealth to those who love me.”

A second point must be made about Wisdom’s inheritance. Fox states that in the phrase הון עתק וצדקה in 8:18b, “the second noun defines the quality of the first.”³⁷³ He acknowledges Ehrlich’s summary statement that the phrase indicates “great property justly gained.”³⁷⁴ In several other occurrences within the Hebrew Bible, צדקה indicates a rightful legal possession; this legal valence is also attested for the root צדק in Nabataean property documents.³⁷⁵ Because הון can be gained illicitly (cf.,

³⁷¹ Vanderhooft, “*ʾAhābāh*: Philological Observations on *ʾāhēb/ʾahābāh* in the Hebrew Bible,” in *Ahabah: Die Liebe Gottes im Alten Testament: Ursprünge, Transformationen und Wirkungen*, ed. Manfred Oeming, *Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte* 55 (Leipzig: Evangelischer Verlagsanstalt, 2018), 46–52.

³⁷² S. R. Driver noted this already in his 1903 commentary on Deuteronomy: “The law is designed to guard against the case which, it is evident, might readily arise, of a man’s abusing his paternal prerogative through the influence of a favorite wife” (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* [New York: Scribner, 1903], 246).

³⁷³ Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 277.

³⁷⁴ Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 277. Ehrlich’s phrasing is, “überaus grosses Vermögen bei Gerechtigkeit, das heisst, überaus grosses, auf rechtlichem Wege erworbenes Vermögen” (Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* 6:41).

³⁷⁵ DCH notes 2 Samuel 19:29, Isaiah 54:17, and Nehemiah 2:20. It seems possible that Psalm 112:3 should also be read in this light. Speaking of the one who fears YHWH, the text would then read, הון־ועשר בביתו וצדקתו עמדת לעד “wealth and riches are in his house, and his estate endures forever.” In 5/6 *Hev* 2:5,

Prov 1:13; 28:8), it is significant that Wisdom grants legitimate control of wealth. In Prov 8:21, Wisdom promises “to grant wealth as an inheritance to those who love me” (להנחיל אהבי יש) and “I will fill their storehouses” (ואצרחיהם אמלא). Fox comments, again following Ehrlich, that להנחיל indicates the permanent transfer of ownership.³⁷⁶ In Prov 8:17–21, then, the collocation of legal terms is employed to add something beyond the idea that wisdom brings success. The import of the legal language is that wisdom brings lasting and legitimate success in the form of material wealth to those who choose it; this is the inheritance that Wisdom provides, but wisdom is not itself an inheritance.

4.2.1.2 Sirach 4:16

In a manner similar to that in Proverbs, Wisdom also conveys an inheritance in Sirach 4:16. Most translations have not recognized this, however, instead seeing wisdom as the object of an inheritance. Typically, Sirach 4:16 is translated as “If one trusts, he will inherit her” (ἐὰν ἐμπιστεύσῃ, κατακληρονομήσει αὐτήν)—with the accusative pronoun αὐτήν understood as the object of the verb κατακληρονομήσει. On this reading, Wisdom is a possession that can be gained—inherited. However, the construction of the verse in the Greek text (the Hebrew of Sir 4:16 is not extant) should be read in the light of the similar construction which appears in Genesis 15 and Tobit 3:15, 3:17 and 6:12, the only other examples in the Septuagint in which a

25 and 3:6, 28, צדק indicates legal entitlement in the phrase “by entitlement and jurisdiction” (מן צדק ורשו). See Yadin, et al., *Cave of Letters*, 220 for commentary.

³⁷⁶ Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 278.

form of κληρονομέω with an accusative personal pronoun employs that pronoun to refer to a person. As indicated in the table below, in Genesis 15, Abram expresses the fear that he will die without producing a child to inherit his estate (and therefore the annulment of the promises that God has made to him). Both Abram’s fear and the divine response are expressed with the verb ירש in the Hebrew text, ירת in the Targumim, and κληρονομέω in Greek.

Table 4.2: ירש and κληρονομέω in Genesis 15	
Genesis 15:3b	
MT	והנה בן־ביתי יורש אתי
LXX	ὁ δὲ οἰκογενῆς μου κληρονομήσει με
Neofiti	והא בר בתי ירית יתי
Onqelos	והא בר בתי ירית יתי
	But a member of my household will inherit (what belongs to) me.
Genesis 15:4	
MT	והנה דבר־יהוה אליו לאמר לא יירשך זה
LXX	καὶ εὐθὺς φωνὴ κυρίου ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγων Οὐ κληρονομήσει σε οὗτος
Neofiti	והא פתגם דנבו מן קדם ייי על אברם למימר לא ירת יתך דן
Onqelos	והא פתגמא דיזוי עמיה למימר לא יירתינך דין
	But just then a word from YHWH came to him, “This one will not inherit (what belongs to) you.”

The Tobit passages require careful evaluation and may also be illuminated by passages in 4Q197 and Sir 4:16. Tobit 3:15 follows the pattern established by Gen 15; the text reads, οὐχ ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ ἕτερον τέκνον, ἵνα κληρονομήσῃ αὐτόν “there is not another child for him, so as to inherit him.”³⁷⁷ Tobit 3:17 and 6:12 refer to Sarah, daughter of Raguel, and have been often been translated with Sarah as an object to be inherited rather than as the individual through whom an inheritance

³⁷⁷ As was discussed in chapter 2, it is possible to read the verb and object suffix as “will succeed X.” Daniel Arnaud argues that succession to control is the original legal valence of the root *wrt: «prendre possession à la place de quelqu'un» (“Vocabulaire,” 11). I consider it uncertain whether ירש/ירת maintained that precise valence in Hellenistic Jewish texts.

While Sir 4:16 employs κατακληρονομέω instead of κληρονομέω, the construction is otherwise quite similar to Gen 15:3,4 and Tobit 3 and 6. In these texts, κληρονομεω specifically indicates succession to another’s estate.³⁷⁹ Thus, I read the text of Sir 4:16 as “If one trusts, he will inherit from her; and his offspring (will inherit) a holding from her” (ἐὰν ἐμπιστεύσῃ, κατακληρονομήσει αὐτήν, καὶ ἐν κατασχέσει ἔσονται αἱ γενεαὶ αὐτοῦ).³⁸⁰ Sir 4:16 also stands in close relationship to the logic of Prov 8:17–21 because Wisdom provides an inheritance for those who choose her in both texts. In both Proverbs and Sirach, the one who chooses Wisdom will receive permanent and lasting benefactions, but not necessarily Wisdom proper. This is expressed by the indications of complete transfer in Prov 8:17–21 and by the succession of offspring to the estate in Sir 4:16. In the near context of Sir 4:16 is also the idea that Wisdom provides a substantial benefaction. Sir 4:13 promises that “the one who holds her fast inherits glory.” The last phrase will be discussed further in the next chapter, but usage in Proverbs strongly suggests that כבוד is a tangible benefit; the occurrence of the phrase “riches and wealth” (עשר וכבוד) in Prov 8:18 is an example of this usage. While Sirach uses כבוד in varied ways, one of those ways is consistent with the tangible benefits typical of Proverbs. It is likely that Sir 4:13 is referring to wealth or standing, which the adherent of wisdom will be able both to receive and to bequeath in Sir 4:16.

³⁷⁹ While the Hebrew of Sir 4:16 is not extant, the fact that (κατα)κληρονομεω root frequently translates ירש or נחל in Sirach makes it likely that either ירש or נחל was present in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. κληρονομεω translates נחל in 10:11, 37:26, 45:22; and ירש in 6:1, 39:23; κατακληρονομεω translates נחל in 36:16, 44:21, 46:1 and ירש in 15:6.

³⁸⁰ Contrast Skehan and DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 169, who take Wisdom as the object of an inheritance: “If he remains faithful, he will have me as his heritage; his descendants too will possess me.”

4.2.1.3 Sirach 24:20

In Sirach 24, as in Proverbs 8, Wisdom makes an extended speech in praise of her own abilities. Wisdom also describes her inheritance: “for my remembrance is sweeter than honey, and my inheritance beyond honey of the comb,” (τὸ γὰρ μνημόσυνόν μου ὑπὲρ τὸ μέλι γλυκύ, καὶ ἡ κληρονομία μου ὑπὲρ μέλιτος κηρίον). Skehan reconstructs the Hebrew original behind ἡ κληρονομία μου as יתלמי; there is no more likely contender if the Hebrew original was also a suffixed noun.³⁸¹ But there is ambiguity about the nature of wisdom’s inheritance. It is grammatically possible to read the Greek as an objective genitive—“the inheritance that is me.” However, a subjective genitive is also possible: “the inheritance I possess (and that I may convey).” Earlier in Sir 24:8, Wisdom’s inheritance is located within Israel. It would not be impossible to hear Wisdom praise Israel, although the sweetness of the nation is not a typical metaphor. However, the immediate context of Sir 24:20 is the image of a benefit Wisdom provides, namely, her fruit (Sir 24:19), which will make the learner hunger and thirst for more (Sir 24:21). Thus, in Sir 24:20, the subjective genitive seems more likely: her remembrance and her inheritance are benefits that she conveys.³⁸² I therefore read Sir 24:20 as I read Prov 8:17–21 and Sir 4:16: Wisdom itself is not the inherited object. Nonetheless, the inheritance that Wisdom conveys is delightful.

³⁸¹ Patrick Skehan, “Structures in Poems on Wisdom: Proverbs 8 and Sirach 24,” *CBQ* 41 (1979): 374.

³⁸² The pairing of remembrance and inheritance is unusual in the Hebrew Bible; perhaps the closest parallel occurs in Neh 2:20, in which “portion, rightful possession, and remembrance” (חלק וצדקה וזכרון) collocate. It does seem possible that Sir 24:20’s μνημόσυνόν here reflects נש, as it does one other time in Sirach (49:1). Name and inheritance are related in the account of Zelophehad’s daughters in Num 27:4; the terms also collocate in Sir 37:24.

Sir 24:23 ties together wisdom, Torah, and inheritance: “All these things are the book of the covenant of the Most High God (Ταῦτα πάντα βίβλος διαθήκης θεοῦ ὑψίστου), the law that Moses commanded us (νόμον ὃν ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν Μωυσῆς) as an inheritance for the congregations of Jacob (κληρονομίαν συναγωγᾶς Ιακωβ).” At this point, it is no longer Wisdom that is speaking, but rather, the voice of Ben Sira. So while Sir 24:20 describes wisdom’s benefactions, in the mind of Ben Sira, Wisdom as Torah is a divine benefaction. In this way, Sir 24:23 anticipates wisdom as the content of an inheritance, which will be discussed in more detail below in connection with 4Q185.

4.2.2 The Sage as Father

In the previous section, I have argued that Prov 8, Sir 4:16 and Sir 24:20 should be read as examples of Wisdom granting an inheritance. In doing so, I have interpreted the texts as though Wisdom, personified as a woman of considerable economic means, is able to dispense her wealth as she pleases.³⁸³ By contrast, Carol Newsom expresses caution about the independence of Wisdom in Proverbs. She argues that the dominant voice in Proverbs, even when Wisdom speaks, is the voice of a masculine sage, the social voice of the father rather than with an independent female voice:

Her voice, of course, is the cultural voice that speaks through the father, the voice that grounds the social fathers: the kings, rulers, princes, nobles of

³⁸³ Yoder, *Wisdom as a Woman of Substance*.

[Prov 8: 15–16]. Hers is the voice that mediates between the transcendent father and his earthly sons.³⁸⁴

If Wisdom does not have an independent voice, it is unlikely that Wisdom has an independent fortune.

Following Newsom, Benjamin Wright III argues that the language of wisdom as an inheritance in Hellenistic Jewish literature is similarly the product of the controlling metaphor of the sage as father.³⁸⁵ Wright builds upon Newsom’s insight and extends it into other Hellenistic Jewish wisdom texts.³⁸⁶ Wright offers an argument that could explain the link between wisdom and inheritance that is rooted in the person of the father, since inheritance was typically conveyed from father to son. If the sage as father is a controlling metaphor, then wisdom as an inheritance is a natural but subsidiary metaphorical comparison.

I believe that Newsom is correct in stating that “the privileged axis of communication [in Proverbs] is that from father to son.”³⁸⁷ But I am not convinced that the sage as father is the dominant metaphor of Hellenistic Jewish wisdom literature. There is good reason to hear the voice of Wisdom as a woman’s voice in Proverbs 8 because Wisdom and Folly have been personified as women at various

³⁸⁴ Carol Newsom, “Woman and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom,” in *Reading Bibles, Writing Bodies: Identity and the Book*, eds. Timothy K. Beal and David M Gunn (London: Routledge, 1997), 116–131; here 128.

³⁸⁵ In describing this as a controlling metaphor, I intend to convey the idea that because a sage can be thought of as a father, other points of comparison with the concept of wisdom are governed by the semantic field provided by fatherhood.

³⁸⁶ Benjamin Wright III, “From Generation to Generation: The Sage as Father in Early Jewish Literature,” in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*, eds. Charlotte Hempel and Judith M. Lieu, *Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism* 111 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 309–332.

³⁸⁷ Newsom, “Woman and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom,” 116.

points throughout Prov 1–9; including at Prov 7:4, where the student has been instructed to call Wisdom his sister (אמר לחכמה אחתי את).³⁸⁸ The stereotypical voice of the sage as father is balanced by the stereotypical image of Wisdom as desirable lover. And Wisdom, no less than a father, can call to her children, as in Prov 8:32, “But now, my sons, listen to me!”

Nevertheless, I agree that the sage as father is compatible with the network of wisdom as inheritance metaphors I am describing. It also has the virtue of historical support. It is likely that scribal and priestly occupations tended to run in families.³⁸⁹ Hellenistic Jewish texts like ALD identify priestly literature as something that is passed down within Abraham’s family until it is given to Levi. TQ depicts those books as becoming the inheritance of Amram and subsequently of Qahat. The sage could literally be a father and the sage’s occupation, with its proprietary information, could be inherited by a son.

The idea that the tools of the priestly trade would be passed on from father to son is prominent in ALD. In ALD 5, Levi is selected as priest, and then is blessed and taught the priesthood by Isaac. Isaac makes a commitment to Levi “to teach you the law of the priesthood” (6:2; להלכותך דין כהנותא). In ALD 6, Isaac warns against fornication and exogamous marriage, which corresponds to similar concerns in Lev

³⁸⁸ Murphy, *Proverbs*, 43, identifies this as an “erotic description.” Clifford, *Proverbs: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 87, is similar.

³⁸⁹ Alan Lenzi, *Secrecy and the Gods: Secret Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia and Biblical Israel*, SAAS 19 (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2008), 162–3: “We even have a couple of late (i.e., Hellenistic) protocol documents in which an assembly of the temple officially recognizes the fact that a son (or, sons) is assuming the father's position among the temple astrologers.”

21:7, 13–15.³⁹⁰ In ALD 7, the priestly education includes ritual washing before approaching the altar, examining wood for worms before using it for offerings, and the twelve kinds of wood that are acceptable for offering burnt offerings. Isaac claims to have learned to examine wood for worms from Abraham’s example (7:4). Further ritual instructions follow in ALD 8 and 9. ALD 10 prefaces a list of concluding injunctions with a command to obey Isaac’s words in their entirety. Not only that, but Isaac continues, “And command your sons thus, so that they may do according to this regulation as I have shown you. For my Father Abraham commanded me to do thus and to command my sons (ALD 10:2–3).”³⁹¹ While the emphasis has been primarily on the example and oral instructions given from Abraham to Isaac, in 10:10, the command not to eat blood is grounded in Abraham’s reading of the book of Noah.³⁹² Priestly books are also a significant part of the envisioned scribal training of Levi and his sons.

It may be asked justly whether the transmission of wisdom from father to son via scribal education is metaphorical at all. I judge that it is not. Rather, forms of education in which skills and trades were passed from parent to child formed an

³⁹⁰ Hannah K. Harrington, “Intermarriage in the Temple Scroll,” in Roy E. Gane and Ada Taggar-Cohen, eds., *Current Issues in Priestly and Related Literature: The Legacy of Jacob Milgrom and Beyond* (Atlanta: SBL, 2015), 480–481: “Second Temple interpreters of Lev 21:7 explicitly forbid priestly intermarriage with gentiles. Leviticus 21:7 bars a priest from marriage to a *הַנָּזִיר*, understood in Second Temple texts to refer to illicit sexuality, especially intermarriage (cf. ALD 6:4; Testament of Levi 9:9–10; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.7).”

³⁹¹ Translation from Greenfield, Stone and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 91. This portion is extant only in Greek: *και τοις υιοις σου ουτως εντειλον ινα ποιησουσιν κατα την κρισιν ταυτην ως σοι υπεδειξα. ουτως γαρ μοι εντειλατο ο πατηρ Αβρααμ ποιειν και εντελλεσθαι τοις υιοις μου.*

³⁹² In Greek: *ουτως γαρ μοι εντειλατο ο πατηρ μου Αβρααμ, οτι ουτως ευρεν εν τη γραφη της βιβλου του Νοε περι του αιματος.*

analogy to other objects of value that could be passed from parent to child.³⁹³

However, it contributes to the metaphor that I will consider next: wisdom as an inheritance.

4.2.3 Wisdom as Inheritance

As I have argued above, Proverbs 8:17–21 and Sirach 4:16 and 24:20 concern the inheritance that Wisdom provides, rather than wisdom (or Wisdom) as an inheritance. However, 4Q185 quite clearly presents wisdom itself as an inheritance. 4Q185, sometimes entitled 4Q Sapiential Work A, is a fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish wisdom text found at Qumran. The presence of feminine singular pronouns, which in texts like Sirach may indicate personified Wisdom, leads scholars like Wright and Tobin to argue that personified Wisdom is found also in 4Q185.³⁹⁴ However, closer analysis demonstrates that wisdom is not personified in 4Q185, but is rather a heritable commodity. In a paragraph beginning in 4Q185 1–2 II 8 and continuing for seven lines, wisdom is described as a gift from God. In this translation, I will

³⁹³ This dovetails closely with Benjamin Wright’s argument. At the risk of protesting too much, my disagreement with Wright is that he reduces the inheritance metaphors under discussion to entailments of the sage as father, whereas I think that the idea of wisdom as a valuable commodity is the conceptual center of the metaphors under discussion.

³⁹⁴ Wright, “Generation to Generation,” argues that wisdom is portrayed both as person and heirloom, and Thomas Tobin, who suggests that 4Q185 does in fact depict personified Wisdom: “it is reasonably clear that wisdom is portrayed in 4Q185 as a woman who is to be honorably courted” (Tobin, “4Q185 and Jewish Wisdom Literature,” “4Q185 and Jewish Wisdom Literature” in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin, S.J., College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5 [New York: Lanham, 1990], 148). Tobin then argues that this is a contrast to the Qumran sectarian texts that do not personify Wisdom (149).

follow Tigchelaar and García Martínez which has been improved significantly over Allegro's edition in DJD V by Strugnell and Lichtenberger.³⁹⁵

Table 4.5: 4Q185 1–2 II, 8b–15a	
Translation	DSSSE
8 Happy is the person to whom it is given	אשרי אדם נתנה לו
9 the son of ma[n]... and let none of the wicked boast, "It was not given	בן אדם]... [עם ואל יתהלל]ו[רשעים לאמור לא נתנה
10 to me! And [I have] not [inquired of it." ³⁹⁶ God gave it] to Israel and as a [go]od gift he gave it. ³⁹⁷ And all his people he redeemed	לי ולא [אדרשנה אלהים נתנה [לישראל וכבוד] טוב זבדה וכל עמו גאל
11 But he killed those who hate [wi]sdom[...]. And he said, "Let the one who honors it receive it. Let him in[her]it it	והרג שנאי] ח[כמ]תו... [יאמר המתכבד בה ישאנה י]רו[שה
12 and let him find it and take hold of it and inherit it, ³⁹⁸ for with it are [length of d]ays and fatty bones and joy of heart, ric[h]es and honor]	ומצאה וח]ז[ק בה ונחלה ועמה] ארך י]מים ודשן עצם ושמחת לבב עש]ר וכבוד]

³⁹⁵ Hermann Lichtenberger, "Der Weisheitstext 4Q185: eine neue Edition" in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, eds. Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger, BETL 159 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 127–150. Lichtenberger incorporates the earlier comments of John Strugnell, "Notes en Marge du Volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan'," *RevQ* 7 (1970): 270–272, and his own "Eine weisheitliche Mahnrede in den Qumranfunden (4Q185)" in *Qumrân: Sa Piété, sa Théologie et son Milieu*, ed. M. Delcor, BETL 46 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978), 151–162.

³⁹⁶ Lichtenberger, "eine neue Edition," 131.

³⁹⁷ The reading is proposed by Lichtenberger "Eine weisheitliche Mahnrede," 158–159, n. 40. Lichtenberger argues that the second מ of ממדה and the מ of ימדה are both clearly ב and proposes a link to Genesis 30:20's טוב זבדני אלהים אתי זבד טוב. DSSSE follows Lichtenberger. This is the relevant image:



Allegro does not comment on the reading or present alternatives. Nor, for that matter, does Strugnell, "Notes en Marge," 271. However, the head of the *zayin/yodh* in the verb seems consistent with the ductus in 2 I, 14 (and perhaps 2 II, 15) and is more compact than the head of the typical *waw/yodh* in 4Q185. The bet in the verb seems more defensible than a *mem*. Although זבד in the reading of the DSSSE is otherwise unattested in the DSS, the root is attested in the Hebrew of Sirach (Ms C 7:25; Ms B marginalia 36:24).

³⁹⁸ DSSSE follows Strugnell ("Notes en Marge," 271) in reading וח]ז[ק בה ונחלה ועמה].

13 and his mercies are its youth and [his] acts of salvation... Happy is the one who does it and he does not gossip against [it ³⁹⁹ and with spiri]t	והסדיו עלמיה וישועות]יו... [אשרי אדם יעשנה ולא רגל על]יה וברו]ח
14 of deception does not seek it and with flattery does not take hold of it. Thus it was given to his fathers, thus he will inherit it [and take hold of] it ⁴⁰⁰	מרמה לא יבקשנה ובחלקות לא יחזיקנה כן תתן לאבתיו כן ירשה] וחזק] בה
15a with all the strength of his power and with all his might without searching. ⁴⁰¹ And let him give it to his offspring as a bequest. ⁴⁰²	בכל עוז כחו ובכל]מא[דו לאין חקר ויורישנה לצאצאיו ידעתי לעמ]ל לט[וב

³⁹⁹ Strugnell (“Notes en Marge,” 271) tentatively proposed עליה דגל; “And not deceive her.” The formulation is somewhat similar to Sir 5:14 (MS A): ובלשונך אל תרגל רע. DCH proposes a possible emendation in Sir 5:14 to תדגל. DSSSE opts for רגל, “slander,” rather than DCH’s otherwise unattested III דגל. Lichtenberger, “eine neue Edition,” 131, reads ע]ל על]ה]ת] ולא יג]ע]ל על]ה]ת] “and does not defile it.”

⁴⁰⁰ DSSSE again follows Strugnell’s conjectured בה] וחזק] (“Notes en Marge,” 271). Lichtenberger, “eine neue Edition,” 131, proposes ויעש]נה] “and let him do it” to conclude the line.

⁴⁰¹ Lichtenberger, “eine neue Edition,” 131, proposes לאין חסר “without deficiency.”

⁴⁰² By comparison, DJD V reads as follows:

4Q185 1 II, 8b–15a	
Translation	DJD V
8b Happy is the person to whom it is given	אשרי אדם נתנה לו מ]ן א] -- ד]ם. ואל יתהלל]ת]ן] רשעים לאמור לא ימנה
9 from []. But let the wicked not boast, “It was not appointed	לי ולא] -- [לישראל וממ]ת]ט]ב ימדה וכל עמו גאל
10 for me!” And let not [...]. ...to Israel and he measured a good measure. And all his people he redeemed	והרג ש]ם] -- [אב] -- [יאמר המתמ]ם]בה ישאנה]. [שה]
11 But he killed [...]. ...father... and he said... Let him lift it up/carry it. [...]	ומצאה ו] -- [כה יכילה ועמה] -- [מים ורשף עיניים ושמחת לבב ע] -- [
12 and let him find it and [] and let him complete it?? but with her [] [d]ays and sharpness of eyes and joy of heart	והסדיו עלמיה וישועות] -- [אשרי אדם יעשנה ולא יאל על] [ו]]
13 and his mercies are its youth and salvations []. Happy is the one who does it and does not [curse, fall short, deceive] from []	מרמה לא יבקשנה ובחלקות לא יחזיקנה. כן תתן לאבתיו כן ירשנה] -- [
14 plan/deception does not seek it and with flattery does not take hold of it. Thus it was given to his fathers, thus let him succeed to it [].	בכל עוז כחו ובכל] [ו לאין חקר]. ויורישנה לצאצאיו
15 With all the strength of his power and with all []. for there is no searching out. And let him give it to his offspring as a bequest.	

The nature of wisdom as a grant is emphasized in line 8: *אשרי אדם נתנה לו*: “Happy is the person to whom it is given.” In line 9, the grant is again mentioned: *ואל יתהלל* [ן] “let the wicked not boast, ‘it was not given to me.’”⁴⁰³ After wisdom is again depicted as a grant in line 10, either as a good endowment or a measure of goodness, the subsequent lines emphasize the reception and possession of wisdom. Wisdom is carried (*ישאנה*), [in]herited (*י[ר]ו[ן]שה*), found (*ומצאה*), held (*וה[ז]ק[בה]*), and inherited (*והחלה*) in lines 11 and 12. While the piling up of possession terms would be unnecessary in a legal document, the rhetorical effect here is quite clear. Wisdom, once received, must not be relinquished. The proverbial benefits of wisdom, long life, happiness, and wealth (lines 12–13), will result from possessing her. However, while wisdom should not be relinquished, wisdom can be conveyed to one’s heirs, as indicated by the C stem of *ירש* in line 15: *ויורישנה לצאצאיו*: “and let him bequeath it to his offspring.” The comparison of wisdom to inheritance is emphasized in line 14, which deserves further comment: *כן תתן לאבתיו כן ירשנה*: “just as it was given to his fathers, so let him take possession of it.” Here *ירשנה* does not function as its equivalents did in Tobit or Sirach 4:16 which were discussed above. Because wisdom has obviously been the object in previous lines, it is quite clearly the object here as well. 4Q185 envisions the possession of wisdom as an analog to any other heritable object. It is precisely this that separates the conception of wisdom in 4Q185 from the personified Wisdom of Proverbs 8, Sirach 4 or Sirach 24.

⁴⁰³ I understand *נתנה* as an N stem perfect 3fs in both lines; in this form, *נתן* can describe a woman given as a wife (Gen 29:27, 38:14; 1 Sam 18:19) but also can describe an inanimate gift (1 Sam 25:27, 2 Kings 25:30).

4Q185 represents a new image when compared to Proverbs 8, Sirach 4 and Sirach 24. By placing its stress on the possession and heritability of wisdom, it evokes the idea of wisdom as a gift from YHWH. This image is most clearly present in Proverbs in Prov 2:6 and is also evident in Sirach (Sir 1:10, 1:26, 45:26). This characterization of wisdom as grant (rather than grantor), means it can be possessed and conveyed as other grants are. Thus, wisdom can be passed along to subsequent generations.

4.2.4 Text as Conveyance

Several Hellenistic Jewish texts, including TQ, the Visions of Amram (4Q543–547), and portions of 1 Enoch, describe the contents of their texts as a conveyance in contemplation of death. The relationship of these documents to the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs and the formal genre of testamentary literature more generally has drawn scholarly attention.⁴⁰⁴ However, because the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs does not emphasize the conveyance of an inheritance, this feature of the Aramaic testaments has not received its due attention.⁴⁰⁵ Jörg Frey has argued that

⁴⁰⁴ 1980s definitions of the genre of testament note the significance of the deathbed setting of a testament, but do not comment on the practical need for final disposition of an estate in such a moment. See von Nordheim (*Die Lehre der Altern*); Collins, “Testaments” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Michael Stone, CRINT 2/2 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 325–355; and Kolenkow, “The Literary Genre ‘Testament’”, in *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters*, eds. Kraft and Nickelsburg, SBL Centennial Publications 2 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 259–267. More recently, Henryk Drawnel has challenged associating ALD and the Visions of Amram with the testamentary genre (see *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 85–96; “The Visions of Amram and its Literary Characteristics”), highlighting the difficulty of fitting third or second century BCE texts into the generic boundaries developed principally from the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Annette Yoshiko Reed comments, “For the usual classificatory approaches to delineating genres, the extant data are thus simultaneously too diffuse and too limited” (“Textuality between Memory and Death,” 385).

the Visions of Amram appear to fit well within the genre of testament, but concludes that other documents from Qumran that refer to the patriarchs do not.⁴⁰⁶ Frey, however, suggests that the literary testament developed from “a type of priestly wisdom that was shaped in a particular form as testaments of the heroes of the priestly line, Levi, Qahat, and Amram.”⁴⁰⁷ Both TQ and the Visions of Amram prominently mention the proper conveyance and receipt of an inheritance. Just as significantly, this inheritance includes priestly documents.

