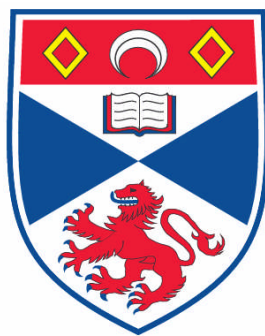


PROPHETIC INTENTIONALITY AND THE BOOK OF THE TWELVE : A STUDY IN THE HERMENEUTICS OF PROPHECY

Donald C. Collett

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



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University of St Andrews

**PROPHETIC INTENTIONALITY AND THE BOOK OF THE TWELVE:
A STUDY IN THE HERMENEUTICS OF PROPHECY**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Divinity
in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

Donald C. Collett

St Mary's College

St Andrews, Scotland

February 2007

DECLARATIONS

(I) I, Don Collett, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is a record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the hermeneutical issues raised by critical approaches to the Book of the Twelve and their implications for the concepts of authorial intent, history, and canon. By means of a critical engagement with the Twelve's modern reception history it seeks to demonstrate that with few exceptions, recent attempts to come to terms with the peculiar character of the prophetic intentionality at work in the Twelve reflect the continuing impact of historicism and its hermeneutical legacy upon the study of Old Testament prophecy. As a result the key roles played by theological pressures and the hermeneutical significance of canon in the Twelve's formation history continue to be marginalized, particularly with respect to the eschatological and typological moves involved in the redactional expansion of prophecy. The study seeks to constructively address these problems by offering a theological exegesis of Hosea 1:5 and 2:23-25, arguing that the study of these 'Day of the Lord' texts and the larger theological significance of Hosea's prologue for the Twelve has been virtually eclipsed by the central hermeneutical role assigned to Joel by the Twelve's modern interpreters. The larger contribution to the hermeneutical logic of prophecy rendered by Hosea's 'wisdom coda' (Hosea 14:10) has also not been given its proper due, exegetically speaking. With these concerns in mind, the study then proceeds to argue that Hosea's prologue establishes a theological context for the logic of prophecy, eschatology, and typology in the Twelve which finds its hermeneutical ground in Exodus 32-34 and the continuing theological significance of Yahweh's name for his providential dealings with Israel. In this way Hosea's prologue constrains the interpretation of prophecy and the DOL in the Twelve by linking their theological function to the significance of Yahweh's name for Israel. The wisdom coda both embraces and extends this agenda for readers of Joel through Malachi by instructing them in the proper stance toward prophecy and "the ways of Yahweh" toward Israel *and* the nations vis-a-vis his revealed character in Exodus 34:5-7. The book of Hosea thus ends by establishing hermeneutical guidelines for the "wise" interpretation of prophecy, a stance which is then further facilitated by the summons to wisdom in Joel's prologue (1:1-4) and Joel's own deployment of the DOL in Joel 1-2.

For Jessie and Donnie

Who is wise, that he understand these things?
Discerning, that he knows them?
For the ways of Yahweh are right,
And the righteous walk in them,
But rebels stumble in them.

Hosea 14:9

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Don Collett
St Andrews, Scotland
February 2007

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Introduction

Writing sometime during the period 190 to 180 B.C., Jesus Ben Sira lavished praise upon the great kings and prophets of Israel's past. Included in the litany of Ben Sira's "Praise of the Ancestors" were Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and "the Twelve prophets" (Sirach 49:10). Although some have argued that Sirach 49:10 speaks of individual prophets rather than books,¹ the fact that the Twelve are not listed individually, but simply described collectively as "the Twelve," strongly suggests that they were already known as a unit in Ben Sira's day. The plausibility of this claim is further strengthened by manuscript evidence from Qumran,² Nahal Hever,³ and Wadi Murabba'at.⁴ The textual evidence arising from these locations, while fragmentary and incomplete, nevertheless places the burden of proof upon those who attempt to argue that the Twelve circulated as independent books after 200 B.C. To this may be added the later practices of numbering the books of the Hebrew Bible at 22 or 24.⁵ Whether one follows the practice of

¹ Ehud Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books or 'The Twelve': A Few Preliminary Considerations," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays in Honor of John W. Watts* (JSOTS 235; ed. by J.W. Watts and P. R. House; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 125-56, esp. 130 n. 18.

² Russell Fuller, "The Twelve," in *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets*, DJD XV (ed. Eugene Ulrich et al.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 271-318; cf. also Fuller, "The Form and Formation of the Book of the Twelve," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays in Honor of John W. Watts* (JSOTS 235; ed. J.W. Watts and P. R. House; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 86-101. The manuscript 4QXII^b preserves the sequence Zephaniah-Haggai and dates to 150 B.C. 4QXII^c dates to 75 B.C. and preserves the Masoretic transition order Joel-Amos, although in the latter case textual damage makes it impossible to be certain. 4QXII^e preserves the Masoretic sequence Amos-Obadiah and dates to 50-25 B.C. Finally, 4QXII^a may preserve the unique transition order Malachi-Jonah (Fuller dates 4QXII^a to 150 B.C.). The significance of 4QXII^a for the question of the formation and sequence of the Book of the Twelve will be assessed in due course later.

³ Emmanuel Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr)* (DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). This scroll attests to the Masoretic sequence order Jonah-Micah, as well as the transition orders Nahum-Habakkuk, Habakkuk-Zephaniah, and Haggai-Zechariah. It should be noted that the (reconstructed) sequence Jonah-Micah is based upon a physical join. Barthelemy initially dated the scroll to the mid-first century A.D., but the approximate date of 50 B.C. established by Peter J. Parsons has now gained general acceptance. See Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll*, 19-26; Leonard J. Greenspoon, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Greek Bible," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998-99) 1:105.

⁴ Pierre Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at* (DJD 2; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961). The Hebrew Minor Prophets scroll known as Mur88 dates from A.D. 50-100. It preserves the Masoretic transition orders Jonah-Micah and Micah-Nahum, as well as Habakkuk-Zephaniah, Zephaniah-Haggai, and Haggai-Zechariah.

⁵ Josephus, *Against Apion* 1:37-43; cf. also 2 Esdras (4 Ezra) 14:45.

Josephus in counting Ruth with Judges and Lamentations with Jeremiah, or whether one follows the Talmud in counting them separately,⁶ both approaches presuppose the practice of counting the Twelve as one book. Finally, certain early patristic lists also attest to the practice of counting the Twelve as one book.⁷

The presence of an early collection of the Twelve in antiquity naturally raises the question how such a collection came into existence, as well as the question why the Twelve were written upon a single scroll. An early explanation for the latter practice is found in the Talmud, which offers the hypothesis that the Twelve were written upon a single scroll because of their small size. Such books, the rabbis reasoned, would have been lost had they been allowed to circulate independently,⁸ *ergo* they were written upon a single scroll. The hypothesis of the rabbis, however, has found few followers, especially since it fails to explain why other comparatively small books, for instance those traditionally referred to by the collective title *Megilloth*,⁹ typically circulated during the Second Temple period as individual books rather than being written upon a single scroll. In contrast to the earlier conjectures of the rabbis, twentieth-century attempts to account for this scribal practice have been characterized by the effort to identify redactional features in the corpus of the Twelve that provide evidence for its character as a deliberately crafted whole.

The works of K. Budde and R. Wolfe represent the earliest attempts in twentieth-century biblical scholarship to argue that the final form of the Twelve represents a redactionally composed whole rather than a mere anthology or randomly juxtaposed collection of twelve more or less

⁶ b. Bat. 14b-15a.

⁷ Patristic lists preceding the fourth century A.D. generally follow the practice of listing the Twelve as *των δωδεκα εν μονοβιβλω*, or *Οι δωδεκα*, without listing the books individually. For a convenient listing of the patristic lists, see Henry B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914) 203-214.

⁸ b. Bat. 14b.

⁹ Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Esther.

independent prophetic books.¹⁰ Budde attributed the final form of the Twelve to the work of a single editor, while Wolfe argued that the Twelve's final form was the result of a lengthy process of editing that extended from the mid-seventh century B.C. to the last quarter of the third century B.C. Viewed from this perspective, the early works of Budde and Wolfe made a positive contribution to scholarship on the Twelve by suggesting the possibility that the Twelve manifest evidence of an editorial intent to relate the books to one another. Neither Budde nor Wolfe, however, followed up the hermeneutical implications of their work, and the speculative character of their approaches to the editorial history of the Twelve served to undercut what might otherwise have inaugurated a movement in biblical scholarship toward reading the Twelve as an intentional, albeit complex, unity. While redactional approaches to the Twelve experienced a rebirth during the period of the 1970s with the advent of the more disciplined and refined redactional approach of Odil Steck and those influenced by his methods,¹¹ scholarly attention to the hermeneutical issues raised by the Twelve's formation history and their implications for prophetic hermeneutics did not come to the fore until the mid-1990s,¹² the results of which are preliminary and in need of further development.

The present study seeks to address this need by means of a 'canonical approach' to the interpretive issues raised by the debates surrounding the Twelve's redaction history and their implications for prophetic hermeneutics. As such this will necessarily involve a critical analysis of the hermeneutical significance of the concept of canon, the exegetical status of hermeneutical concepts such as authorial intent, as well as the approach to 'history' or historiography at work in

¹⁰ J. Nogalski's practice of reserving the term "book" for the Twelve as a whole while referring to its individual units as "writings" has not been adopted in this study. While useful in certain limited respects, styling the Twelve's individual books as "writings" runs the risk of obscuring their discrete character and identity.

¹¹ For a concise summary of redactional studies on the Twelve during this period, see Barry A. Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon* (SBLDS 149; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) 19-23.

¹² See for example Aaron Schart, "Reconstructing the Redaction History of the Twelve Prophets," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (SBLSymS 15; ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney; Atlanta: SBL, 2000) 34-48, esp. 46ff. Two other important studies that examine the hermeneutical implications of redaction criticism in OT prophetic literature are Odil H. Steck, *The Prophetic Books and their Theological Witness* (trans. James D. Nogalski; St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2000) 127-204; Brevard S. Childs, "Retrospective Reading of the Old Testament Prophets," *ZAW* 108 (1996) 362-377.

the Twelve's formation history. Debates over the significance of canon for the *compositional* history of prophetic books continue unabated in historical scholarship, as a recently published dissertation on the Twelve demonstrates.¹³ Moreover, while historical critical approaches to the prophets have typically preserved a role for authorial intent in exegetical practice, so-called "postmodern" approaches have either questioned this role or dispensed with it altogether. These issues not only directly impact one's approach to interpreting the prophets, but also clearly underwrite scholarly disagreements over appropriate "reading strategies" for the Twelve.¹⁴ Continuing debate over the question whether the Twelve should be read as a unit therefore provides a fresh opportunity for assessing the hermeneutical significance of canon and the normative roles exercised by 'history' and authorial intent in historical critical versions of *foundationalism*.

Accessing this variegated set of hermeneutical and theological issues also involves one in a conversation and critical dialogue with the Twelve's modern reception history. Various approaches to the hermeneutics of prophetic intentionality in the Twelve will therefore be expounded and critically analyzed in what follows, especially with respect to the roles played by theological and historical pressures in these methods, in order to bring the underlying hermeneutical issues involved in the Twelve's interpretation into sharper focus. Given the growing body of scholarly literature available on the Twelve, the list of players under review will obviously not be exhaustive. Rather, the criterion for their inclusion has been based upon whether or not their approach raises issues of interest for the hermeneutics of prophetic intentionality in the Twelve. The general assessment offered by this analysis will be the judgment that, with a few notable exceptions, attempts to understand the peculiar character of the prophetic intentionality at work in the Twelve's formation have failed to do justice to the key roles played by the theological pressures undergirding Israel's confessional stance on her history and the hermeneutical significance of canon for prophecy's editorial expansion.

¹³ See Barry A. Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon* (SBLDS 149; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) 43-78. For the larger hermeneutical and theological issues involved, see the programmatic essay by Brevard S. Childs, "The Canonical Shape of the Prophetic Literature," *Int* 32 (1978) 46-55.

¹⁴ Cf. for example Ehud Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books or 'The Twelve': A Few Preliminary Considerations," 125-56.

This is particularly true with respect to attempts to account for Amos' concept of the Day of the Lord (Amos 5:18-20) and the eschatological and typological moves involved in prophecy's interpretive expansion. To be sure, recent studies of the Twelve confirm the general observation that the Twelve lack a master theme that overrides all the others.¹⁵ At the same time it is also evident that, relatively speaking, certain motifs are more prominent in the Twelve than others. In a recent survey of various attempts to assess theological themes within the Twelve, David L. Petersen observes that the phrase *yom Yahweh* "occurs with striking prominence in the Twelve" and is in fact either directly or indirectly present in all but two books of the Twelve.¹⁶ Petersen goes on to note that the two exceptions are Jonah and Nahum, and that Nahum 1:7 reflects a phrase that is conceptually equivalent to the Day of the Lord (hereafter the DOL). In other words, the DOL and its conceptual equivalents occupy a relatively prominent position in the corpus of the Twelve. The Twelve's deployment of the DOL therefore provides an appropriate test case for the question whether theological or historical pressures were central in the development of its eschatology and typology.

At the same time it must be acknowledged that, as Nogalski's recent survey demonstrates,¹⁷ references to the DOL and its conceptual equivalents in the Twelve are vast in scope. The present study therefore does not attempt to provide an exhaustive exegetical analysis of all the passages in question, and in any case, a number of exegetical studies of the Twelve's deployment of *yom Yahweh* have already been undertaken.¹⁸ Rather, in keeping with the

¹⁵ Cf. for example the diversity of themes expounded in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (SBLSymS 15; ed. J. Nogalski & M. Sweeney; Atlanta: SBL, 2000) and *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 235; ed. Paul Redditt & Aaron Scharf; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003).

¹⁶ David L. Petersen, "A Book of the Twelve?" in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 3-10, quotation from 9.

¹⁷ James D. Nogalski, "The Day(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve," 617-42.