Michael Owen Wise argues that Hellenization brought about an increased emphasis upon written documents in Judaea. He states,

People had batches, bundles, bags of documents. Legal writ permeated late Second Temple Judaea. Whereas praxis in Persian times had arguably been largely oral, with the advent and progress of Hellenization, Jewish society began to put markedly greater emphasis upon the written instrument. ...Any propertied individual was likely to have at least a small archive sequestered in some safe place.⁴⁰⁸

TQ and the Visions of Amram conceive of a similarly textual world; even if written instruments still co-exist with oral legal praxis, they employ the logic of written conveyances.

⁴⁰⁵ Only the Testament of Benjamin X 2–5 directly evokes succession to the estate of the deceased. Even there, however, there is a twist: the sons of Benjamin are offered the commandments of the Lord *instead of* an inheritance.

⁴⁰⁶ Jörg Frey, “On the Origins of the Genre of the ‘Literary Testament’: Farewell Discourses in the Qumran Library and Their Relevance for the History of the Genre” in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence, 30 June–2 July 2008*, eds. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, STDJ 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 345–375, here 367.

⁴⁰⁷ Frey, “Literary Testament,” 369.

⁴⁰⁸ Michael Owen Wise, *Language and Literacy in Roman Judaea: A Study of the Bar Kochba Documents*, AYBRL (New Haven: Yale, 2015), 76.

This logic may be more pervasive. Hindy Najman has demonstrated that books are a noteworthy element of the rhetorical logic of Jubilees.⁴⁰⁹ Jubilees retrojects written legal instruments into the primeval history: e.g., the distribution of the lands to the sons of Noah is accomplished by written documents.⁴¹⁰ Of greater significance, however, is the use of texts to transmit patriarchal, priestly wisdom. Najman focuses on the way in which Jubilees ties its interpretation of scripture to the Torah of Moses as a strategy for asserting its own authority; however, her work also underscores the way in which Jubilees recasts even the patriarchs as scribes and people who deal in documents.⁴¹¹ Enoch is the first and quintessential scribe: he is the first to learn “(the art of) writing, instruction, and wisdom” (Jubilees 4:17).⁴¹² After Enoch, Abraham resumes the scribal trade: “he took the books of his fathers, and...transcribed them, and he began from henceforth to study them” (Jubilees 12:27). Two elements, one miraculous and the other scribal make this Enoch’s scribal resumption possible. A divine act enables Abraham to read Hebrew, thus making wisdom that had been inaccessible available to Abraham.⁴¹³ But the fact that the words of Enoch and Noah had been preserved

⁴⁰⁹ Hindy Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and its Authority Conferring Strategies.” *JSJ* 30 (1999): 379–410.

⁴¹⁰ Najman, “Primordial Writing,” 381: “But how else—as Jubilees did not even have to ask—could Noah have established an authoritative and lasting division of the land, forestalling future disputes?”

⁴¹¹ So Najman, “Primordial Writing,” 386: “Rediscovered by Abraham, the tradition revealed to Enoch on heavenly tablets and transmitted to future generations by Enoch the testimonial scribe, is then transmitted via Jacob and Levi to Amram and, finally, to Moses, and the transmission is punctuated by further revelations of heavenly texts.”

⁴¹² The editors of 11QJubilees (11Q12) propose that the Hebrew retroversion here should be ספר ומדע והחכמה; this reconstruction is very similar to ALD 13.4 (4Q213 I I, 9): ספר ומוסר וחכמה.

in texts allows Abraham to receive their wisdom. Abraham is depicted as a model scribe, making fresh copies of these venerable texts and studying them diligently during the rainy season. After Abraham, scribal learning becomes focused in the family of Levi. In Jubilees 45:16, Israel “gave all his books and the books of his fathers to his son Levi so that he could preserve them and renew them for his sons until today.”⁴¹⁴ And Amram teaches Moses to write *before* a twenty-one year old Moses joins Pharaoh’s household (47:9).⁴¹⁵ Thus, in Jubilees, writing is a primary tool for pedagogy. Not only do patriarchs like Abraham, Jacob, and Levi read and write, but books – handed down from fathers to sons – are the instrument by which priestly knowledge is securely transmitted.

This documentary focus is crucial for my argument—in the same way that the documents establish the lasting partition of the land, they effect the lasting promulgation of priestly wisdom. Thus, VanderKam states with respect to Jubilees 45:16:

The emphasis in the present passage is the ancient, revealed tradition: it has been written down and those contents are fixed; it now passes into the hands of a most reliable tradent who will guard it, update it, and make it available to his descendants.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹³ James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018) 1:457, “Those ancient teachings, recorded in Hebrew, would have remained inaccessible had the angel not endowed Abram with the ability to understand the language of revelation.”

⁴¹⁴ The same verbal form (root = *whb*) is used in 45:14 (Jacob giving two portions in the land to Joseph) and in 45:16. These verses suggest that the giving of books in 45:16 is a bequest.

⁴¹⁵ Thus, in Jubilees, Moses is not trained in “all the wisdom of Egypt” (contra Acts 7:21–22). Acts is evidently adopting a Danielic model.

⁴¹⁶ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 2:1116.

1 Enoch 81–82 also places great emphasis on the textual nature of Enoch’s wisdom. In these chapters, Enoch is allowed to read the heavenly tablets and return to earth to give instruction to his children.⁴¹⁷ It is striking that Enoch has access to the totality of human history—“every individual (fact)” according to 81:1. Enoch is allowed to read the heavenly tablets, giving him this privileged information. In addition, Enoch then is able to convey his documentarily acquired wisdom to successive generations with documents of his own production. He tells Methuselah,

Now my son Methuselah, I am telling you all these things and am writing (them) down. I have revealed all of them to you and given you the book about all these things. My son, keep the book written by your father so that you may give (it) to the generations of the world. Wisdom I have given to you and to your children, and to those who will be your children, so that they may give this wisdom which is beyond their thought to their children for the generations.⁴¹⁸

Nickelsburg notes the similarity between 1 Enoch 81–82, 1 Enoch 91, and testamentary literature.⁴¹⁹ In the narrative, the written document is necessary because Enoch will be taken away from his children “in the second year” (81:6). So while the text is constructed from the knowledge that Enoch “walked with God and was no more because God took him” (Gen 5:24), Enoch’s removal, like an impending death, necessitates his written testament. He must write in order to convey a proper epistemological inheritance to Methuselah and his children.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁷ George Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001), 338. Nickelsburg believes that Jubilees demonstrates awareness of this portion of 1 Enoch, thus requiring this portion of 1 Enoch to date prior to “the first half of the second century” BCE.

⁴¹⁸ 1 Enoch 82:1–2; translation in Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch: The Hermeneia Translation* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2012), 112.

⁴¹⁹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 336.

The Apocryphon of Levi, 4Q541, may also provide insight into the instrumentality of the written text, although without making overt reference to the death of the sage. 4Q541 fragment 7 refers to books of wisdom, the ministrations of the sages, and may also mention teaching.

Line	Translation	4Q541 7, 4-6
4	Then the books of wis[dom] will be opened...	אדין יתפתחו[ן] ספרי חכמ[תא] --]
5	...his word and the ministrations of the wi[se]...	מאמרה ומש[ת] משין חכ[ימ]יא --]
6	[t]each[ing]	א[לפ]ו[נא] --]

In his commentary on this fragment, Puech considers it likely that 4Q541 is describing the books of Enoch in a manner similar to 1 Enoch 82:1–3.⁴²¹ 1 Enoch 82:3–4 does appear to describe the books Enoch gave to Methuselah as wisdom and “this wisdom.” It seems overly restrictive to assume that only the books of Enoch would have been thought of as wisdom, but the Genesis Apocryphon also attributes wisdom to the book of the words of Enoch (XIX 25). In the Apocryphon of Levi, as in Enochic literature and the Aramaic testaments, wisdom may come in book form.⁴²²

⁴²⁰ Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch*, 342, points to the similarity with the Testament of Qahat, which will be addressed more fully below: “A similar process of extended transmission is envisioned in the Testament of Qahat (4Q542 frg. 1 9-12).”

⁴²¹ Émile Puech, “Apocryphon of Levi^b” in *Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549*, DJD XXXI (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 240: “Mais il s’agit très probablement des livres d’Hénoch qui contiennent toute la sagesse à transmettre à ses descendants.”

⁴²² There are additional references to writing and knowledge in 4Q541, but little has been said about the importance of writing in 4Q541. Scholarly interest has focused on the main figure in the text, apparently an eschatological priest. On this figure, see Torleif Elgvin, “Trials and Universal Renewal—the Priestly Figure of the Levi Testament 4Q541,” in Mette Bundvad, Kasper Siegismund, eds., *Vision, Narrative, and Wisdom in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran: Essays from the Copenhagen Symposium, 14-15 August, 2017* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 78–100. Daniel Machiela “Wisdom Motifs” addresses the text briefly as an example of Aramaic texts from Qumran with wisdom motifs, but does not discuss the significance of written wisdom alongside other methods of instruction.

While Jubilees and 1 Enoch 81–82 suggest the importance of the written text as an instrument of inheriting wisdom, the Testament of Benjamin takes the image one step further. In the Testament of Benjamin, the idea of a patriarch’s words as a final legal disposition of property is somewhat ironically reinforced because Benjamin offers wisdom instead of an inheritance:

Know, therefore, that I am dying, my children. Do truth and righteousness, therefore, each one with his fellow, and judgment to confirm, and keep the LORD’S Torah and its commandments. I am teaching you these things in place of any inheritance. So give them in turn to your children as an inheritance forever; that is what Abraham and Isaac and Jacob did as well. For they bequeathed us all these things, saying “Keep God’s commandments.”⁴²³

Hollander and de Jonge note that the εἰς κατάσχεσιν αἰώνιον “as an inheritance forever” of T.Benj. 10: matches phrasing from Genesis 17:8 and 48:4 LXX, in which the land of Canaan is the everlasting possession.⁴²⁴ Benjamin’s commands, as a faithful reflection of the Torah’s requirements, stand in for the inheritance of familial wealth. The Torah is the ultimate inheritance.⁴²⁵

In TQ 1 I, 7–8, the addressees are commanded, “Therefore, possess the words of Jacob your father and maintain the judgments of Abraham and the rightful

⁴²³ T.Benj. 10:2–5. Translation James Kugel, “Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs,” *OTB* 2:1838–1839. The Greek text in Marinus de Jonge’s *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, PVTG 1/2 (Leiden: Brill, 1978) reads:

γινώσκετε οὖν τέκνα μου ὅτι ἀποθνήσκω ποιήσατε οὖν ἀληθειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἑκάστος μετὰ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ κρίμα εἰς πιστοποίησιν, καὶ τὸν νόμον κυρίου καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ φυλάξατε. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀντὶ πάσης κληρονομίας διδάσκω. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν δότε αὐτὰ τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν εἰς κατάσχεσιν αἰώνιον. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. πάντα ταῦτα ἡμᾶς κατεκληρονομήσαν, εἰποντες, Φυλάξατε τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ θεοῦ....

⁴²⁴ Harm Hollander and Marinus de Jonge, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary*, SVTP 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 439. They state, “According to T.B., the law of God is given as an inheritance and for an everlasting possession.”

⁴²⁵ As was true in Sir 24:23. What is significant here is the apparent contrast to other forms of inheritance of wealth or land.

property of Levi and me” (להן אחדו בממר יעקב אבוכון ואתקפו בדיני אברהם ויצדקת לוי ודילי).

Henryk Drawnel’s explanation that the behaviors commanded here express “the exemplary life of the patriarchs found in the words of Jacob, judgments of Abraham, justice of Levi and Qahat.”⁴²⁶ However, rather than referring to the life of the patriarchs, the phrase emphasizes retaining their authoritative words.

Furthermore, the verbs אחד and תקף are both familiar in the legal registers of one or more Aramaic dialects to indicate possession.⁴²⁷ א(מ)מר occurs in several Jewish Aramaic documents next to a signature made on behalf of the illiterate principal who authorized a document; the document was written at the command of א(מ)מר the principal.⁴²⁸ The term also has quasi-legal force in narratives in Daniel, Ezra, and Esther.⁴²⁹ Also, דין frequently occurs in warranty clauses in Aramaic deeds of sale, in which the vendor promises to protect the buyer from loss in future litigation; such litigation contested rightful control of property. Perhaps most significantly, various forms of צדק occur in Nabataean inscriptions and documents to describe legal entitlement to property.⁴³⁰ צדקה also occurs with this sense several times in the

⁴²⁶ Henryk Drawnel, “The Literary Form and Didactic Content of the *Admonitions (Testament) of Qahat*,” in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges Qumraniens en Hommage à Émile Puech*, eds. Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, STDJ 61 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 55–73; here 66.

⁴²⁷ The noun תקף is frequently employed in Nabataean Aramaic to indicate a valid document; it is understood as a calque of the Akkadian *dannatu* (CAL, s.v. tqp).

⁴²⁸ DCH, s.v. מאמר.

⁴²⁹ Daniel 4:14, Ezra 6:9; Esther 1:15, 2:20, 9:32. See particularly Esther 9:32: “The word of Esther established these matters concerning Purim and it was recorded in the scroll” (ומאמר אסתר קים דברי הפרים) (האלה ונכתב בספר).

⁴³⁰ Inscriptional evidence establishes the sense of “legal right, claim, title” for Aramaic צדקה already in the case of a 6th c. stele at Tema (KAI 228). See Peter Stein, “Ein Aramaische Kudurru als Tayma?” in *Babylonien und seine Nachbarn in neu- und spätbabylonischer Zeit: wissenschaftliches Kolloquium aus Anlass des 75. Geburtstags von Joachim Oelsner* (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2014), 219–245; see especially

Hebrew Bible.⁴³¹ In legal contexts, each term points in some way to authorized possession. Jacob, Abraham, and Levi were truly authorized to possess priestly wisdom. TQ is thus concerned with the documentary promulgation of this priestly wisdom, as Drawnel rightly notes, “The insistence on transmitting the books of the patriarchs assumes that all that inheritance about which Qahat speaks [previously]...is contained in a written form.”⁴³²

At two points, TQ highlights the importance of preserving and transmitting documentary knowledge with the use of an unusual form of the verb הִלֵּךְ. Edward Cook argues that the *haphel* and *ittaphel* forms of הִלֵּךְ in TQ 1 I, 11–12 and 1 II, 13 denote the transmission of priestly knowledge.⁴³³ First, in TQ 1 I, 11–12, Qahat’s sons are to “guard and transmit the inheritance which was bequeathed to them” (נִטְרָתוֹן וְהִילַכְתוֹן יְרוֹת) תֵּא [דִּי שְׁבָקוּ לְכוֹן]. Then again in TQ 1 II, 9–13, they are charged to care for an explicitly documentary heritage. Although the text is broken, it seems clear that Amram and his offspring are being charged to preserve the documents that “they gave to Levi my father and my father gave to me,” and to guard them

228–231. Nabataean usage is extensive both in tomb inscriptions and in documents. Healey records 28 occurrences of *ṣdq* or *ʔṣdq* “legitimate heir, legal heir, kinsman” in Nabataean tomb inscriptions, with an additional occurrence of *ṣdqt*, “bequest.” (Healey, *The Nabataean Tomb Inscriptions of Mada’in Salih*, JSSSup 1 [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993], 264; see also discussion in Healey 91). In 5/6 Hev 2 and 3, *ṣdq* refers to an entitlement (Yadin, et al., *Cave of Letters*, 408; see also discussion in Yadin, et al., *Cave of Letters*, 220); *ʔṣdq*, “rightful heir,” occurs in 5/6 Hev 7.

⁴³¹ For this sense in Isaiah 54:17, see Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 462–463. DCH also notes 2 Samuel 19:29 and Nehemiah 2:20.

⁴³² Drawnel, “*Admonition (Testament) of Qahat*,” 66.

⁴³³ Edward Cook, “Remarks on the Testament of Kohath,” *JJS* 44 (1993): 211–212.

(תזדהרון בהון). The final line of text states, “there is great merit in their being transmitted with you (בהון זכו רבה באתהילכותהון עמכון).”⁴³⁴

An equally unusual verbal form, the *haphel* passive participle מִי־שלמא, also describes conveyance in TQ 1 I, 4. Muraoka proposes the meaning “delivered” for the participle, which fits the context and the use of שלם in Aramaic property conveyances. In TQ 1 I, 4, מִי־שלמא and אזדהרו mirror the same two-fold idea found in 1 I, 12 and 1 II, 9–13: the documentary inheritance has been transmitted to them by their ancestors and must be safeguarded.

Documentary concerns also mark the Visions of Amram (4Q543–4Q549), which begin with the heading “A copy of writing of the words of the vision of Amram” (פרשגן כתב מלי הזות עמרם).⁴³⁵ The text then speaks of Amram’s impending death (4Q543 1 I, 3; 4Q545 1 I, 3), which appears to prompt him to arrange matters within his household. He secures the marriage of his daughter Miriam to his youngest brother and summons his sons for instructions. While the text is fragmentary, 4Q543 2, 3 offers wisdom to its addressees (ונתן לך חכמה; “and he has given wisdom to you”).⁴³⁶ The text participates in the same discourse that I have

⁴³⁴ “Merit” (זכו) occurs only here in the Aramaic DSS; CAL (s.v. *zkw*) suggests a legal sense of “benefit” can be found in Galilean and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. The root is also productive in a different sense in Akkadian warranty clauses (*zakû*) and their Aramaic counterparts (דכי) but with the sense of providing a clear title to the purchaser. See Andrew Gross, *Continuity and Innovation in the Aramaic Legal Tradition*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 128 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 184–186, for discussion.

⁴³⁵ Drawnel, “The Initial Narrative of the ‘Vision of Amram’ and its Literary Characteristics,” *RevQ* 24 (2010): 527, comments, “The next word, ‘writing’ (כתב) unequivocally indicates that a written document is being copied.” Comparable document titles can be found in the Book of Noah in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20 V, 29) and the Words of Michael (4Q529 1, 1).

⁴³⁶ Puech (DJD XXIX) and Tigchelaar and García Martínez translate ונתן לך חכמה as “we will give to you wisdom.” It is unclear from context whether a third personal singular or first person plural is preferable.

been tracing—in the Visions of Amram as in TQ, texts are authoritative instruments that convey to their recipients.

In the wisdom poem that concludes ALD, there is a reference to inheritance, perhaps of texts. Unfortunately, the relevant portion of text is fragmented in its only extant manuscript (4Q213). It is clear that 4Q213 refers to inheritance in the context of wisdom and literacy. The text promises those who seeks wisdom, “you will inherit them” (תרתון אנון; 4Q213 1 II + 2, 9). Scrolls (בספריא) are mentioned in a similarly broken context several lines later (1 II + 2, 12). These elements lead Stone and Greenfield to conclude that an eschatological prophecy, perhaps from the Book of Enoch, is referred to here.⁴³⁷ However, the emphasis on literacy and the reference to inheritance fits just as well with the promulgation of priestly wisdom in TQ.

Annette Yoshiko Reed has argued that these testamentary or semi-testamentary texts identify the medium of writing as a key rhetorical strategy: “what proves so striking about parabiblical testaments is their insistence on writing.”⁴³⁸ Speaking of TQ, Reed describes the logic that I believe applies also to Jubilees, 1 Enoch 81–82, ALD, and Visions of Amram as well, stating that “The idiom of inheritance serves to invoke the transgenerational past and horizon of the ideal didactic tradition, whereby piety and knowledge are maintained in an unbroken line

⁴³⁷ Stone and Greenfield, DJD XXII, comment, “In the second part of the column, the author returns to paraenesis. This is clear from the second person suffixes in lines 16 and 18. The combination of elements is familiar. There is a reading in books (lines 12–13) which is comparable to the numerous eschatological prophecies drawn in the *Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs* from a putative ‘Book of Enoch’.... The eschatological character of the Aramaic document is clear from lines 17–18.” (20)

⁴³⁸ Reed, “Textuality between Death and Memory,” 383.

coterminous with lineage.”⁴³⁹ The written text, containing as it does the deposit of wisdom, serves as an instrument conveying an inheritance. As an object worthy of preservation and promulgation, the physical text may in some cases be the inheritance itself.⁴⁴⁰ Thus, the idea of inheriting textual wisdom, or indeed physical texts themselves, extends the legal metaphor of inheriting wisdom that finds wide use in Jewish Hellenistic texts.

4.2.5 The Outsider as Illegitimate Heir

A final metaphorical example of wisdom as an inheritance concerns the proper recipient of the gift of wisdom. 4QBeatitudes and TQ contain warnings against improper transmission of knowledge. These texts have depicted their contents as a patriarchal inheritance that has been faithfully received and preserved. TQ emphasizes the transmission of priestly knowledge throughout several generations.⁴⁴¹ While the evidence of priestly wisdom is somewhat less overt in 4QBeatitudes, there is evidence that the wisdom it conveys should be considered priestly. Puech and Uusimäki both note similarities between 4QBeatitudes and Psalms 15 and 24, with Uusimäki arguing that 4QBeatitudes employs temple-related themes and shows concern for ritual.⁴⁴² 4QBeatitudes 5 also employs language that

⁴³⁹ Reed, “Textuality between Death and Memory,” 391.

⁴⁴⁰ The Copper Scroll (3Q15) twice lists scrolls among its treasures (ספר in 6:5 and ספרים in 8:3). It is not clear what kind of scrolls these might have been.

⁴⁴¹ Similar reception of priestly knowledge is found in ALD: Isaac teaches the law of the priesthood (דין כהנותא; 5:8) to Levi.

is most typically found in priestly contexts, including purity (טוהרה) in 5 5.⁴⁴³ The preservation of knowledge within the priestly community is made explicit in these texts; this knowledge is their inheritance and does not belong in the hands of outsiders.⁴⁴⁴

TQ and 4QBeatitudes share a concern for safeguarding their priestly knowledge from illegitimate recipients. In TQ 1 I, 4–7, the priestly heritage must be guarded (ואזדהרו) and must not be conveyed (ואל תתנו ירותתכון) to outsiders (לנכראין) or those of mixed descent (לכילאין). 4QBeatitudes similarly calls on its readers not to relinquish their portion or lot to outsiders (אל תעזובו לזר[ים חל]קכמה וגורלכמה לבני נכר).⁴⁴⁵ The strangers (זרים) and outsiders (בני נכר) overlap with the terminology employed for foreigners in TQ (נכראין).⁴⁴⁶ Edward Cook argues that these outsiders

⁴⁴² Elisa Uusimäki, “Use of Scripture in 4QBeatitudes: A Torah Adjustment to Proverbs 1–9,” *DSD* 20 (2013): 90. See also Émile Puech, “The Collection of Beatitudes in Hebrew and in Greek (4Q525 1–4 and Mt 5,3–12)” in *Early Christianity in Context: Monuments and Documents*, ed. Manns and Alliata; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1993), 356. Uusimäki, *Turning Proverbs Toward Torah*, 226, also contends that 4QBeatitudes may have begun by grounding its wisdom in the figure of Solomon. However, the title of the document is broken at the point where it would likely have preserved the name of its author (fictitious or otherwise). There is nothing in the document that would require a reference to Solomon (even despite the suggestions of Elisha Qimron that 4QBeatitudes, 5Q16, and 4Q184 are part of a larger collection attributed to Solomon).

⁴⁴³ So Uusimäki, *Turning Proverbs Toward Torah*, 199, “The priestly character of 4Q525 is not explicit, but the text was probably written somehow in the temple’s shadow (see 2 ii+3 9–10, 2 iii 5–6, 4:3).”

⁴⁴⁴ As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, the *Yahad* could also employ priestly labels to define itself; whether its community was primarily or solely of priestly descent or not. On the question of the relationship between 4QBeatitudes and the *Yahad*, Jacqueline C. R. De Roo (“Is 4Q525 a Qumran Sectarian Document?” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, *JSPSup* 26 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], 338–367) has argued that 4QBeatitudes is sectarian, but the argument is not strong. Elisa Uusimäki, “Use of Scripture,” 72, states: “The features listed by de Roo are, however, exaggerated; the language and contents of 4Q525 do not include anything to prove a sectarian origin.”

⁴⁴⁵ Puech (DJD XXV, 133) reconstructs לזר[ים] on the basis of an extant לז.

⁴⁴⁶ Although נכרי and זר are fairly common in Proverbs, בני נכר does not occur in the Proverbs. In the Pentateuch, בן נכר is exclusively found in priestly texts and זר is almost always priestly. נכרי and זר occur nine and fourteen times, respectively, in Proverbs. Both terms occur in the same verse six times (2:16, 5:10, 7:5, 20:16, 27:2, 27:13).

are not actual ethnic foreigners, but rather are those who lack a priestly pedigree.⁴⁴⁷ Access is limited to those who can present their priestly credentials; no others may inherit.⁴⁴⁸ Inheritance of the prerogatives of priesthood, knowledge appropriate to the office, ought not devolve to foreigners.

Both TQ and 4QBeatitudes describe the relinquishment of other types of inheritance in similar terms. In TQ 1 I, 12, the Aramaic root שִׁבַּק is employed to describe the proper conveyance of an inheritance—it has been passed on from priestly ancestors to their children. שִׁבַּק functions in the warranty clauses of Nabataean property conveyances to describe the free release of property to its new, rightful owner.⁴⁴⁹ It also occurs once in the Wadi Daliyeh Samaritan Papyri as part of a quitclaim.⁴⁵⁰ In 4Q542, שִׁבַּקוֹ denotes the proper conveyance of the priestly

⁴⁴⁷ Cook, “Testament of Kohath,” 209: “it is a prohibition of mixed marriages, or marriage to wives of mixed blood, apparently originating in an allegorical exegesis of Lev. 19:19.” “Testament of Kohath,” 210: “The nuance seems to be that נִכְרִי refers to those who are strangers to the priesthood, i.e., not of priestly lineage.”

⁴⁴⁸ The restrictions on access to these documents mirrors a concern for secrecy found in the Mesopotamian scribal tradition and studied at length in Alan Lenzi’s *Secrecy and the Gods*. Lenzi argues for an indirect link between scribal secrecy and the figure of Wisdom in Proverbs, arguing that Wisdom is treated like a prophet with special access to divine revelation in Proverbs. The restriction of access in 4QBeatitudes and TQ is much more directly like Mesopotamian secrecy colophons. Jonathan Ben-Dov, “Scientific Writings in Aramaic and Hebrew at Qumran: Translation and Concealment” in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence, 30 June-2 July 2008*, ed. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, STDJ 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 379–402, and Mladen Popović, “Physiognomic Knowledge in Qumran and Babylonia: Form, Interdisciplinarity, and Secrecy,” *DSD* 13 (2006): 150–176, assume that 4QBeatitudes received its secrecy language from the secrecy colophons found in some Mesopotamian scribal texts via Aramaic intermediaries.

⁴⁴⁹ Gross, *Continuity and Innovation*, 184. While Nabataean property documents postdate 4Q542, it is not implausible that the legal terminology employed in Nabataean property documents occurred earlier and was understood by Jewish scribes. Thus Baruch Levine, “Various Workings,” 836, comments that “one assumes that a Jew residing or owning property in Maḥoz ‘Eglatain (= Maḥoza’), a town at the southern tip of the Dead Sea, and his Nabatean neighbor probably would have understood the provisions of each other’s legal documents in large part, when read aloud to them.”

⁴⁵⁰ Gropp, “papDeed of Slave Sale B ar” (WDSP 2) in Gropp, *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri for Wadi Daliyeh*; Eileen Schuller et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2*, DJD XXVIII (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 46–47. The relevant line in WDSP 2 8 reads, “you are quit before me” (תש<ת>בִּקְוֹן קְדָמִי).

inheritance bequeathed by the ancestors. In 4QBeatitudes 5, 8, an apparently similar technical use of the phrase עֲזַב לְ- indicates conveyance, but to the wrong recipients. While this technical sense is not well supported in classical Hebrew, the legal import of עֲזַב is also suggested by several Semitic cognates and calques, particularly שָׁבַק, which is generally equivalent to עֲזַב.⁴⁵¹ Additionally, the Akkadian *ezēbum* has several technical legal valences, including “to leave something to another,” “to bequeath,” and “to divorce.”⁴⁵² TQ 1 I, 5 uses the less exotic וְאֵל תִּתְּנוּ to command that the inheritance not be given to outsiders. Thus, in both TQ and 4QBeatitudes, an inheritance could be released or relinquished to improper recipients. Of course, for the composers of these texts, it should not be.

4.3 CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE INHERITANCE OF WISDOM

In various ways, Hellenistic Jewish texts employed metaphors related to wisdom as an inheritance. The texts surveyed above did so with the variety one might expect of such diverse texts. In some, a personified Wisdom grants either a tangible or an intangible inheritance that her devotees will receive. In others, wisdom is the inheritance that is granted—whether by God, by patriarch, or by priest. Like other

⁴⁵¹ As suggested by the frequent translation of עֲזַב with שָׁבַק in the Targumim. Joel Kemp has demonstrated that a further technical function of עֲזַב is found in Ezekiel, where it means the renunciation of legal claim—specifically YHWH’s claim to Jerusalem in Ezekiel 8:12 and 9:9 (“Renounced and Abandoned: The Legal Meaning of עֲזַב in Ezekiel 8:12 and 9:9,” *CBQ* 79 [2017]: 593–614).