¹⁸ Martin Beck, *Der 'Tag YHWHs' im Dodekapropheton* (BZAW 205; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005); James D. Nogalski, "The Day(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve," in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers, 1999* (SBLSP 38; Atlanta: SBL, 1999) 617-642; repr. in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 235; ed. Paul Redditt & Aaron Scharf; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003) 192-213; Rolf Rendtorff, "Alas for the Day! The 'Day of the LORD' in the Book of the Twelve," in *God in the Fray: A Tribute to Walter Brueggeman* (ed. T. Linafelt and T. K. Beal; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998) 186-197; idem, "How to Read the Book of the Twelve as a Theological Unity," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 75-87; John Barton, "The Day of Yahweh in the Minor Prophets," in *Biblical and Near Eastern Essays: Studies in Honour of Kevin J. Cathcart* (JSOTS 375; ed. Carmel

hermeneutical and theological focus of this study, discussion will focus upon the contribution offered by the opening chapters of Hosea and the interpretive use of the redactional connective **בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא** (“in/on that day”) in Hosea 1:5 and 2:23.¹⁹ Both the larger theological significance of Hosea’s prologue for the Twelve and the study of these DOL texts has been overshadowed by the book of Joel and the central hermeneutical role assigned to it by the Twelve’s modern interpreters. Scholarly focus upon the claim that Joel functions as a “literary anchor” which unifies the Twelve’s major literary threads,²⁰ while at the same time providing a hermeneutical key for its interpretation,²¹ has all but eclipsed the theological instruction offered by Hosea’s prologue on the DOL, as well as its larger contribution to the Twelve’s hermeneutical logic via the ‘wisdom coda’ in Hosea 14:10. These passages will therefore serve as test cases for the larger methodological assumptions involved in this study.

Operative assumptions concerning prophecy in this study

Among the aforementioned ‘methodological assumptions’ is the defining stance on oracular prophecy and its interpretive expansion adopted in this study. Perhaps the best way to illumine this stance is to begin by asking a question, namely, why the prophetic oracles or logia of the Twelve were recorded at all. The present study takes its point of departure from the operative assumption that the biblical phenomenon of oracular prophecy ultimately derives from the God of Israel, rather than the person of the prophet *per se*.²² The fact that biblical Israel shared this confessional stance on prophecy not only accounts for the preservation and interpretive expansion

McCarthy & John F. Healey; London: T & T Clark International, 2004) 68-79. Beck’s recently published work stands as the most comprehensive study thus far offered on DOL texts in the Twelve.

¹⁹ All references to prophetic texts represent the verse numbering found in BHS unless otherwise noted.

²⁰ See James D. Nogalski, “Joel as ‘Literary Anchor’ for the Book of the Twelve,” in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 94-9.

²¹ See for example Jörg Jeremias, “Joel and the Twelve: The Hermeneutical Function of the Book of Joel in the Masoretic Text of the Twelve Prophets,” paper read at the 2005 SBL meeting of the Formation of the Book of the Twelve Seminar.

²² For a stimulating discussion of the hermeneutical implications which flow from this stance for the practice of historical exegesis, cf. the discussion in Odil Steck, *The Prophetic Books and their Theological Witness* (trans. James D. Nogalski; St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2000) 133-144.

of oracular prophecy in the Twelve, but also carries with it certain methodological implications for the interpretation of prophecy's literary legacy and the approach to historical method adopted in this study. The fact that prophetic texts identify the historical words of the prophets with the word of God clearly identifies their genre as *scripture* rather than historical 'text' *per se*. Fundamental to the understanding of historical method in this work, therefore, is the conviction that the canon's own genre judgment concerning prophetic books *must be respected* if one is to avoid operating on the basis of a theologically truncated and reductionist understanding of historical method ill-suited to the task of coming to terms with prophecy's literary legacy. Moreover, inasmuch as this claim is fundamentally methodological in nature, it can be made independently of the question whether one chooses to personally believe in, or existentially identify with, prophecy's theological truth claims.

In this connection it should also be noted that references to 'history' in this study are often set off by single quotes in order to highlight the historical reductionism and ambiguity that normally characterizes classical historical criticism's understanding of 'history' and 'historical context'. Such approaches typically appeal to 'history' in order to establish a sharp contrast between the historical and canonical meaning of the prophets, that is, between what the prophets *really meant* to say and what they now say as a result of their 'dogmatic' domestication at the hands of canonical editors and later theological agendas. It is both noteworthy and lamentable, however, that historical critics operating in this vein rarely, if ever, *actually argue* a case for their attenuated views of 'history.' On the contrary, a narrow stance on 'history' and 'historical' questions is simply assumed *from the outset*, with the inevitable result that the canon's own presentation of Israel's history is excluded *by definition* as a piece of history worthy of historical investigation in its own right.²³

Clarifying what is meant by 'a canonical approach' to the prophets

Finally, further guidance should be provided by way of preface to readers of this study by

²³ See further below the criticisms of Wolff's treatment of the book of Jonah in chapter 3 of this work.

clarifying what is meant by ‘a canonical approach’ to the prophets,²⁴ even though a number of its important theological and hermeneutical aspects will emerge in what follows, especially in connection with the overview provided of the Twelve’s modern reception. Although a number of ‘final form’ approaches to the Twelve have styled themselves ‘canonical,’²⁵ this usually amounts to little more than an exercise in reading the Twelve synchronically in a manner closely akin to the ahistorical approach to prophetic intentionality found in modern narrative hermeneutics.²⁶ By way of contrast, a truly canonical approach attempts to take seriously the canon’s identification of the historical words of prophets with the word of God by refusing to allow the theological and historical aspects of biblical exegesis to come apart, whether in the name of a historicized approach to ‘scientific’ exegesis, or in the interests of promoting an ahistorical approach to prophetic intentionality.²⁷

To be sure, a canonical approach shares in traditional historical criticism’s concern to prevent the subjective biases of well-meaning interpreters of the prophets from silencing the objective reality of their witness for our times. However it disagrees with historical criticism’s attempt to safeguard this objective reality by privileging prophecy’s historical context over its canonical context for the task of biblical exegesis. The failure of historical criticism to attain its

²⁴ The approach to canonical hermeneutics adopted in this study stands within the tradition of canonical-historical reading pioneered by Brevard Childs and extended to the Twelve by Christopher Seitz. For general introductions to both the method and the issues surrounding this approach, see the collection of essays in *Canon and Biblical Interpretation* (ed. C. Bartholomew & A. Thiselton; SHS 7; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006), and especially the essay by Christopher R. Seitz titled “The Canonical Approach and Theological Interpretation,” pages 58-110. Cf. also Mark Brett, *Biblical Criticism in Crisis? The Impact of the Canonical Approach on Old Testament Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Paul R. Noble, *The Canonical Approach: A Critical Reconstruction of the Hermeneutics of Brevard S. Childs* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

²⁵ Cf. for example Paul House, *The Unity of the Twelve* (JSOTS 97; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990); Edgar Conrad, *Reading the Latter Prophets: Towards a New Canonical Criticism* (JSOTS 376; London: T & T Clark International, 2003). While the work of Andrew Lee on the Twelve devotes more attention to historical questions than either of the preceding studies, his approach to prophetic intentionality nevertheless shares significant affinities with the understanding of intentionality at work in narrative hermeneutics. See further below the critical interaction with Lee’s work on the Twelve in chapter 1.

²⁶ Further discussion and clarification of the distinction between narrative hermeneutics and a canonical approach is provided in chapter 6 of this work.

²⁷ For criticisms of the hermeneutical particulars involved in this approach, as well as the history of ideas surrounding its birth, see further below the discussion of John Barton’s approach to the Twelve in chapter 2 of this work.

objectives in this regard is now well-documented.²⁸ Nevertheless one should bear in mind that the critics of historical method also display a lack of consensus with respect to the question why historical criticism's project has suffered collapse. Though the causes of this collapse are undoubtedly multifaceted in nature, a canonical approach traces historical criticism's inability to safeguard the objective witness of the prophets for our times back to the built-in limitations of its theologically truncated approach to exegesis, limitations which have been directly fostered by the methodological reductionism undergirding its concept of 'history.' This reductionism ultimately prevented the devotees of historical criticism from reckoning with the hermeneutical significance of canon for the formation history of prophetic books. By way of contrast, the canonical framework in which the Book of the Twelve has been placed holds history and theology *together*. For this reason a canonical approach necessarily resists the attempt to artificially isolate Scripture's historical dimension from its theological witness.

Again, it should be stressed at this juncture that this resistance *does not* entail the surrender of historical criticism's concern to preserve the objective witness of the prophets. On the contrary, this concern is fully retained and respected as the proper ideal toward which responsible exegesis must move. Nevertheless, the means for achieving this goal now derives from the objective constraints provided by the canonical text of Scripture itself, rather than 'history' *per se*. In other words, a canonical approach argues that the objective controls necessary for safeguarding the word of the prophets for our times are to be found within the canonical framework and hermeneutical indices provided by the biblical corpus itself. So far from being *ahistorical*, this framework renders the Twelve's own unique interpretation of its *history* to post-biblical readers by means of its own indices. In so doing it confronts us with a rich segment of history providentially ordered and sovereignly disposed by Israel's God, a history which is not

²⁸ With respect to the prophets, cf. the recent remarks of Odil Steck, *The Prophetic Books and their Theological Witness*, 6-7: "This lack of consensus has its reasons. The subject itself becomes more blurry because it is processed to the point of excess with preconceived questions. Such is already the case in the area of historical inquiry that allows the prophetic books to be what they are—texts of antiquity. In the prophetic books, by whom, when, what, and in what context was something first put into words?...These questions are more open than ever" (6). On the following page Steck then goes on to conclude that the "historical task of clarifying strong impressions from the prophetic writings for today's understanding appears to lack consensus and therefore success. Anyone not wishing to give up faces the challenge of finding anew the gateway and the pathways in this uncharted land. Above all, that person faces the challenge of winning over the scientific world."

therefore ‘less historical’, since as far as a truly canonical hermeneutic is concerned, historical criticism’s methodological reductionism no longer offers a persuasive rationale (if it ever did) for ignoring the manifold richness inherent in the Twelve’s own brokering of its history.

It now remains to inaugurate this study in prophetic hermeneutics by means of a critical engagement with the Twelve’s modern reception history. Such an interaction should help facilitate the stated goals of this study by raising the level of hermeneutical self-consciousness among the Twelve’s modern interpreters, the lack of which has contributed in no small part to continuing disagreements over method and the proper role of ‘history’ in its interpretation. The hermeneutical and theological issues raised by this overview will also serve as a useful departure point for the theological exegesis of Hosea’s prologue and Hosea 14:10 which will close this study.

I. Authorial approaches to prophetic intentionality

Treating scholars such as Karl Budde, Rolland Wolfe, Dale Schneider, and Andrew Lee under the heading of ‘authorial approaches’ requires certain introductory clarifications, especially in light of the obvious methodological differences between these four scholars. Both Budde and Wolfe, for example, belong to a much earlier period of scholarship and they also make a much more aggressive application of redaction critical logic to questions surrounding the Twelve’s formation than do either Schneider or Lee. In one form or another, however, all four of these scholars operate upon the basis of a presupposition implicit in the early deployment of historical critical method, namely, that prophetic intentionality stands in a relationship of one-to-one correspondence with the original oracles of the historical prophets themselves. Thus the prospect of gaining access to that intentionality is necessarily bound up with historical project of establishing, whether maximally or minimally, the amount of authentic prophetic material in a given prophetic book. Indeed, the comparatively conservative stance on the Twelve’s redaction history offered by Schneider and Lee evidences the fact that even scholars who do not self-consciously identify with the methods of historical criticism nevertheless share in this presupposition. Over against the minimalist positions of Budde and Wolfe on the question of authorial authenticity in the Twelve, Schneider and Lee adopt a maximalist position. Be that as it may, all of these scholars operate upon the assumption that prophetic intentionality in the Twelve

primarily manifests itself in the authentic oracles of its historical prophets. Viewed from this perspective, the differences between these scholars are largely a matter of degree and ultimately issue in disagreements over the extent of secondary or “inauthentic” material within the Twelve’s corpus. This observation justifies to some extent grouping them together under this heading. The hermeneutical consequences of this assumption will be revisited at the end of this section, following a discussion and critical assessment of their contributions to the study of the Twelve.

a. Karl Budde

The first attempt in the twentieth century to account for the unity of the Twelve as a redactional or editorial creation traces back to the work of Karl Budde.²⁹ Budde identified the origin of the Twelve *as a collection* with a decisive or “momentous redaction” which on his view occurred sometime during the late fourth or early third century B.C. The purpose of this comprehensive redaction was to eliminate all the merely human words from the Twelve’s corpus and “leave the word of God alone, all remaining.”³⁰ An obvious problem for Budde’s theory involved accounting for the presence of the book of Jonah in the Twelve. Since the book of Jonah contained not a few biographical details regarding Jonah’s person, a fact which clearly contradicted the goal of the proposed redaction, Budde argued that Jonah must have been added to the corpus of the Twelve at a time subsequent to the general redaction in question. In an essay published nearly 30 years earlier Budde had argued that the book of Jonah was originally either a midrash on 2 Kings 14:25, or a component part of the longer midrash alluded to in 2 Chronicles 24:27.³¹ Taking the two essays together, his argument amounted to the conjecture that Jonah was

²⁹ On Budde, see Elmer Dyck, “Jonah Among the Prophets: A Study in Canonical Context,” *JETS* 33 (1990), 65; Barry A. Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 14-16; James A. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 217; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993) 5; John W. Rogerson, “Dodekapheton,” *TRE* Bd. IX (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982) 18-19; Dale A. Schneider, *The Unity of the Book of the Twelve* (Ph. D. diss., Yale University, 1979) 10-11. Although as Barry Jones has pointed out, Budde’s work anticipated a number of later theses regarding the Twelve’s formation, the brevity of his treatment as well as the tentative character of its conclusions precludes it from being classed as a *major* treatment of the Twelve. A recent survey of redactional approaches to the Twelve by Aaron Schart, for instance, contains no discussion of Budde’s work. See Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs* (BZAW 260; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998) 6-21.

³⁰ Karl Budde, “Eine folgenschwere Redaktion des Zwölfprophetenbuchs,” *ZAW* 39 (1921) 225: “Gott allein das Wort zu lassen, alles übrige, alles Menschliche, auszuschalten, das muss die Absicht gewesen sein”: To leave the word of God alone, all remaining, all human (words) to eliminate, that must have been the intention.

³¹ Karl Budde, “Vermutungen zum ‘Midrasch des Büches der Könige,’” *ZAW* 11 (1892) 37-51.

probably detached from its original location in a larger midrashic corpus and added to the Twelve some time subsequent to a general redaction which originally involved eleven books. Budde's combined arguments also advanced the further hypothesis that Jonah had been added for the sake of numerical symbolism, the number twelve functioning as a symbol for the Twelve tribes of Israel.

Budde's theory that the book of the Twelve was formed by means of a single, comprehensive redaction generally failed to gain a hearing in subsequent scholarship. It also rested upon an assumption that was virtually impossible to prove, namely, that the corpus of the Twelve originally contained large quantities of biographical and narrative material which were deleted during the general redaction postulated by Budde. As R. E. Wolfe was to later point out, the evidence necessary to prove that such material originally belonged to the individual books of the Twelve is manifestly lacking. Moreover, if the purpose of the general redaction was to remove such material, it is highly doubtful whether texts such as Amos 7:10-17, Hosea 1, Jonah, and Haggai could have survived,³² that is, unless the editor who performed this redaction did a rather incomplete and bad job of it. On the other hand, in a recent dissertational study of the Twelve Barry Jones argues that Budde's work been "too hastily dismissed."³³ While one may question whether the Qumran *pesharim* provide support for Budde's claim that the Twelve went through a purification process which transformed its genre into 'exclusively divine speech,' Jones' observation that a fragmentary minor prophets' scroll discovered in Cave 4 at Qumran supports Budde's conjecture regarding Jonah appears to be on the right track.³⁴ The scroll in question

³² R. E. Wolfe, "The Editing of the Book of the Twelve," *ZAW* 53 (1935) 122-123.

³³ Barry A. Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 15.

³⁴ Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 15-16. John Rogerson is also sympathetic to Budde's theory that personal details concerning the prophets were editorially deleted from the Twelve, but suggests that this was done for the purpose of actualizing the material for later generations. John W. Rogerson, "Dodekapheton," *TRE* Bd. IX (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982) 18-19: "Aber damit sind die speziellen Beobachtungen Buddes nicht entkräftet, und das fast völlige Fehlen persönlicher Angaben über die meisten der Kleinen Propheten bleibt erklärungsbedürftig. Nichts spricht dagegen, dass spätere Redaktionen prophetische Reden zugleich erweiterten, um sie auf die Folgezeit zu beziehen, und Einzelheiten über die Propheten wegliessen, die deren Worte an eine bestimmte Vergangenheit banden." (But the special observations of Budde are not thereby weakened, and the almost complete lack of personal details about most of the minor prophets remains in need of explanation. At the same time, on the other hand, does nothing indicate that later redactions expanded prophetic speeches in order to relate them to their (historical) aftermath, such that details which tied its words to a particular past were left out?)

(4QXII^a) may bear witness to a canonical order for the Twelve that ended with the sequence Malachi-Jonah, and as such may provide support for Budde's conjecture that the book of Jonah was the last book to be added to the Twelve.³⁵

Prophetic intentionality and the Twelve's compilation

It now remains to discuss some of the hermeneutical problems implicit in Budde's approach to the Twelve. Budde's approach to the compositional history of the Twelve was based upon the assumption that the intent to form the Twelve's individual books into a larger collection properly belongs to the endpoint of the Twelve's composition history. For Budde, the primary editorial activity that united the Twelve into one collection took place once its individual books were compiled, and not at a stage prior to that, and for this reason he seems not to have seriously pursued the possibility that the Twelve's compositional and compilational phases overlapped one another early on in the Twelve's formation history.³⁶ This in turn helps to explain why he ultimately failed to explore the possibility that an editorial intent to relate the books to one another was present from the earliest phases of the Twelve's compositional history. By placing emphasis upon the decisive character (*folgeschwere*) of the editorial impulse that brought the Twelve together and by identifying that impulse with its late compilation, Budde's theory implicitly undermined the role played by earlier editorial activity in bringing the individual books together during their earlier, compositional phases. Later redactional studies, beginning with that of R. E. Wolfe, effectively demonstrated that composition and compilation were not distinct processes in the Twelve's formation, but overlapped one another.³⁷ These studies have brought an end to the hypothesis that each of the individual books circulated independently of one another prior to being

³⁵ The significance of this scroll for the question of variant book sequences in the Twelve is explored at length further below in the discussion of Jones' dissertational study of the Twelve.

³⁶ Elmer Dyck refers to the theory that the individual writings of the Twelve circulated independently of one another prior to their compilation as "the accumulation theory." He likens it to the idea that the individual book scrolls of the Twelve were successively taken out of their independent circulation, 'put side by side on a shelf until the writing stopped,' and then simply written together on a single scroll. See Elmer Dyck, "Jonah Among the Prophets: A Study in Canonical Context," *JETS* 33 (1990) 67.

³⁷ For a recent example of a redactional approach that provides a helpful corrective to Budde's approach, see Jörg Jeremias, "The Interrelationship between Amos and Hosea," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays in Honor of John W. Watts* (JSOTS 235; ed. J.W. Watts and P. R. House; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 171-186. On the significance of Jeremias' work for the book of the Twelve, see further below.

compiled in the final form of the Twelve.³⁸

Budde's tendency to lay emphasis upon a single, comprehensive redaction at a late stage in the Twelve's history also weakened the link between its compositional history and the design manifest in its final form. The answer one gives to the much disputed question whether the larger sequence of the individual books exhibits purposeful design, along with the related question whether that design is in any sense native to the books themselves, largely depends upon the view one takes of the compositional phase of the Twelve's history. If the Twelve's compositional phase reflects a deliberate design or intent to relate its books to one another, then by extension it follows that the order of these books will *also* be part of that design. On the other hand, if the compositional phase of the Twelve's history was characterized by the sort of literary independence implied by Budde's theory, whatever design or unity the Twelve now possess is largely the result of a late act of editorial imposition.

Canon as closure

A final problem with Budde's approach to the Twelve surfaces in his understanding of the relationship between the concept of canon and the editorial shaping of the Twelve. On the one hand Budde argued that the Twelve were stripped of all that was merely human in order to render them fit for their introduction into Israel's prophetic canon. Budde speculated that this may have been done for the purpose of placating certain groups within Israel that tended to identify God's word with the torah of Moses, groups which were probably forerunners to the Samaritans and Sadducees described in the New Testament.³⁹ On the other hand, Budde followed the standard critical theories of canon formation in his day, both with respect to their practice of dating the formation of Israel's prophetic canon at 200 B. C., as well as their tendency to identify the notion

³⁸ To cite but one recent example, Aaron Schart summarizes the results of his redactional study of the book of Amos and its relation to formation of the Twelve as follows: "Schon diese vorläufige Analyse machte deutlich: Die These, dass das Zwölfprophetenbuch dadurch entstand, dass zwölf unabhängig voneinander entstandene Prophetenschriften in relativ zufälliger Folge auf eine Rolle geschrieben wurden, kann definitiv ausgeschlossen werden." Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs* (BZAW 260; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998) 304-5. English translation: "Already this provisional analysis made clear: The thesis that twelve prophetic writings arising independently of one another were written on a single scroll in a relatively random sequence, through which the Book of Twelve emerged, can definitely be ruled out."

³⁹ Budde, "Eine folgenschwere Redaktion," *ZAW* 39 (1921) 225-226.

of ‘canon’ with the decision of a religious body, whether Jewish or Christian, to limit the scope or number of canonical books.⁴⁰ Since on Budde’s view the decisive redaction which formed the Twelve presumably occurred somewhere in the late fourth or early third century B.C., by definition it could not be referred to as a ‘canonical’ act without engaging in anachronism.⁴¹ In sum, Budde’s narrow concept of ‘canon as closure’ effectively prevented him from grasping its hermeneutical significance for the formation of the Twelve, both at the level of its individual books and at the level of its final arrangement. While in some respects Budde’s work was a step in the right direction, his strictly formal definition of prophecy as oracular, along with his views of the Twelve’s compositional history and his concept of canon, ultimately prevented him from unpacking the hermeneutical implications for the Twelve’s prophetic intentionality implicit in its final form.

b. Rolland E. Wolfe

In the decade following Budde’s work Rolland E. Wolfe made use of an early redaction critical approach to uncover editorial layers in the Twelve.⁴² He relied heavily upon the criteria of

⁴⁰ A distinction should be made between *canonical process*, by which authoritative biblical books were developed and transmitted, and *canonization proper*. The latter term properly refers to the notion of closure, or a given religious body’s decision to recognize certain books as canonical while rejecting others. Classical historical criticism tended to collapse this distinction, thereby identifying the canonical character of a given biblical book with the notion of closure or canonization proper. This in turn lead historical critics to conceive of the canonical character of Hebrew scripture solely in terms of “an external valorization of successive stages of literary development” rather than “an integral part of the literary process.” See Brevard S. Childs, “The Canonical Shape of the Prophetic Literature,” *Int* 32 (1978) 48.

⁴¹ The critical theory of canon formation prevalent in Budde’s day rested upon a particular historical and developmental reading of the threefold literary divisions of the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings found in the Masoretic text. On this view the tripartite division of Law, Prophets, and the Writings are taken as historical markers in a process of canonization involving three successive historical stages—the Law (400 B.C.), the Prophets (200 B.C.), and the Writings (A.D. 90). For criticisms of this approach to the history of canon formation, see Brevard Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979) 52-54, and especially the penetrating critique of Stephen B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study in Old Testament Canon Formation* (FAT 27; Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 1-70.

⁴² R. E. Wolfe, *The Editing of the Book of the Twelve* (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1933); *idem*, “The Editing of the Book of the Twelve,” *ZAW* 53 (1935) 90-129. For critical assessments and summaries of Wolfe’s work on the Twelve, see Byron G. Curtis, “The Zion-Daughter Oracles: Evidence on the Identity and Ideology of the Late Redactors of the Book of the Twelve,” in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 168-170; Barry Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 16-19; James Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, 7; Aaron Schart, “Reconstructing the Redaction History of the Twelve Prophets,” 42; Dale Schneider, *The Unity of the Twelve*, 11-12.

source criticism to separate secondary additions from authentic oracles in the Twelve. On the basis of differences in metrical structure, vocabulary, literary style, historical perspective, and ideology,⁴³ Wolfe identified no fewer than thirteen editorial layers in the process of the Twelve's formation, each of which were subjected to further reworkings as the process of formation moved forward toward completion.⁴⁴ His study anticipated a number of editorial phenomena and themes that have been picked up by later scholarship and explored in the interests of interpreting prophetic literature. Wolfe recognized a principle of actualization at work in the formation of the Twelve that issued in a Judean redaction of the prophecies of Hosea,⁴⁵ and he argued that the editorial combination of Hosea and Amos constituted the first stage in the Twelve's formation.⁴⁶ He also noted that the scribal editors of the Twelve were engaged in a proto-midrash of sorts,⁴⁷ the purpose of which was to comment upon the original prophecies of the Twelve and thereby provide assistance to future readers.⁴⁸ The significance of such "scribal exegesis" for prophetic literature

⁴³ Wolfe, "The Editing of the Book of the Twelve," *ZAW* 53 (1935) 90.

⁴⁴ Nogalski provides a useful and concise summary of these strata as follows: 1. The Judaistic Editor of Hosea c. 650) 2. The Anti-High Place Editor (621-586) 3. The Late Exilic Editor (540-500) 4. The Anti-Neighbor Editor (500-450) 5. The Messianist (520-445) 6. The Nationalistic School of Editors (360-300) 7. The Day of Jahwe Editor (325) 8. The Eschatologists (310-300) 9. The Doxologist (early post-exilic period) 10. The Anti-Idol Polemicist (300-275) 11. The Psalm Editor (275-250) 12. The Early Scribes (250-225) 13. Later Scribal Schools (200-175). See Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, 5 n. 23.

⁴⁵ Wolfe, "The Editing of the Book of the Twelve," 91. For a helpful treatment of the development of the concept of actualization (*Vergegenwärtigung*) in Old Testament scholarship from Gunkel through von Rad to Childs, see Joseph W. Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament* (SBLDS 86; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).

⁴⁶ Wolfe, "The Editing of the Book of the Twelve," 92-3.

⁴⁷ On the movement from actualization to midrash within the development of biblical books, see James G. Dunn, "Pseudepigraphy," in *Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Developments* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1997) 979-980; on the connection between proto-midrash and the later stages of canon formation, as well as midrash proper, see Childs, "Midrash and the Old Testament," in *Understanding the Sacred Text: Essays in Honor of Mort Enslin*, 47-59. Helpful discussions of midrash may also be found in Anthony Saldarini, "Reconstructions of Rabbinic Judaism," *Later Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986) 437-77; E. Earle Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity: Canon and Interpretation in the Light of Modern Research* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992) 91-101.

⁴⁸ Wolfe, "The Editing of the Twelve," 90, 119-20.

in general has been developed by Shemaryahu Talmon and Michael Fishbane,⁴⁹ while the related concepts of *fortschreibung* and *schriftprophetie*⁵⁰ have been explored by W. Zimmerli for the book of Ezekiel⁵¹ and by Odil H. Steck⁵² and W. Lau⁵³ for Isaiah 56-66. A systematic treatment of the significance of *schriftprophetie* is still lacking for the Book of the Twelve, although R. C. van Leeuwen's recent essay on scribal wisdom in the Twelve constitutes an initial step in that direction.⁵⁴

Wolfe and 'the lost prophets'

Unfortunately the limitations placed upon Wolfe by the twin influences of form criticism and the romantic hermeneutic out of which it grew prevented him from developing the hermeneutical significance of the more suggestive aspects of his program. He approached the Twelve in a manner like unto that of an archaeologist approaching a newly discovered tell or dig, and he frequently drew analogies between his own approach and archaeology, even making use of

⁴⁹ Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Bible—A New Outlook," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard Press, 1975) 321-400; Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

⁵⁰ *Fortschreibung* was a term originally used by Zimmerli to describe editorial expansions upon a given prophetic writing, either by the prophet himself or by a circle of his disciples. Later discussions have tended to think of this phenomenon in terms of a new mode of prophecy that was distinctly "scribal" in nature and that characterized the late stages of canon formation, thus the term *schriftprophetie*. The editorial expansions produced by *schriftprophetie* were evoked by the need to explain or clarify difficulties within a given prophetic base text, and hence never circulated as independent works. See the brief but lucid discussion in Brevard Childs, "Retrospective Reading of the Old Testament Prophets," 363-364.