⁴⁵² CAD E 421–422, s.v. *ezēbu*; the second meaning given includes: “to leave something with or to a person, to entrust, to reserve, set aside, to leave behind, to leave to posterity...” and the special meanings include “to bequeath,” which was encountered from the Old Assyrian period through the Neo-Babylonian.

inheritances, wisdom can then be preserved and conveyed. The textuality of the acts of preservation and conveyance is clearly significant for a number of these texts (1 Enoch, TQ, ALD), as noted by Reed; in a real sense, the written instrument is privileged as a means of conveyance, even to the point of requiring its explicit protection from illegitimate possession.

The network of metaphors describing the acquisition, preservation, and inheritance of wisdom demonstrate the utility of the legal concept of inheritance. Nearly the full range of language surrounding a נהלה can be applied to wisdom and wisdom in documentary form.

5.0 INHERITING GLORY: ACQUIRING PRIESTLY STATUS IN SIRACH AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

In 1QH^a IV, 27, the speaker describes the benevolence of God toward his chosen ones with the following phrase, “and you have cast aside all their offenses and you have caused them to inherit all the glory of Adam for abundant days” (ולהשליך כול) (עוונותם ולהנחילם בכול כבוד אדם לרוב ימים). As with the previous chapter, this chapter focuses on inheritance as a metaphor, specifically, the inheritance of glory or honor, נהלת כבוד. As with הסיג גבול, a biblical locution provides a clear starting point; however, unlike הסיג גבול, the challenge presented by this metaphor is largely due to the semantic shifting of כבוד. Where Philo was able to state that Deuteronomy 19:14 concerned the inheritances and boundaries of fields in *Spec. Laws* 4.149, no such unanimity pertains to the term כבוד. Thus, in this chapter, I will focus on the shift from the tangible inheritance of wealth intended in Prov 3:35 to the possession of sacred status denoted by inheriting כבוד in Hellenistic Jewish texts.

The primary difficulty this chapter addresses is presented by the semantic valences of כבוד. The standard lexica note that כבוד can be attributed to divine and human subjects. In the Hebrew Bible, the relationship between divine and human כבוד is analogous; differing more in degree than in its intrinsic nature. Within the relevant corpus of Hellenistic Jewish texts, the semantic range of כבוד has extended to include a כבוד that inheres to the priestly office. In this chapter, I will argue that this expansion does not entail that human beings inherit כבוד in a way that entails

angelic status or eternal life. Rather, the inheritance of כבוד represents the acquisition of priestly glory in these texts.

5.1 PROVERBS 3:35 AND THE INHERITANCE OF *GRAVITAS*

Analysis of the inheritance of כבוד must begin with Proverbs 3:35, the only verse in which נחל and כבוד collocate in the Hebrew Bible. The verse states, “Wise ones inherit honor, but fools acquire shame” (כבוד חכמים ינחלו וכסילים מרים קלון). Three ambiguities must be addressed. First, what is meant by כבוד? Second, given the bicolon’s use of the participle מרים to indicate acquisition, how should ינחלו be understood?⁴⁵³ Does it refer specifically to acquisition *through inheritance* or is it less precise? Third, is the acquisition of כבוד figurative in Proverbs 3:35?

Of these ambiguities, the semantic range of נחל is most easily addressed, since they have been considered in some detail in Chapter Two. Those conclusions may be summarized as follows: Usage of נחל and נחלה in the Hebrew Bible indicates that both verb and noun routinely referred to both initial grants and patrimonial inheritances. Grants were typically heritable. Deut 19:14 indicates this logic: the divine grant of the land to Israel (ה[א]רץ אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך לרשתה) is subsequently divided into נחלות by the first generation (ראשונים), the boundaries of which later recipients must not move. The usage of נחלה and נחל in Proverbs does not deviate

⁴⁵³ Fox argues that מרים should be understood as a verb of acquisition, on the basis of similar usage in Proverbs 14:29, rather than as an adjective characterizing כסילים (Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 169).

from these patterns. נחלה consistently refers to a patrimonial heritage; this is most clear in Prov 19:14, which states that “house and wealth are a patrimonial inheritance” (בית והון נחלה אבות). Of the six occurrences of נחל, two clearly speak of patrimonial inheritance: Prov 13:22, in which “a good person leaves a patrimony for his children’s children” (טוב ינחיל בני־בנים) and Wisdom’s endowment with wealth of those who love her in Prov 8:21 (להנחיל אהבי יש). Both of these utilize the C stem of נחל. There are four occurrences of the G stem: Prov 3:35, 11:29, 14:18, and 28:10. In all of these, pleasant or unpleasant consequences accrue to their expected recipients. Stress is not placed on these consequences as an inheritance; while there is other commercial language in the near context, other inheritance language does not occur.⁴⁵⁴ However, because both the noun נחלה and the C stem of נחל in Proverbs denote inheritance, it seems likely that the G stem also indicates inheritance.⁴⁵⁵ Thus, in Prov 3:35, the wise likely inherit honor—they are accorded it in the same way that a person might receive a patrimonial estate.⁴⁵⁶

The ambiguity of the second half of the Prov 3:35 may now be considered.

Michael Fox has considered several possibilities for the MT’s מרים, ultimately

⁴⁵⁴ The clearest examples of other commercial language in these contexts are עשר in 11:28; רוש and עשיר in 14:20; הון in 28:8. However, diction specific to inheritance (roots ירש and חלק) does not occur.

⁴⁵⁵ Additionally, the other verbs that might denote inheritance do not have that function in Proverbs. ירש occurs only with the sense of impoverish (three times in the N stem: 20:13, 23:21, 30:9) or displace (C stem, 30:23). The division of an inheritance is indicated in Prov 17:2 by the phrase יחלק נחלה. The absence of other terms for distributing an inheritance in Proverbs increases the likelihood that נחל occupies this role.

⁴⁵⁶ The social reality of honor and shame in the ancient Near East and ancient Mediterranean is intrinsic to Prov 3:35, as is recognized by Richard Clifford’s comment on the meaning of כבוד in Proverbs. “Wisdom’s benefits in v. 16 are what people most want: long life (which implies health and vitality), wealth, and reputation. The latter was especially important in ancient Mediterranean societies, which saw individuals primarily as members of families and groups, and put great value on honor and reputation and on the avoidance of public shame” (Clifford, *Proverbs*, 54).

preferring “stubborn fools” (כסילים מרימים) in his *Proverbs: An Eclectic Edition*.⁴⁵⁷ In his earlier Anchor Bible commentary, Fox analyzes מרים as a C stem participle from the root רום, functioning as a verb of acquisition.⁴⁵⁸ On this reading, both clauses include verbs of acquisition, and acquisition, rather than inheritance, would be the intended verbal idea. That is, the metaphor should be construed as:

The wise acquire honor

just as

An heir acquires a patrimonial estate

rather than as:

The wise inherit honor

just as

An heir inherits a patrimonial estate.

However, it should not be assumed that both cola intend to describe the same kind of acquisition. A contrast could be intended: the wise receive honor while the fools acquire shame. Thus, even if מרים is a verb of acquisition, it does not undermine reading ינהלו as “inherit” in 3:35.

While Prov 3:35 is ambiguous concerning acquisition and inheritance, there is no ambiguity with respect to the meaning of כבוד in Prov 3:35. In Proverbs, כבוד

⁴⁵⁷ Fox, *Proverbs: An Eclectic Edition*, 107.

⁴⁵⁸ Fox elicits the occurrence of a similar form in 14:29 as additional support. Fox also notes the grammatical awkwardness of a singular participle with a plural subject, suggesting both that it happens and that emendation to מרימים is to be preferred because of plausible haplography (Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 169).

consistently refers to wealth or reputation.⁴⁵⁹ Among its sixteen occurrences in fourteen verses, three times it is paired with עֶשֶׂר, “riches.”⁴⁶⁰ In the cases in which it collocates with עֶשֶׂר, כְּבוֹד has a tangible substance. But even as reputation, כְּבוֹד is socially real, even if it is physically immaterial. As wealth or reputation, Proverbs treats כְּבוֹד as a social reality.

Finally, the question may be raised as to whether Prov 3:35 is a metaphor. The pairing of wise and fool and honor and shame are fairly conventional—stock language in the Proverbs. The metaphor occurs in the comparison of qualities inherent to wisdom, such as כְּבוֹד, to a נְהִלָּה. Cynthia Chapman has argued that the anthropological category of immaterial wealth can be usefully applied to ancient Israelite society.⁴⁶¹ Name and reputation are examples of immaterial wealth in the Hebrew Bible since they are derived, at least in part, from parental reputation.⁴⁶² But even if name and reputation are intangible, that does not make them metaphorical.⁴⁶³ If there is a metaphor, it is the use of inheritance to describe the acquisition of honor. But even this need not be metaphorical: Sirach 3:11 suggests

⁴⁵⁹ Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 157: “*Kabod* usually means ‘honor,’ but sometimes it means ‘wealth.’ (The underlying meaning of *k-b-d* is weightiness, substance. In English, ‘substance’ can refer to material wealth.)”

⁴⁶⁰ The collocations occur in Prov 3:16, 8:18, 22:4.

⁴⁶¹ Cynthia Chapman, *The House of the Mother: The Social Roles of Maternal Kin in Biblical Hebrew Narrative and Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press: 2016), 35: “As an origin house, the house of Israel possessed material and immaterial wealth. Anthropologists include fields, dwellings, and heirloom valuables as part of the material wealth of an origin house.... Origin houses also contained immaterial wealth, and much of what gets labeled immaterial wealth falls within the constellation of Hebrew terms that I have associated with the professed patrilineal ideal: names, genealogies, and monuments.”

⁴⁶² This may differ slightly from Chapman’s description of immaterial wealth, but it is significant.

⁴⁶³ The description in Job 29 of Job’s status before and after his illness dramatically illustrates the reality of social standing and the acuteness of its loss.

the close tie between one's own honor and the honor of one's parents: "the honor of a man is from the dignity of his father" (ἡ γὰρ δόξα ἀνθρώπου ἐκ τιμῆς πατρὸς αὐτοῦ). Since honor is familial, its acquisition is analogous to receiving a patrimonial estate.

5.2 THE INHERITANCE OF כבוד IN HELLENISTIC JEWISH TEXTS

With Proverbs 3:35 as a starting point, I will now examine the collocations of כבוד with the language of possession and conveyance in order to demonstrate other ways in which the inheritance of כבוד may be employed. Table 5.1 (below) documents these collocations, which can be grouped into several categories. Some track with Prov 3:35, describing the inheritance of כבוד in terms of the acquisition of wealth or standing. Several of these are found in Sirach and another is found in 4QBeatitudes. A second category reflects the use of כבוד to describe the majesty and entitlements attendant upon the priesthood. This is found in "the Praise of the Fathers" in Sirach and may also be demonstrated by the Damascus Document and Community Rule. James Aitken has documented this priestly sense of כבוד and תפארת in Sirach; I will extend his analysis to consider the Damascus Document and Community Rule. A third group of texts, the collocations of כבוד and inheritance in 4QInstruction, defies easy categorization. In his commentary on 4QInstruction, John Kampen has argued that the inheritance of כבוד refers the possession of eternal life in Qumran texts; Émile Puech has made similar arguments. However, I will argue that this reading is

not the most likely. Rather, 4QInstruction follows the patterns set by Proverbs and Sirach, is most likely concerned with the acquisition of wealth when it speaks of inheriting כבוד.

Table 5.1: The Inheritance of כבוד		
Reference	Text	Other Terms
Prov 3:35	כבוד חכמים ינחלו	נחל
Sirach 4:13 (MS A)	ותמכיה ימצשו כבוד מיי	תמך
Sirach 4:13	ὁ κρατῶν αὐτῆς κληρονομήσει δόξαν	κληρονομεω
Sirach 37:26 (MS D)	חכם עם ינחל כבוד	נחל
Sirach 44:2 (MSS B, Mas)	רב כבוד חלק עליון	חלק
Sirach 44:2 ⁴⁶⁴	πολλὴν δόξαν ἔκτισεν ὁ κύριος	κταομαι
Sirach 45:20 (MS B)	... לאהרן ויתן לו נחלתו	נחלה
Sirach 45:20	καὶ προσέθηκεν Ααρων δόξαν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κληρονομίαν	κληρονομία
CD III 20	המתזיקים בו לחיי נצה וכל כבוד אדם להם הוא	(חזק)
1QS XI, 7	... עם מעין כבוד מסוד בשר לאש. { } בחר אל נתנם לאוחזת עולם וינחילי { } ם בגורל	נחל
1QH ^a IV, 27	ולהנחילם בכול כבוד אדם [ו]רוב ימים	נחל
4Q416 2 II, 18	אל תמכור כבודכה ואל תערבהו בנחלתכה פן יוריש גויתכה	נחלה
4Q416 2 III, 11 4Q418 9, 12	ובנחלת כבוד המשילכה	נחלה
4Q416 2 IV, 11	כבודכה בנח[ל]תכה]...]	נחל
4Q417 2 I, 11	ודע מי נוחל כבוד וע[מ]ל	נחל
4Q418 185, 4	[תנחל כ]בו[ד]	נחל
4Q525 14 II, 14	תנחל כבוד ואם נספיתה למנוחות עד ינחלו[ה]	נחל

⁴⁶⁴ Ziegler notes that the Lucianic recension and the Syrohexapla include the indirect object ἐν αὐτοῖς (*Sap. Iesu Fil. Sir.* [XII/2], 331).

5.2.1 The Semantic Range of כבוד in Hellenistic Jewish Texts

James Aitken presents the usage of כבוד in Sirach, as well as that of פאר and תפארת, as a notable example of semantic shifting.⁴⁶⁵ The impact of semantic shifting is central to this chapter because a shift in the meaning of כבוד could directly reshape a metaphor that employs it. But if the meaning of כבוד shifts, it is necessary to determine what it is shifting from and what it is shifting to. The typical meaning of כבוד in Proverbs is *gravitas*, expressed as wealth and reputation.⁴⁶⁶ This accords with one of the main strands of כבוד in the Hebrew Bible; perhaps the original strand if the etymological relationship to כבד, “to be heavy,” is determinative.⁴⁶⁷ Three issues must be discussed. First, is there a divine כבוד that is distinctly different from human כבוד? Second, what is the relationship between כבוד and the divine realm? Third, what is the relationship between כבוד and the priesthood? Semantic shifts in these directions have been proposed or observed. Each possible direction bears on the metaphors discussed in this chapter. I will argue that proposing a distinctly different divine כבוד misconstrues an intended analogy between the human and divine realm, and that the development of a sense of כבוד that adheres to the priestly

⁴⁶⁵ James Aitken, “The Semantics of ‘Glory,’” 1–24.

⁴⁶⁶ William McKane, *Proverbs: A New Approach*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970), 295–296. McKane comments, “There is a correspondence between a person’s ‘weight’ (*gravitas*) and his ability to climb to the commanding heights of statesmanship, and *kābōd* might be rendered ‘weight’ (*kābēd* ‘to be heavy’). This is what Wisdom does for a man; he becomes a weighty person in his community, a man of substance who exercises power and influence and commands respect.”

⁴⁶⁷ Pentiuć, *West Semitic Vocabulary*, 93, indicates that the origins of כבוד may be NW Semitic rather than Akkadian. The Akkadian *kabattu* is attested early, but it is less clear that it originally referred to the liver. Instead, it seems generally to have referred to the interior of a body.

office accounts for most instances of the inheritance of כבוד in Sirach and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

5.2.1.1 כבוד as *Gravitas Human and Divine*

Among the major lexica, HALOT and DCH indicate a distinct set of theological meanings for כבוד. The distinction is questionable on the basis of their lexicography, because the theological and non-theological meanings listed are analogous. DCH describes כבוד as “glory, splendor, or majesty” with respect to YHWH and “wealth, honor, or reputation” with respect to persons.⁴⁶⁸ It is simply unclear that splendor or majesty is substantially different than honor (or wealth). HALOT includes glory, splendor, distinction, and honor in its list of non-theological meanings.⁴⁶⁹ The meanings proposed by DCH and HALOT imply a close analogy between human and divine meanings. Divine honor and human honor differ in degree rather than in kind, as is made clear by Proverbs 25:2, which compares the כבוד אלהים with the כבוד מלכים.

The first theological meaning of כבוד in HALOT occurs in the phrase “give glory to YHWH” (with the verbal roots נתן, שים, and יהב); however, כבוד can be conveyed to human subjects with the verb נתן as well, as in Isaiah 35:2 and 2 Chronicles 17:5. The phrase “give glory to YHWH” functions in a juridical setting in

⁴⁶⁸ DCH, s.v. כבוד.

⁴⁶⁹ HALOT, s.v. כבוד.

Joshua 7:19, but even there it may be thought of as restoration of something that is owed to YHWH rather than as a circumlocution for telling the truth.⁴⁷⁰

Another apparent difference between theological and ordinary כבוד—that the כבוד יהוה is effulgent—might also be a difference in degree rather than kind.

Benjamin Sommer argues that in priestly literature in the Hebrew Bible the כבוד יהוה is the divine body. Again, there is a human analog, for DCH notes six occurrences of כבוד that appear to indicate a human body.⁴⁷¹ As a divine body, the כבוד יהוה is often described in anthropomorphic terms, with body parts such as the face, arms, hands, back, and waist all mentioned in priestly texts. However, Sommer argues that the כבוד יהוה also has characteristics unlike a human body, such as effulgence or fluidity of size.⁴⁷² The divine כבוד has capabilities that the human כבוד does not, but if

Sommer is correct, the analogy still holds.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷⁰ As noted by Trent Butler, *Joshua*, WBC 7 (Dallas: Word, 1984), 85: “The culprit discovered in the sacral process is called upon to confess his guilt, which gives praise and glory to God by showing that the divine judgment has been just.”

⁴⁷¹ The root כבד and its Semitic cognates may refer to the liver, or more generally to the interior of the body (so *kabattu*). DCH records six instances in which כבוד appears to refer to a human body (Gen 49:6; Pss 7:6; 16:9; 30:13; 57:9; 108:2).

⁴⁷² Benjamin D. Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 59–74. Sommer argues that for P, כבוד refers to the actual body of God. In Ezekiel, “the *kabod* looks rather like a human body” (69). In Gen 1:26–27, image reflects “the physical contours” of God, although gender is not part of that representation in 1:27 (70). Sommer argues that the priestly body of God has a clear shape, but that substance and size are not clear (70–71). In a substantial review, Victor Hurowitz challenges Sommer on his understanding on local manifestations of the deity (Hurowitz, review of *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* by Benjamin D. Sommer, *JAOS* 130 [2010]: 674–679). Hurowitz argues that a god could be present in a physical object, whether an anthropomorphic icon or a non-anthropomorphic object, but that “the stone will remain the god’s dwelling place and nothing more without turning into the body of the god” (677).

⁴⁷³ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 10. Lakoff and Johnson argue that there are entailments of a metaphor—potential points of comparison—that are left unutilized. That is, while mountains may have heads, shoulders, and feet, they rarely, if ever, have spleens.

In Hellenistic Jewish literature, the effulgence of the כבוד יהוה, described as the gleam of gold or precious gems or rainbows in Ezekiel 1 becomes distinct, independent sense of the word כבוד. In addition, in Enochic literature and the Testament of Levi, כבוד or רב כבוד becomes a phrase that designates God: ἡ δόξα ἡ μεγάλη occurs in 1 Enoch 14:20 and 102:3 and T. Levi 3:4.⁴⁷⁴ This semantic development could plainly be significant, but I will argue below with respect to 4QInstruction that context militates against interpreting the inheritance of כבוד along those lines.

5.2.1.2 כבוד and Sacred Space

If YHWH possesses a unique כבוד, his celestial dwelling does as well. In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, כבוד frequently distinguishes the heavenly sanctuary and its attendants from their mundane counterparts.⁴⁷⁵ כבוד is pervasive in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: there are over 90 discrete occurrences of כבוד (4Q400–407; 11Q17; MassShirShabb).⁴⁷⁶ While a number of these occurrences directly predicate

⁴⁷⁴ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 264; Nickelsburg comments that the phrase ἡ δόξα ἡ μεγάλη “designates God in terms of the effulgent splendor that envelops him.” Strugnell, “The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân—4Q Serek Širôt ‘Ôlat Haššabbāt,” in *Congress Volume 1959* (VTSup 7; Leiden: Brill, 1960), 338, finds a similar usage of הכבוד in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q405 18, 4), which he identifies as one of the earliest occurrences of this usage in Jewish literature. So also Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 292, and Carol Newsom, “Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice” in Esther Eshel, et al., *Qumran Cave 4. VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1*, DJD XI (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 339. According to Newsom, “However the phrase is construed, הכבוד appears to be a divine epithet (cf. 1 Enoch 14:20; T. Levi 3:4). As such, it is otherwise not attested in previously published QL” (Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 312). However, the phrase itself reads] -- מהרו מקול הכבוד --, and could be translated “they hurry at the glorious sound.”

⁴⁷⁵ Several occurrences of כבוד in 4QBlessings^a (4Q286) display similar tendencies, speaking of God’s glorious footstool (והדומי רגלי כבודכה) in 1 II, 1 and glorious chariots (ומרכבות כבודכה) in 1 II, 2.

⁴⁷⁶ See *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*, eds. Martin G. Abegg Jr., James E. Browley, and Edward M. Cook (Leiden: Brill, 2003–2016). Vol I/1 lists 99 occurrences of כבוד in 4Q400–407 and 11Q17. Vol. II

כבוד to YHWH, there is another usage that requires acknowledgment.⁴⁷⁷ When כבוד is preceded by a place or object, כבוד often functions adjectivally in the construct phrase and designates the divine realm. The glorious brickwork (לבוני כבוד) or glorious *debir* (דביר כבוד) are conceived by the composer of the text to be the brickwork or the shrine of the heavenly place—as opposed to their mundane counterparts—where God dwells. James Davila asserts that the Songs make use of a developed exegetical tradition that compares the heavenly temple to the elements of Solomon’s temple (particularly as described in 1 Chronicles 28 and 29).⁴⁷⁸ According to Davila, the use of terms like “holy” and “exalted,” as well as the adjectival use of כבוד, indicate the divine sanctuary, of which the Jerusalem temple is a microcosm. Not only does the deity possess כבוד, but כבוד signifies the architecture, decorations, and attendants of the heavenly sanctuary. This use of כבוד introduces a possibility not well articulated by DCH: there is a כבוד of the divine realm, which characterizes members of the heavenly court as well as heavenly architecture.⁴⁷⁹

lists an additional four occurrences in Mas I k. None of these occurrences clearly refers to humans as the subjects of כבוד.

⁴⁷⁷ There are at least eleven clear references to God’s כבוד: 4Q400 1 II, 8; 1 II, 13; 2, 1; 2, 5; 4Q401 14 I, 7; 4Q403 1 I, 3; 1 I, 31; 1 I, 36; 1 II, 25; 4Q405 4–5, 4; 6, 6.

⁴⁷⁸ James Davila, “The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” *DSD* 9 (2002), 1–19.

⁴⁷⁹ Because the focus of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice is directed toward the heavenly realm, relatively little is said about the mundane existence of people. In 4Q400 2 2 || 4Q401 14 I, 8, however, there is an apparent contrast between the camps of the divine beings and the councils of humans (“they are honored in all the camps of the divine beings and revered in the councils of humans;” המה נכבדים בכל מחני אלוהים); in the subsequent line divine beings and humans are again referred to (“mar[velous] among divine beings and humans;” [פ]לא] מאלוהים ואנשים).

5.2.1.3 כבוד and Sacred Duties

According to James Aitken, Sirach employs words related to glory in a variety of ways. As noted above, the classic wisdom sense of כבוד as honor still occurs.⁴⁸⁰ However, there is also a strong connection to priestly vestments and priestly glory, particularly in the “Praise of the Fathers” in Sirach 44–50.⁴⁸¹ Aitken also argues that several texts may use the term כבוד to refer directly to the deity—Aitken refers to this as the כבוד of Divine Presence, which he finds in Sir 42:17 and perhaps in 45:12.⁴⁸² Crucial to Aitken’s discussion, though, is what he rules out. Aitken argues that כבוד is never used in Sirach to describe either a state of primordial or eschatological perfection, despite the occurrence of the phrase תפארת אדם in Sir 49:16. The similar phrase כבוד אדם occurs in multiple texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls and will be discussed later in this chapter; usually it is understood as a reference to primordial perfection. By contrast, Aitken argues that תפארת אדם refers to priestly glory, relying upon Jewish traditions that ascribed priestly roles and priestly garments to Adam.⁴⁸³ Aitken’s conclusions regarding the priesthood are as follows:

כבוד also comes to be a characteristic of the priests themselves, as Ben Sira extends the notion in Exod. from glorious instruments and clothes to glorious priests. This is connected in turn with the presence of God in glory in the temple.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸⁰ Aitken, “Semantics,” 12: “In Ben Sira [כבוד] is used a number of times in the proverbial sections to denote respect or honour (e.g. 3.10, 11, 12; 4.21).”

⁴⁸¹ Aitken, “Semantics,” 13: “Within the ‘Praise of the Fathers’, however, כבוד is applied most often to the priests and their objects. Both the clothes of Aaron (45.8) and his headgear (45.12) are said to be of glory, as are the clothes of Simeon (50.11). Of more significance is that God is said to have increased the glory of Aaron (45.20) and given to him his inheritance.”

⁴⁸² Aitken, “Semantics,” 14, 16. “[T]here seems to have been a development from the priestly instruments reflecting כבוד to the priests themselves bearing כבוד.”

⁴⁸³ Aitken, “Semantics,” 8.

Thus, according to Aitken, there is a כבוד that is unique to the office and role of the priests. I will argue that this sense of כבוד is prominent in the Hellenistic Jewish texts that describe an inheritance of כבוד.

5.2.1.4 Summary

The varied uses and nuances of כבוד require careful attention to context. As I demonstrated above, Proverbs conceives of כבוד as gravitas or substance, a sense of social standing that can be made tangible by wealth. By analogy, human honor and divine honor can be thought of as similar in nature, but differing by degree. כבוד may also describe sacred space and priestly duty; these latter possibilities will prove significant to the inheritance of כבוד in Hellenistic Jewish texts.

5.2.2 Proverbs-like כבוד in Hellenistic Texts

The review of lexicography on כבוד indicated the multiple valences of the term, both with respect to humans and the divine realm. Two uses of כבוד as an inheritance are easily recognizable: one identified with respect to Prov 3:35, in which כבוד refers to honor or wealth, and another identified with priestly כבוד. Texts that speak of an inheritance of כבוד in ways similar to the book of Proverbs include portions of Sirach, 4QInstruction, 4QBeatitudes and the Aramaic Levi Document.

⁴⁸⁴ Aitken, "Semantics," 20.

5.2.2.1 Inheriting Honor in Sirach

Aitken’s analysis of the multivalence of כבוד is borne out by a brief consideration of the texts in Sirach that collocate wisdom and inheritance. Sirach 1:19 lacks explicit inheritance language, but does speak of possessing (κρατεω) wisdom. The text (extant only in Greek) reads, “[Wisdom] rained down learning and knowledge of wisdom, and it exalted the reputation of those who possessed it” (ἐπιστήμην καὶ γνῶσιν συνέσεως ἐξώμβρησεν καὶ δόξαν κρατούντων αὐτῆς ἀνύψωσεν).⁴⁸⁵ That is, the person who acquires wisdom also acquires a heightened social standing, as was true in Proverbs. Sirach 4:13, also speaking of wisdom, reiterates that “the one who possesses it will inherit honor” (ὁ κρατῶν αὐτῆς κληρονομήσει δόξαν). The Hebrew text of Sirach 4:13 is extant in MS A and reads: ותומכיה ימצאו כבוד מיי, “and the one who possesses it will find honor from YHWH.” This passage is similar to Prov 3:35, although the Hebrew text diverges by specifying that כבוד is received from YHWH and by reading ימצאו when the Greek text’s κληρονομήσει would lead one to expect יירש or ינהל.⁴⁸⁶ Given the similarity to Prov 3:35, it also seems likely that כבוד indicates wealth or status. Sirach 37:26 is similar.⁴⁸⁷ Sirach 37:26 reads: ὁ σοφὸς ἐν

⁴⁸⁵ This is referring to wisdom, the subject of Sirach 1:14–20.

⁴⁸⁶ מצא is common in Proverbs, occurring 27 times, and is used to describe the acquisition of wisdom in 1:28, 2:5, 3:13, 8:9, 8:12, 8:17, 8:35, 10:13, and 24:14. However, Deut 21:17, “so as to give him a double portion of all which is found to be his” (לתת לו פי שנים בכל אשר ימצא לו) places מצא in the context of inheritance law.

⁴⁸⁷ *Contra* Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, who argues that Sirach 37:26 provides evidence for the inheritance of eternal life (Kampen, 110) on the grounds that the B-colon speaks of one’s name enduring forever. However, it is the person’s name that endures forever, not the person as a living being. Skehan and DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, translate the Greek text as “One wise for his people wins a heritage of glory and his name lives on and on” (434). They note further, “Syr (*wašēmeḥ*) *qayyām lēḥayyē dalē‘ālam* appears very close to this, but is in fact speaking of eternal life. That the sense of the original was different can be gathered from 39:9–11; 41:11–13; 44:12–15” (436).

τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ κληρονομήσει πίστιν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; the verse is extant in MS D (and partially in MS C) and reads: חכם עם ינחל כבוד ושמר עומד ׀ בחיי עולם (“the wise person of the people will inherit honor and his names stands in lasting life”).⁴⁸⁸ In Sirach 37:26, the wise person inherits glory and a lasting reputation; that is, there is tangible honor that accrues to a wise person.⁴⁸⁹

5.2.2.2 Posthumous Honor in 4QBeatitudes

In 4Q525 14 II, 14, as in Sirach, honor is one of the rewards that accrue to the addressee, presumably due to the addressee’s adherence to wise instruction. The immediate prior context at the end of line 13 is missing, so the text reads, “... you will inherit honor. And should you be swept away to eternal rest, they will inherit [it...]” ([-- כול ה[ינחלו]ה כול --]).⁴⁹⁰ While the subsequent context is also somewhat broken, line 15 refers to the addressee’s teaching as a significant legacy (ובתלמודכה יתהלכו יחד כול יודעיכה) “and by your teaching, all your acquaintances will conduct themselves together”). The addressee will be mourned and the addressee’s teaching will be remembered after death (“they will mourn you and by your paths they will remember you;” [יאבלו ובדרכיכה יזכרוכה]).⁴⁹¹ As a result, this

⁴⁸⁸ The translation of כבוד with πιστις is unusual; πιστις is not listed as a translation for כבוד in Hatch-Redpath or in Muraoka’s *A Greek ≈ Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint*.

⁴⁸⁹ One final text in Sirach, Sir 51:17, may describe the acquisition of glory. However, the textual traditions diverge and the readings are difficult.

⁴⁹⁰ As noted in the previous chapter, the end of line 14 is typically reconstructed to make some kind of reference to inheriting wisdom.

⁴⁹¹ In Isaiah 64:4 [5 EV], the phrase בדרכיך יזכרוך appears to refer to people walking in the paths of YHWH. Uusimäki, *Turning Proverbs Toward Torah*, 197, reads the locution in 4Q525 as a reference to the “wise-to-be” who will conduct themselves by the addressee’s teaching.

passage seems very close in thought to Sirach 37:26 and suggests that 4Q525 is thinking of posthumous respect being given to the addressee.

5.2.2.3 Inheriting Honor in the Aramaic Levi Document

The use of יקר in ALD is consistent with 4QBeatitudes and the examples adduced thus far in Sirach. ALD brings wisdom and glory together (once with כבוד but more frequently with the Aramaic equivalent (יקר), predominantly in the wisdom poem of ALD 13, where wisdom is a source of honor. It seems clear from lines 13.9–13.10 that יקר is comparable to כבוד as reputation: the wise person is hired and accorded יקר because of wise words. 13.4 reads, “may wisdom be lasting glory (ליקר עלם) for you.” In 13.5–13.6, the act of learning wisdom (through literacy) results in honor.⁴⁹² Thus, ALD follows the path set by Proverbs 3:35, with wisdom resulting in heightened social standing. The scribe, like the wise person in 4QBeatitudes 14 II, 14 or Sirach 37:26, receives lasting honor.

5.2.2.4 Restored Honor in 4QInstruction (416 2 III, 10–11 || 4Q418 9, 9–10)

No less than Sirach, 4QInstruction uses כבוד in diverse ways; both will be discussed further below. However, some of the occurrences of כבוד in 4QInstruction are consistent with Proverbs’ focus on wealth. 4Q416 2 III, 11 and its parallel in 4Q418 9, 12 describe a נחלת כבוד in way that is consistent with the sense of honor and wealth in Proverbs; in 4QInstruction, the addressee is poor (ריש in 4Q416 2 III, 10 ||

⁴⁹² So Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 209, who argue that this occurrence is comparable to Sirach 39:4.

4Q418 9, 11), but could have his כבוד restored.⁴⁹³ Another passage in 4QInstruction, 4Q417 2 I, 11, contrasts כבוד with עמל, “hard labor,” suggesting that both belong to the realm of quotidian human experience. I will consider both of these examples more fully later in this chapter. For now, it is sufficient to note that כבוד is something that one possesses (perhaps as a divine grant) in contrast to both poverty (4Q416 2 III, 10–11 || 4Q418 9, 11–12) and manual labor (4Q417 2 I, 11), suggesting that כבוד belongs to a social status that presently eludes the addressee.

5.2.2.5 Summary

Sirach, 4QBeatitude, ALD, and 4QInstruction align with Prov 3:35; in all of the references surveyed above, כבוד is a recognizable element of a person’s status. Sages and scribes are accorded honor, which might also be accompanied by material wealth. In 4QInstruction, the poor addressee (ריש) might acquire material wealth to change his status; כבוד is antithetical to manual labor. In these occurrences, possessing כבוד means possessing honor and gravitas that befits the status of the wise individual. The inheritance of כבוד is not clearly metaphorical in these instances; rather, these texts convey the idea that כבוד is a tangible benefit received from God or society.

⁴⁹³ The poverty of the addressee is a recurring feature in the document; there seven discrete occurrences of ריש in the various manuscripts (4Q415 6, 3; 4Q416 2 I, 4; 4Q416 2 III, 6 || 4Q418 9, 11; 4Q416 2 III, 11; 4Q416 2 III, 15 || 4Q418 9, 17; 4Q416 2 III, 20; 4Q418 148 II, 4).

5.2.3 Priestly Glory Texts

As noted above, Aitken notes that Sirach uses כבוד and תפארת in ways that diverge from Proverbs. The most easily demonstrable of these divergences focuses on priestly glory.⁴⁹⁴ While Aitken does not extend his analysis beyond Sirach, several occurrences of כבוד in texts from Qumran are consistent with this usage. I will now consider this set of texts.

5.2.3.1 Priestly Glory in Sirach

In Sirach 44:2, the Most High apportioned great glory to the illustrious ancestors (רב כבוד חלק עליהם). It is possible that honor or a good reputation is intended, since the name, memory and legacy of some of these individuals is mentioned a few verses later (44:8–9, 11, 13); in this case, the “Praise of the Fathers” might simply follow the pattern set in the passages from Sirach treated in the previous section.

However, Aitken argues that throughout the “Praise of the Fathers,” כבוד is more typically connected to the priestly office: “there seems to have been a development from the priestly instruments reflecting כבוד to the priests themselves bearing כבוד.”⁴⁹⁵ According to Aitken, material glory distinguishes priests from the other notable patriarchs. Their vestments and appearance may be glorious (as in the case

⁴⁹⁴ Aitken, “Semantics,” 20: “In the proverbial portions of Ben Sira and in some instances in the ‘Praise of the Fathers’ כבוד has the meanings found also in Biblical Hebrew of ‘honour’ or ‘reputation’, However... כבוד also comes to be a characteristic of the priests themselves, as Ben Sira extends the notion in Exod. from glorious instruments and clothes to glorious priests.”

⁴⁹⁵ Aitken, “Semantics,” 13–14.

of Simon in Sirach 50). In Sirach 45:20, priestly glory is clearly intended: Aaron is given both glory and an inheritance—the latter consisting of the hereditary priesthood with its access to support from the first fruits and sacrifices.⁴⁹⁶ Significantly, this glory is a divine grant, indicating an additional grant beyond their prebend.⁴⁹⁷ The culmination of this glory is seen in Sirach 50 in the description of Simon, son of Onias, whose priestly robes were characterized with effulgence in Sir 50:11 (“when he put on his glorious robe and robed himself with complete pride, as he ascended to the holy altar, he glorified the precincts of the sanctuary;” ἐν τῷ ἀναλαμβάνειν αὐτὸν στολὴν δόξης καὶ ἐνδιδύσκεσθαι αὐτὸν συντέλειαν καυχήματος, ἐν ἀναβάσει θυσιαστηρίου ἁγίου ἐδόξασεν περιβολὴν ἁγιάσματος). The passage makes it clear that visual glory and its effect on the sanctuary is connected to his bearing the priestly vestments at the altar; Sir 50:13 extends that glory to Simon’s fellow priests: “as were all the sons of Aaron in their splendor and the offerings for the Lord in their hands before the whole assembly of Israel” (καὶ πάντες οἱ υἱοὶ Ααρων ἐν δόξῃ αὐτῶν καὶ προσφορὰ κυρίου ἐν χερσὶν αὐτῶν ἔναντι πάσης ἐκκλησίας Ἰσραηλ). For Sirach, the priesthood has כהן as its distinguishing mark.

⁴⁹⁶ Priestly provisions are established as a lasting ordinance (חֻק עוֹלָם) in several places in the Hebrew Bible: Exod 29:28; Lev 6:11, 7:34, 10:15, 24:9; Num 18:8, 11, 19. At the same time, Num 18:20 states that the priests have no other portion or inheritance within the land Israel; YHWH is their portion. By the logic employed in Numbers, the Aaronides are granted a perpetual prebend.

⁴⁹⁷ Exod 28:1–5.

5.2.3.2 The כבוד אדם in the Damascus Document

Aitken convincingly argues that כבוד is priestly in portions of Sirach, with the emphasis falling upon the priests as bearers of effulgence. A related, but slightly distinct sense of priestly כבוד is encountered in the Damascus Document. There, inheriting כבוד refers to priestly status.

In CD III 20, the addressees of the text's exhortation are encouraged: "Those who possess it [are] for eternal life, and all the glory of Adam is for them" (המחזיקים) (בו לחיי נצח וכל כבוד אדם להם). The context of CD III 20 is replete with priestly affinities. The previous clause in CD has described God providing a sure house (בית נאמן) for Israel, with language reminiscent of the promise in 1 Sam 2:35 that a priestly sure house will replace the house of Eli as priests.⁴⁹⁸ The subsequent clause introduces a citation of Ezekiel 44:15, which references the priests, Levites, and sons of Zadok. Ezekiel 44:15 is then applied to the covenant community itself in CD IV 2–4: the priests, Levites, and sons of Zadok of Ezekiel are reconfigured as members of the community.⁴⁹⁹ Thus, CD III 20 speaks to a community with a priestly self-identification and the כבוד אדם should be understood as such. It reflects the honor and benefits understood to accrue to the priestly office.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁸ Grossman, *Reading for History*, 173.

⁴⁹⁹ Compare Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 148: "One passage in the Admonition identifies the sect as a whole in priestly terms."

⁵⁰⁰ Aitken's arguments about the תפארת אדם in Sir 49:16 offer extensive support for the idea that the glory of Adam is priestly (Aitken, "Semantics," 5–8). He notes that תפארת refers to priestly vestments in Sirach 45:8 and 50:11, likely under the influence of biblical texts in Ex 28. Aitken states that vestments Wisdom grants are treated similarly in Sirach 6:29–30. Finally, Aitken notes midrashic tendencies to connect the garments of skin (עור) in Genesis 3:20–21 with garments of light (אור) and to see Adam as a priestly figure. Thus, Aitken concludes that the glory of Adam in Sirach is a priestly glory rather than an idealized original state of perfection which might be recovered in the eschaton.

This interpretation contrasts with several eschatological interpretations of כל כבוד אדם. Crispin Fletcher-Louis contends that כל כבוד אדם is eschatological in nature and refers to sectarian participation in a glorified, angelomorphic life.⁵⁰¹ Émile Puech argues that the passage speaks of resurrection by promising “life eternal and all the glory of Adam” to the just.⁵⁰² Neither of these eschatological interpretations are fully compelling; the possibility that כל כבוד refers to eschatological glory will be addressed more fully in Appendix B. The priestly cues in the near context of CD III 20 provide sufficient warrant for recognizing the כל כבוד אדם as a reference to priestly status, which the text is claiming for the members of the community.

5.2.3.3 The כל כבוד אדם in 1QH^a IV, 27⁵⁰³

A similar locution concerning the כל כבוד אדם is found in the Hodayot. In 1QH^a IV, 27, at the conclusion of a section expressing gratitude for divine grace, God’s beneficence

⁵⁰¹ Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 97: “Indeed, the idea that the community already has Adam’s glory is consistent with the fact that the community have also returned to the pre-lapsarian world of Eden.” John J. Collins agrees with Fletcher-Louis’s broader identification of worship as the context for fellowship with the angels, but disagrees that an angelomorphic anthropology is intended (see Collins, “The Mysteries of God: Creation and Eschatology in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon” in *Jewish Cult and Hellenistic Culture: Essays on the Jewish Encounter with Hellenism and Roman Rule* [Leiden: Brill, 2005], 298).

⁵⁰² The only significant obstacle to this interpretation is whether חיי נצח must mean “eternal life” in the sense of the eternal existence of a person. In Sirach 37:26, a name may endure for חיי עולם after a person is dead. Puech, “Resurrection: The Bible and Qumran,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls, Vol. 2: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 276, thinks it is a reference to eternal life. But it is not difficult to imagine that חיי נצח could have the same import as the ברית כהנת עולם made with Phinehas in Numbers 25:13, expressing an enduring temporal priesthood.

⁵⁰³ There are marked differences in the numbering of both columns and lines of the Hodayot. I am following the system used in DJD XL and Schuller and Newsom’s *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH^a*, Early Judaism and Its Literature 36 (Atlanta: SBL, 2012). Tigchelaar and García

to the faithful (1QH^a IV, 26 “to those who serve you loyally;” לעיבודך באמנה) includes “giving to them as inheritance all the glory of Adam for abundance of days” (ולהנהילם) (בכול כבוד אדם לרוב ימים).⁵⁰⁴ Svend Holm-Nielsen argues that the passage belongs to an “initiation into the community or the annual feast of renewal.”⁵⁰⁵ As was noted above, CD III, 20–VI, 2 indicates that the community could identify themselves as a priestly body. The inheritance of the glory of Adam in 1QH^a IV, 27 may be understood similarly: God grants a new status to those who serve him faithfully; they are his priests.

5.2.3.4 Divine Benefactions in 1QS XI

An elaborate description of divine benefactions conferred on the elect community is found in 1QS XI, 5b–8a. With language that may be indebted to Proverbs 1 and 8, the speaker claims to have observed “wisdom that has been hidden from mankind, knowledge and prudent understanding (hidden) from the sons of man, fount of justice and well of strength and spring of glory (hidden) from the assembly of flesh”

Martínez have the same column numbering in their DSSSE, but the line numbers differ based on differing accounting for missing material at the top of the scroll. 1QH^a IV, 26–27 are their 1QH^a 4:14–15.

⁵⁰⁴ The abundance of days (רוב ימים) was taken as a reference to immortality by early scholars such as van der Ploeg and Mansoor (cf. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns*, STDJ 3 [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961] 84–87). However, Robert B. Laurin disputed this reading, noting (among other things) that the previous line in 1QH^a IV speaks of the endurance of the offspring of the righteous (זרעם) rather than of the righteous themselves (Laurin, “The Question of Immortality in the Qumran ‘Hodayot’,” *JSS* 3 [1958], 355). Thus, it appears to be similar to the sentiment expressed by Sirach 37:26 that emphasizes posterity as the avenue of survival after death.

⁵⁰⁵ Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, Acta Theologica Danica II (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget I Aarhus, 1960), 246. He continues, “The last line shows, at any rate, that the membership of the community is being considered in the reference to the confirming of God’s oath: inasmuch as one has become a member, one has obtained part in all the glory of man; inasmuch as one belongs among these, the elect of God, all sin and guilt is forgiven.”

תושיה אשר נסתרה מאנ'ש דעה ומזמת ערמה מבני אדם מקור צדקה ומקוה גבורה עם מעין; (1QS XI, 6–7; כבוד מסוד בשר). While the primary weight falls on the first word—wisdom—justice, strength and glory are also included as divine gifts. Then the speaker states, “To those whom God has chosen, he has given them as an eternal possession and he has caused them to inherit in the lot of the holy ones.” (1QS XI, 7; לאשר בחר אל נתנם לאוחזת). Thus, the possession granted to the elect includes wisdom, justice, strength, and glory; it also places the elect community in continuity with heavenly beings.⁵⁰⁶ The nature of the inheritance of the holy ones will be considered further below. This collection of benefactions is consistent with the blessings described in CD III and 1QH^a IV, although priesthood is not directly referred to. As noted in the previous chapter, wisdom could be thought of as a priestly inheritance by 4QBeatitudes and TQ; glory is seen as a priestly possession as well. I will argue below that an analogy is made between human worship of God and worship in the heavenly realm and that 4QInstruction does not collapse the distance between those realms. The same is true in 1QS XI: Inheriting “in the lot of the holy ones” does not turn a person into an angel; rather, God confers a changed (but still human) status upon the chosen.

⁵⁰⁶ While קדשים in the Hebrew Bible are typically human, it is typically argued that these are angelic figures in sectarian literature. See, for example, Luc Dequeker, “The ‘Saints of the Most High’ in Qumran and Daniel,” in *Syntax and Meaning: Studies in Hebrew Syntax and Biblical Exegesis*; Oudtestamentische Studiën 18; ed. A. S. Van Der Woude (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 108–187, for an extensive review of the state of the question in the first generation of Qumran scholarship. More recently, Crispin Fletcher-Louis has vigorously asserted this identification in support of his arguments that sectarian texts from Qumran present an angelomorphic ideal for the community.

5.2.3.5 Priestly Language in 4QInstruction (4Q418 81)

Priestly language is similarly applied to the addressee of 4QInstruction in 4Q418 81.⁵⁰⁷ While glory does not directly collocate with inheritance in that passage, inheritance is prominent. God is described as the creator of all and the one who apportions inheritances to each person (4Q418 81, 2–3: כִּי־אֵלֹהִים עָשָׂה כּוֹל וַיּוֹרִישֵׁם אִישׁ 2–3; נַחֲלָתוֹ “[fo]r he made everything and he causes them to possess—each one his own inheritance”). God is then described as the portion and inheritance of the addressee in 81, 3 (“he is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam”; וְהוּא (חֵלֶקְכָּה וְנַחֲלָתְכָה) בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי אָדָם). The language of portion and inheritance (חֵלֶקְכָּה וְנַחֲלָתְכָה) echoes Numbers 18:20, in which the sons of Aaron have no inheritance in the land, but YHWH is their portion among the Israelites (אֲנִי חֵלֶקְךָ וְנַחֲלָתְךָ בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). The addressee is not directly specified, leading some commentators to suggest that the addressee is a priestly addressee.⁵⁰⁸ However, Elgvin and Goff both disagree with this assessment, instead preferring the explanation that priestly language has been appropriated to describe the elect community.⁵⁰⁹ Glory is mentioned in 4Q418 81, 5 as a divine grant (וּכְבוֹדָהּ הַרְבֵּה מוֹאֲדָה); the addressee is also described as being granted the status of a firstborn son (בְּכוֹר).⁵¹⁰ Both a priestly inheritance and the

⁵⁰⁷ In fact, Armin Lange argues that the passage is directly addressed to a priestly audience (Lange, “The Determination of Fate by the Oracle of the Lot,” 40). By contrast, Goff argues that “In 4QInstruction this tradition is used to legitimate the addressee’s elect status” (*Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 69) and states that priestly references in 4Q418 81 are symbolic (*Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 107).

⁵⁰⁸ Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 233–235.

⁵⁰⁹ Elgvin, “An Analysis of 4QInstruction,” PhD diss. (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997), 118; 134–135. “We rather prefer to see in this statement a spiritualizing interpretation held by apocalyptic circles where Levitic or Aaronic descent played no significant role.” For Goff, see above in note 508.

status of the firstborn serve to indicate the divine privileges being granted to the addressee.

5.2.3.6 Summary

In these passages, possessing or inheriting glory is best understood as a function of the priesthood. Priests had social standing in their heritable office as a form of immaterial wealth; they also had material benefits in the form of priestly entitlements to offerings and sacrifices. Their vestments were notable for their glory according to Pentateuchal texts; this glory may also have been associated with the figure of Adam.⁵¹¹ As Aitken demonstrates, Sirach conceives of glory as something that priests possess. I have argued that CD III, 20; 1QH^a IV, 27; 1QS XI, 5–8; and 4Q418 81 reflect the application of this priestly glory to their addressees.

5.3 ESCHATOLOGICAL כְבוֹד IN 4QINSTRUCTION?

To this point, I have argued that the inheritance of כְבוֹד has fallen into two categories, one marked by continuity with the sense of wealth or standing found in Proverbs, the other reflecting the acquisition of priestly status. The priestly reading which I have adopted contrasts with a third possibility, which sees the inheritance

⁵¹⁰ Numbers 3:12–13, 3:40–46, and 8:16–18 state that the Levites will be accepted in lieu of the firstborn that must be dedicated to YHWH. (And Exodus 4:22 refers to Israel—in contradistinction to Egypt—as YHWH’s firstborn son.) However, the inheritance rights of the firstborn are also significant (Deut 21:15–17).

⁵¹¹ Thus Aitken, “Semantics,” 7–9.

of כבוד as the acquisition of angelic status or eternal life. The possibility that כבוד denotes participation in the divine life is embraced by John Kampen in his commentary on wisdom literature at Qumran. For Kampen,

The manifestation of God's glory is a developing theme in prophetic eschatology (Isa 24:23), which takes on universal dimensions in the postexilic texts (Isa 58:8; 60:1–3; 62:1–2). This development can be seen to continue in apocalyptic literature, where we find references to the 'great glory' (1 En. 14:20; 102:3; 104:1; T. Levi 3:4), described with vivid imagery in the ascent scene in 1 Enoch 14 (see 14:16, 20, 21 for the use of the term 'glory'). In [4Q417 2i11 || 4Q416 2i6], as in 4Q525 14ii:14, it is quite possible that the one 'who inherits glory' is the one who gets to participate in the glory of God, presumably also eternal life.⁵¹²

This argument is attractive for those who seek to draw connections between Christian theology and its Hellenistic Jewish antecedents, but not without potential difficulty. To the extent that Kampen demonstrates the eschatological tinges of 4QInstruction, such affinities to Enochic literature are suggestive. However, Kampen's argument is not as fully cognizant of 4QInstruction's concern with wealth and poverty as it ought to be.⁵¹³ A reading of כבוד as physical wealth is ultimately more satisfactory.

5.3.1 The Inheritance of כבוד in 4QInstruction

There are five discrete phrases that collocate כבוד and inheritance: 4Q416 2 II, 18, 4Q416 2 III, 11 || 4Q418 9, 12; 4Q417 2 I, 11 and 4Q418 185, 4. 4Q416 2 IV, 11 and 4Q418 185, 4 preserve no context that would enable further analysis. In the

⁵¹² Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 110.

⁵¹³ Goff, *4QInstruction*, 23, "The poverty of the addressee is one of the distinctive features of 4QInstruction.... [T]he text consistently suggests an addressee with a low social and economic status."

analysis below, I will examine the three collocations of כבוד and inheritance that have useful context. I will argue that they do not present the inheritance of כבוד as human participation in the divine life or eternal life. Rather, they are concerned with the comportment of the addressee in economic matters, as is clear from 4Q416 2 II, 17–18; 4Q416 2 III, 11 || 4Q418 9, 12.

5.3.1.1 4Q416 2 II, 17–18

[אל תמ] כור נפשכה בהון טוב היותכה עבד ברוח וחנם תעבוד נוגשיכה ובמחיר אל תמכור כבודכה ואל תערבהו בנחלתכה פן יוריש גויתכה

“Do not sell your person for wealth. It is good for you to be a slave⁵¹⁴ in temperament⁵¹⁵ but for no reason should you be enslaved to your creditors. And for a price, do not sell yourself/your glory and do not pledge it/wealth⁵¹⁶ against your inheritance, lest you bequeath (only) your body/corpse.”⁵¹⁷

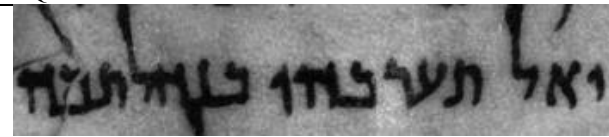
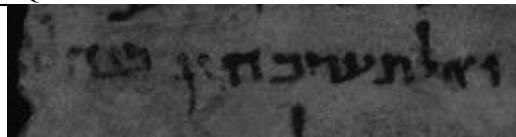
With good warrant Harrington and Strugnell consider this passage to be difficult.⁵¹⁸

However, if כבוד and נפש both refer to the addressee’s physical person, the difficulties

⁵¹⁴ Maintaining parallel with the nominal form in the previous clause.

⁵¹⁵ עבד ברוח, perhaps more literally, “in spirit.”

⁵¹⁶ Translated on the basis of in 4Q417, which reads ואל תערב הון, Strugnell and Harrington translate, “Or pledge *money* for thy inheritance (?)” (93) in their composite translation. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 152–153 confirms that this is a textual variant; one of a very few in the overlap of 4Q416 and 4Q417. It seems likely that 4Q416 represents a textual error.

4Q416	4Q417
	

⁵¹⁷ גויה more often refers to a living physical body than a corpse, both in the DSS in general and in 4QInstruction in particular. (The most notable exception is Peshar Nahum, which inherits the sense of “corpses” from its prophetic antecedent.) However, 4Q418 127, 2–3 appears to describe the post-mortem consumption of a body by רשף; thus, reading גויה as a corpse in this passage is defensible.

⁵¹⁸ Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV, 106.

are at least somewhat mitigated. Both prohibitions would then warn against the sale of oneself into debt slavery. This sense of כבוד is rare, but attested, in the Hebrew Bible. It may also have an analog in the priestly understanding of the כבוד יהוה as the body of the deity. If the addressee fails to heed this advice, the economic misfortune that would result is that he would leave only his corpse—and no other wealth—to his offspring.

At this point, it is necessary to consider what the collocation of כבוד and נחלה means in this passage. First, it is clear that the two have similar economic connotations in the passage. כבוד can be sold (מכר), just as נפש can be pledged (ערב). Second, the negative concluding clause, פן יוריש גויתכה, suggests that כבוד and נפש be compared to גויה, and that נחלה be compared to יוריש. The 4Q417 parallel reads ואל תערב הון בנחלת[כה]; “and do not pledge wealth against your inheritance.” In this instance, the value of כבוד is comparable to tangible property, although it need not be equated with it (and should not be exchanged for it).⁵¹⁹ There is no metaphor in this passage, rather it concerns the quotidian realities of debt and inheritance. A debtor was unlikely to bequeath anything but debt.

5.3.1.2 4Q416 2 III, 8–12 || 4Q418 9, 8–12

אביון אתה אל תתאו זולת נחלתכה ואל תתבלע בה פן תסיג גבולכה.
 ואם] [ישיבכה לכבודכה התהלך וברז] [נ[היה דרוש מולדיו ואז תדע
 נחלתו. ובצדק תתהלך כי יגיה אל ת]אר[הו בכ'ו'ל דרכיכה.
 למכבדיכה תן הדר ושמו הלל תמיד כי מראש הרים רא'ו'שכה ועם
 נדיבים הושיבכה ובנחלת כבוד המשילכה. רצונו שחר תמיד.

Poor you are. Have no desire except for your inheritance and do not become consumed by it lest you move your boundary marker. But if he returns you to

⁵¹⁹ Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV, 106 suggests either “self” or “riches” or as a synonym for inheritance and states, “Whether the sense of כבודכה is metaphorical or not is hard to decide in light of the ambiguous (or corrupt) text of the following stich....”

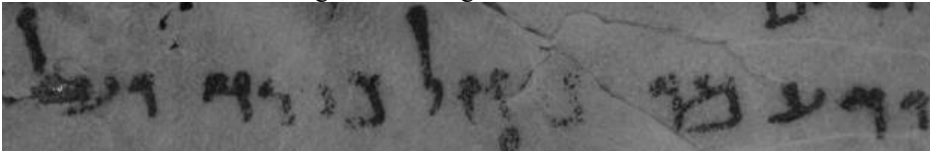
honor, conduct yourself with it and through the mystery that will be investigate its birth-times; then you will know his inheritance and you will conduct yourself with justice. For God will shine his countenance on all your paths. To those who honor you, give splendor and praise his name continually; since from poverty he has raised your head and with princes he has seated you and he has given you control over an inheritance of glory. Seek his desire continually.