⁵¹ Walther Zimmerli, "Das Phänomen der 'Fortschreibung' im Buch Ezechiel," *Prophecy: Essays Presented to G. Fohrer* (BZAW 150; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980) 174-191.

⁵² Odil H. Steck, *Studien zu Tritojesaja* (BZAW 203; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991).

⁵³ W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66* (BZAW 225; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994).

⁵⁴ Cf. R. C. van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve," *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott, and W. J. Wiseman; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993) 31: "Israelite wisdom appears in various guises in the Hebrew Bible. At the last stage of canon formation, wisdom became a hermeneutical construct guiding scribal sages in their task of theological pattern-making, stitchery, and embroidery by which the quilt-work of centuries became one great tapestry as single and complex as life itself." Van Leeuwen's work highlights Hosea 14:10 as a clear example of scribal exegesis in the Twelve predicated upon hermeneutical motives. Cf. also H. Utzschneider, *Künder oder Schreiber? Eine These zum Problem der "Schriftprophetie" auf Grund von Maleachi 1,6-2,9* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989).

an archaeological metaphor to describe his theory as “the strata hypothesis.”⁵⁵ This analogy fed Wolfe’s confidence that the various editorial layers could be successfully isolated and classified according to “a number of clearly defined strata which represent the literary deposits of various ages and points of view.”⁵⁶ Moreover, the form critical practice of dividing prophetic writings into “authentic” versus “inauthentic” or even “spurious”⁵⁷ secondary additions motivated his project on a fundamental level.⁵⁸

Wolfe’s goal in performing this piece of critical surgery upon the Twelve was twofold. Since the later additions in the Twelve are “not equal in quality to the primary prophecies,” the first order of business lay in isolating them from the oracles of the historical prophets. At the same time these secondary layers are important for their historical value in helping the modern critic understand more about an otherwise “blank period of shadows” in Israel’s history.⁵⁹ In other words, these additions were primarily useful for historical rather than hermeneutical or theological reasons. Their function was limited to that of shedding historical light upon Second Temple Judaism in the period following Nehemiah. Secondly, Wolfe also regarded the work of separating authentic oracles from secondary additions to be necessary in order to allow the “original first editions” of the Twelve to shine forth as “restored masterpieces whose beauty and usefulness is greatly improved by the deletions of later accretions.”⁶⁰ He consistently devalued and even denigrated the quality and value of editorial additions in the Twelve, as the latter quote

⁵⁵ Wolfe, “The Editing of the Book of the Twelve,” 91.

⁵⁶ Wolfe, “The Editing of the Book of the Twelve,” 90. Cf. also the statement near the close of his study on p. 125: “...the recurrent fragments and interpolations by various editors or editorial schools can be traced almost as accurately as the various geological strata on a hillside slope.”

⁵⁷ Wolfe, “The Editing of the Book of the Twelve,” 97.

⁵⁸ In the opening paragraph of his study Wolfe speaks of a two-step process in which he will move from beyond an “appreciation for the distinctive views of each prophet” to “the removal of all the secondary materials which were subsequently added to these twelve primary writings” (Wolfe, “Editing,” 90).

⁵⁹ Wolfe, “Editing,” 128-9, esp. 128: “These secondary writings...offer the only available key by which the secrets of the obscure post-exilic times can be unlocked.”

⁶⁰ Wolfe, “Editing,” 129.

demonstrates.⁶¹ At other times Wolfe's judged that such additions were simply misguided, and this had direct consequences for his views of the hermeneutical and theological significance of the Twelve's final form and sequence. He argued, for instance, that a Book of the Nine (Hos-Am-Mic-Nah-Hab-Zeph) was formed when misguided editors known as "the Eschatologists" inserted Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah "at inopportune places" within its "supposed historical succession," thereby further corrupting the chronological purity of its order.⁶² In other words, Wolfe's rigid commitment to the chronological concerns of late modernity also precluded him from considering the possibility that the placement of Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah may have been motivated by hermeneutical rather than historical reasons.⁶³

Wolfe and the editorial expansion of prophecy

In a manner reminiscent of the school of F. C. Baur, Wolfe's views of the literary process by which the Twelve were formed tended to place later, redactional activity in dialectical opposition with the earlier oracles of its prophets. A clear example of this shows up in his understanding of the way in which editors relate to one another's work within the traditioning process. In discussing the relationship between a tradent he refers to as the "Anti-Neighbor Editor" and a later tradent styled the "Late Exilic Editor," Wolfe asserts that the latter "consciously reverses" the expectations of the former,⁶⁴ while an even later editor known as "the Messianist" worked with ideas that "were quite at variance" with those of the Anti-Neighbor Editor.⁶⁵ In other words, later editors effectively veto the viewpoints of earlier editors, and this

⁶¹ Further examples of this tendency are scattered throughout his essay. He refers to the Judaistic editor of Hosea as "a second-rate commentator rather than a writer of special ability" (92); late scribal insertions in the Twelve that reference the exodus are merely "academic" and stand in "marked contrast with the profundity of of Hosea's treatment of the Egyptian theme" (115); secondary additions that reference historical events corrupt the "very genius of the prophetic movement with its strict originality which avoids historic references" (116).

⁶² Wolfe, "Editing," 95.

⁶³ Cf. also his argument that Joel's placement before Amos is the result of "a late editor's belief that Joel's locust plague preceded Amos' day...they probably did not realize the order was supposed to be chronological or they might have proceeded otherwise" (106, 108).

⁶⁴ Wolfe, "Editing," 97.

⁶⁵ Wolfe, "Editing," 98.

cannot but undermine the theological integrity of the Twelve.⁶⁶

As noted earlier, Wolfe recognized that scribal exegesis was at work in the shaping of the Twelve. However, the hermeneutical significance of this phenomenon was also muted by his views of the literary process that formed the Twelve. Rather than providing reliable hermeneutical guidelines for the reader, in certain cases scribal activity “actually mislead the reader by giving a wrong interpretation” of the text in question.⁶⁷ Scribal redactors who encountered documented cases of idolatry in the Twelve proceeded to airbrush these incidents, as it were, by substituting “harmless” surrogate names in the text, thus excising “ugly episodes from Israel’s past.”⁶⁸

Romantic stereotypes of the prophets are writ large throughout Wolfe’s work. The prophets emerge as innovators whose absolutely original thought precludes them from making reference to the past in their oracles. The ghost of Wellhausen lurks in the background of Wolfe’s view of the canonical process.⁶⁹ The historical occasion that gave birth to the formation of the Twelve was a period of decline in which “prophecy as a living force had been extinguished,”⁷⁰ thus necessitating a final collection in order to prevent their complete extinction. Canon as a

⁶⁶ Here Wolfe’s hermeneutic anticipates a particular problem in von Rad’s tradition historical hermeneutic. See further the discussion of von Rad below. Aaron Scharf offers a more constructive view of the internal relation between the Twelve’s tradents. Referencing Jeremiah 28:8, he notes how “Jeremiah uses the conformity of his message with the prophetic tradition as an argument against his opponent.” Moreover, because the redactors of prophetic tradition sought to present the prophets in light of the history of prophecy, new prophecy “had to demonstrate how it was related to the literary prophetic tradition...every new prophecy had to be conceived as picking up and expanding aspects of the tradition under the pressure of new experiences from God” (Scharf, “Reconstructing the Redaction History of the Twelve Prophets,” 46).

⁶⁷ Wolfe, “Editing,” 120.

⁶⁸ Wolfe, “Editing,” 121.

⁶⁹ For Wellhausen oracular prophecy characterized the spontaneous and lively “age of the Spirit,” while written prophecy was characterized by “the letter” and a general loss of vitality and decline. Cf. S. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets*, 9: “In fact, Wellhausen believed the very act of writing implied the end of a religious tradition’s vitality. Thus his famous summary of the canonical process: ‘The water which in old times rose from a spring, the Epigoni stored up in cisterns.’” Citation from Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 410. Chapman goes on to point out that Wellhausen’s notion that writing in Israel corresponded to religious decline has been questioned by scholars, many of whom who have argued, contra Wellhausen, that writing took place precisely because of the vital character of the tradition it embodied.

⁷⁰ Wolfe, “Editing,” 117.

hermeneutical concept at work within the *compositional* phases of the Twelve was simply absent for Wolfe.⁷¹ His attempt to penetrate back through the larger interpretive framework of a given prophetic book to the prophet himself is reflective of the impact of romantic hermeneutical theory upon his approach. Herder adumbrated this hermeneutic by arguing that the spontaneity of poetry, as opposed to discursively constructed prose narrative, held the key for recovering the original prophetic spirit in its primitive glory and unspoiled radiance. His hermeneutic later bore fruit in the work of Wellhausen and Gunkel, giving birth to literary and theological value judgments regarding ‘authentic’ and ‘inauthentic’ passages in the prophets. This is the soil out of which Wolfe’s approach to the Twelve grows, and it ultimately accounts for his tendency to set the historical prophets in opposition with later interpretive expansions of their oracles.

Wolfe did succeed in convincing later scholarship that the processes of composition and book collection overlapped one another from an early point in the Twelve’s formation history. In the period following his work, it was no longer possible to approach the collection of the Twelve upon the assumption that each of its books had an independent circulation history from the others. However he clearly failed to do justice to the fact that in the Book of the Twelve one meets the prophets not as individuals *per se*, but as individuals who have been placed within a reception history that is larger than themselves and through which they now reach into our present.

c. Dale Schneider

Dale Schneider’s 1979 Yale dissertation on the Twelve⁷² conceives of the formation of the Twelve in terms of a four-stage process that was closely tied to the national and political reforms of Hezekiah, Josiah, and Nehemiah. The first stage of the Twelve’s formation took place when the writings of Hosea, Amos, and Micah were collected during the reign of Hezekiah and circulated for the purpose of underwriting his vision to restore the glory of the united monarchy. This vision for a restoration of the Davidic empire was shared by Josiah in the following century, and the writings of Nahum, Habbakuk, and Zephaniah were collected and circulated to promote

⁷¹ Wolfe held to a version of the old “veneration theory” of canon. On this view Old Testament books were canonized as a result of the veneration they gradually attained via a lengthy period of transmission and use. See Wolfe, “Editing,” 122.

⁷² Dale A. Schneider, *The Unity of the Twelve* (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1979).

that vision. These two collections from the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah circulated independently of one another until the period of the exile, at which point the formation process for the Twelve entered a critical third stage. The writings of Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah, while attaining their final forms during the late pre-exilic to exilic period, never circulated as a collection, nor even as individual writings. Rather, upon composition each of these writings were incorporated into the earlier collection of Hosea, Amos, Micah on the basis of thematic ties and catchwords. Jonah was the last writing to be incorporated into the earlier literature of Hezekiah's reform, and its placement just before Micah created a point of attachment for the Josian collection, inasmuch as the latter collection began with Nahum, and Nahum continued the Assyrian themes found in both Jonah and Micah. Thus by the late exilic period a book of nine prophecies extending from Hosea through Zephaniah had been created. The socio-political catalyst for the fourth stage in the Twelve's formation was the collection of national literature sponsored by Nehemiah during the post-exilic period, at which time Haggai, Zechariah,⁷³ and Malachi were added, and thus a completed collection of the Twelve was available by the end of the fifth century B.C.

Before examining more closely some of the hermeneutical issues that arise from Schneider's reconstruction, the positive contributions of his work should be noted. While some may wish to question various aspects of Schneider's reconstruction of the stages of growth in the Twelve, and have in fact done so,⁷⁴ his argument that Hosea, Amos, and Micah formed the earliest nucleus of the Twelve has been supported, with certain modifications, by later scholarship.⁷⁵ Schneider's arguments for the primacy of Hosea, Amos, and Micah as a collection also overlap to some extent with the arguments of scholars such as James Nogalski, Aaron Schart, and Rainer

⁷³ Schneider dates the final forms of Haggai and Zechariah, including Zechariah 9-14, to a period no later than the early fifth century B. C.

⁷⁴ For a useful summary of approaches to the Twelve's formation history, see Paul L. Redditt, "The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Review of Research," in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 235; ed. Paul Redditt & Aaron Schart; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003) 16-19.

⁷⁵ Cf. for example David N. Freedman, "Headings in the Books of the Eighth Century Prophets," *AUSS* 25 (1987) 9-26; Byron G. Curtis, "The Zion-Daughter Oracles: Evidence on the Identity and Ideology of the Late Redactors of the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 166-167; Barry Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 192-194.

Albertz, although the methodological approaches of these men are far more sympathetic to the use of redaction critical tools than Schneider.⁷⁶

Schneider's dissertation also makes a suggestive contribution to the question of variant book sequences in the Twelve that have been preserved in the traditions of the MT and LXX.⁷⁷ He argues that the LXX order was derived from the MT order by means of a transposition that shifted Amos and Micah forward in the corpus of the Twelve, leaving Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah in the same sequence relative to one another but further back in the collection.⁷⁸ Those responsible for the LXX sequence of the Twelve may have effected this transposition because of an historical awareness that Hosea, Amos, and Micah once circulated together as a provisional forerunner to the Twelve. A number of recent arguments for the primacy of the MT order of the Twelve are either dependent upon, or at least similar in substance, to Schneider's argument.⁷⁹

Finally, Schneider's arguments with respect to the motives underlying the Masoretic

⁷⁶ Nogalski, Schart, and Rainer Albertz argue that the first major collection of the Twelve was a Deuteronomistic "Book of the Four" comprising Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah, although each differs on the particulars of how this corpus came into being. For example, Schart argues that this corpus was preceded by an earlier collection that comprised the books of Hosea and Amos. See Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, 85-88; Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs*, 304-6; Rainer Albertz, "Exile as Purification: Reconstructing the Book of the Four (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah)," *SBL Seminar Papers, 2002* (SBLSP 41; Atlanta: SBL 2002) 213-233, esp. 233.