In this section, the theme of inheritance is clearly important. The first line prohibits violating one's boundary and has been discussed in Chapter Three. The collocation of boundary and inheritance is significant because it implies that both are metaphorically useful in describing the addressee's situation. The second line allows for the possibility of restoring the addressee to proper status (כבוד), suggesting that poverty is antithetical to the proper nature of the addressee.⁵²⁰

Lines 9–10 shares a sequence of vocabulary with 4Q417 2 I, 10; in both, investigation with the mystery of being (ברז נהיה) into the birth times (מולדים) will lead the addressee to know (דע) someone's inheritance (נחל). In the opening section of 4Q417, as will be discussed below, the content of this knowledge is typically understood in an apocalyptic sense because the birth times are “the birth times of salvation” (מולדי ישע) and one is to know “who will inherit glory or toil” (מי נוחל כבוד) (ועמל).⁵²¹ However, here in 4Q416, the concern seems personal and related to one's

⁵²⁰ Jean-Sébastien Rey, *4QInstruction: Sagesse et Eschatologie*, STDJ 81 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 102. According to Rey, נחלה can function in both the human and divine realms in 4QInstruction: “Dans l'analyse linguistique, nous avons montré que le terme désignait à la fois l'héritage humain, transmis d'une génération à une autre et à la fois l'héritage divin lié à la gloire, à la vérité, à la sainteté.”

⁵²¹ As can be seen in this image, the reading ועמל is uncertain.



While Strugnell and Harrington read ועמל, they suggest that other readings are possible, including ואבל and ועל (182–183); in fact, they suggest that ואבל is preferable, despite their translation decision. The verbal roots אכל and עמל both occur in the previous line. Rey, *4QInstruction*, 45, reads ועל as a noun

divinely bounded lot in life, a lot that may include poverty and divine restoration from poverty.

This passage and 4Q417 2 I, 10 give evidence that נחלה was still understood with its legal connotations, even in non-legal settings. By collocating נחלה and מולד, the idea that one's inheritance was tied to the circumstances of one's birth (the phrase מולדים ביה occurs in 4Q415) crosses over from the realm of patrimonial inheritance to the realm of divine determinism.⁵²² God sets, even from birth, the status of the addressee. One's inheritance is one's divinely established lot in life; coveting wealth amounts to transgressing the boundaries of that inheritance. The subsequent clause, "and if he returns you to glory, conduct yourself within it," (ואם ישיבכה לכהבוד בה התהלך) is ambiguous.⁵²³ The prepositional phrase בה, "within it," most logically refers to one's נחלה.⁵²⁴ The content of that נחלה is unspecified. It seems plausible, however, that it is wealth or status that has been temporarily lost due to poverty.⁵²⁵

"advancement," essentially synonymous with כבוד. From the photo, the ayin and lamedh seem clear. There is no space for a mem, but Strugnell and Harrington suggest that ועל might have been a scribal error. I will read ועמל.

⁵²² See the discussion by Matthew Goff, *4QInstruction*, 101–103. Goff states that while נחלה is frequently an economic term in the Hebrew Bible, it can have a theological meaning, "describing a special allotment given to particular individuals by God."

⁵²³ It seems to me that the unnamed restorer is likely God—as with the otherwise unspecified "his inheritance" and the phrase "and over an inheritance of glory he has given you dominion." It would be nicer, though, if the phrase "those who glorify you" were also 3ms...and if the parallel didn't have the 3mp "and if they seat you."

⁵²⁴ So Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV; 113.

⁵²⁵ Compare the loss of both material wealth and social standing in the book of Job, particularly in chapters 29–30.

The כבוד root occurs in 4Q416 2 III, 10 (למכבדיכה תן הדר) as a C stem masculine plural participle, “those who honor you.”⁵²⁶ There is a reciprocal relationship established here, as well as in 4Q418 81, 11 (בטרם תקח נחלתכה מידו כבוד קדושיו), in which the honored person must properly reciprocate honor to those who have honored him. In both cases, this honor involves possession of one’s (glorious) inheritance. In 4Q416 2 III, 12, the phrase נהלת כבוד occurs: God grants the addressee control (המשילכה) over this inheritance. Because the previous line speaks of the restoration of the addressee from poverty (“because from poverty he has raised your head”; כי מראש הרים ראושכה), it seems worthwhile to interpret כבוד in terms of wealth and honor. Strugnell and Harrington note,

Again, it is not clear to what precise social reality נהלת כבוד refers. Perhaps it was nothing more than a ‘splendid situation’, as English would put it (i.e. a glorious earthly lot) rather than an angelified or heavenly one.⁵²⁷

Their suggestion is fitting.

Given the interest in poverty these lines, it seems best to understand כבוד in terms of status or wealth.⁵²⁸ While the addressee may not consistently possess wealth, given the comment “you are poor” (אביון אתה), nevertheless, the addressee

⁵²⁶ Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV, 113, 118 translate it as a singular on the basis of the parallel in 4Q418 9, 9. Their comments on the line (118) allow for ambiguity as to the nature and number of benefactors. They suggest, however, that the preceding reference to אל tilts the balance toward a heavenly benefactor. Their preference for readings in 4Q417 and 4Q418 suggests that the scribe of 4Q416 was not particularly careful.

⁵²⁷ Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV, 119.

⁵²⁸ Catherine Murphy’s study of wealth at Qumran (*Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community*; STDJ 40 [Leiden: Brill, 2002]) concurs that 4Q416 2 III, 8–12 is concerned with wealth and poverty: “Limited means and poverty are not praised in and of themselves. A reversal of fortune is welcomed.... All economic improvement is ultimately God’s doing; therefore, one is not to seek after it or to become arrogant in his good fortune. He is to dwell in glory but not on it, for his attention is to be directed to the God who glorifies and the mystery that is to come.” (190)

has כבוד that can be restored.⁵²⁹ Instead, the נהלת כבוד indicates the honorable position God has assigned to the addressee.

5.3.1.3 4Q417 2 I, 10–11 || 4Q416 2 I, 5–6

הבט ברז נהיה וקח מולדי ישע ודע מי נוחל כבוד ועמל

“See the mystery of existence and grasp the birth-times of salvation and know who will inherit honor or toil.”

4Q417 2 I, 10–11 envisions the addressee trying to comprehend divine mysteries, particularly, the רז נהיה.⁵³⁰ Rather than attempt to solve the mystery of being, I will focus on the terms that conclude the line, כבוד and עמל, as human situations rather than divine or eschatological categories. In 4QInstruction, עמל typically means toil or hard labor. Only here does it collocate with כבוד, and only here have scholars suggested that toil or labor has an eschatological sense.⁵³¹ The context is challenging; the phrase מולדי ישע is enigmatic and occurs only here in within the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁵³² Commenting on the phrase בית מולדים in Mysteries

⁵²⁹ The conditionality of the restoration of glory (4Q416 2 III, 9: [וְאִם] [יְשִׁיבְכָה לְכַבּוּדָּהּ]) might tell against an eschatological interpretation; there seems to be no assumption of moral or spiritual deficiency in the addressee, even if poverty might be the occasion for spiritual risks.

⁵³⁰ Goff argues that the רז נהיה describes supernatural revelation (4QInstruction, 15); Harrington and Strugnell states that “the רז נהיה is associated with knowledge of righteousness and iniquity in the future (and perhaps in the present, too)... The רז נהיה seems to have contained as some of its subject matter teachings about ethics and eschatology” (DJD XXXIV, 32).

⁵³¹ Occurrences of עמל in 4QInstruction (6x): 4Q417 2 I, 10; 4Q417 2 I, 11; 4Q418 9, 1; 4Q418 55, 3; 4Q418 78, 3; 4Q418 122 I, 6; 4Q418a 16, 3. In the previous line, 4Q417 2 I, 10, פן תעמל בהיכ[ה] is the potential situation of the addressee.

⁵³² While it is not unknown for moral or spiritual characteristics or qualities to have sources, roots, or origins in 4QInstruction, which speaks of “the root of folly” (שרש עולה; 4Q416 2 III, 14); and the “root of evil” (שרש רע; 4Q418 243, 3), a more mundane sense might be intended here. מולדי also occurs in 4Q416 2 III, 20 in the context of marriage. The phrase בית מולדים, “house of origins,” occurs in 4Q415 2 II, 9 and is common in Mysteries (1Q27, 4Q299–300). Mysteries also uses the phrase מולדי עולה, “those born of sin”

(1Q27, 4Q299, 4Q300), Lawrence Schiffman states, “This enigmatic phrase...must be taken as referring to the time of birth which is seen to affect the future and nature of the individual....”⁵³³ Schiffman argues that the phrase (ואז תדע נחלתו) מולדו (in דרש מולדיו) in 4Q416/4Q418, which he translates as “investigate the time of his birth and then you will know his lot’ (i.e., his nature; 4Q416 2 iii 9–10; 4Q418 9 8–9),” is the equivalent sentiment to understanding the בית מולדים in Mysteries.⁵³⁴ If Schiffman is correct, the מולדי ישע would refer to the timing of salvation and correspond to the inheritance of עמל or כבוד. The connection between מולד and נחל seems unlikely to be coincidental, but rather, fits with the deterministic mindset of 4QInstruction: just as the circumstances of one’s birth determine one’s inheritance, the circumstances of salvation determine the inheritance of עמל or כבוד. The רז נהיה is also connected in both cases to inheritance and birth. Strugnell and Harrington puzzle over the meaning of כבוד:

To what נחל[√] and כבוד refer concretely is unclear. In Prov 3:35, כבוד חכמים is contrasted to קלון (i.e. כבוד there means δόξαν ‘reputation’). In Sir 4:13, תמכיה ימצאו כבוד מיי (cf. Ⲫ αληρονομῆσαι πίστιν),⁵³⁵ כבוד is compared with divine blessing and grace. In Sir 37:26, inheriting כבוד (there Ⲫ τιμῆν)⁵³⁶ is parallel to the survival of the ‘name’, the usual equivalent in Sirach to

(1Q27 1 I, 5). The Hodayot use the phrase מולדי עת to indicate a time for prayer in 1QH^a XX, 7–11; it uses מולד twice to refer to the moment of birth in 1QH^a XI, 12. 4Q186, a horoscope text, uses מולד twice to speak of the sign under which a person is born.

⁵³³ Lawrence Schiffman, “Mysteries,” in DJD XX (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 37.

⁵³⁴ Schiffman, “Mysteries,” 37.

⁵³⁵ Here DJD XXXIV seems to be in error. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu filii Sirach*, 144, reads δόξαν and provides no support for πίστιν in the apparatus.

⁵³⁶ This partially explains the error in DJD XXXIV mentioned in the previous note. Ralffs reads πίστιν. Ziegler, 298, reads τιμῆν, but notes that πίστιν is found in Lucianic MSS.

immortality.⁵³⁷ Here נחלת כבוד could refer to the inheriting of eternal life in glory, being in the same semantic field (i.e. eschatology) as ישע.”⁵³⁸

If the key to understanding the comparison is עמל, then wealth or good reputation seems the most likely meaning for כבוד. If an eschatological parallel is adduced in the phrase מולדי ישע, then כבוד might also be eschatological. Strugnell and Harrington strongly suggest an eschatological reading.⁵³⁹ However, the language of divine activity does not require an eschatological reading, since 4QInstruction may describe quotidian realities like poverty and marriage as divine grants. Those who inherit glory or toil could simply refer to those who are allotted wealth or manual labor in this life.⁵⁴⁰ The intersection of human and divine realities in these lines in 4QInstruction do not require an eschatological dualism (although they are not incompatible with that kind of dualism).

⁵³⁷ But as noted by Skehan and DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, it is the name, not the person, that endures.

⁵³⁸ Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV, 182.

⁵³⁹ Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV, 182: “מולד is not a Biblical Hebrew word; in later Hebrew, it has the senses ‘birth-time’ and ‘birth-pangs’ (cf. Jastrow, p. 742, and the analogous uses of חבל and ωδινες to refer to the eschaton); with ישע, either of these senses could fit with the temporal or eschatological reference of רז נהיה here—but lexically ישע is very rare in 4Q415 ff. Would the phrase מולדי ישע be meaningful? In 4Q418 77 3, one finds קה תולדות followed by אדם or קדם; the reference there may be to the past (cf. אדם); the next line there, however, exhorts קה ברוז נהיה. However, it is not necessary to run the meanings of מולד and תולדות together.”

⁵⁴⁰ Also, if Enochic parallels are significant, the Greek text of 1 Enoch uses κοπιαζω, the apparent equivalent of עמל, “toil,” to refer to the present struggles of the righteous—struggles that will ultimately be rewarded with honor—rather than to future suffering as an antithesis to future honor. The Thesaurus Linguae Graecae indicates that κοπιαζω occurs in 1 Enoch only in 103:9, 103:11. θλιψις is concentrated in chapters 103–104 as well (with three occurrences). Judgment (κρισις) seems targeted only toward the ungodly. Inheriting toil need not be eschatological, even if Enochic material exerted influence at this point. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, comments on 103:9: “The emphatic κοποϋς εκοπιασαμεν (lit. ‘we have labored labors’) and the parallel clauses in v 9c stress the intensity and all-encompassing nature of the troubled life of the righteous” (526).

5.3.2 Conclusions Regarding Inheriting כבוד in 4QInstruction

In the three passages in 4QInstruction where context allows some confidence, the inheritance of כבוד is related to wealth and status. 4QInstruction is addressed to a poor addressee and some of its instructions concern debt and poverty and remaining in one's divinely allotted station. In 4Q416 2 II, 17–18 and 4Q416 2 III, 8–12, poverty and כבוד seem to be antonyms. A similar argument can be made about inheriting כבוד or עמל in 4Q417 2 I, 17, since 4QInstruction tends to see toil as a this-worldly condition rather than an eschatological punishment. Matthew Goff argues that 4QInstruction is essentially deterministic—God places the addressee in a specific social and economic situation and determines its boundaries.⁵⁴¹ The inheritance of כבוד belongs to this ideological construction: one's economic status is what has been granted by God.

5.4 CONCLUSION

The issue of semantic change was a constant presence throughout this chapter. In his essay on glory in Ben Sira, Aitken points to the need to analyze “the contexts in which a lexeme occurs in each stage of the language.”⁵⁴² A contextual and diachronic approach is certainly appropriate—I have attempted to take a similar

⁵⁴¹ See discussion of 4QInstruction in Chapter Three

⁵⁴² Aitken, “Semantics,” 1.

approach in this chapter—but framing the approach in terms of stages of the language seems problematic. All of the texts in this chapter can be traced to a similar Hellenistic Jewish milieu and the Hebrew language texts share the same general linguistic profile. Aitken intends to highlight the problem by contrasting exegesis—the interpretation of individual passages in which a lexeme occurs—and semantics.⁵⁴³ In his exegesis of Sirach, Aitken notes that the surveyed terms for glory are multivalent within a single text. My analysis of 4QInstruction came to a similar conclusion. כבוד does not have one particular meaning in 4QInstruction or Sirach. Contextual analysis, rather than lexicographic possibilities, determine the way כבוד should be read in these texts.

The semantic flexibility of כבוד enabled multiple ways of construing the metaphor first encountered in Proverbs 3:35. The initial option presented by Prov 3:35 remained a possibility throughout the Hellenistic Jewish documents surveyed. The כבוד one might inherit was some combination of wealth and reputation that befits those who are wise and skillful. The figurative value of such statements may be simply that כבוד is construed as a divine grant instead of acquisition by the human subject. Several occurrences in Sirach and 4QInstruction tracked closely with this sense of כבוד as inheritance.

However, Sirach also introduced other possibilities for כבוד or δοξα, a sense of honor or status that attended upon the priestly line as well as the possibility of כבוד as a metonym for the deity. כבוד as a function of priestly service was particularly evident in the “Praise of the Fathers,” which culminates in the

⁵⁴³ Aitken, “Semantics,” 3.

description of the high priest Simon. Simon's priestly glory includes effulgent garments.

In the Damascus Document and the Community Rule, references to כבוד and the כבוד אדם are best understood along the priestly lines set forth by Sirach. The community formed by these rule texts see themselves as an elect community and apply biblical language originally descriptive of priestly benefactions to the community as a whole. The כבוד אדם, as Aitken has argued with respect to the תפארת אדם in Sirach 49, may reflect traditions that identified Adam as fulfilling a priestly role.

Finally, I considered the somewhat elusive inheritance of כבוד in 4QInstruction; a task made more difficult by the often-fragmentary nature of the text. More significantly, its conceptual affinities with apocalyptic literature like 1 Enoch lead scholars to interpret its locutions and phrases in significantly divergent ways. Thus, John Kampen and Émile Puech argue that inheriting glory should be understood as a reference to inheriting eternal life. I have offered a different assessment. כבוד in 4QInstruction is multivalent, but closely adheres to the sense of honor and wealth established by Proverbs, such that to inherit כבוד in 4Q416 2 II, 17–18 and 2 III, 8–12 is to receive material wealth and the concomitant honor befitting the addressee's station. This כבוד could be lost in one's poverty or restored because one's station in life is divinely apportioned. It is true that כבוד also describes the status of angelic beings and priests in 4Q418 69 II and 81; Kampen also appeals to the multivalent nature of כבוד to suggest that it refers to participation in the divine

life.⁵⁴⁴ But context does not suggest that the composers of 4QInstruction intended to convey that their readers would attain divinized status; rather 4QInstruction links כבוד with wealth and status in the way that Prov 3:35 did. The unique contribution of 4QInstruction is its assertion that this status has been divinely fixed and bounded by God.

⁵⁴⁴ The arguments made by Kampen and Puech make theological assumptions about the community's belief in eternal life and push the language of 4QInstruction in that direction. Fletcher-Louis makes theological assumptions about the angelification of humanity and reads the Dead Sea Scrolls through that lens. I have attempted to find contextual clues that connect כבוד to the priesthood in the Hellenistic texts surveyed; this lens is provided by a careful reading of Sirach. Kampen and Puech ultimately do not demonstrate that texts like 1 Enoch or Daniel provide the context for the inheritance of כבוד in Sirach 37:26 or 4QInstruction. What Fletcher-Louis ultimately fails to accomplish is to demonstrate convincingly that these texts collapse the analogical distance between the human and divine realms. The priestly glory of the community enables them to worship "on earth as it is in heaven," but does not bring them into the heavenly sanctuary.

6.0 CONCLUSION

At the outset of this dissertation, I suggested that studying legal metaphors in the Hebrew Bible and Hellenistic Jewish literature filled a modest lacuna. Some of the phenomena I considered have been studied through by theologians and biblical scholars with other methodological lenses.⁵⁴⁵ Sarah Dille notes that,

While Old Testament theologies of the past have dealt with biblical metaphors (e.g., ‘covenant’, ‘redeemer’, the kingship of God), they have not dealt with metaphors *as* metaphors to any great extent, that is, with attention to what a metaphor is and what it does.⁵⁴⁶

By studying boundary and inheritance language as legal metaphors in biblical and literary texts, I demonstrated the relationship between biblical law and the varied genres of literature in which they occurred. Law was a crucial element to the meaning of the metaphors. However, the legal backbone of these metaphors was only a starting point. Variety in meaning, purpose, and goal was common.

6.1 SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

I have argued in this dissertation that legal diction provided a useful register of vocabulary for other kinds of ethical and theological speech. In keeping with Roger White’s understanding of metaphor, this is to be expected: A metaphor depends on

⁵⁴⁵ I am thinking in particular of Fishbane’s category of haggadic exegesis.

⁵⁴⁶ Dille, *Mixing Metaphors*, 2.

the juxtaposition of two otherwise unassociated registers of speech; their juxtaposition brings about new insight. In Chapter One, I laid out this understanding of metaphor as a response to a scholarly lacuna—little has been said about the nature of legal metaphors in the Hebrew Bible and Hellenistic Jewish compositions.

In Chapter Two, I addressed the legal register of terms related to the נחלה and its acquisition, possession, inheritance and land tenure. I employed a comparative approach to investigate the legal valences of the roots **yr̥* and **n̥hl* in ancient Near Eastern sources in order to determine whether it was possible to fix precise legal valences for their uses in biblical Hebrew and Hellenistic Jewish texts. I found that both roots were utilized to describe the inheritance of a patrimonial estate in second millennium Syrian texts, although I concur with Arnaud's assessment that each root originated with more precise valences. Following Arnaud and Bird, I believe that **yr̥* indicated succession. **n̥hl* indicated receipt of a heritable grant. The legal register of Hebrew property terms served as the backbone for the legal metaphors investigated in Chapters Three through Five.

In Chapter Three, I investigated the Hebrew locution הסיג גבול in the light of ancient Near Eastern antecedents that placed the locution in a social and legal framework concerned with the integrity of property boundaries. In Mesopotamian legal and literary sources and in Egyptian wisdom literature, violating established boundaries was a criminal injustice. The MAL provided for the punishment of boundary violations. The Wisdom of Amenemope provided divine sanctions.

Mesopotamian literary sources indicated that violation of boundaries could be understood as religious infractions, for which exculpatory action was necessary.

Turning to the Hebrew Bible, I found that *הסיג גבול* concerned property boundaries in Proverbs and Deuteronomy. Hosea 5:10 (and Job 24:2) demonstrated that the phrase could be employed beyond legal settings—Hosea 5:10 employs the phrase as a simile to describe actions of the princes of Judah as beyond the pale; Job 24:2 places the violation of boundaries at the head of a list of the stereotypical actions of the wicked.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, violation of boundaries could be applied to actions contrary to the Torah (CD XX 25) and to several more specific problems in 4QInstruction—the desire for another man’s wife and the desire for wealth—that violated one’s divinely-appointed station in life. Boundary language (*גבול*) was also used positively with respect to personal piety in 1QS.

In Chapter Four, I examined a network of metaphors that compared wisdom to an inheritance. I argued that Proverbs describes Wisdom as an agent bestowing benefactions upon her devotees in Proverbs 8:17–21 and that this image is received by Sirach 4:16 and 24:20; in these texts, wisdom was not an inheritance. Rather, it was in 4Q185 that wisdom was described as a heritable grant, one which could also be bequeathed to the next generation. Not only could wisdom be received and conveyed, but also the written document becomes privileged as the vehicle for conveyance in Aramaic testamentary literature. Texts like the Testament of Qahat and 4QBeatitudes call specifically for the protection of the literary bequest, limiting access to those who have the proper priestly lineage.

In Chapter Five, I examined the inheritance of כבוד. The book of Proverbs understands כבוד as wealth and status, which are heritable in the sense that family and reputation might provide a person with elements of both. This sense of inherited standing remains visible in other Hellenistic wisdom texts such as Sirach and the Aramaic Levi Document. However, other senses of כבוד develop alongside this proverbial one, even within the book of Sirach, which also can understand glory as the honor and prerogatives that accrue to the priestly office. The culmination of this glory is seen in the majesty of the high priest Simon. I argued that the Damascus Document, Hodayot, and Community Rule understand כבוד in this sense, as did portions of 4QInstruction. However, 4QInstruction also returned to the sense of כבוד as wealth found in Proverbs in its instruction to the poor addressee.

6.2 THE CHARACTER OF LEGAL METAPHORS

One of the secondary goals of this dissertation was demonstrating the value of considering the figurative use of boundary and inheritance language as legal metaphors. In several ways, I have found metaphor theory useful. First, the overarching value is seen in the interaction of legal diction with ethical and hortatory language. I have demonstrated that the figurative use of boundary and inheritance language relied upon contextual awareness of the legal diction being employed. Philo's appropriation of Deut 19:14 in *Spec. Laws* 4.149–150 illustrated

this most clearly, but it was true also of inheritance language as well. The image of illegitimate conveyance of wisdom in TQ and 4QBeatitudes drew directly on technical language of conveyance. Second, by considering the different registers of vocabulary to which the legal language of boundaries or inheritance were compared, I demonstrated that legal metaphors were flexible rather than fixed. The violated boundary might be that of Torah in general, or of a specific stipulation within the Torah, or it might be an individual's circumstances in life. Chapters Four and Five demonstrated that multiple inheritance metaphors existed; the semantic shifting of כבוד meant that the same phrase could generate different meanings. Third, metaphor theory clarified the systematicity of inheritance metaphors pertaining to wisdom in Chapter Four. The legal mechanisms pertaining to inheritance corresponded to the entailments of wisdom as an inheritance. Metaphor theory had valuable explanatory power for the legal metaphors encountered in this dissertation.

6.3 FURTHER PROSPECTS

At the conclusion of this study, much remains to be explored. One clear line of further investigation is temporal; there are later Jewish and Christian corpora that

appear to make further use of legal metaphors.⁵⁴⁷ I will offer two brief examples: the inheritance of folly in 4Q184 and the inheritance of joy.

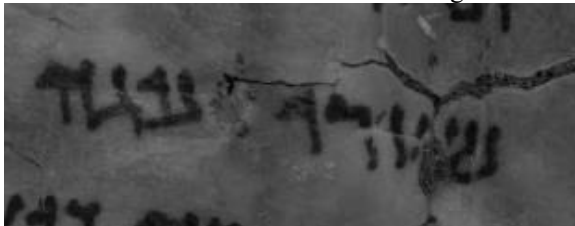
6.3.1 Inheriting Folly in 4Q184

Inheritance is employed as a negative image in 4Q184, “The Wiles of the Wicked Woman,” where the inheritance that Folly provides is the polar opposite of the inheritance Wisdom provides in Proverbs 3:35 and Sirach. Building upon imagery found in Proverbs, 4Q184 claims that those who acquire folly acquire death.

There are three occurrences of the root נהל in 4Q184 from which a fuller assessment may be made. In 1 7–8, it is stated that “Her inheritance is not among all the shining luminaries” (ואין נחלתה בתוך ככול מאורי נוגה). The reading מאורי נוגה is somewhat difficult.⁵⁴⁸ I judge that מאורי נוגה is preferable to either מאורי נוגה or מאורי נוגה. The former, “those girded with brilliance,” is not consistent with biblical usage of אור, which typically is used to describe girding one’s loins or being girded with

⁵⁴⁷ For instance, the rabbinic concept of a fence (גדר) around the Torah and New Testament use of a heavenly inheritance.

⁵⁴⁸ The image below is clear with respect to the final two characters of the first word, which must be נ and either י or ו. The initial מ is consistent with others in the document and the damaged second letter is consistent with other examples of א. Allegro reversed course on the third letter, taking it as י in “The Wiles of the Wicked Woman’: A Sapiential Work from Qumran’s Fourth Cave” *PEQ* 96 (1964): 53–55, and as a ו in DJD V. The head is less pronounced than the final letter, but the ו in the second line has no visible head at all. I judge, following Allegro’s first instinct and Strugnell’s comments on DJD V that י or ו is the better reading. י and ו are indistinguishable in the document (see ווי later in line 8). Allegro noted that there seemed to be an erasure of a single character before נוגה (DJD V, 84).



strength. אור in the C stem more typically describes giving light to something (every Pentateuchal usage) or setting fire to something (Is 27:11, Mal 1:10). However, נוגה occurs in the context of מאור in several scrolls. 4QBlessings^a (4Q286) includes ושביבי נוגה and ומאורי פלא in an apparent description of the divine realm.⁵⁴⁹ 4Q468b includes the phrase ואור נגהו (“and the light of its splendor”); נוגה does appear to describe humans in any of its nine occurrences. As a result, מאורי נוגה likely refers to heavenly luminaries as divine agents, akin to the usage of מאורות in the Words of the Luminaries (4Q504). Returning Folly’s inheritance in 1, 7–8, the phrase indicates that Folly will not be found among the divine agents. Her inheritance is therefore equal and opposite to that of the בני שמים in 4QInstruction (4Q418 69 II, 13–14), who participate in eternal light, glory, and splendor (כבוד ורוב הדר ... כ[בוד ורוב הדר]).

The other two occurrences of נחל in 4Q184 (1, 8 and 1, 11) are both substantivized participles. In 1, 8–9, the text reads, “She is woe for all who inherit through her and devastation for those who possess her” (הוי הוה לכול נוחליה ושדדה). In 1, 11, “all who inherit through her descend to the Pit” (לכ[ול] תומכי בה). The key interpretive crux in these lines is whether Folly is being inherited or whether Folly conveys an inheritance—the mirror image of the issue with Wisdom in Prov 8:17–21 or Sir 4:16. Tigchelaar notes the relative infrequency of נחל (and תמך) as substantivized participles, suggesting that there is a clear conceptual dependence on Prov 3:18 (“It is a tree of life for those who possess it, and the one who holds it is happy;”).⁵⁵⁰ The other

⁵⁴⁹ נוגה also occurs in the Hodayot (1QH^a XIV, 21).

⁵⁵⁰ Tigchelaar, “Lady Folly and Her House,” 380.

depictions of Folly in 4Q184 strengthen the plausibility of this conceptual dependence; as Lesley has demonstrated, the Prov 2, 5, 7, and 9 all contribute to the depictions of Folly as a deadly threat.⁵⁵¹ Even if 4Q184 is dependent upon Prov 3:18 for the participial verbal forms in these lines, it does not have to understand נחל in the same way that Proverbs did. Proverbs does not describe women as inheritances, although Prov 19:14 makes an analogy between a patrimonial estate and a prudent wife as a gift from YHWH. Rather, Christine Roy Yoder emphasizes that Proverbs draws on the way in which elite women brought wealth into a family through marriage and certain kinds of work. A similar picture that is painted of Tobiah and Sarah in Tobit; there also, the language of inheritance has typically been misunderstood to suggest that Tobiah inherits Sarah through some vestigial trace of Levirate marriage. Instead, Tobiah marries Sarah and becomes heir to the family estate as a result. I propose a similar reading in 4Q184 1, 8–9 and 11: נוהליה indicates receiving an inheritance from Folly. However, as 4Q184 indicates, that inheritance is simply death.