⁷⁷ The MT preserves the sequence Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah; the LXX sequence is Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah. The two sequences are otherwise identical.

⁷⁸ Schneider, *The Unity of the Twelve*, 35-37; 224-225.

⁷⁹ See for example James A. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, 2 n. 8: "Schneider notes that the alternative order can be explained by the fact that the Septuagint simply brings the older writings (Hos-Amos-Micah) to the front of the corpus. The remaining writings still appear in their Masoretic order"; Aaron Schart, "Reconstructing the Redaction History of the Twelve Prophets," 37: "...Jones considers the Septuagint order to be older...The main problem with Jones' hypothesis is that it does not explain how the Masoretic order came into being"; Christopher R. Seitz, "What Lesson Will History Teach? The Book of the Twelve as History," in *'Behind' the Text: History and Biblical Interpretation* (ed. Craig Bartholomew et al.; SHS 4; Carlisle: Paternoster; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003) 454: "...it is easier to see which is the proper direction of change, as we assume the rule of *lectio difficilior* applies roughly to the logic of arrangements of books as well. That is, it is our view that the LXX is best seen as an effort to recast a strange MT order, along the lines of its classification intuitions known elsewhere. A movement from LXX to MT admits of no obvious explanation"; Burkard Zapff, "The Perspective of the Nations in the Book of Micah," *SBL Seminar Papers, 1999* (SBLSP 38; Atlanta: SBL, 1999) 599: "Whereas in my view it is difficult to derive the sequence of MT from the one of LXX the reversed derivation is no problem." Otherwise: see Barry Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*; Marvin Sweeney, "The Place and Function of Joel in the Book of the Twelve," *SBL Seminar Papers, 1999* (SBLSP 38; Atlanta: SBL, 1999) 591-595. Both Jones and Sweeney argue that the LXX order is older than the MT order.

sequences of Joel-Amos-Obadiah and Jonah-Micah-Nahum have also been echoed and expanded in subsequent scholarship. For example, Schneider recognized that the theme of judgment upon Edom constitutes a uniting factor in the sequence of Joel-Amos-Obadiah, and that Jonah begins a series of prophecies dealing with the judgment history of Assyria, with Micah and Nahum continuing that theme. In a recent study exploring the significance of *yom Yahweh* as a theologically unifying theme in the Twelve, Rolf Rendtorff argued that Joel and Obadiah constitute a frame that has been placed around Amos.⁸⁰ In this manner a theological framework was generated in which in the theology of the DOL became decisive for the reading process of Joel-Amos-Obadiah. While Rendtorff's arguments go beyond Schneider's observation in a number of ways, they nevertheless tend to reinforce Schneider's suggestion that these three books should be read together as part of a judgment history in which Edom occupies a prominent role. With respect to the sequence of Jonah-Micah-Nahum, Beate Ego argues on the basis of a number of rabbinic texts that early Jewish readers of the Twelve read the books of Jonah and Nahum in light of one another.⁸¹ Ego's arguments also tend to reinforce Schneider's argument that the placement of Jonah and Nahum in the Twelve was motivated by a desire on the part of its tradents to fill out the canonical picture of Assyria's judgment history, as epitomized in the fate of Ninevah.

Schneider and socio-political reductionism

The hermeneutical limitations in Schneider's approach begin to surface, however, in connection with his view that socio-political forces formed the catalyst for the Twelve's formation. Basic to the historical reconstruction Schneider offers is the argument that political reforms in pre-exilic and post-exilic Israel were predicated upon religious reform. Thus the conditions required for political reform in the eras of Hezekiah, Josiah, and Nehemiah presuppose certain religious reforms, and the subsequent need to effect these religious reforms fostered the propagation of prophetic literature by Israel's royal courts. Moreover, the close link between

⁸⁰ "How to Read the Book of the Twelve as a Theological Unity," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 75-87.

⁸¹ Beate Ego, "The Repentance of Ninevah in the Story of Jonah and Nahum's Prophecy of the City's Destruction: Aggadic Solutions for an Exegetical Problem in the Book of the Twelve," *SBL Seminar Papers*, 2000 (SBLSP 40; Atlanta: SBL, 2000) 249-250.

political reform and the circulation of prophetic literature is supported by the fact that the biblical record suggests that Israel's royal courts kept prophetic literature on file in their archives.⁸² Recognizing that institutions such as the Temple and various prophetic schools were doubtless instrumental in the early phases of the writing and collection of prophecies, Schneider nevertheless argues that the role played by the archives of the royal court was "the *most important* for the selection and authoritative promulgation of the prophetic books."⁸³ The overall effect of such a statement is to obscure the more fundamental role played by religious reforms originally postulated by Schneider. As a result, the precise nature of the relationship between social and religious forces at work in the Twelve's formation history remains unclear. To lay emphasis upon the decisive role played by royal scribal archivists in the Twelve's authoritative promulgation, that is, upon the actions of state-appointed scribes said to be interested in underwriting programs for *political* reform, does not do justice to the hermeneutical relevance of the religious and theological pressures involved. On the contrary, it subordinates them to socio-political concerns.

The parallel Schneider draws between nationalist revivals in Israel and the growth of the Twelve ultimately fails to account for the third phase of his proposed reconstruction, and it is precisely this phase that Schneider identifies with the genesis of the Masoretic order of the Twelve. This phase consisted in the integration of Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah into the earlier collection of Hosea, Amos, and Micah, an act of integration which according to Schneider the LXX subsequently reversed. A program of political reform with which to identify Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah is manifestly lacking during this phase, and this appears to leave Schneider with one of two options. He can either identify these three books with the nationalist revival of Nehemiah, thereby accepting later dates for all three, or argue for earlier dates and account for their incorporation into the Twelve on other grounds. Schneider clearly opts for the latter solution, but this requires him to swim upstream against the currents of critical scholarship regarding the dates

⁸² Schneider regards Jeremiah 36:20 as a case in point, and adds other supporting arguments as well. See Schneider, *The Unity of the Twelve*, 158-162.

⁸³ Schneider, *The Unity of the Twelve*, 161, emphasis added.

of Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah.⁸⁴ In the end the writings of Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah ultimately present Schneider with a wildcard that he is unable to play. While subsequent scholarly theories of the Twelve's formation confirm his argument that these three writings never circulated as an independent collection, they also tend to locate their origins within the final phases of the Twelve's formation in the post-exilic period.⁸⁵ The argument that Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah are to be identified with the final phase of the Twelve's formation was anticipated by Carl Steuernagel as early as 1912,⁸⁶ but has found further support in the recent dissertation of Barry Jones.⁸⁷

The role played by nationalist revivals in Schneider's proposed reconstruction also raises further difficulties. While it is likely that socio-political forces played a role in the propagation of Israel's prophetic literature, and while Schneider himself wishes to preserve a foundational role for religious forces in the Twelve's formation,⁸⁸ as noted earlier, his emphasis upon the former effectively precluded him from developing the theological pressures at work in the Twelve's formation history. His suggested reconstruction for the stages of growth in the Twelve rests upon the genre judgment, albeit implicit, that the Twelve is essentially the literature of political

⁸⁴ For Schneider's arguments in support of a late pre-exilic date for Joel, see Schneider, *The Unity of the Twelve*, 72-79, esp. 76. On the case for a post-exilic date for Joel, see Jacob M. Myers, "Some Considerations Bearing on the Date of Joel," *ZAW* 74 (1962) 177-95; cf. also Raymond Dillard, "The Book of Joel," *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary*, vol. 1, (ed. Thomas McComiskey; 3 vols.; Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1992, 1993, 1998). On the post-exilic date of both Joel and Jonah, see Byron G. Curtis, "The Zion-Daughter Oracles: Evidence on the Identity and Ideology of the Late Redactors of the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 167 n. 2. For a useful summary of the arguments surrounding Obadiah's date, see Jeffrey J. Niehaus, "The Book of Obadiah," *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary*, vol. 1, (ed. Thomas McComiskey; 3 vols.; Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1992, 1993, 1998).

⁸⁵ For a useful summary of recent theories on the formation of the Twelve, see note 74 above.

⁸⁶ Carl Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1912) 669-72.

⁸⁷ Jones bases his arguments upon insights found in the work of David Freedman and Emanuel Tov. See David Freedman, *The Unity of the Hebrew Bible* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1991) 49-52; Emanuel Tov, "Some Sequence Differences Between the MT and the LXX and Their Ramifications for the Literary Criticism of the Bible," *JNSL* 13 (1987) 151-160. These arguments are discussed further below in the section dealing with Jones' dissertation on the Twelve. For Jones' own presentation of the matter, see Jones, *The Formation of the Twelve*, 49-59.

⁸⁸ Cf. for example Schneider, *The Unity of the Twelve*, 161.

reform.⁸⁹ Indeed, in Schneider's historical reconstruction the growth of the Twelve is closely correlated with programs for political reform. This tends to marginalize the theological forces at work in the growth of the Twelve, and also fails to come to terms with the future-oriented character of its prophetic eschatology.⁹⁰ To be sure, Schneider is careful to closely tie political reforms with the prophetic call for repentance. However, his conservative approach to the redactional history of the Twelve leads him to treat the theme of repentance in a historically static manner. As a result, the retrospective character of the theo-logic underlying the renewed call for repentance in postexilic Israel, a repentance Schneider rightly argues the Twelve was intended to effect, is largely left undeveloped. During the postexilic stage of the Twelve's history, the earlier notes of repentance sounded by the preexilic prophets would have been subjected to a retrospective reading rather than, as Schneider's position seems to imply, flatly restated for postexilic application.⁹¹ In the end, Schneider's reconstruction of the Twelve's formation history ultimately fails to reckon with the fact that the renewed call for repentance in Israel's postexilic prophets functions within a retrospective theological reading of Israel's past, a reading from which that call cannot be abstracted in the name of political reform.

Schneider and prophetic authenticity

On the whole Schneider's study of the Twelve represents a far more conservative approach to the use of redaction critical logic and its tools than either Budde or Wolfe. Concerned with the

⁸⁹ A similar hypothesis underlies Frank Cross' account of the production of Israel's narrative histories, i.e., the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronicler's History. On the link between the hope for a reunited Israel during the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah and the socio-political forces that lead to the writing of the Deuteronomistic and Chronicler's history, see Frank M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 274-289; idem, "Samaria and Jerusalem in the Era of the Restoration," *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1998) 173-202.

⁹⁰ On this see further below the analysis of Ronald Clements and redaction historical approaches to prophetic intentionality.

⁹¹ For a general overview of the issues surrounding this phenomenon in prophetic literature, see Brevard Childs, "Retrospective Reading of the Old Testament Prophets," 362-377. With respect to the writing of Joel in particular, see Terence Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetic Books* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993) 67-8; James Nogalski, "Joel as 'Literary Anchor' for the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 94-9. Both Collins and Nogalski argue that Joel should be read as a post-exilic, retrospective response to an earlier call for repentance by the prophet Hosea. .

excesses of redaction critical approaches that “outdo one another in complexity,”⁹² he accordingly argues that the bulk of the material in Twelve is authentic. Secondary additions in the Twelve, while admittedly present, are minimal in character.⁹³ This minimalist approach to secondary additions in the Twelve is closely related to Schneider’s operating assumption that the prophets themselves, rather than later tradents, were the principal “custodians and interpreters of earlier prophecies” in the Twelve.⁹⁴ As Barry Jones observes in his own assessment of Schneider’s work, although the number of secondary additions Wolfe identified was excessive, “others would likewise be critical of Schneider’s conservatism in attributing nearly all of the Book of the Twelve to its named prophetic authors.”⁹⁵ Schneider’s maximalist approach to authenticity in the Twelve carried with it a corresponding tendency to devalue or ignore the hermeneutical and theological significance of later additions, albeit for different reasons than those of either Budde or Wolfe. This in turn led him to focus primarily upon the process by which earlier collections of books were supplemented by the addition of later books, resulting in yet further collections until the process terminated with Twelve books.⁹⁶ The result was an *edition* history of the Twelve rather than an *editorial* history of the order produced by Wolfe and contemporary redaction critics.

Near the end of his summary discussion of the generative role played by political reform in the selection and promulgation of the Twelve, Schneider makes the suggestive remark that those who survived the destruction of the Temple and the monarchy “fashioned a collection of prophecies that *made sense of their past* and offered hope for their future.”⁹⁷ The present study

⁹² Dale A. Schneider, *The Unity of the Twelve*, 31. Cited in Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, 7.

⁹³ Examples of the few secondary additions Schneider does recognize are the Judean redaction of Hosea and the addition of hymnic doxologies in Amos. See Dale A. Schneider, *The Unity of the Twelve*, 38-40.

⁹⁴ Dale A. Schneider, *The Unity of the Twelve*, 18.

⁹⁵ Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 27.

⁹⁶ Schneider’s study would perhaps be more aptly titled “The Evolution of the Twelve” rather than “The Unity of the Twelve.” See R. C. van Leeuwen, “Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve,” *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott, and W. J. Wiseman; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993) 32 n. 5: “Despite his title, Schneider’s work is mainly concerned with the historical evolution of the Twelve in their present form.”

⁹⁷ Schneider, *The Unity of the Twelve*, 162, emphasis added.

hopes to build further upon that hermeneutically pregnant remark by exploring the theological understanding of ‘history’ at work in Hosea’s prologue and further witnessed to by the placement of books such as Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah.

d. Andrew Lee

In a 1985 dissertation on the Twelve,⁹⁸ Andrew Y. Lee sought to build upon an influential essay by Ronald Clements which explored the relationship between certain thematic patterns and the formation of the prophetic canon.⁹⁹ Clements had argued that the twin themes of judgment and restoration were decisive for the shaping the prophetic canon, but he placed special emphasis upon the themes of restoration and hope.¹⁰⁰ Although his essay contained a number of suggestive ideas pertaining to the formation of the Twelve, Clements himself did not develop these ideas in detail. Lee’s dissertation therefore sought to build upon these ideas by focusing upon the “hopeful endings” in the Book of the Twelve and their implications for the overall shaping of the Masoretic sequence of the Twelve. While he identified a number of hopeful elements within the corpus of the Twelve, his argument primarily centered upon the “hopeful endings” found in Hos. 14:1-8, Amos 9:11-15, Micah 7:8-20, Joel 4:16-21, Obadiah 17-21, and Zephaniah 3:8-20.

Lee applies Clements’ thesis to the Twelve by attempting to correlate its message of hope, which he primarily locates in the “hopeful endings” cited above, with the canonical sequence and arrangement of the Twelve. He argues that those who compiled the Twelve noticed these hopeful endings, took comfort in them, and then tried to order the individual books of the Twelve in such a way as to reflect the pattern of judgment and hope. While granting that a certain amount of redactional activity occurred during the Twelve’s compositional phases, Lee primarily identifies the production of its overall literary sequence with compilational activity performed under the

⁹⁸ Andrew Y. Lee, *The Canonical Unity of the Minor Prophets Scroll* (Ph. D. diss., Baylor University, 1985).

⁹⁹ Ronald Clements, “Patterns in the Prophetic Canon,” in *Canon and Authority* (ed. George W. Coats and Burke O. Long; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 43-46; repr. in *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996) 191-202.

¹⁰⁰ See further the discussion of Clements below.

direction of Nehemiah.¹⁰¹ On the whole his approach is characterized by a conservative use of redaction critical studies. For example, after summarizing the various redactional theories that have been advanced for individual books in the Twelve, especially those that concern the secondary status of “hopeful endings” in the Twelve, Lee proceeds to argue that the majority of these endings are authentic, even though this often requires him to break with the critical status quo.¹⁰²

Lee’s study raises a number of serious hermeneutical issues. The methodological freight he places upon the Twelve’s final compilational phase is reminiscent of Budde’s approach, albeit predicated upon a softer use of redaction criticism. Budde identified the Twelve’s final compilation with a decisive redaction aimed at shaping the books as a whole, albeit in a reductionistic manner, whereas Lee identifies that same phase with an editorially passive fixing of the sequence of the books performed under the auspices of Nehemiah. While Lee grants that the individual books of the Twelve *now* influence the interpretation of one another, it is important to note that for him this influence is largely the product of textual and linguistic relationships generated by the Twelve’s compilation, and *not* the result of a previously existing redactional intent to relate individual books in the Twelve to one another.¹⁰³ To be sure, Lee speaks of “an intentional effort on the part of later editors to endow these writings with a heightened and pronounced sense of hope.”¹⁰⁴ However, the context of his remarks make it clear that he is referring to editorial expansions made *within* individual books of the Twelve, and not to intentional efforts to relate the books to one another. Only when the individual books are brought into close literary proximity with one another do they begin to influence the interpretation of one

¹⁰¹ Lee, *The Canonical Unity*, 225-26.

¹⁰² Cf. Lee, *The Canonical Unity*, iv: “The conclusion of this study is that many of the optimistic passages in the Minor Prophets which were thought to be secondary are actually authentic.” See also his closing comment on page 217: “There are far fewer glosses evident in this corpus than a previous generation had allowed.”

¹⁰³ Lee, *The Canonical Unity*, 220: “Similarly, *when* the books of the XII are conjoined, the interpretation of one is influenced by the other. The judgments in Nahum against Ninevah cannot escape being read as an indictment against whichever nation happens to be the enemy at the time, whether it be Babylonia or some future foe” (emphasis added).

¹⁰⁴ Lee, *The Canonical Unity*, 217.

another, and this is simply the result of the larger web of textual and linguistic relationships generated by their compilation and juxtaposition. In other words, textual links between the various books in the Twelve are largely the result of a secondary juxtaposition which brought certain books into close literary proximity with one another, thereby allowing them to mutually influence one another.¹⁰⁵ As noted earlier, this serves to weaken the link between the Twelve's composition history and the design of its final form.¹⁰⁶ Lee's particular understanding of "relatedness" in the Twelve,¹⁰⁷ however, highlights the hermeneutical problem of intentionality and its significance for the reading process of the Twelve, a problem that redactional approaches such as Budde's, for all their other weaknesses, are less susceptible to. In order to see why this is so it is necessary to further develop some of the implications of Lee's method.

Lee and the hermeneutics of prophetic intentionality

The hermeneutic Lee employs in his study of the Twelve ultimately rests upon a non-intentionalist approach to reading biblical narrative. To be sure, Lee argues those who edited the various books in the Twelve intended to create a sequence within each book that reflected a pattern of judgment and hope. However, Lee's view that the composition history of these individual books had largely come to an end by Nehemiah's time makes it necessary for him to argue that those who created the Twelve's final form did so, not by creating redactional links across its various books (contra Budde), but by simply bringing them together via a process of "conjoining" and juxtaposition that was more or less editorially passive in character. While Lee regards it as "conceivable" that some of the individual books in the Twelve were conjoined prior to the time of Nehemiah,¹⁰⁸ this conjoining apparently did not involve an editorial intent to relate the books to one another. In other words, the act of final compilation in Nehemiah's time, like the acts of compilation that preceded it, was essentially passive in character and served to create a

¹⁰⁵ Lee argues for a similar concept of "influence-via- juxtaposition" with respect to the Day of the Lord in Amos 5:18-20 and its relation to other occurrences in the Twelve. See Lee, *The Canonical Unity*, 221 n. 3.

¹⁰⁶ See the discussion of Budde's work above.

¹⁰⁷ On "relatedness" in the Twelve, see the discussion of Jörg Jeremias' work in Christopher Seitz, "What Lesson Will History Teach?" 448-50.

¹⁰⁸ Lee, *The Canonical Unity*, 222.

new web of textual and linguistic relations that effectively transcended the intent of those who edited the individual books of the Twelve. Moreover, since it is through this newly created context that readers now encounter the Twelve, the implication of Lee's argument is that the meanings generated by the production of Twelve's final form no longer depend upon the intentions of the author/redactors who wrote its individual books.¹⁰⁹

The implications of Lee's hermeneutic shed light upon his tendency to minimize the redactional forces at work in shaping the Twelve's final form and sequence. If the literary influence of the individual books in the Twelve upon one another no longer depends upon the intent of either its author/redactors or compilers, but arises instead from an act of passive juxtaposition, it follows that the meanings now embedded in its final form have little or nothing to do with its redactional history. If such is the case, why bother expending tremendous amounts of energy trying to reconstruct the editorial history of the Twelve? Herein lies the reason why a redactional approach to the Twelve's compositional history, while interesting, does not strike Lee as a necessary project. Regardless of how the books came together, on Lee's view the fact is that they are *now* together, and consequently influence the interpretation of one another by default, as it were, in an autonomous web of semantic relations no longer tied to the intent of their author/redactors. Thus even if one is unable to demonstrate that the Twelve is an intentionally composed collection, the canonical sequence created by its final compilation allows us to read it "as if" it were such, or "as though" a single author with a single purpose had written it.¹¹⁰

Although Lee himself identifies his own approach with the canonical hermeneutics of Brevard S. Childs,¹¹¹ it would appear at this point that his approach is actually more in keeping with the hermeneutics of Paul Ricoeur and the newer narrative approaches in general. In an effort to transcend the historical problems involved in discerning the intentions of historically real author/redactors, narrative critics have developed the contrasting concept of an "implied author."

¹⁰⁹ While this conclusion necessarily follows from Lee's hermeneutic, it should be noted that this is an inference which he himself does not draw explicitly.

¹¹⁰ Cf. the remarks of Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 8 n. 37.

¹¹¹ See Lee, *The Canonical Unity*, 16-37, for an exposition and summary of Lee's understanding of the canonical approach.

While narrative critics derive their concept of an “implied author” from the overall point of view found in a given text, at the end of the day the “implied author” is merely a literary construct, postulated in an effort to preserve a role for intentionality while at the same time freeing it from its connection with historically real authors. This concept of authorship tends to characterize approaches to biblical texts which minimize or even dismiss as irrelevant the exegetical contribution made by their historical dimension, and it fits rather nicely with Lee’s hermeneutic, his own assessments of his approach notwithstanding.

Textual intentionality versus authorial intentionality?

The problems inherent in Lee’s way of dealing with intentionality in the Twelve surface as soon as one asks why one should follow his proposal for reading the Twelve as a unit. Either his proposal carries some sort of normative force, in which case it should be followed, or it rests upon convention, in which case there would appear to be no reason why other sorts of reading conventions might not be adopted as well, even those that stand in stark contradiction with Lee’s proposal.¹¹² Lee may perhaps be tempted to respond by arguing after the fashion of New Criticism that the text itself provides the normative constraints necessary to protect interpretation from falling prey to a purely subjective and arbitrary enterprise. Hence one should speak of “textual intentionality” rather than “authorial intentionality.” The difficulty with such appeals is that while the meanings connected with the text’s intent as a whole, or textual intentionality, always transcend to a greater or lesser extent the conscious intentions of its author/redactors, at the same time these meanings cannot be *fully* separated from those intentions. Viewed from this perspective, the choice between textual intentionality and authorial intentionality is something of a false dilemma.

While it is true that the linguistic relationships generated by the Twelve’s sequencing transcend the conscious intent of those who effected that sequence, two qualifications must be

¹¹² The attempts of Stanley Fish and others to overcome the force of this dilemma by grounding reading conventions in communities, rather than private individuals, only serves to defer the problem by transposing it into another context. In the end Fish settles for a hermeneutic of “community-relativism” that ultimately leaves communities without a means to adjudicate interpretive conflicts that are extra-communal, for example, conflicts between Jews and Christians over the Christological significance of the Old Testament. For a discussion and critique of Fish’s views, see Paul R. Noble, *The Canonical Approach: A Critical Reconstruction of the Hermeneutics of Brevard S. Childs* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) 208-218.

kept in mind. First, the case can be made that the canonical meaning of the Twelve is the product of an extended series of intentional acts involving authors, redactors, and compilers. This collective intentionality resulted in the creation of a larger literary context which, while transcending the *conscious* intentions of the various actors involved, nevertheless could not have been brought into being apart from those intentions. For this reason, the canonical meaning of the Twelve cannot be sharply separated from the intentions involved in producing its final form, especially since these intentions were instrumental in the production of textual parameters which not only limit the range of its possible meanings, but also serve to govern the further extrapolation of its significance for later readers. Second, a distinction must be made between *unforeseen* meanings, a concept that can be rendered hermeneutically intelligible, and *unintended* meanings, a concept that typically involves a considerable amount of ambiguity. In what sense are meanings *unintended*? In reading the literature of the more recent narrative approaches to biblical studies, one gets the impression that a certain ambiguity is present when reference is made to “meanings the author never intended.” Often this is merely a loose and imprecise way of noting the rather obvious point that the writers of biblical texts were not *fully conscious* of the future implications and significance of what they were creating. The qualifying adverb “fully” is important here, since intentional acts never function as bare volitions *entirely* devoid of consciousness, and therefore the extent to which one may say they are *conscious* acts will always vary in degree.¹¹³ This ambiguity allows scholars who utilize synchronic approaches to trade on the notion of unintended meanings in their arguments against intentionalists, when in fact they are confusing

¹¹³ Kripke’s work on the relation of intention and reference demonstrates, contra Bertrand Russell’s mentalist theory of definite descriptions, that reference does not depend upon the mental content of the one intending. See Saul Kripke, “Speaker’s Reference and Semantic Reference,” in *Contemporary Perspectives in the Philosophy of Language* (ed. P. French et al.; Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1977) 6-27; idem, *Naming and Necessity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1980). This approach to reference is commonly referred to in philosophical literature as a ‘causal theory’ of reference, since on this view ‘reference’ is generated by the causal link between the world and language, a link which reflects an objective state of affairs independent of the mental content of human minds. E. D. Hirsch exploits Kripke’s causal theory of reference in his approach to intentionality, yet finds Kripke’s sharp distinction between conscious intent and reference problematic, and therefore takes the more moderate stance that reference enjoys a *relative* rather than absolute independence from conscious intent. See E. D. Hirsch, “Meaning and Significance Reinterpreted,” *Critical Inquiry* 11:2 (1984) 202-25. Both Kripke and Hirsch agree, however, that the question of reference does not depend upon a fully conscious, intending subject. Hirsch’s modification of Kripke is helpful, since it rightly recognizes that intentional acts are always conscious acts to some degree while at the same time making it clear that reference does not depend upon maximalist theories of conscious intent (that is, ‘Cartesian intentionality’).

unintended meanings with *unforeseen* meanings and/or significance.¹¹⁴

From the fact that the Twelve's creators were not fully conscious of the implications and significance of the textual and linguistic relationships they were creating, it does not follow that canonical meanings in the Twelve are *unintended* meanings. Every meaning is an intended meaning in the sense that both its existence and its future meaning depends, at least in part, upon an intentional act of textual production effected by human agency. Viewed from this perspective, even acts of textual "conjoining" or "juxtaposition" are not entirely accidental or unmotivated, but intentional. In sum, because texts are the generative agent of all possible future applications or meanings available to later readers, and because texts themselves are the product of intentional acts that are to some degree conscious acts, it simply does not make sense to speak of *unintended* meanings, although one can certainly grant the possibility of *unforeseen* meanings.¹¹⁵

Lee and canonical hermeneutics

With these distinctions in mind it should now be possible to assess more fully Lee's identification of his method with canonical hermeneutics. On the surface of things there would appear to be a formal resemblance between the approach to canonical hermeneutics manifest in Brevard Childs' *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, and the manner in which Lee structures his study.¹¹⁶ For instance, Lee follows Childs' practice of introducing the individual books and then discussing the passages which biblical scholars regard as secondary. It is questionable, however, whether his version of the canonical approach shares any strong affinities with that of canonical hermeneutics, properly understood. A canonical hermeneutic does not translate into the "death of the author" for prophetic hermeneutics, nor does it amount to an "as if"

¹¹⁴ On the distinction between *meaning* and *significance*, see Hirsch, "Meaning and Significance Reinterpreted," 202-25. It should be stressed at this point that Hirsch's distinction between meaning and significance is not a sharp one (210), though he tends to reserve the term "significance" for meanings which later interpreters extrapolate from an author's intended meaning, a practice which I do not follow here. The strong point in Hirsch's argument, and the point which I am stressing in this context, is that neither a text's present meaning *nor* its future meanings can be fully separated from the productive intention(s) of its original author(s), regardless of whether the author in question was fully conscious of the later significance of what he or she was writing.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Hirsch, "Meaning and Significance Reinterpreted," 204: "While it is true that later aspects of verbal meaning *are* fixed by its originating moment in time, that moment has fixed only the *principles* of further extrapolations, and these will not cover with full determinacy all unforeseen possibilities."