6.3.2 Inheriting Joy

An additional positive inheritance, the inheritance of joy, may have the eschatological tinges that Kampen sought concerning the inheritance of כבוד.⁵⁵² In

⁵⁵¹ Michael Lesley, “Exegetical Wiles: 4Q184 as Scriptural Interpretation,” in *The Scrolls and Biblical Tradition: Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the IOQS in Helsinki* (ed. George Brooke, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 107–142.

⁵⁵² Thus Matthew Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, STDJ 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 165–166.

several passages in sectarian texts, eternal joy is presented as an eschatological reward (1QS IV, 6–7; 1QH^a V, 23; XXIII, 16; XXVI, 30; as well as the 4QH fragments 4Q427 7 I, 17; 7 II, 11; 4Q491 1, 5; 4Q491 11 I, 14 lacks sufficient context to provide clarity). This is also true of 1 Enoch 103–104 (103:3: “good things and joy and honor have been prepared and written down for the souls of the pious who have died;” 103:4: “the souls of the pious who have died will come to life, and they will rejoice and be glad;” 104:4: “Take courage and do not abandon your hope, for you will have great joy like the angels of heaven”).⁵⁵³ However, it is less clear that 4QInstruction, which mentions joy on several occasions, fully participates in the logic of eschatological blessing. Two passages require discussion: 4Q416 2 III, 7–8a and 4Q417 2 I, 12.

4Q416 2 III, 7–8a reads ואז תשכב עם האמת ובמותכה יפרח לעו[לם זכרכה ואחריתכה] “And then you will lie down with the truth and at your death your memory will bear fruit forever; and your successor will inherit joy.” 4Q418 9 supports the reading יפרח, but is otherwise unable to clarify the difficult points of this line in 4Q416. Strugnell and Harrington argue,

אחרית here should mean ‘posterity’ (cf. BDB, s.v. d; Ps 37:37–38; 109:13; Jer 31:17; Dan 11:4; Sir 6:3) rather than the more frequent ‘end of life’. In view of the parallel זכרכה, we should exclude here the translation ‘at the end of thy life thou shalt inherit heavenly joy’; the association between the name one leaves and the inheritance of one’s children is frequent.⁵⁵⁴ (116)

⁵⁵³ In the New Testament, the righteous are promised that they will enter joy in Matthew 25:21 and 25:23. John 16:20–22 contrasts the temporary sorrow of the disciples with joy that cannot be removed when the disciples see Jesus again.

⁵⁵⁴ Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV, 116.

Their suggestion militates against the quite typical pattern of usage for אחרית, which almost exclusively refers to the conclusion of a period of time (most often as אחרית הימים).⁵⁵⁵ However, the parallelism of the clauses (temporal marker + verbal clause) may work against Strugnell and Harrington's suggestion.⁵⁵⁶ The interpretation may also turn on the meaning of זכר, "your memory."⁵⁵⁷ Enochic parallels suggest that memory and instruments of remembrance are crucial for divine eschatological judgments.⁵⁵⁸ Elgvin translates, "in the end you will inherit joy."⁵⁵⁹ Goff's translation is similar, although it is less clear whether he sees the passage as eschatological.

In 4Q417 2 I, 12, the phrase ולאבליהמה שמחת עולם begins a line. Based on 1QH^a XXIII, 16 (נ[כ]אי רוח ואבלים לשמחת עולם), Strugnell and Harrington reconstruct the clause that preceded it as, "Has not [*rejoicing been appointed for the contrite of spirit*]," with line 12 continuing the thought, "And for those among them who mourn eternal joy?"⁵⁶⁰ The reconstruction is necessarily speculative. The preceding context might be appealed to in favor of an eschatological reading if the preceding

⁵⁵⁵ On immortality and inheriting joy, John J. Collins writes, "4QInstruction also entertains the hope for immortality. This includes the traditional hope for immortality by remembrance. 4Q416 2 iii 6-8 tells the addressee: 'Let not thy spirit be corrupted by it (money?). And then thou shalt sleep in faithfulness, and at thy death thy memory will flow[er forev]er, and זכר אחריתך will inherit joy'" ("The Mysteries of God," 294).

⁵⁵⁶ So Elgvin, "Analysis of 4QInstruction," 226. "Three parallel sentences express the hope of the righteous after death."

⁵⁵⁷ זכר occurs ten times in the DSS, with varied implications: זכר can be blessed forever (11Q5, 4Q88) or perish or be blotted out (4Q219, 4Q221; 4Q252).

⁵⁵⁸ Memory is a significant concept in 1 Enoch 103–104; in 103:4, "their spirits will not perish, nor their memory from presence of the Great One" (Nickelsburg, 511).

⁵⁵⁹ Elgvin, "Analysis of 4QInstruction," 113.

⁵⁶⁰ Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV, 176.

clause (ודע מי נוהל כבוד ועמל) (“and know who will inherit glory or toil”), discussed above, is eschatological in nature. I have argued that it was not. The succeeding context is not eschatological, however, but concerns the addressee’s battle against desire and sin. Thus, little can be determined about the significance of שמחת עולם in 4Q417 2 I, 12. Nevertheless, the inheritance of joy in 4Q416 2 III, 7–8 is consistent with descriptions of eschatological joy in 1 Enoch, other texts from Qumran, and the New Testament. One who inherits joy may well be receiving an eschatological divine reward.

I offer these two inheritance images as evidence of the further prospects for continued study of legal metaphors in the Hebrew Bible and Hellenistic Jewish literature. I trust that this dissertation demonstrated the value of such an approach.

APPENDIX A

In Chapter Two, I discussed the arguments raised by Harold Forshey concerning the root נחל. Forshey demonstrated that *nhl was employed to describe the granting of property in second millennium texts while denying that it could describe the subsequent inheritance of granted property. Other scholars have rightly challenged the rigidity of Forshey's conclusions. In the chart below, I have collated the occurrences of the verbal root נחל in the Hebrew Bible. The data demonstrate that the Hebrew Bible employs נחל to describe both initial grants and subsequent conveyances. In some cases, נחל is used in figures of speech that do not neatly fit with either an initial grant of subsequent conveyance.

נחל in the Hebrew Bible			
Verse	Text	Grantor	Initial Grant or Subsequent Conveyance
Ex 23:30	עד אשר תפלה ונתלת את-הארץ	YHWH	initial
Ex 32:13	וכל-הארץ הזאת אשר אמרתי אתו לזרעכם ונתתו לעלם	YHWH	initial
Ex 34:9	וסלחת לעוננו ולחטאתנו ונתתנו	YHWH	initial
Lev 25:46	והתנתלתם אתם לבניכם אחריכם לרשת אחזקה לעלם	Ancestors	subsequent
Num 18:20	ויאמר יהוה אל-אהרן בארצם לא תנהל ויהל לא-יהנה לך בתוכם	Tribal leader	initial
Num 18:23	ובתך בני ישראל לא ינתלו נחלה	Tribal leader	initial
Num 18:24	בתך בני ישראל לא ינתלו נחלה	Tribal leader	initial
Num 26:55	אד-בגורל יחלק את-הארץ לשמות מטות-אבתם ונתלו	Tribal leader	subsequent
Num 32:18	לא נשוב אל-בתינו עד התנחל בני ישראל איש נחלתו	Tribal leader	initial
Num 32:19	כי לא נחל אתם מעבר לירדן והלאה	Tribal leader	initial
Num 33:54	והתנתלתם את-הארץ בגורל למשפחותיכם	Tribal leader	initial
Num 33:54	יהיה למטות אבותיכם תתנחלו	Tribal leader	initial
Num 34:13	זאת הארץ אשר תתנחלו אתה בגורל	Tribal leader	initial
Num 34:17	אלה שמות האנשים אשר ינתלו לכם את-הארץ	Eleazar and Joshua	initial
Num 34:18	ונשיא אחד נשיא אחד ממטה תקחו לנהל את-הארץ	Tribal leader	initial
Num 34:29	אלה אשר צוה יהוה לנתל את-בני-ישראל	Tribal leader	initial
Num 35:8	כפי נחלתו אשר ינתלו יתן מעריו ללויים	Tribal leader	initial
Deut 1:38	כיהוה ינחלנה את-ישראל	Joshua	initial

Deut 3:28	והוא ינחיל אותם את הארץ	Joshua	initial
Deut 12:10	אשר יהנה עליהם מנחיל אתכם	YHWH	initial
Deut 19:3	ארצך אשר ינחילך יהיה עליך	YHWH	initial
Deut 19:14	בנחלתך אשר תנחל בארץ	Ancestors	subsequent
Deut 21:16	והיה ביום הנחילו את בניו	Parent	subsequent
Deut 31:7	ואתה תנחילנה אותם	Joshua	initial
Deut 32:8	בהנחל עליון גוים בהפרידו	Elyon	initial
Josh 1:6	אתה תנחיל את העם הזה את הארץ	Joshua	initial
Josh 13:32	אלה אשר נתל משה בערבות מואב	Moses	initial
Josh 14:1	ואלה אשר נחלו בני ישראל בארץ כנען	Joshua + Eleazar	initial
Josh 14:1	אשר נחלו אותם אלעזר הכהן ויהושע בן נון	Joshua + Eleazar	initial
Josh 16:4	וינחלו בני יוסף מנשה ואפרים	Joshua – context	initial
Josh 17:6	כי בנות מנשה נחלו נחלה בת ד בניו	Joshua + Eleazar + Tribal leaders	initial
Josh 19:9	וינחלו בני שמעון בת ד נחלתם	Tribal leaders	initial
Josh 19:49	ויכלו לנחל את הארץ לגבולותיה	Tribal leaders	initial
Josh 19:51	אלה הנחלת אשר נחלו אלעזר הכהן ויהושע	Joshua + Eleazar + Tribal leaders	initial
Judges 11:2	ויאמרו לו לא תנחל בבית אבינו	Family	subsequent
1 Sam 2:8	וכסא כבוד ינחלם	YHWH	initial
Is 14:2	והתנחלום בית ישראל על אדמת יהוה	House of Israel	initial
Is 49:8	להנחיל נחלות שממות	Servant of YHWH	subsequent
Is 57:13	והחוסה בל ינחל ארץ ויירש הר קדשי	YHWH	initial
Jer 3:18	אשר הנחלתי את אבותיכם	YHWH	subsequent
Jer 12:14	בנחלה אשר הנחלתי את עמי את ישראל	YHWH	subsequent
Jer 16:19	אד שקר נחלו אבותינו הכל ואינכם מועיל	Ancestral	subsequent
Ezek 46:18	מאחזתו ינחל את בניו	prince	subsequent
Ezek 47:13	גה גבול אשר תנחלו את הארץ	unspecified	initial
Ezek 47:14	וינחלתם אותה איש כאחיו	unspecified	initial
Zeph 2:9	ויחר גוי ינחלום	YHWH	initial
Zech 2:16	ונחל יהוה את יהודה חלקו	YHWH	reinitializing
Zech 8:12	והנחלתי את שארית העם הזה	YHWH	reinitializing
Ps 69:37	ונרע עבדיו ינחלוה	YHWH or Ancestral	reinitializing
Ps 82:8	כי אתה תנחל בכל הגוים	YHWH	initial
Ps 119:111	נחלתי עדותיך לעולם	Psalmist	
Job 7:3	כן הנחלתי לי ירחי שוא	YHWH	
Prov 3:35	כבוד חכמים ינחלו	Unspecified	
Prov 8:21	להנחיל אהביו יש	Wisdom	initial
Prov 11:29	עובר ביתו ינחל רוח	Unspecified	
Prov 13:22	טוב ינחיל בני בנים	Ancestral	subsequent
Prov 14:18	נחלו פתאים אגלת	Unspecified	
Prov 28:10	ותמימים ינחלו טוב	Unspecified	subsequent
1 Chron 28:8	והנחלתם לבניכם אחריכם עד עולם	Ancestral	subsequent

APPENDIX B: כבוד in 4QInstruction: A Response to John Kampen's Arguments

In Chapter Five, I addressed the texts in 4QInstruction that collocate inheritance and כבוד. These texts have been assessed in a markedly different fashion by John Kampen in his commentary on wisdom literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Kampen sees the inheritance of glory as a reference to eternal life. He states his argument most carefully with respect to the usage of כבוד in 4Q417 2 I, 11 || 4Q416 2 I, 6. For the sake of clarity, I will quote Kampen's argument at that point in its entirety:

In the HB, [כבוד] can be used to designate power and might, hence it comes to refer to the more abstract attributes of honor, dignity, and majesty. It can also refer to glory or splendor, particularly as it is attributed to God, for example in connection with God's appearance in the tabernacle (Exod 29:43; 40:34 – 35; Lev 9:6, 23; Num 14:10; 16:19; 16:42; 20:6). Some of the prophets, particularly Ezekiel, described the presence of the Lord in the Jerusalem temple in this manner by depicting the Lord as a blazing fire surrounded by a cloud (Ezek 1:4; 8:2; 9:3; 10:4, 18; 11:23; 43:2, 4). Other objects such as the temple (Hag 2:9), the throne (Isa 22:23; Jer 14:21; 17:12), and crowns (Job 19:9; Ps 8:5) have 'glory' attributed to them. The manifestation of God's glory is a developing theme in prophetic eschatology (Isa 24:23), which takes on universal dimensions in the postexilic texts (Isa 58:8; 60:1–3; 62:1–2). This development can be seen to continue in apocalyptic literature, where we find references to the 'great glory' (1 En. 14:20; 102:3; 104:1; T. Levi 3:4), described with vivid imagery in the ascent scene in 1 Enoch 14 (see 14:16, 20, 21 for the use of the term 'glory'). In this text, as in 4Q525 14ii:14, it is quite possible that the one 'who inherits glory' is the one who gets to participate in the glory of God, presumably also eternal life. In the Hebrew text of Sir 37:26, 'the wise of the people will inherit glory, and his name will stand for life eternal' (Genizah MS D). These references to the participation in the glory of God also appear to explain the imagery of Dan 12:3 and Mat 13:43: 'Then the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father.'⁵⁶¹

Kampen makes one assertion, supported by three arguments. Kampen asserts, at least implicitly, that the context of 4Q525 14 II, 14 and 4Q416 is amenable to understanding the inheritance of glory as participation in the divine glory, and more

⁵⁶¹ Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 110.

particularly, eternal life. Kampen's second argument, which concerns inheriting glory in Sir 37:26, has been addressed above—the inheritance described is the honor accorded to the wise, which endures even after death. Both 4QBeatitudes and ALD seem to acknowledge the posthumous remembrance of a wise teacher's words. Kampen's third argument, that Daniel (and Matthew) depict the eschatological glory of the righteous, lacks weight if 4QInstruction does not depict the eschatological state of the righteous. Kampen's first argument is that כבוד undergoes semantic shifting so as to encompass eschatological manifestations of divine glory, which righteous individuals will inherit. The semantic shifting of כבוד in Hellenistic Jewish texts is not in question, but whether 4QInstruction demonstrates this shift is questionable.

B.1. Enochic Eschatology in 4QInstruction?

An understated element of Kampen's argument is the similarity between 4QInstruction and 1 Enoch. Kampen asserts that apocalyptic literature such as 1 Enoch has a discernible influence upon 4QInstruction.⁵⁶² A much stronger relationship between Enoch and 4QInstruction is claimed by Torleif Elgvin. Elgvin argues that the longer discourses of 4QInstruction show significant similarities to the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91–107) and to 1 Enoch 1–5, 10, 22, 25–32, portions of the Book of the Watchers.⁵⁶³ Elgvin comments,

The discourses share with *1 Enoch* the themes of the final judgement of the wicked and the glorious hope of the righteous. In both books divine wisdom

⁵⁶² Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 36.

⁵⁶³ Elgvin, "Analysis of 4QInstruction," 168.

is given the elect of the remnant community only through revelation.
Reception of this revelation is constitutive for salvation and life eternal.⁵⁶⁴

Elgvin argues further that similar terminology indicates the literary dependence of 4QInstruction upon Enochic literature.⁵⁶⁵ He argues that “Striking parallels with 1 *Enoch* can be observed in the eschatological discourses in 4Q416 VII 33 and 4Q418 69.”⁵⁶⁶ Matthew Goff questions Elgvin’s maximalist position, finding that there is no direct literary reliance.⁵⁶⁷ Goff continues, however, “While it cannot be proven conclusively, it is reasonable to argue that the author of 4QInstruction was familiar with Enochic texts.”⁵⁶⁸ In DJD XXXIV, Strugnell and Harrington reach generally similar conclusions with respect to 1 *Enoch* and 4QInstruction, stating:

The abundance of manuscripts of 1 *Enoch* at Qumran indicates that it, too, was an influential and popular book there. It contains themes and motifs that also appear in 4Q415 ff., and its insistence on the heavenly and esoteric character of wisdom may be especially important for the study of 4Q415 ff.⁵⁶⁹

Thus, Elgvin, Goff, and Strugnell and Harrington argue with varying levels of certainty that 4QInstruction displays evidence of Enochic influence, with the most

⁵⁶⁴ Elgvin, “Analysis of 4QInstruction,” 168.

⁵⁶⁵ Elgvin, “Analysis of 4QInstruction,” 169. However, the first two examples given—that the elect will “inherit the land” and the use of planting terminology—can hardly be considered conclusive, since both are biblical images.

⁵⁶⁶ Elgvin, “Analysis of 4QInstruction,” 169. Elgvin also suggests that 4Q418 69 was “probably inspired by a similar dialogue in the Epistle of Enoch, 1 *Enoch* 103:1–104:6” (37). NB: 4Q416 VII represents Elgvin’s nomenclature for the reconstructed column of 4QInstruction. The passage discussed is 4Q416 frag 1. On the basis of more careful placement and translation of 4Q418 parallels, Tigchelaar undercuts some of Elgvin’s Enochic parallels, especially a proposed reference to Noah as the recipient of divine revelation.

⁵⁶⁷ Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 186.

⁵⁶⁸ Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 188.

⁵⁶⁹ Strugnell and Harrington, *Sapiential Texts, Part 2*, DJD XXXIV (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 35.

pronounced similarities tending to come from Epistle of Enoch. Most significantly, several occurrences of the inheritance of כבוד occur in or near passages which bear noted similarities to Enochic literature—such as 4Q416 2 III and 4Q418 69.

However, the extent to which Enochic influence is consistently present in 4QInstruction is a matter of disagreement. When Elgvin states that reception of revelation is “constitutive for salvation” in 4QInstruction, his judgment is based on a single occurrence of a phrase—מולדי ישע—that has no analog (apocalyptic or otherwise) in the Hebrew Bible. Salvation (ישע) is not a major concern of 4QInstruction, nor is it clear that ישע must be eschatological. García Martínez argues that 4QInstruction is noticeably more apocalyptic than Sirach, but suggests that the purpose of the apocalyptic framework that begins the document is intended “to legitimise the corpus of instructions which follow.”⁵⁷⁰ Note also that Harrington states, “In 4QInstruction we get a glimpse of a sometimes awkward attempt at presenting wisdom teachings in an apocalyptic framework and with motivations that include some basic concepts of apocalyptic thinking.”⁵⁷¹ That is, Enochic influence in 4QInstruction is somewhat uneven. It is most clearly detected, perhaps unsurprisingly, where 4QInstruction sounds apocalyptic. But this means that assertions concerning 4QInstruction’s borrowing from Enochic literature are only as strong as the intertextual links.

⁵⁷⁰ García Martínez, “Wisdom at Qumran: Worldly or Heavenly?” 11. He states more fully, “The context thus established by this introduction for the whole work is an apocalyptic one. Furthermore, the function of this context, it seems to me, is none other than to legitimise the corpus of instructions that follow.” (10–11)

⁵⁷¹ Harrington, “Wisdom and Apocalyptic in 4QInstruction and 4 Ezra,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; BETL 168; Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2003), 343–355, here 343.

B.2. כבוד in 4QInstruction

כבוד occurs in the extant portions of the manuscripts of 4QInstruction eighteen times: 4Q416 2 II, 18; 2 III, 9; 2 III, 12; 2 III, 18; 2 IV, 11; 4Q417 1 I, 13; 2 I, 11; 20, 5; 4Q418 9, 8; 9, 12; 69 II, 14; 81, 5, 126 II, 8; 126 II, 9; 159 II, 6; 162, 4, 185, 4, and 223, 2. Unlike Sirach, there are no occurrences of תפארת, although פארה occurs once, in 4Q418 81, 13. Instead, הדר occurs in 4Q416 2 III, 10; 2 III, 18; 4Q418 9, 11; 55, 10; 69 II, 14; 81, 13. הדר clearly conveys social rank in 4Q418 55, 10 and heavenly splendor in 69 II, 14; it can be reciprocated to a benefactor in 4Q416 2 III, 10 || 4Q418 9, 11.⁵⁷² Thus, הדר appears to be virtually synonymous with כבוד.⁵⁷³ Because of overlap in manuscripts and instances in which the text is too fragmentary to determine context, there are only nine useful passages for determining the semantic range of כבוד in 4QInstruction. Of these, there are five discrete phrases that collocate כבוד and inheritance: 4Q416 2 II, 18; 4Q416 2 III, 11 || 4Q418 9, 12; 4Q416 2 IV, 11; 4Q417 2 I, 11 and 4Q418 185, 4. 4Q416 2 II, 18; 4Q416 2 III, 11 || 4Q418 9, 12; and 4Q417 2 I, 11 were considered in detail in Chapter Five.

B.2.1. 4Q416 2 II, 17–18

[אל תמ] כור נפשכה בהון טוב היותכה עבד ברוח וחנם תעבוד נוגשיכה ובמחיר אל תמכור כבודכה ואל תערבהו בנחלתכה פן יוריש גוייתכה

“Do not sell your person for wealth. It is good for you to be a slave in temperament but for no reason should you be slave of your creditors. And for a price, do not sell

⁵⁷² 4Q416 III, 10 reads, “To the ones who honor you, give splendor” (למכבדיכה תן הדר).

⁵⁷³ הדר is never the object of a verb of inheritance in these passages. Its virtual synonymy with כבוד is illustrated in 4Q418 55, 10: “According to their knowledge one man is honored more than another; and according to his insight, his splendor increases” (ול[פִי דעתם יכבדו איש מרעהו ולפי שכלו ירבה הדרו]). In both clauses, it seems likely that greater intelligence leads to greater social standing.

yourself/your glory and do not pledge it/wealth against your inheritance, lest you bequeath (only) your body/corpse.”

This passage was considered in Chapter Five, where I argued that the context suggests a quotidian concern for physical wealth.

B.2.2. 4Q416 2 III, 8-12 || 4Q418 9, 8-12

Text

אביון אתה אל תתאו זולת נחלתכה ואל תתבלע בה פן תסיג גבולכה.
ואם] [ישיבכה לכבודכה התהלך וברז [נ]היה דרוש מולדיו ואז תדע
נחלתו. ובצדק תתהלך כי יגיה אל ת]אר[הו בכ'ו'ל דרכיכה.
למכבדיכה תן הדר ושמו הלל תמיד כי מראש הרים רא'ו'שכה ועם
נדיבים הושיבכה ובנחלת כבוד המשילכה. רצונו שחר תמיד.

Translation

Poor you are. Have no desire except for your inheritance and do not become consumed by it lest you move your boundary marker. But if he returns you to honor, conduct yourself with it and through the mystery that will be investigate its birth-times; then you will know his inheritance and you will conduct yourself with justice. For God will shine his countenance on all your paths. To those who honor you, give splendor and praise his name continually; since from poverty he has raised your head and with princes he has seated you and he has given you control over an inheritance of glory. Seek his desire continually.

This occurrence was also discussed in Chapter Five. Given the interest in poverty these lines, it seems best to understand כבוד in terms of status or wealth. While the addressee may not consistently possess wealth, given the comment “you are poor” (אביון אתה), nevertheless, the addressee has כבוד that can be restored.⁵⁷⁴ Instead, the נחלת כבוד indicates the honorable position God has assigned to the addressee.

⁵⁷⁴ The conditionality of the restoration of glory (4Q416 2 III, 9: [ישיבכה לכבודכה] (ואם) might also tell against an eschatological interpretation; there seems to be no assumption of moral or spiritual deficiency in the addressee, even if poverty might be the occasion for spiritual risks.

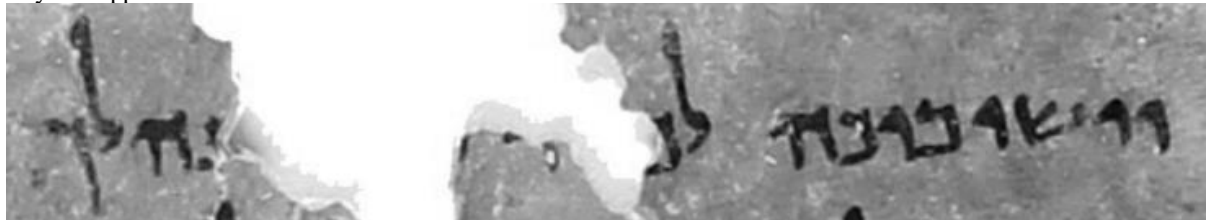
B.2.3. 4Q416 2 III, 9 || 4Q418 9, 8

4Q416 2 III, 9:	ואם ישיבכה לכבודבה התהלך וברז נהיה דרוש מולדיו
4Q418 9, 8:	ואם יושיבוכה לכ[ב]ו[ד] ב[ה] ה[תהלך vacat] וברז נהיה [דרו]ש מו[ל]דו

“and if he restores you in glory, walk in it⁵⁷⁵... || and if they seat you in glory, walk in it....”

The next occurrence of כבוד also occurs in the context of the addressee’s poverty. In 4Q416 2 III, 8, the addressee is warned against desiring to be rich, lest he displace the boundaries of his life. However, the addressee is then counseled to be prepared for a change, in which he is restored לכבוד.⁵⁷⁶ Although Strugnell and Harrington list several possibilities, stating that “The expression with השיב could imply a return to a glorious human condition or lot which the addressee had enjoyed before, or a promotion to a higher (administrative) rank; an implication of a *post mortem* glorification could also not be ruled out,” it seems likeliest that a restoration to a more honored status while living is intended.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁵ Kampen notes that there is no space between לכבוד and בה in 4Q416 2 III, 9 and considers this a likely scribal error. Since לכ[ב]ו[ד] ב[ה] appears to be represented in the 4Q418 parallel with a space between the words, the issue is minor. It is not impossible to read לכבודכה “to your glory” in 4Q416 2 III, 9, although כ in 4Q416 tends to have a less extensive initial stroke. Tigchelaar offers no discussion (*To Increase Learning*, 46). Strugnell and Harrington, 112, argue that it should be taken as two words, “one word belonging to the protasis and the other (בה) to the apodosis.” 4Q418, seen below, offers very little in the way of support.



Kampen, 74: “In this fragment the preposition and pronoun בה (‘in it’) are attached directly to the word ‘to glory,’ an unusual construction and presumably a scribal error. They apparently are identified as two words in the parallel text, 4Q418 9+9a-3:8, even though only small dots remain for the letters on the line at that point.”

⁵⁷⁶ Note the text-critical issue: 4Q416 speaks of being returned to glory with a singular verb (root שׁוּב) while 4Q418 speaks of being seated in glory with a plural verb (יָשַׁב). The latter might reflect the language of 1 Sam 2:8, in which the poor are seated (לְהוֹשִׁיב) with princes and inherit a throne of glory (כִּסֵּא כְבוֹד).

B.2.4. 4Q416 2 III, 12 || 4Q418 9, 12: ובנהלת כבוד המשילכה

“And over an inheritance of glory he has given you dominion.”

In the previous line, the restoration of the addressee includes the statement that God has raised the addressee from poverty (“because from poverty he has raised your head”; כי מראש הרים ראשכה). Thus, it seems worthwhile to interpret כבוד in terms of wealth and honor. Strugnell and Harrington note, “Again, it is not clear to what precise social reality כבוד נהלת refers. Perhaps it was nothing more than a ‘splendid situation’, as English would put it (i.e. a glorious earthly lot) rather than an angelified or heavenly one.”⁵⁷⁸ Their suggestion is fitting.

B.2.5. 4Q416 2 III, 18: כבדם למען כבודכה (“honor them for your own honor”)

The context of this phrase includes honoring parents (2 III, 15–16) because a father is like אב, a mother is like an אמן.⁵⁷⁹ The command in 2 III, 18 is to honor parents for the sake of one’s own reputation. The logic is very similar to Sirach 3:10–13.⁵⁸⁰ Sirach explains that it is not good to honor oneself at the expense of one’s parents and calls for support of parents when they are old and senile.⁵⁸¹ Letting one’s

⁵⁷⁷ Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV, 117.

⁵⁷⁸ Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV, 119.

⁵⁷⁹ Compare Skehan and DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 157 with respect to Sirach 3:16: “The poem concludes on stern note: to neglect and demean one’s parents is to blaspheme and provoke God. Cf. Exod 21:17; Lev 20:9; Deut 27:1; Prov 20:20; Matt 15:4; Mark 7:10. Ben Sira is affirming, in effect, that impiety to parents is impiety to God himself.”

⁵⁸⁰ Puech, 92.