¹¹⁶ Cf. James Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 8 n. 37.

reading strategy that effectively undermines the normative force of canonical meanings for the reading process. Childs in particular is unwilling to surrender the continuing importance of authorial intention and the historical dimension of biblical texts which for him act as “agents of control” upon the exegetical task. On his view exegetical attention to the intentional and historical dimensions of narrative serves as a necessary safeguard against the tendency of moderns to press biblical texts into their own agendas.¹¹⁷

To be sure, Childs’ interpreters have not always done justice to the continuing role of intentionality in canonical hermeneutics, in part because Childs himself has occasionally used language that may be construed as “anti-intentionalist.”¹¹⁸ In his otherwise fine work on canonical hermeneutics, Paul Noble argues for the presence of an “anti-intentionalist” strand in Childs’ hermeneutic.¹¹⁹ Building on a few isolated examples from Childs’ writings, Noble argues that Childs acknowledges the presence of “unintended meanings” in Scripture. He then attempts to provide a hermeneutical underpinning for this notion by means of an appeal to *divine intentionality*. However, a case can be made for the fact that in those instances where Childs speaks of “unintended meanings,” the larger context of his comments make it clear that he is actually referring to meanings that were *unforeseen* on the part of the writers of Scripture. Noble’s further attempt to buttress his position by appealing to the “juxtaposition” of the gospels also fails to persuade, since Childs argues that Luke was *intentionally* separated from Acts in order to form a fourfold gospel collection. Childs also argues that canonical editors have added titles to each gospel (i.e., “The Gospel According To”), the intent of which was to constrain future

¹¹⁷ See Childs’ response to Bruce Birch in “A Response,” *HBT* 2 (1980) 205. Cf. also Christopher R. Seitz, “The Changing Face of Old Testament Studies,” *Word Without End: The Old Testament as Abiding Theological Witness* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 79-80.

¹¹⁸ The tendency in biblical studies to confuse Childs’ canonical hermeneutic with various versions of anti-intentionalist hermeneutics and ahistorical approaches is widespread. For instance, in his discussion of the canonical approach, Paul House argues that Childs’ lingering concerns with diachronic questions effectively prevent him from attaining his stated goal of studying the text in its final form. For this reason House argues that a truly consistent “canonical criticism” should not concern itself with questions surrounding the Twelve’s formation history. See Paul House, *The Unity of the Twelve* (JSOTS 97; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990) 30. House’s approach is discussed more fully below.

¹¹⁹ See Paul R. Noble, *The Canonical Approach*, 187-206.

readers to read them in light of one another.¹²⁰ Moreover, while it is doubtless true that Childs' notion of "canonical intentionality" presupposes a doctrine of inspiration and divine intentionality,¹²¹ it is important to note that Childs himself did not argue for canonical intentionality on purely dogmatic grounds.¹²² In light of these observations, Noble's attempt to find an "anti-intentionalist" strand in Childs is dubious.

The same must be said for Lee's attempt to do the same.¹²³ With respect to the exegetical significance of intentionality, Lee's hermeneutic actually has more in common with synchronic approaches to reading the Book of the Twelve than it does with canonical hermeneutics. The former often begin by identifying the concept of authorial intention with a sort of 'Cartesian intentionality' that involves a maximal consciousness of intention on the part of an author.¹²⁴ They then proceed to argue against the exegetical relevance of the latter upon the basis of a sharp distinction between textual and authorial intentionality. Such approaches are fundamentally flawed on both a hermeneutical and exegetical level.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ See Childs, "The One Gospel in Four Witnesses: The Need to Understand the Gospels in a Canonical Context" in *The Rule of Faith: Scripture, Canon, and Creed in a Critical Age* (ed. E. Radner and G. Sumner; Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse Publishing, 1998) 51-62, esp. 54-55.

¹²¹ See for example the discussion of Childs' hermeneutic in Timothy Ward, *Word and Supplement: Speech Acts, Biblical Texts, and the Sufficiency of Scripture* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2002) 253-63.

¹²² See Stephen B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets*, 46. Chapman astutely notes that Childs makes his case for canonical intentionality on the basis of the literary and editorial history of biblical texts, and not on dogmatic grounds *per se*.

¹²³ See especially Lee, *The Canonical Unity*, 31-33.

¹²⁴ The nominal adjective "Cartesian" aptly describes this view of intentionality, since its maximalist view of conscious intent resembles Descartes' notion of "clear and distinct ideas" (i.e., ideas that the knowing subject is clearly and immediately conscious of). For further discussion of the problems involved in identifying intentionality with maximal consciousness on the part of an author, see Raymond Brown, "The Sensus Plenior in the Last Ten Years," *CBQ* XXV (1963) 262-85, esp. 263-69. Brown's discussion anticipates a number of the issues and objections later raised by the contemporary critics of both Kripke and Hirsch, for example, the objection that postulating a degree of discontinuity between the conscious intents of authors and unforeseen applications of their work severs the unity between the two, resulting in two *different* intents rather than one.

¹²⁵ For a more nuanced treatment of the relation between textual intentionality and authorial intent from a writer generally identified with the school of narrative criticism, see Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

Summary of authorial approaches

An underlying premise uniting the studies of Budde, Wolfe, Schneider, and Lee, is a narrow, modern concept of authorship and intentionality that devalues, whether explicitly or implicitly, the theological and hermeneutical significance of the interpretive framework into which the original works of the prophets have been placed by their later tradents.¹²⁶ Over against scholars such as Budde and Wolfe, Schneider and Lee spend a fair amount of time arguing for the authenticity of the majority of material in the individual books of the Twelve, and even in those cases where they are willing to grant the presence of secondary additions, there is a distinct tendency to identify such additions with the historical period in which the prophet himself lived.¹²⁷ Conversely, while Budde and Wolfe also manifest a concern with identifying authentic material in the Twelve, they do not display the conservative tendency of Schneider and Lee to limit secondary additions to the lifetime of the historical prophet to whom a given book is attributed. In either case, the concern with demarcating the degree of literary authenticity in these studies illustrates a tendency in the twentieth-century studies of the Twelve to devalue the key role played by the prophetic community in shaping prophetic books, as noted elsewhere by Mary Callaway:

“Authority was located in individuals, such as the Yahwist, Isaiah of Jerusalem, or Jeremiah, over against the communities that preserved, interpreted, and shaped the traditions about the individuals. Such a bias toward the earliest over the later and the individual over the community represented the values of Western post-Enlightenment societies read back into early Israel. Ironically, both liberals and fundamentalists based their reading of scripture on the shared assumption that the individual author represents the authoritative voice of the text.”¹²⁸

¹²⁶ The famous baraita *baba Bathra 14b-15a* from the Talmud uses the Hebrew term *btakf* or ‘write’ to refer to a broad range of activities that are not limited to authorial writing in the modern sense, but which also refer to the compiling and transmitting biblical books. This broad usage suggests that one should be careful not to read modern notions of authorship into authorship attributions in the prophetic books. Cf. Talmon, “The Textual Study of the Bible—A New Outlook,” 337; cf. also Christopher R. Seitz, “Isaiah and the Search for a New Paradigm: Authorship and Inspiration,” in *Word Without End: The Old Testament as Abiding Theological Witness* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 116-121.

¹²⁷ Cf. James A. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 217; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993) 8 n. 37: “...Lee operates with an assumption (sometimes made explicit), that the additions to the writings (when he does not harmonize the problem passages) are somehow more authoritative the earlier one can date them.”

¹²⁸ See Mary C. Callaway, *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application* (ed. Stephen R. Haynes & Steven L. McKenzie; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993) 123; cf. also Seitz, “Isaiah and the Search for a New Paradigm: Authorship and Inspiration,” 116-121.

Such a concern nevertheless could have served a positive function, if it had somehow worked in tandem with an effort to understand the theological motives at work in the editorial expansion of the prophets. In the end, however, both minimalist (Budde, Wolfe) and maximalist (Schneider, Lee) approaches to the question of authenticity demonstrate that a ‘hermeneutics of proximity’ governs authorial approaches to prophetic intentionality. The roots of this hermeneutic ultimately lie in the impact of Lessing and Kant upon biblical hermeneutics in the late 18th century.¹²⁹

Lessing’s dictum that “the accidental truths of history can never become the proof of necessary truths of reason” carried with it the implication that the meaning of historically conditioned texts is hermeneutically tethered to particular times and places, and therefore fully anchored in the past.

In other words, because the historical nature of biblical texts prevents them from brokering their meaning for the present, such texts are necessarily irrelevant to latecomers, hermeneutically speaking. Whatever meaning inheres in biblical texts from the past is therefore to be sharply distinguished from their meaning in the present.¹³⁰ This being the case, the only way to access their *real* meaning is to somehow gain proximity to their original context.¹³¹

Kant’s noumenal/phenomenal distinction also contributed to a growing sense among historical critics that interpretive renderings of the prophetic oracles necessarily *distance* readers from their original *doxa*. By sharply distinguishing the real (*noumena*) from its interpretation (*phenomena*), Kant’s hermeneutic raised serious doubts about the capacity of interpretive mediums to accurately render the real,¹³² resulting in a hermeneutic of suspicion in Old Testament

¹²⁹ According to P. Edgcumbe Hughes, Lessing’s work exercised a major influence upon Kant’s *Religion Within the Boundaries of Reason Alone*. See P. Edgcumbe Hughes, “The Truth of Scripture and the Problem of Historical Relativity,” in *Scripture and Truth* (ed. D. Carson & J. Woodbridge; Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992) 173-94, esp. 178-9.

¹³⁰ Lessing’s dictum was later enshrined in Krister Stendahl’s programmatic distinction between “what the text meant” and “what the text means,” a distinction which on his view corresponds to the distinction between the descriptive and constructive tasks of biblical theology. See Krister Stendahl, “Biblical Theology, Contemporary,” *IDB* 1:418-32.

¹³¹ The current focus upon Second Temple Judaism as the proper context for recovering the historical Jesus arguably constitutes an instance of this same phenomenon in New Testament studies.

¹³² See Mary Healy, “Behind, in Front of...or Through the Text? The Christological Analogy and the Lost World of Biblical Truth,” in *Behind the Text: History and Biblical Interpretation* (SHS 4; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003) 181-95, esp. 182-84. The exegetical exhaustion generated by this hermeneutic of suspicion has given birth to the hermeneutics of anti-realism embodied in narrative approaches to the Twelve (see further the discussion of

scholarship which devalued interpretive additions in the prophetic books that did not derive, *sensu stricto*, from the historical prophets. Later interpretations were therefore suspect because interpretations veil rather than reveal the realities of which they speak, thus cutting off access to the real prophet.¹³³ It is just here that historical criticism receives its mandate, for if the interpretive expansions in prophetic books block access to the prophets themselves, the tools of historical retrieval must be used to somehow overcome this interpretive barrier by getting behind it. As the approaches of Budde and Wolfe demonstrate, this results in the historical paring off of a considerable amount of material in the Twelve. The alternative project of maximalism offered by Schneider and Lee simply moves in the opposite direction by arguing that most of the material found on the phenomenal side of Kant's wall actually belongs to its noumenal side. Viewed from this perspective, the maximalist approaches of Schneider and Lee to authenticity are merely the conservative reflex to the hermeneutical assumption of Budde and Wolfe that a close-up view of the prophets guarantees access to their real (i.e., unedited) message, from which it follows that the temporal distance separating a given prophet from his redactors is therefore a liability to be overcome.

Instead of questioning the Kantian assumption that the interpretive character of prophetic tradition distances us from the prophets, authorial approaches adopt a proximity model for gaining access to prophetic intentionality. In so doing they fail to reckon with the fact that temporal proximity to the giving of prophetic oracles did not lessen the need for interpretation in the prophet's own day,¹³⁴ nor do they recognize that the fuller significance of the prophetic word can

narrative hermeneutics below).

¹³³ Although Kant adopted a "critical" version of idealism over against Berkeley and Hume, he nevertheless shared in their broad commitment to a causal or 'representational' theory of perception. On this view, the 'ideas of sense' function as a medium through which the knowing subject is brought into relationship with the objective world. Philosophical realists in Kant's day also shared his view, but differed with idealists in their understanding of the *nature* of this medium. For realists, the ideas derived from sense perception provide one with a *window* upon the objective world, whereas for idealists, the ideas of sense were a *veil* beyond which it was impossible to penetrate. Idealists therefore tended toward scepticism with respect to the question whether the 'ideas of sense' accurately represent objective reality.

¹³⁴ On this point see Christopher R. Seitz, "What Lesson Will History Teach? The Book of the Twelve as History," 444.

only be known in light of its posthistory (*Nachgeschichte*).¹³⁵ Just as standing too close to the canvas of a painting can prevent one from grasping its larger significance, so too historical proximity can be a liability rather than an asset. For this reason the temporal distance involved in the move from prophetic oracles to their later expansion does not entail a drop from riches to poverty (contra Budde and Wolfe). On the other hand, neither does reducing the temporal distance between a prophet and his book entail a reverse movement from poverty to riches (contra Schneider and Lee). Rather, prophetic tradition clearly moved in the direction of a *theological* maximalism which did not aim at the preservation of prophetic oracles apart from their inspired reception, but sought instead to bring these oracles together with their inspired interpreters in the final form of prophetic books. As a result, the historical prophets of the Twelve now take their place within a larger history of interpretation which followed them, and through which they are now presented as a prophetic figures. The recent studies of Christopher Seitz,¹³⁶ R. C. van Leeuwen,¹³⁷ Jörg Jeremias,¹³⁸ and Aaron Scharf¹³⁹ on the Twelve share in this view of prophetic tradition and therefore provide a way forward from the impasse generated by the historically attenuated concepts of authorship and intentionality resident in author-oriented approaches to the Twelve.