⁵⁸¹ Skehan and DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 156. Skehan and DiLella suggest that 3:10ab–11a may allude to the story of Ham (156), but there are no direct verbal links. They note that in 14a, צדקה || ἐλεημοσύνη is typically almsgiving. Thus, it seems likely that Sirach envisions direct financial support in the honor that must be given to parents.

parents become destitute dishonors not only the parents, but also the offspring who allow such a shameful situation to occur. In this setting, it seems entirely possible that כבוד refers to honor and wealth as understood in Proverbs.

B.2.6. 4Q417 1 I, 13⁵⁸²

ואז תדע בכבוד ע...[ם רזי פלאו וגבורות מעשיו

“Then you will know the glory of his power / eternal glory, the mysteries of his marvels and the power of his works.”⁵⁸³

There is general consensus that 4Q417 preserves material from near the beginning of the composition, thus representing the apocalyptic framework given to the document as a whole.⁵⁸⁴ 4Q417 1 begins by describing the benefits of investigation into divinely-ordained reality. The addressee will properly understand all these things—the acquisition of knowledge is marked by clauses beginning with וואז תדע, “and then you will know.”⁵⁸⁵ 4Q417 1 I has drawn comparisons language and themes found in Enochic literature (cf. the 4QEnoch manuscripts and portions of 1 Enoch) and Jubilees for several reasons. Like Enoch and Jubilees, it calls on the addressee to probe the depths of the ways in which God has created the world and

⁵⁸² Early studies of 4Q417 transposed the numbering of fragments 1 and 2. This numbering reflects that of DJD XXXIV.

⁵⁸³ There is a disagreement between DJD XXXIV and DSSSE in reconstruction the gap in line 13. DJD XXXIV reads ע]זו ע]ם, while DSSSE reads ע]ולם ע]ם. DJD XXXIV’s reading forms a compelling parallel to וואז תדע בכבוד עולם in 4Q418 126 II, 8.

⁵⁸⁴ Tigchelaar, 150: “The editors assume, with Steudel, that both 4Q416 and 4Q417 preserve parts of the beginning of the composition.” See also Elgvin, “Analysis of 4QInstruction,” 18. Tigchelaar and DJD XXXIV both suggest that 4Q416 fragment 1 precedes the material of 4Q417 fragment 1; Elgvin placed 4Q417 1 before any 4Q416 fragments.

⁵⁸⁵ 4Q417 1 I, 6, 8, 13; similar clauses occur in 4Q416 2 III, 9, 15 and are reconstructed for the 4Q418 parallels of these passages. The Hodayot often describe the revelation of divine כבוד with the C stem of ידע; see Appendix 2 below.

the creatures within it.⁵⁸⁶ It also describes written records of judgment (4Q417 1 I, 14), which in Jubilees 4:23 and the Book of Watchers is a work attributed to Enoch the scribe.⁵⁸⁷ Having contemplated all these things and learned their lessons, line 13 describes the final result: knowledge of the ways of God. Within this context, כבוד seems more likely to indicate divine glory as a phenomenon observable to the addressee, just as the רזי פלאו וגבורות מעשיו in the subsequent phrases are observable divine actions.⁵⁸⁸ It is not inconceivable, however, that the addressee would earn lasting honor through such wisdom, since Sirach and the ALD both suggest that the wise scholar can achieve lasting wisdom.⁵⁸⁹ The subsequent lines (14–18) describe the way in which divine decrees have fixed the status of both righteous and unrighteous people and recorded them in a scroll of remembrance (וספר זכרון); the addressee is to understand these destinies.⁵⁹⁰

B.2.7. 4Q417 2 I, 10–11 || 4Q416 2 I, 5–6.

הבט ברז נהיה וקח מולדי ישע ודע מי נוחל כבוד ועמל

“See the mystery of existence and grasp the birth-times of salvation and know who will inherit honor or toil.”

⁵⁸⁶ Compare the 4QEnoch fragments, 1 Enoch 82:1–2, Jubilees 4. Elgvin, “Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A,” *RevQ* 16 (1995): 562 comments, “The eschatological understanding of history and its periods, which are among the mysteries of God revealed to the elect, unites Sap. Work Work A both with 1 Enoch and sectarian literature (see especially 4Q417 1 i 10–12, 4Q416 frg. 1, 4Q417 2 i 12–14, 4Q418 frg. 69, 4Q418 123 ii 2–5).”

⁵⁸⁷ VanderKam notes: “There does not seem to be an exact parallel to [Jubilees 4:23] in the Enoch booklets” (*Jubilees*, 1:260).

⁵⁸⁸ So DJD XXXIV.

⁵⁸⁹ As noted above in Chapter Five.

⁵⁹⁰ Unlike the next section, which suggests a halakic purpose (זהההלכו), there is no direct purpose given. This suggests that some intrinsic value is placed on understanding the difference between the fates of the righteous and unrighteous.

I argued above that כבוד and עמל in the third clause represent human situations rather than divine or eschatological categories, because עמל denotes toil or hard labor in 4QInstruction rather than an eschatological situation.⁵⁹¹ If the key to understanding the comparison is עמל, then wealth or good reputation seems the most likely meaning for כבוד.

B.2.8. 4Q418 69 II, 13–14

וב[ני] שמים אשר חיים עולם נחלתם האמור יאמרו יגענו בפעלות אמת ויעפ[נו] בכול קצים הלוא באור עולם
יתהל[כו] ... כ[בוד ורוב הדר]

“Now as for the sons of heaven for whom eternal life is their inheritance, would they really say, ‘We have grown weary with works of truth and we have tired with all the times’? Is it not in eternal light that they conduct themsel[ves? ...of gl]ory and great splendor?”

The passage refers the sons of heaven (בני שמים), an apparent reference to angelic beings.⁵⁹² Fletcher-Louis and Puech argue that the sons of heaven must be understood as elect humans.⁵⁹³ Strugnell and Harrington consider them to be angelic, but note that it is difficult to understand how the sons of heaven would then

⁵⁹¹ The manuscript is unclear:



⁵⁹² Kampen, 129. Kampen also notes conceptual similarities to 1QH^a XIX, 6–17, which includes the idea of divine purification “so that he might be united with the children of your truth and in the lot with your holy ones.”

⁵⁹³ Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 119. Thus, he questions how angels can possess an inheritance or walk in eternal light. These, he argues, are activities characteristic of righteous humans. His argument seems to have weight only to the extent that 4QInstruction depends solely upon biblical language; even there, his argument may not suffice to ward off examples like Deuteronomy 32:8. More significantly, he ignores the reality of analogy—the evidence is already available in Ugaritic that divine beings can have a *nhlt*.

inherit eternal life.⁵⁹⁴ However, this is not so difficult if inheritance refers to their divinely granted place in the divine economy. After contrasting the wherewithal of these angelic beings to the fatigue of their pious human counterparts, the text asks, “Do they not walk in eternal light, ...gl]ory, and abundant splendor (הלוא באור עולם) כ[בוד ורוב הדר]? (יתהל)כו ... כ[בוד ורוב הדר” In this passage, it seems that glory is connected to angelic life, as in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. In brief, eternal life, eternal light, and the glory and splendor of angelic beings all belong to the same conceptual realm in this passage. It seems likely to me that כבוד, in the sense of כבוד that attends to holy and divine things, could be thought of as a divine grant to the sons of heaven in 4Q418 69. In the same way that the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice use כבוד to describe the heavenly sanctuary, so here, the sons of heaven possess כבוד. It is the glory, splendor, or gravitas that befits them. This suggests that 4QInstruction is working with an analogy between the divine realm and human experience; I believe that same analogy can be seen in 4Q418 81 and 4Q418 126 II, the last two passages to be considered. Where my argument differs from that of Fletcher-Louis is primarily that I do not think that 4QInstruction collapses the distinction between the human and divine realms. I will make this argument more fully below.

B.2.9. 4Q418 81, 5:

...ובכול א[ל]ים] הפיל גורלכה וכבודכה הרבה מואדה

“...and with all the gods he has caused your lot to fall and your glory he has increased greatly...”

⁵⁹⁴ Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV, 290.

Here, as in the previous passage, the nature of the heavenly beings described and their inheritance is a matter of interpretive difficulty. The lines that precede describe God as the portion and inheritance of the addressee among the children of Adam (line 3) and describe the addressee as a “holy of holies over all the earth” (קדוש קודשים [לכול] תבל) whose lot is cast among the אלים. But as noted above, this priestly language falls in line with the meaning of כבוד denoted in Sirach’s praise of the fathers—the exalted status of the addressee is not necessarily heavenly.

B.2.10. 4Q418 126 II, 8–9

[בכבוד עולם ושלום עד ורוח חיים להבדיל] []
 [כול בני חוה ובכוח אל ורוב כבודו עם טובו] []

...with eternal glory and lasting peace and a spirit of life in order to separate...⁵⁹⁵
 ...all the sons of Eve but with the strength of God and the abundance of his glory with his goodness...

Strugnell and Harrington translate lines 7–9:

“But to raise up the head of the poor, [*And to show forth His faithfulness to them, And His Mercies*]
 In glory everlasting and peace eternal, And to separate the spirit of life [*from every spirit of darkness*]
 [...] all the children of Eve. And on the might of God and the abundance of His glory together with his bounty [*they shall muse*]

Glory occurs twice in these lines. Because of the broken nature of the beginning and end of these lines, extreme caution should be exercised in assessing their meaning.

Strugnell and Harrington rather liberally fill in the gaps. I do not think that it is possible to tell who possesses, or will possess, eternal glory and lasting peace.⁵⁹⁶ In

⁵⁹⁵ 4Q418 81, 1–2 uses להבדיל to refer to moral separations (to separate from the “spirit of flesh” and “from all that he hates”), but it is not clear who is being separated from what in this fragment.

⁵⁹⁶ It is not at all clear that DJD XXXIV’s logical break between עד ורוח חיים ושלום is warranted.

the second line, the parallel with the strength of God (ובכוח אל) makes it likely that it is divine glory that is described.⁵⁹⁷

B.2.11. Occurrences of כבוד that Lack Sufficient Context

Citation	Text	Translation
4Q416 2 IV, 11	כבודכה בנחלתכה	...your glory in your inheritance... ⁵⁹⁸
4Q417 20, 5	אמת וכבוד	...truth and glory...
4Q418 159 II, 6	ומדת כבודכה	
4Q418 162, 4	[שחת עולם והיה לכה כב]וד	...eternal destruction. But there will be gl[ory] for you. ⁵⁹⁹
4Q418 185, 4	תנחל כ[ב]וןד	you will inherit glory
4Q418 223, 2	[ג]ל[בו]דו	[gl]ory

Thus, of the eighteen occurrences, nine seem to have sufficient context to provide some clarity into the meaning of כבוד in 4QInstruction. Perhaps the first point to make is that there is a range of meanings. 4Q416 2 II, 18 suggests a relatively rare meaning “self, person” found in a handful of biblical texts. Some occurrences seem to track with the sense of good reputation or wealth found in Proverbs. 4Q417 1 I, 13 seems best understood as the כבוד of the divine or of a divine attribute. The following table indicates the collocations that may shed light upon the meaning of כבוד. Those with sufficient context have been described above. Of those not yet discussed, 4Q418 162, with its apparent contrast of שחת עולם and כב[ו]ד, is intriguing but the lack of context renders its meaning indeterminate.

Reference	Result	Antonyms	Synonyms	Comments
4Q416 2 II, 18	אל תמכור כבודכה		גויה	self/person

⁵⁹⁷ So also Strugnell and Harrington, DJD XXXIV, 335.

⁵⁹⁸ DJD XXXIV, 125 separates the two words, taking “your glory” as the conclusion of a sentence and “in your inheritance” as the beginning of another.

⁵⁹⁹ DJD XXXIV, 386 argues that good syntax and grammar makes the disjunctive reading preferable to any alternatives.

4Q416 2 III, 9 4Q418 9, 8	ואם] [ישיבכה לכבודבה התהלך			
4Q416 2 III, 12 4Q418 9, 12	ובנחלת כבוד המשילכה	ריש		wealth :: poverty
4Q416 2 III, 18 4Q418 10, 1 (reconstruction)	כבדם למען כבודכה			parental honor; compare Sir 3:10–13
4Q417 1 I, 13 4Q418 43–45 I, 10	ואז תדע בכבוד ע[וֹזו ע]ם רזי פלאו וגבורות מעשיו		רזי פלאו וגבורות מעשיו	glory :: divine power; ⁶⁰⁰
4Q417 2 I, 11 4Q416 2 I, 6 (reconstruction)	ודע מי נוחל כבוד	ועמל		wealth :: toil
4Q418 69 II, 14	הלוא באור עולם יתהל[כו -- כ]בֹד ורוב הדר		באור עולם ורוב הדר	predicated of בנ[י]ן שמים
4Q418 81, 5 4Q423 8, 4 (reconstruction)	וכבודכה הרבה מואדה		בכור	priestly
4Q418 126 II, 8	בכבוד עולם	נקם... ופקודת	ושלום עד	antonyms in ll. 6–7; judgment
4Q418 126 II, 9	ורוב כבודו		ובכוח אל; טובו	divine
4Q417 20, 5	כבוד		אמת	no context
4Q418 159 II, 6	ומדת כבודכה			no context
4Q418 162, 4	והיה לכה כב[וד]	[--] שֹׁחַת עולם		insufficient context
4Q418 185, 4	תנחל כ[בו]ד			no context

B.3. The Analogy between Human and Divine Realms in 4QInstruction

In 4Q418 69 II, 13–14; 4Q418 81, 5; and 4Q418 126 II, 8–9; references are made to the כבוד that belongs to God or other divine beings. The idea that humans might participate in this כבוד is seized upon by Kampen and Puech on the one hand to indicate a belief in eternal life and by Fletcher-Louis on the other to indicate the belief in an angelified elect humanity. For Fletcher-Louis, the idea that the sons of

⁶⁰⁰ DSSSE reads ע[וֹל]ם, “lasting glory.”

heaven might inherit eternal life is seen as an impossibility: “Where else in [Qumran literature] or contemporary Jewish traditions do angels have an ‘inheritance?’”⁶⁰¹

However, Fletcher-Louis begs a question that can be answered.

First, it is not without precedent that angelic beings receive a divine apportionment. It is true that there is no other case of heavenly beings possessing a similar נחלה in the Dead Sea Scrolls; although Melchizedek has a נחלה in 11Q13 2, 5, it seems to consist of his people.⁶⁰² However, 1QS XI, 7–8 refers to the lot of the holy ones (גורל הקדושים); similar language occurs in 1QH^a XIX, 14.⁶⁰³ 1QS^b IV, 26 refers to a lot with the angels of the presence (גורל עם מלאכי פנים), similar language occurs in 1QH^a XIV, 16. While it might be argued that the language of the lot is different than the language of inheritance because the lot does not directly confer specific benefits in these instance, that objection is not particularly strong. The lot could clearly function in the distribution of property. But even in other uses, such as the juridical use of the lot, the process of identifying an individual or group by lot was accompanied by the administration of the sentence earned. Second, the idea that נחלה can indicate a grant lessens the force of Fletcher-Louis’s protest. If the sons of heaven are being created by God, then their characteristics can be thought of as a grant. But even if נחלה is thought of as a patrimonial estate, there is no barrier to the

⁶⁰¹ Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 119.

⁶⁰² 11Q13 2, 4 identifies its object as השבויים “the captives;” line 5 appears to indicate that “they are the inheritan[ce of Melchize]dek” (והמה נחלת מלכי צדק). García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, in DJD XXIII, state that “The background of the expression נחלת מלכי צדק is the biblical view that Israel is the נחלה of God” (231)

⁶⁰³ Also 4Q181 1, 4; 4Q418 81, 4–5 (among the אלים). In 4Q511 2 I, 8–10, it seems that Israel is described as people who “walk in the lot of God according to his glory and minister to him in the lot of the people of his throne” (להתהלך ב[גורל] אלוהים לפי כבודו ו[לשרתו בגורל עם כסאו]).

inheritance of the sons of heaven, because that analogy was available already in the Ugaritic Baal Cycle. In the Hebrew Bible, Deuteronomy 32:8–9 and Psalm 82 speak of the inheritance of divine beings.

In 4Q418 69, there is an analogy, rather than an identification, between the sons of heaven and the addressees. The analogy might be expressed in the words of the Lord's Prayer: "on earth as it is in heaven." The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice envision a heavenly cult led by angels. The *Yaḥad* in CD III 20 conceives of itself as a priestly community on earth doing the same kinds of things that would be done in the heavenly cult. As with any analogy, there is a crucial similarity to be observed: As angels serve in the heavenly sanctuary, so humans serve on earth. But there is discontinuity in analogies as well: Angels have been granted immortality, people have not (or have not been granted it in the same way). The description of these sons of heaven seems to be intended to motivate the addressees to continued pursuit of truth in the face despite the risk of becoming weary.

While it is true that 4Q418 69 II, 13–14 describe glory as the possession of the children of heaven—angelic beings—alongside their inheritance of eternal life, this possession of glory is analogous to the use of glory to describe heavenly beings or heavenly architecture in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. 4Q418 81 tracks with the idea of priestly glory found in Sirach; it explicitly borrows from the diction of Numbers 18 (YHWH as the inheritance of the Aaronide priests), as well as describing the enhanced glory of the community with language reminiscent of Sirach.

Bibliography

- Aaron, David. *Biblical Ambiguities: Metaphor, Semantics and Divine Imagery*. Brill Reference Library of Ancient Judaism 4. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wolfram von Soden. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1965–1981.
- Allegro, John Marco. “The Wiles of the Wicked Woman’: A Sapiential Work from Qumran’s Fourth Cave.” *PEQ* 96 (1964): 53–55.
- _____. *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)*. DJDJ V. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
- James Aitken, “The Semantics of ‘Glory’.” Pages 1–24 in *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages: Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, held at Leiden University, 15-17 December 1997*. Edited by Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Alt, Albrecht. “Der Anteil des Königtums an der sozialen Entwicklung in den Reichen Israel und Juda.” Pages 348 – 372 in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 3. München: C.H. Beck’sche, 1959.
- _____. Albrecht Alt, “Hosea 5,8–6,6: Ein Krieg und seine Folgen in prophetischer Beleuchtung.” Pages 163–187 in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 2. München: C.H. Beck’sche, 1953.
- _____. *Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts*. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse 86. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1934.
- Andersen, Francis I. *Hosea, A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 24. New York: Doubleday, 1980.
- Arnaud, Daniel. “Le Vocabulaire de l’Héritage dans les Textes Syriens du Moyen-Euphrate à la Fin de l’Âge du Bronze Récent.” *SEL* 12 (1995): 21–26.
- _____. *Recherches au Pays d’Aštata, Emar 6,3: Textes Sumériens et Accadiens. Texte*. Paris: Ed. Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986.
- _____. *Textes syriens de l’âge du bronze récent. AuOr Supplement 1*. Sabadell: AUSA, 1991.
- The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2006.

- Baden, Joel. *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis*. New Haven: Yale, 2012.
- Baltzer, Klaus. *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40–55*. Translated by Margaret Kohl. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001.
- Barmash, Pamela. "The Narrative Quandary: Cases of Law in Literature." *VT* 54 (2004): 1–16.
- Barthélemy, Dominique and O. Rickenbacher. *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach: mit syriache-hebräische Index*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973.
- Batto, Bernard. "Land Tenure and Women at Mari." *JESHO* 23 (1980): 209–239.
- Baumgarten, Joseph M. "Damascus Document II, Some Works of the Torah, and Related Documents." Pages 1–185 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls, III. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*. Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project 6. Edited by James H. Charlesworth and Henry W. M. Rietz. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006.
- _____. *Studies in Qumran Law*. SJLA 24. Leiden: Brill, 1977.
- Beattie, Derek. "The Book of Ruth as Evidence for Israelite Legal Practice." *VT* 24 (1974): 251–267.
- Beckman, Gary. *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen*. History of the Ancient Near East Monographs 2. Padova: Sargon, 1996.
- Beentjes, Pancratius Cornelis. *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of all Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of all Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Ben-Barak, Zafrira. *Inheritance by Daughters in Israel and the Ancient Near East: A Social, Legal and Ideological Revolution*. Jaffa: Archaeological Center Publications, 2006.
- Bendor, Shunya. *The Social Structure of Ancient Israel: The Institution of the Family (Beit 'Ab): From the Settlement to the End of the Monarchy*. Jerusalem Biblical Studies 7. Jerusalem: Simor, 1996.
- Ben-Hayyim, Zeev. *The Book of Ben Sira: Text, Concordance, and an Analysis of the Vocabulary*. Jerusalem: Shrine of the Book, 1973.
- Benoit, Pierre, Józef T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux. *Les grottes de Murabba'ât*. DJD II. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.

- Ben Zvi, Ehud. *Hosea*. Forms of Old Testament Literature 21A/1. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005.
- Berlin, Adele. "Qumran Laments and the Study of Lament Literature." Pages 1–17 in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19-23 January, 2000*. Edited by Esther G. Chazon. STDJ 48. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Bernstein, Moshe, and Shlomo A. Koyfman. "The Interpretation of Biblical Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Forms and Methods." Pages 61–87 in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*. Edited by Matthias Henze. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005.
- Bird, Phyllis. "Yrš and the Deuteronomic Theology of the Conquest." Th.D. diss., Harvard Divinity School, 1971.
- Black, James Roger. "The Instruction of Amenemope: A Critical Edition and Commentary, Prolegomenon and Prologue." PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2002.
- Black, Max. "Metaphor." *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* NS 55 (1954–55): 273–294.
- Boer, Roland. *The Sacred Economy of Ancient Israel*. Library of Ancient Israel. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2015.
- Borger, Rykle. "Šurpu II, III, und IV in Partitur." Pages 15–90 in *Wisdom, Gods and Literature: Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert*. Edited by Andrew R. George and Irving L Finkel. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000.
- Brettler, Marc. *God is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 76. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989.
- Brinkman, John Anthony. "Babylonian Royal Land Grants, Memorials of Financial Interest, and Invocation of the Divine." *JESHO* 49 (2006), 1–47.
- Brooke, George J., et al. *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*. DJD XXII. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
- Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*.
- Brownlee, William H. *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*. New Haven: ASOR, 1951.

- Butler, Trent. *Joshua*. WBC 7. Dallas: Word, 1984.
- Campbell, Jonathan. *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8, 19–20*. BZAW 228. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997.
- Carmignac, Jean, and Pierre Guilbert. *Les Textes de Qumran: Traduits et Annotés*. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961.
- Carr, David. *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Casana, Jesse. "Structural Transformations in Settlement Systems of the Northern Levant." *AJA* 111 (2007): 195–221.
- Chapman, Cynthia. *The House of the Mother: The Social Roles of Maternal Kin in Biblical Hebrew Narrative and Poetry*. Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library. New Haven: Yale University Press: 2016.
- Charpin, Dominique. "Chroniques Bibliographiques 2. La Commémoration D'Actes Juridiques: à propos des Kudurrus Babyloniens." *RA* 96 (2002): 169–191.
- Chazon, Esther G., et al. *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*. DJD XXIX. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.
- Clifford, Richard. *Proverbs: A Commentary*. Old Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999.
- Clines, David J. A. *Job 21–37*. WBC 18A. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2006.
- Cogan, Mordechai, and Hayim Tadmor. *2 Kings*. AB 11. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1988.
- Collins, John J. "The Mysteries of God: Creation and Eschatology in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon." Pages 159–180 in *Jewish Cult and Hellenistic Culture: Essays on the Jewish Encounter with Hellenism and Roman Rule*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- _____. "Testaments." Pages 325–355 in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*. Edited by Michael Stone. CRINT 2/2. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984.
- The Context of Scripture*. Edited by William W. Hallo. 3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–2002.
- Cook, Edward. *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014.
- _____. "Remarks on the Testament of Kohath." *JJS* 44 (1993): 205–219.

- Cook, Johann. "Law and Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls with Reference to Hellenistic Judaism." Pages 323–342 in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez. BETL 168. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
- Cotton, Hannah M., and Ada Yardeni. *Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites, with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts*. DJD XXVII. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.
- Craigie, Peter C. *Deuteronomy*. NICOT. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976.
- Crawford, Sidnie White. "Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly at Qumran." *DSD* 5 (1998): 355–366.
- Cronauer, Patrick. *The Stories about Naboth the Jezreelite: A Source, Composition, and Redaction Investigation of 1 Kings 21 and Passages in 2 Kings 9*. London: T & T Clark, 2005.
- Davila, James. "The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *DSD* 9 (2002): 1–19.
- Daube, David. "Law in the Narratives." Pages 1–73 in *Studies in Biblical Law*. New York: Ktav, 1969.
- Davies, Philip R. *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics*. South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 134. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996.
- The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*. Martin G. Abegg Jr., James E. Browley, and Edward M. Cook. 3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2003–2016.
- The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek texts with English Translations*. Edited by James H Charlesworth. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994–2006.
- Dearman, J. Andrew. *The Book of Hosea*. NICOT. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.
- Dequeker, Luc. "The 'Saints of the Most High' in Qumran and Daniel." Pages 108–187 in *Syntax and Meaning: Studies in Hebrew Syntax and Biblical Exegesis*. Oudtestamentische Studiën 18. Edited by A. S. Van Der Woude. Leiden: Brill, 1973.
- Diakonoff, Igor M. "Agrarian Conditions in Middle Assyria." Pages 204–234 in *Ancient Mesopotamia, Socio-Economic History: A Collection of Studies by Soviet Scholars*. Moscow: Nauka, 1969.

- Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Edited by David J. A. Clines. 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 1993–2014.
- Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. Jacob Hoftijzer and Karel Jongeling. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1995
- Dietrich, Manfred and Oswalt Loretz. “Alalah-Texte der Schicht VII (I): Historische und juristische Dokumente.” *UF* 36 (2004): 43–150.
- Dille, Sarah. *Mixing Metaphors: God as Mother and Father in Deutero-Isaiah*. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Drawnel, Henryk. *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*. Supplements to the Journal for the study of Judaism 86. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- _____. “The Initial Narrative of the ‘Vision of Amram’ and its Literary Characteristics.” *RevQ* 24 (2010): 517–554.
- _____. “The Literary Form and Didactic Content of the *Admonitions (Testament) of Qahat*.” Pages 55–73 in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges Qumraniens en Hommage à Émile Puech*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. STDJ 61. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Driver, Samuel Rolles. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*. New York: Scribner, 1903.
- Ehrlich, Arnold B. *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel; textkritisches, sprachliches und sachliches. VI. Psalmen, Sprüche, und Hiob*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1918.
- Elgvin, Torleif. “An Analysis of 4QInstruction.” PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997.
- _____. “Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A.” *RevQ* 16 (1995): 559–580.
- _____. “Trials and Universal Renewal—the Priestly Figure of the Levi Testament 4Q541.” Pages 78–100 in *Vision, Narrative, and Wisdom in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran: Essays from the Copenhagen Symposium, 14-15 August, 2017*. Edited by in Mette Bundvad and Kasper Siegismund. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- _____. “Wisdom with and without Apocalyptic.” Pages 16–38 in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998. Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*. Edited by Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen Schuller. STDJ 35. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

- Elgvin, Torleif, et al. *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1*. DJD XX. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.
- Eshel, Esther, et al. 1998. *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1*. DJD XI. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Fager, Jeffrey. *Land Tenure and the Biblical Jubilee: Uncovering Hebrew Ethics through the Sociology of Knowledge*. JSOTSup 155. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993.
- Fishbane, Michael. *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary*. 3rd ed. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004.
- Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H. T. *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. STDJ 42. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Foreman, Benjamin A. *Animal Metaphors and the People of Israel in the Book of Jeremiah*. FRLANT 238. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011.
- Forshey, Harold Odes. "The Hebrew Root *NHL* and its Semitic Context." PhD diss., Harvard University, 1973
- Foster, Benjamin R. *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005.
- Fox, Michael V. "Ideas of Wisdom in Proverbs 1–9." *JBL* 116 (1997): 613–633.
- _____. *Proverbs 1–9: A New Translation with Commentary and Introduction*. AB 18A. New York: Doubleday, 2000.
- _____. *Proverbs 10–31: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 18B. New Haven: Yale, 2009.
- _____. *Proverbs: An Eclectic Edition with Introduction and Textual Commentary*. HBCE 1. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015.
- Fraade, Stephen D. "Looking for Legal Midrash at Qumran." Pages 59–79 in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May 1996*. Edited by Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon. STDJ 28. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

- Frey, Jörg. "On the Origins of the Genre of the 'Literary Testament': Farewell Discourses in the Qumran Library and Their Relevance for the History of the Genre." Pages 345–375 in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence, 30 June–2 July 2008*. Edited by Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra. STDJ 94. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Gangloff, Frederic. "La 'Guerre Syro-Ephraimite' en Osee 5:8–14? Quelques Observations Critiques Breves." *BN* 118 (2003): 76–80.
- García Martínez, Florentino. "Wisdom at Qumran: Worldly or Heavenly?" Pages 1–17 in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez. BETL 168. Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2003.
- García Martínez, Florentino and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. 2 vol. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- García Martínez, Florentino, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude. *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)*. DJD XXIII. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- Gelb, Ignace J., Piotr Steinkeller, and Robert M Whiting. *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East: Ancient Kudurrus*. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1989–1991.
- Gerstenberger, Erhard. *Leviticus: A Commentary*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996.
- Gillihan, Yonder M. *Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls: A Comparative Study of the Covenanters' Sect and Contemporary Voluntary Associations in Political Context*. STDJ 97. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Good, Edwin M. "Hosea 5:8–6:6: An Alternative to Alt," *JBL* 85 (1966): 273–286.
- Ginzberg, Louis. *Unknown Jewish Sect*. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1970.
- Goff, Matthew. *4QInstruction*. WLAW 2. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2013.
- _____. "Hellish Females: The Strange Woman of Septuagint Proverbs and 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184)." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 39 (2008) 20–45.
- _____. "The Personification of Wisdom and Folly as Women in Ancient Judaism." Pages 128–154 in *Religion and Female Body in Ancient Judaism and Its Environments*. Edited by Géza G. Xeravits. Boston: de Gruyter, 2015.

- _____. *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*. STDJ 50. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Grayson, A. K. "Grenze." Pages 639–640 in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*. Dritter Band. Edited by Erich Ebeling et al. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928–.
- Greenfield, Jonas C., Michael E. Stone and Esther Eshel. *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*. Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 19. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Greengus, Samuel. *Laws in the Bible and in Early Rabbinic Collections: The Legacy of the Ancient Near East*. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2011.
- Greenstein, Edward L. "The Formation of the Biblical Narrative Corpus." *AJS Review* 15 (1990): 151–178.
- Gropp, Douglas M. *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri for Wadi Daliyeh*; Eileen Schuller et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2*. DJD XXVIII. Oxford: Clarendon, 2001.
- Gross, Andrew. *Continuity and Innovation in the Aramaic Legal Tradition*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 128. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Grossman, Maxine. *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Method*. STDJ 45. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999.
- Hamidović, David. *L'écrit de Damas: Le Manifeste Essénien*. Collection de la Revue des Études Juives 51. Paris: Peeters, 2011.
- Harrington, Daniel. "Wisdom and Apocalyptic in 4QInstruction and 4 Ezra." Pages 343–355 in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez. BETL 168. Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2003.
- Harrington, Hannah K. "Intermarriage in the Temple Scroll." Pages 463–482 in *Current Issues in Priestly and Related Literature: The Legacy of Jacob Milgrom and Beyond*. Edited by Roy E. Gane and Ada Taggar-Cohen. RBS 82. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015.
- Hatch, Edwin, and Henry A. Redpath. *Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1897.

- Healey, John F. *The Nabataean Tomb Inscriptions of Mada'in Salih*. JSSSup 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Hempel, Charlotte. *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction*. STDJ 29. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Hiers, Richard. "Transfer of Property by Inheritance and Bequest in Biblical Law and Tradition." *Journal of Law and Religion* 10 (1993-94): 121-155.
- Hollander, Harm W., and Marinus de Jonge. *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary*. SVTP 8. Leiden: Brill, 1985.
- Holm-Nielsen, Svend. *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*. Acta Theological Danica 2. Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget I Aarhus, 1960.
- Holtz, Shalom E. "A Common Set of Trial Terms." *ZAR* 17 (2011): 1-14.
- _____. "Praying as a Plaintiff," *VT* 61 (2009): 258-279.
- _____. *Praying Legally*. BJS 364. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019.
- Huehnergard, John. "Five Texts from the Vicinity of Emar." *RA* 77 (1983): 11-43.
- _____. *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*. HSS 32. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987.
- Hurowitz, Victor. Review of *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* by Benjamin D. Sommer. *JAOS* 130 (2010): 674-679.
- Jackson, Bernard S. "The Development of Law in the Ancient Near East: Modeling Biblical Law: The Covenant Code." *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 70 (1995): 1745-1828.
- Japhet, Sara. "The Relationship between the Legal Corpora in the Pentateuch in Light of Manumission Laws." Pages 63-90 in *Studies in Bible 1986 (Scripta Hierosolymitana)*. Edited by Sara Japhet. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986.
- Jassen, Alex P. *Scripture and Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Jastrow, Marcus. *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature*. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2006.

- Jensen, Joseph. "Eighth-Century Prophets and Apodictic Law." Pages 103–117 in *To Touch the Text: Biblical and Related Studies in Honor of Joseph A. Fitzmeyer*. Edited by Maurya P. Horgan and Paul J. Kobelski. New York: Crossroads, 1989.
- Jindo, Job Y. *Biblical Metaphor Reconsidered: A Cognitive Approach to Poetic Prophecy in Jeremiah 1–24*. HSM 64. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010.
- Jonge, Marinus de. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*. PVTG 1/2. Leiden: Brill, 1978.
- Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig. 5th erweiterte und überarbeitete Auflage. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002.
- Kampen, John. *Wisdom Literature*. Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011.
- Kaveny, M. Cathleen. *Law's Virtues: Fostering Autonomy and Solidarity in American Society*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2012.
- Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*. Edited by Manfred Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013. 3rd enl. ed. of KTU: The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places. Edited by Manfred Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995
- Kemp, Joel. "Renounced and Abandoned: The Legal Meaning of עָזַב in Ezekiel 8:12 and 9:9." *CBQ* 79 (2017): 593–614.
- Kilian, Rudolf. "Apodiktisches und kasuistisches Recht in Licht ägyptischer Analogien." *BZ* ns 7 (1963): 185–202.
- King, Leonard. *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*. London: Luzac, 1896.
- Kister, Menahem. "Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakhah." Pages 571–588 in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991*. Edited by Julio Treballe Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner. STDJ 11/2. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- Kittay, Eva. *Metaphor: Its Cognitive Force and Linguistic Structure*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1987.
- Kitz, Anne-Marie. "The Hebrew Terminology of Lot Casting and Its Ancient Near Eastern Context." *CBQ* 62 (2000): 207–214.

- Knight, Douglas. *Law, Power, and Justice in Ancient Israel*. LAI. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011.
- Kolenkow, Anitra Bingham. "The Literary Genre 'Testament'." Pages 259–267 in *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters*. Edited by Robert A. Kraft and George Nickelsburg. SBL Centennial Publications 2. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986.
- Krahmolkov, Charles. *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar*. HdO 54. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Kugel, James. "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs." Pages 2:1697–1855 in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*. 3 vol. Edited by Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel, and Lawrence H. Schiffman. Philadelphia: JPS, 2013.
- Laisney, Vincent Pierre-Michel. *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé*. Studia Pohl. Series maior, 19. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2007.
- Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Lam, Joseph. *Patterns of Sin in the Hebrew Bible: Metaphor, Culture, and the Making of a Religious Concept*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Lambert, Wilfred G. *Babylonian Creation Myths*. Mesopotamian Civilizations 16. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014.
- Langdon, Stephen. "A Tablet of Prayers from the Nippur Library." *PSBA* 34 (1912), 75–79.
- Lange, Armin. "The Determination of Fate by the Oracle of the Lot in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Hebrew Bible, and Ancient Mesopotamian Literature." Pages 39–48 in *Sapiential, Liturgical, and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998, Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*. Edited by Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen Schuller. STDJ 35. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- _____. "So I Girded My Loins in the Vision of Righteousness and Wisdom, in the Robe of Supplication' (1QapGen ar VI.4): טקש in The Book of the Words of Noah and Second Temple Jewish Aramaic Literature." *Aramaic Studies* 8 (2010): 13–45.
- Laurin, Robert B. "The Question of Immortality in the Qumran 'Hodayot'." *JSS* 3 (1958): 344–355.

- Lemos, Tracy M. "Were Israelite Women Chattel? Shedding New Light on an Old Question." Pages 227–241 in *Worship, Women and War: Essays in Honor of Susan Niditch*. Edited by John J. Collins, Tracy M. Lemos and Saul M. Olyan. BJS 357. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015.
- Lenzi, Alan. *Secrecy and the Gods: Secret Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia and Biblical Israel*. SAAS 19. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2008.
- Lesley, Michael. "Exegetical Wiles: 4Q184 as Scriptural Interpretation." Pages 107–142 in *The Scrolls and Biblical Tradition: Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the IOQS in Helsinki*. Edited by George Brooke, et al. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Levine, Baruch A. "Farewell to the Ancient Near East: Evaluating Biblical References to Ownership of Land in Comparative Perspective." Pages 223–252 in *Privatization in the Ancient Near East and Classical World*. Edited by Michael Hudson and Baruch Levine. Peabody Museum Bulletin 5. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 1996.
- _____. "Late Language in the Priestly Source: Some Literary and Historical Observations." Pages 69–82 in *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Jerusalem, August 16–21, 1981. Vol 2: Panel Sessions: Biblical Studies and Hebrew Language*. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1983.
- _____. *Leviticus*. The JPS Torah Commentary. Philadelphia: JPS, 1989.
- _____. *Numbers 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 4. New York: Doubleday, 1993.
- _____. *Numbers 21–36: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 4A. New York: Doubleday, 2001.
- _____. "On the Semantics of Land Tenure in Biblical Literature: The Term *ʾaḥuzzāh*." Pages 134–139 in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*. Edited by Mark E. Cohen, Daniel C. Snell, and David B. Weisberg. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1993.
- _____. "The Various Workings of the Aramaic Legal Tradition: Jews and Nabataeans in the Naḥal Ḥever Archive." Pages 836–851 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam. Jerusalem: Shrine of the Book, 2000.
- Levinson, Bernard M. "The Case for Revision and Interpolation with the Biblical Legal Corpora." Pages 37–59 in *Theory and Method in Biblical and Cuneiform Law: Revision, Interpolation and Development*. Edited by Bernard M. Levinson. JSOT Sup 181; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994.

- _____. *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*. London: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- _____. *More Perfect Torah: At the Intersection of Philology and Hermeneutics in Deuteronomy and the Temple Scroll*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013.
- Lewis, Naphtali. *The Documents from the Bar-Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri*. Jerusalem: IES, 1989.
- Libolt, Clayton. “Royal Land Grants from Ugarit.” PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1985.
- Lichtenberger, Hermann. “Eine weisheitliche Mahnrede in den Qumranfunden (4Q185).” Pages 151–162 in *Qumrân: Sa Piété, sa Théologie et son Milieu*. Edited by M. Delcor. BETL 46. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978.
- _____. “Der Weisheitstext 4Q185: Eine neue Edition.” Pages 127–150 in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*. Edited by Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger. BETL 159. Leuven: Peeters, 2002.
- Lipschits, Oded. “Nehemiah 3: Sources, Composition, and Purpose.” Pages 73–99 in *New Perspectives on Ezra–Nehemiah: History and Historiography, Text, Literature, and Interpretation*. Edited by Isaac Kalimi. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- Long, Gary. “Dead or Alive? Literality and God-Metaphors in the Hebrew Bible.” *JAAR* 62 (1994), 509–537.
- Lundbom, Jack R. *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013.
- Machiela, Daniel. *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*. STDJ 79. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- _____. “‘Wisdom Motifs’ in the Compositional Strategy of the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20) and Other Aramaic Texts from Qumran.” Pages 223–247 in *HĀ-’ÎSH MÔSHE: Studies in Scriptural Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature in Honor of Moshe J. Bernstein*. Edited by Binyamin Y. Goldstein, Michael Segal, and George J. Brooke. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- MacIntosh, Andrew A. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea*. ICC 23. London: T & T Clark, 1997.
- Macky, Peter. *The Centrality of Metaphors to Biblical Thought*. Lewiston, NY: Mellen Press, 1990.

- Magdalene, F. Rachel. *On the Scales of Righteousness: Neo-Babylonian Trial Law and the Book of Job*. BJS 348. Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 2007.
- Makela, Finn. "Metaphors and Models in Legal Theory." *Les Cahiers de droit* 52 (2011): 397–415.
- Malul, Meir. *Knowledge, Control and Sex: Studies in Biblical Thought, Culture, and Worldview*. Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publication, 2002.
- _____. *Studies in Mesopotamian Legal Symbolism*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988.
- Mansoor, Menahem. *The Thanksgiving Hymns*. STDJ 3. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961.
- Márquez Rowe, Ignacio. *The Royal Deeds of Ugarit: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Diplomatics*. AOAT 335. Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2006.
- Mayer, Werner. *Tall Mumbaqa–Ekalte—II. Die Texte*. DOG 102. Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2001.
- McGeough, Kevin. *Exchange Relations at Ugarit*. ANE Studies Supplement 26. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.
- McKane, William. *Proverbs: A New Approach*. OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970.
- Mermelstein, Ari. "Love and Hate at Qumran: The Social Construction of Sectarian Emotion." *DSD* 20 (2013): 237–263.
- Metso, Sarianna. *The Community Rule: A Critical Edition with Translation*. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019.
- Meyer, et al., *Gesenius Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 18. Auflage; Heidelberg: Springer, 2013.
- Milgram, Jonathan. *From Mesopotamia to the Mishnah: Tannaitic Inheritance Law in Its Legal and Social Contexts*. TSAJ 164. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.
- Milik, Josef T. "Inscriptions Grecques et Nabatéennes de Rawwafah." In Parr, Harding, and Dayton, "Preliminary Survey in N.W. Arabia, 1968." *BIA* 10 (1971): 23–62.
- Miller, Gerald Irving. "Juridical Texts from Ugarit." PhD diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1980.

- Moran, William. "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy." *CBQ* 25 (1963): 77–87.
- Moscato, Sabatino. *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages: Phonology and Morphology*. PLO NS 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980.
- Moughtin-Mumby, Sharon. *Sexual and Marital Metaphors in Hosea, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu. *A Greek ≈ Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint*. Leuven: Peeters, 2010.
- Murphy, Catherine. *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community*. STDJ 40. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Murphy, Rowland E. *Proverbs*. WBC 22. Dallas: Thomas Nelson, 1998.
- Na'aman, Nadav. "Saul, Benjamin, and the Emergence of 'Biblical Israel'." *ZAW* 121 (2009): 211–224.
- Najman, Hindy. "Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and its Authority Conferring Strategies." *JSJ* 30 (1999): 379–410.
- Nelson, Richard. *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*. OTL. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002.
- Newsom, Carol. *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*. HSS 27. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985.
- _____. "Woman and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom." Pages 116–131 in *Reading Bibles, Writing Bodies: Identity and the Book*. Edited by Timothy K. Beal and David M Gunn. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Nicklesburg, George. *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001.
- Nickelsburg, George and James C. VanderKam. *1 Enoch: The Hermeneia Translation*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2012.
- Nielsen, Kirsten. *There is Hope for a Tree: The Tree as Metaphor in Isaiah*. JSOT Sup 65. Sheffield: JSOT, 1989.
- von Nordheim, Eckhard. *Die Lehre der Altern*. 2 vol. Leiden: Brill, 1980.

- Noth, Martin. *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions*. Translated with an Introduction by Bernhard W. Anderson. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972.
- Nougayrol, Jean. *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit III*. Paris: Impr. nationale, 1955.
- Novotny, Jamie. *The Standard Babylonian Etana Epic*. SAACT 2. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001.
- Olmo Lete, Gregorio del. "Ugaritic *nḥl* and *'udbr*: Etymology and Semantic Field." *JAOS* 132 (2012): 613–621.
- Olmo Lete, Gregorio del, and Joaquín Sanmartín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Translated by Wilfred G.E. Watson. HdO 67. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Otto, Eckhard. *Deuteronomium 12,1–23,15*. Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament. Freiburg: Herder, 2016–2017.
- Paul, Shalom. *Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991.
- Paulus, Susanne. *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Inschriften von der kassitischen bis zur frühneubabylonischen Zeit: Untersucht unter besonderer Berücksichtigung gesellschafts- und rechtshistorischer Fragestellungen*. AOAT 51. Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2014.
- Pentiuc, Eugen. *West Semitic Vocabulary in the Akkadian from Emar*. HSS 49. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2001.
- Pfann, Stephen J. *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts*; Philip S. Alexander et al., *Miscellanea, Part 1. DJD XXXVI*. Oxford: Clarendon, 2000.
- Philo of Alexandria. Translated by F. H. Colson et al. 22 vols. LCL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929–1962.
- Porten, Bezalel and H. Z. Szubin. "'Ancestral Estates' in Aramaic Contracts: The Legal Significance of the Term 'Mḥsn'." *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2 (1982): 3–9.
- Porten, Bezalel and Ada Yardeni. *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt; vol. 2: Contracts*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1989.
- Postgate, Nicholas. "Land Tenure in the Middle Assyrian Period: A Reconstruction." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 34 (1971): 496–520.

- Puech, Émile. "The Collection of Beatitudes in Hebrew and in Greek (4Q525 1–4 and Mt 5,3–12)." Pages 353–368 in *Early Christianity in Context: Monuments and Documents*. Edited by F. Manns and A. Alliata. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1993.
- _____. *Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549*. DJD XXXI. Oxford: Clarendon, 2001.
- _____. *Qumran Grotte 4.XXVII: Textes araméens, deuxième partie: 4Q550–575a, 580–587*. DJD XXXVII. Oxford: Clarendon, 2009.
- _____. "Resurrection: The Bible and Qumran." Pages 247–281 in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Vol. 2: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006.
- Rabin, Chaim. *The Zadokite Documents*. 2nd rev. ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958.
- Raurell, Frederic. "The Religious Meaning of 'Doxa' in the Book of Wisdom." Pages 370–383 in *La Sagesse de l'Ancien Testament*. Edited by Maurice Gilbert. BETL 51. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979.
- Reed, Annette Yoshiko. "Textuality between Memory and Death." *JQR* 104 (2014): 381–412.
- Reiner, Erica. "Fortune-Telling in Mesopotamia." *JNES* 19 (1960): 23–35.
- _____. *Šurpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations*. AfO 11. Graz: Weidner, 1958.
- Rey, Jean-Sébastien. *4QInstruction: Sagesse et Eschatologie*. STDJ 81. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Rofé, Alexander. "Qumranic Paraphrases, the Greek Deuteronomy, and the Late History of Biblical ג'וּשׁוּ." Pages 37–46 in *Deuteronomy: Issues and Interpretation*. London: T & T Clark, 2002.
- Roth, Martha T. "Ancient Rights and Wrongs: Mesopotamian Legal Traditions and the Laws of Hammurabi." *Chicago Kent Law Review* 70 (1995): 13–39.
- Roth, Martha Tobi, et al., *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*. 2nd ed. WAW 6. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997.
- Russell, Stephen C. "Abraham's Purchase of Ephron's Land in Anthropological Perspective." *Biblical Interpretation* 21 (2013): 153–170.

- _____. "The Hierarchy of Estates in Land and Naboth's Vineyard." *JSOT* 38 (2014): 453–469.
- _____. *The King and the Land: A Geography of Royal Power in the Biblical World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- _____. "The Legal Background to the Theme of Land in the Book of Joshua." *Hebrew Studies* 9 (2018): 111–128.
- Sanders, James A. *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967.
- _____. 1965. *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)*. DJDJ IV. Oxford: Clarendon, 1965.
- Sanders, Seth L. *From Adapa to Enoch: Scribal Culture and Religious Vision in Judea and Babylon*. TSAJ 167. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017.
- Sarna, Nahum. *Genesis בְּרִשִׁית: The Traditional Hebrew Text with New JPS Translation*. Philadelphia: JPS, 1989.
- Sasson, Jack M. "The Issue of Ge'ullah in Ruth." *JSOT* 5 (1978): 52–64.
- Schiffman, Lawrence H. *The Halakhah at Qumran*. SJLA 16. Leiden: Brill, 1975.
- _____. *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code*. BJS 33. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983.
- Schipper, Bernd U. *Proverbs 1–15: A Commentary on the Book of Proverbs 1:1–15:33*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2019.
- Schloen, J. David. *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2001.
- Schniedewind, William. *The Finger of the Scribe: How Scribes Learned to Write the Bible*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Schuller, Eileen M. and Carol A. Newsom. *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH^a*. EJIL 36. Atlanta: SBL, 2012.
- Shemesh, Aharon and Cana Werman. "Halakhah at Qumran: Genre and Authority." *DSD* 10 (2003): 104–129.
- Sigrist, Marcel. "Miscellanea." *JCS* 34 (1982): 242–246.

- Skehan, Patrick. "Structures in Poems on Wisdom: Proverbs 8 and Sirach 24." *CBQ* 41 (1979): 365–379.
- Skehan, Patrick W., and Alexander A. DiLella. *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes*. AB 39. New York: Doubleday, 1987.
- Slanski, Kathryn E. *The Babylonian Entitlement Narûs (Kudurrus): A Study in their Form and Function*. ASOR Books 9. Boston: ASOR, 2003.
- Smith, Mark S. *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*. Vol. 1. VTSup 55. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- Smith, Mark S., and Wayne T. Pitard. *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*. Vol. 2. VTSup 114. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Soden, Wolfram von. "Kleine Bemerkungen zu Urkunden und Ritualen aus Emar." *NABU* 2 (1987): 25.
- Sommer, Benjamin D. *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Speiser, Ephraim A. *Genesis*. AB 1. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964.
- Stackert, Jeffrey. *Rewriting the Torah: Literary Revision in Deuteronomy and the Holiness Legislation*. FAT 52. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.
- Stager, Lawrence. "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel." *BASOR* 260 (1985): 1–35.
- Stegemann, Hartmut and Eileen M. Schuller. *1QHodayot^a: with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{a-f}*. DJD XL. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Stein, Peter. "Ein Aramaische Kudurru als Tayma?" Pages 219–245 in *Babylonien und seine Nachbarn in neu- und spätbabylonischer Zeit: wissenschaftliches Kolloquium aus Anlass des 75. Geburtstags von Joachim Oelsner*. Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2014.
- Strugnell, John. "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân – 4Q Serek Šîrôt ʿôlat Haššabbât." Pages 318–345 in *Congress Volume 1959*. VTSup 7. Leiden: Brill, 1960.
- _____. "Notes en Marge du Volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaeen Desert of Jordan'." *RevQ* 7 (1970): 163–276.
- Strugnell, John, Daniel J. Harrington, and Torleif Elgvin. *Sapiential Texts, Part 2: Cave 4.XXIV*. DJD XXXIV. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.
- Stuart, Douglas. *Hosea–Jonah*. WBC 31. Dallas: Word, 1987.

- Sweeney, Marvin. *The Twelve Prophets*. Berit Olam. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000.
- Szubin, H. Z., and Bezalel Porten. "Testamentary Succession at Elephantine." *BASOR* 252 (1983): 35–46.
- Tanzer, Sarah. "4QInstruction-like Composition A" in S. Pfann, et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000).
- _____. "The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the 'Hodayot'." PhD diss., Harvard University, 1986.
- Teeter, David Andrew. "The Hebrew Bible and/as Second Temple Literature." *DSD* 20 (2013): 349–377.
- _____. *Scribal Laws: Exegetical Variation in the Textual Transmission of Biblical Law in the Late Second Temple Period*. FAT 92. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.
- Thureau-Dangin, François. "Correspondance de Ḥammurapi avec Šamaš-Ḥâšir." *RA* 21 (1924): 1–58.
- _____. *Une Relation de la Huitième Campagne de Sargon (714 av. J.-C.)*. Paris: Guethner, 1912.
- Tigay, Jeffrey. *Deuteronomy דברים: the Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*. Philadelphia: JPS, 1996.
- Tigchelaar, Eibert J. C. *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- _____. "Lady Folly and Her House in Three Qumran Manuscripts: On the Relationship between '4Q525' 15, '5Q16', and '4Q184' 1." *RevQ* 23 (2008): 371–381.
- _____. "The Poetry of *The Wiles of the Wicked Woman* (4Q184)." *RevQ* 25 (2010): 621–633.
- Tobin, Thomas H. "4Q185 and Jewish Wisdom Literature." Pages 145–152 in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*. Edited by Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin, S.J. College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5. New York: Lanham, 1990.

- Tsukimoto, Akio. "Akkadian Tablets in the Hiriyama Collection II." *Acta Sumerologica* 13 (1991): 275–333.
- Turner, Geoffrey. "'Wisdom' and the Gender Fallacy." *Expository Times* 121 (2009): 121–125.
- Uusimäki, Elisa. *Turning Proverbs Toward Torah: An Analysis of 4Q525*. STDJ 117. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- _____. "Use of Scripture in 4QBeatitudes: A Torah Adjustment to Proverbs 1–9." *DSD* 20 (2013): 71–97.
- Vanderhooft, David S. "ʿ*Ahăbāh*: Philological Observations on ʿ*āhēb*/ʿ*ahăbāh* in the Hebrew Bible." Pages 41–56 in *Ahavaḥ: Die Liebe Gottes im Alten Testament: Ursprünge, Transformationen und Wirkungen*. Edited by Manfred Oeming. Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 55. Leipzig: Evangelischer Verlagsanstalt, 2018.
- _____. "The Israelite *Mišpāḥâ*, the Priestly Writings, and Changing Valences in Israel's Kinship Terminology." Pages 485–496 in *Exploring the Longue Durée: essays in honor of Lawrence E. Stager*. Edited by J. David Schloen. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009.
- VanderKam, James C. *Jubilees: A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees*. 2 vol. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018.
- Waard, Jan de. *Proverbs*. BHQ 17. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2008.
- Waltke, Bruce K. *The Book of Proverbs*. NICOT. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005.
- Washington, Harold. *Wealth and Poverty in the Instruction of Amenemope and the Hebrew Proverbs*. SBLDS 142. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994.
- Weinfeld, Moshe. *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- _____. *Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 5. New York: Doubleday, 1991.
- _____. *The Place of the Law in the Religion of Ancient Israel*. VT Sup 100. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Weiss, Andrea. *Figurative Language in Biblical Prose Narrative: Metaphor in the Book of Samuel*. VT Sup 107. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Wells, Bruce. "The Hated Wife in Deuteronomistic Law." *VT* 60 (2010): 131–146.

Wells, Bruce, and F. Rachel Magdalene, "The Idea of a Shared Tradition" pages *xi–xx* in Wells and Magdalene, eds., *Law from the Tigris to the Tiber: The Shared Tradition; The Writings of Raymond Westbrook* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009).

Westbrook, Raymond. "Abuse of Power." Pages 9–38 in *Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Law*. Paris: Gabalda, 1988.

_____. "Biblical and Cuneiform Law Codes." *RB* 92 (1985): 247–264.

_____. "The Character of Ancient Near Eastern Law." Pages 1–90 in *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, vol. 1. Edited by Raymond Westbrook. HdO 72. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

_____. "Jubilee Laws." Pages 36–57 in *Property and Family in Biblical Law*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement 113. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991. Repr. from *Israel Law Review* 6 (1971): 209–225.

_____. "Law in Kings." Pages 445–466 in *The Book of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography*. Edited by André Lemaire and Baruch Halpern. VTSup 129. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

_____. "The Laws of Biblical Israel." Pages 317–340 in *Cuneiform and Biblical Sources*. Vol. 2 of *Law from the Tigris to the Tiber: The Writings of Raymond Westbrook*. Edited by Bruce Wells and F. Rachel Magdalene. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009.

_____. "A Matter of Life and Death," *JANES* 25 (1997): 61–70.

_____. "The Price Factor in the Redemption of Land." Pages 90–117 in *Property and Family in Biblical Law*. JSOTSup 113. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991. Repr. from *RIDA* 32 (1985): 97–127.

_____. "Purchase of the Cave of Machpelah." Pages 24–35 in *Property and Family in Biblical Law*. JSOTSup 113. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991.

_____. "Redemption of Land." Pages 58–68 in *Property and Family in Biblical Law*. JSOTSup 113. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991. Repr. from *Israel Law Review* 6 (1971): 367–375.

Westbrook, Raymond and Bruce Wells. *Everyday Law in Biblical Israel*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2009.

White, Roger. *The Structure of Metaphor: The Way the Language of Metaphor Works*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996.

- Wise, Michael Owen. *Language and Literacy in Roman Judaea: A Study of the Bar Kochba Documents*. AYBRL. New Haven: Yale, 2015.
- Wiseman, Donald J. *The Alalakh Tablets*. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953.
- Wolff, Hans Walter. *Hosea: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Hosea*. Translated by Gary Stansell. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974.
- Wright, Benjamin, III. "From Generation to Generation: The Sage as Father in Early Jewish Literature." Pages 309–332 in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*. Edited by Charlotte Hempel and Judith M. Lieu. Supplements to the Journal for the study of Judaism 111. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Wright, David P. *Inventing God's Law: How the Covenant Code of the Bible Used and Revised the Laws of Hammurabi*. London: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Yadin, Yigael, et al. *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri*. JDS 3. 2 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the Shrine of the Book, 2002.
- Yaron, Reuven. *Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1962.
- Yoder, Christine Roy. *Wisdom as a Woman of Substance: A Socioeconomic Reading of Proverbs 1–9 and 31:10–31*. BZAW 304. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001.
- Ziegler, Joseph. *Sapientia Iesu filii Sirach*. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. XII/2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965.
- Zimansky, Paul. "Urartu's Geography and Sargon's Eighth Campaign." *JNES* 49 (1990): 1–21.