¹³⁵ Cf. Timothy Ward, *Word and Supplement*, 249: "If God is thought of as revealing himself to his people in increasing measure over time, in the course of a teleological process of salvation worked out within history, then there is a prima facie case for privileging the witness of later communities who were witnesses to the greatest extent of that revelation...A reading of the Old Testament which assumes this view of revelation will naturally give theological privilege to the later compilers of the final form of the canonical texts. It is their historical location, rather than some special moral quality of trustworthiness which they supposedly possessed and earlier writers supposedly lacked, that gives their text theological priority." Cited in Seitz, "What Lesson Will History Teach?"

¹³⁶ C. Seitz, "On Letting a Text 'Act Like a Man' -- The Book of the Twelve: New Horizons for Canonical Reading, with Hermeneutical Reflections," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 22 (2004) 151-172; idem, "What Lesson Will History Teach? The Book of the Twelve as History," 443-69.

¹³⁷ R. C. van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve," *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott, and W. J. Wiseman; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993) 31-49.

¹³⁸ Jörg Jeremias, "The Interrelationship between Amos and Hosea," 171-186.

¹³⁹ Aaron Scharf, "Reconstructing the Redaction History of the Twelve Prophets," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 34-48; idem, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs* (BZAW 260; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998).

II. Genetic approaches to prophetic intentionality

Genetic approaches identify the meaning of a given text with the historically causal conditions of its genesis. While this approach sometimes rests upon a narrow, materialist concept of causality that excludes from the outset teleological concepts such as authorial *intention*, insisting instead upon the primacy of material *events* for the task of exegesis, this need not be the case. Genetic approaches often reckon with intentionality into their approach to explaining biblical texts. In distinction from canonical approaches, however, genetic approaches regard a text's historical and social context, rather than its canonical context, to be the primary medium through which one gains access to the intentions of biblical writers. Fundamental to the task of accessing the intentions and forces which shaped biblical texts, then, is an understanding of the historical and social matrices in which biblical texts were generated. By definition, then, genetic approaches tend to be critical of approaches which attempt to derive the intentionality of the Book of the Twelve from its canonical context. The work of John Barton and Ben Zvi on the Twelve, though obviously different in some respects, nevertheless share a basically genetic orientation toward the Twelve.

a. John Barton

In a recent article on the DOL in the Twelve,¹⁴⁰ John Barton provides a brief discussion of the different ways in which the DOL functions in the Twelve. Apart from his comments on the DOL in Amos 5:18-20, Barton's overall treatment is rather general. His discussion of Amos 5:18-20 more or less functions as a foil for the purpose of interacting with canonical approaches to the Twelve, and the approach of Rolf Rendtorff in particular. Barton emphasizes the sharp contrast between Amos' concept of the DOL and the popular expectations of his day. Although the people of Amos' day expected the DOL to be a day of judgment upon Israel's enemies, Amos 5:18-20, a passage long regarded as authentic to Amos, reveals that the prophet Amos himself clearly did not share this view. Rather, for Amos the DOL was to be a dark day of judgment upon Israel. The

¹⁴⁰ John Barton, "The Day of Yahweh in the Minor Prophets," in *Biblical and Near Eastern Essays: Studies in Honour of Kevin J. Cathcart* (ed. Carmel McCarthy & John F. Healey; JSOTS 375; London: T & T Clark International, 2004) 68-79. Cf. also his earlier treatment of the Twelve in John Barton, "The Canonical Meaning of the Book of the Twelve," in *After the Exile: Essays in Honour of Rex Mason* (ed. John Barton & David J. Reimer; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1996) 59-73.

historical Amos' message, then, stood in stark contrast and opposition to the *Volksschatologie* of his day. As one moves through the Twelve, however, the rough edges of Amos' concept of the DOL are increasingly qualified by the return of an expectation of judgment upon Israel's enemies, with later books such as Joel and Jonah reviving the more traditional and "optimistic" picture of the DOL as a day of judgment upon Israel's enemies. Although a number of books in the Twelve present a mixed portrait of the DOL and tend to alternate between expectations of blessing and judgment upon Israel, it is the traditional or optimistic view of the DOL which ultimately triumphs in the postexilic period. In other words, the traditional interpretation of the DOL embodied in the *Volksschatologie* of Amos' day, while occasionally challenged in the Twelve, continues to persistently crop up in the Twelve and eventually carries the day, such that by the time one reaches the end of the Twelve, the interpretive history of the DOL has come full circle and returned to the traditional optimism of the *Volksschatologie* presupposed in Amos 5:18-20.

Barton is especially concerned to interact with two articles by Rolf Rendtorff on the DOL in the Twelve,¹⁴¹ articles which he takes to be representative of a "canonical reading" of the Twelve.¹⁴² According to Barton, Rendtorff's reading of the DOL in the books of Joel, Amos, and Obadiah "risks domesticating a figure such as Amos."¹⁴³ It does this by placing secondary additions to the book of Amos on a hermeneutical par with the authentic oracles of Amos himself. While Barton regards this as understandable, given the assumptions that canonical hermeneutics operate with regarding the final form of Amos, it nevertheless robs the Twelve's readers of insight into the *real* Amos. Historical critical methods may have their limitations, but on Barton's view they are superior to the canonical method in at least one respect, namely, their superior capacity for laying bare the real, unvarnished Amos. This Amos, in contrast to the Amos presented by the book, delivered an uncompromising "no!" against those who attempted to interpret the DOL in an optimistic and positive light. By way of contrast, when a canonically oriented scholar like

¹⁴¹ Rolf Rendtorff, "How to Read" (1997); "Alas for the Day!" (1998).

¹⁴² While certain broad points of contact exist between Childs' canonical hermeneutic and Rendtorff's approach, there are notable differences. See for example Brevard Childs, "Does the Old Testament Witness to Jesus Christ?" in *Evangelium, Schriftauslegung, Kirche: Festschrift for Peter Stuhlmacher* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997) 57-64.

¹⁴³ Barton, "The Day of the Lord," 78.

Rendtorff argues that one should read Amos 5:18-20 through the hermeneutical lens provided by Joel, the “rough edges” of Amos’ dark day of judgment are modified and softened by the notion in Joel 3-4 that the DOL will be a day of blessing for the people of God and judgment against their enemies. The same holds for those who insist on reading the original oracles of Amos in light of the optimistic, eschatological coda in Amos 9:11-15. In other words, “canonical readings are smooth readings” which fail to reckon with the possibility that “*beneath* the surface [of the book of Amos] there may lurk a far more radical and disturbing message.”¹⁴⁴ Contrasting the historical methods of an earlier day with more recent canonical readings, Barton states the contrast as follows: “We might say that nineteenth-century scholarship discovered *Amos*, by contrast with the *book* of Amos. With Rendtorff he disappears again. This seems to be a regular effect of canonical readings.”¹⁴⁵

The methodological assumptions underlying Barton’s treatment of Rendtorff will be examined more fully below. By way of a preliminary response to Barton’s critique, however, it should be noted that on the basis of *historical* grounds, some OT scholars regard the salvation oracle in Amos 9:11-12 to be authentic, albeit an oracle that was later expanded in light of the changing historical contexts that followed it.¹⁴⁶ Thus it is possible to question on historical grounds whether Amos actually emerges with the profile that Barton assigns to him, namely, that of “a radically destructive figure” who preached “divine threat unbalanced by a divine promise.”¹⁴⁷ In other words, the “smooth” reading of the prophet Amos which Barton wishes to avoid may also be found among the practitioners of historical method, and this raises the question whether historical methods are necessarily superior to canonically oriented methods when it comes to discovering the “real” Amos, and if so, to what degree.

¹⁴⁴ Barton, “The Day of the Lord,” 77.

¹⁴⁵ Barton, “The Day of the Lord,” 77.

¹⁴⁶ See G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962-65) 2:138; Ronald Clements, “Patterns in the Prophetic Canon,” in *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996) 197. Following von Rad, Clements argues that Amos may have uttered the oracle in Amos 9:11 on the basis of his historical memory of the united monarchy of David’s time. Cf. also the remarks in Andrew Lee, *The Canonical Unity*, 75.

¹⁴⁷ Barton, “The Day of the Lord,” 78.

Barton on the canonical meaning of the Twelve

The critical stance Barton occupies with respect to canonical hermeneutics also finds expression in an earlier essay titled “The Canonical Meaning of the Book of the Twelve.”¹⁴⁸ Barton states that his purpose in this essay is “to make another attempt to discover whether there really is such a thing as the ‘canonical’ meaning of biblical texts, by focusing on ‘The Book of the Twelve.’”¹⁴⁹ Barton’s arguments with respect to the book of Amos in this essay largely anticipate the remarks of his later essay on the DOL in the Twelve. According to Barton, the inclusion of Amos’ original prophecies of doom with the subsequent promise given in 9:11-15 serve to “relativise” the harshness of his original message:

“If, for example, the original meaning of Amos was to deliver an uncompromising ‘no!’ to Israel’s traditions as they stood in the eighth century,¹⁵⁰ in making Amos part of the Book of the Twelve the editors have (wittingly or unwittingly, it does not matter) relativised this absolute ‘no’ and made it merely a device whose purpose is to keep the nation on course. ‘Amos’ as a part of the Book of the Twelve, with all its promises of restoration and exhortation to remain loyal to God, does not mean what Amos originally meant.”¹⁵¹

As he would later argue in his 2005 essay on the DOL, Barton argues that canonical editors have in effect domesticated the historical prophet Amos, and this critical judgment also holds true with respect to the book of the Twelve as a whole. On the whole, the editorial moves made by the canonical editors of the Twelve’s final form have effectively “relativised” the message of the historical prophets, and it is just here that Barton finds historical criticism’s mandate, namely, that of recovering the lost or submerged profiles of historical prophets who have been domesticated by canonical editors. As an example of the sort of canonical reading that promotes such domestication, Barton makes explicit reference to the canonical approach of Brevard Childs:

“When Childs maintains that the specificity of each Old Testament book has been deliberately blurred in the canonizing process, we can see what he means, but the result is such a uniform message, to be found in practically every book of the Bible, that we may soon cease to find the canonical approach interesting, and yearn for the variety and

¹⁴⁸ John Barton, “The Canonical Meaning of the Book of the Twelve,” 59-73.

¹⁴⁹ John Barton, “The Canonical Meaning,” 60.

¹⁵⁰ Here Barton cites Rudolph Smend, “Das Nein des Amos,” *EvTh* 23 (1969) 404-23.

¹⁵¹ Barton, “The Canonical Meaning,” 70.

diversity of meanings which old-fashioned historical criticism put us in touch with.”¹⁵² Having moved away ever so slightly from his earlier attempt to identify Childs’ method with the formal conventions of structuralism,¹⁵³ this seems to be Barton’s latest criticism with respect to canonical hermeneutics. Perhaps the canonical approach is not a form of structuralism after all. Nevertheless, it does something worse. It smooths over rough edges in the tradition building process by which the canon was formed, thereby domesticating the historical prophets and flattening out the diversity of their message. In short, the “unity” which a canonical hermeneutic finds in prophetic literature is a unity bought at the expense of diversity.¹⁵⁴

Childs’ actual approach to Amos reflects a more careful reading of the matter. On Childs’ view, the larger framework into which Amos’s original prophecies were incorporated preserved their full particularity while at the same time placing them in a larger theological context. In other words, Amos’ story of doom is not being relativized, but restated in a larger context.¹⁵⁵ In his programmatic 1978 essay on prophetic literature, Childs wrote:

“An important problem within the Book of Amos turns on how to interpret the sudden shift from a message of total judgment of Israel to one of promise for Israel in chapter 9. Often the shift in tone has been understood as an attempt to soften Amos’ harsh message by a later generation who was either offended at the severity or who tried to make room for the later restoration of Judah. However, the editors of chapter 9 did not soften Amos’ message of total judgment against sinful Israel by allowing a remnant to escape. The destruction is fully confirmed (9:9-11). Rather, the tradents effected a canonical shaping by placing Amos’ words in a broader, eschatological framework which transcended the historical perspective of the prophet. From God’s perspective there is hope beyond the destruction seen by Amos. The effect of chapter 9 is both to confirm the truth of Amos’ original prophecy and to encompass it within the larger theological perspective of divine

¹⁵² Barton, “The Canonical Meaning,” 72.

¹⁵³ Barton, “The Canonical Meaning,” 60. In the 1984 edition of his work *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study*, Barton attempted to identify Childs’ method with the hermeneutics of structuralism. While this interpretation is modified somewhat in the second edition of the book (1996), it remains essentially the same.

¹⁵⁴ This argument also forms the substance of Barton’s criticisms of Childs in his essay “Unity and Diversity in the Biblical Canon,” in *Die Einheit der Schrift und die Vielfalt des Kanons* (ed. J. Barton and M. Wolter; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003) 11-26.

¹⁵⁵ See Brevard Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979) 407, 409. Childs makes a similar argument with respect to the redactional addition of relation Joel 3-4 with Joel 1-2. See his *Introduction*, 393.

will which includes hope and final redemption. To distinguish between genuine and non-genuine oracles is to run in the face of the canon's intent."¹⁵⁶

Childs finds a similar process is at work in the gospels. The redactors of Mark's gospel, for example, preserve the full particularity of the pre-resurrection witness to Jesus Christ, even while setting that earlier understanding and witness within a larger theological perspective provided by a post-resurrection context and the experience of the exalted Christ. This manner of structuring Mark's gospel serves a larger theological purpose, namely, to teach future generations of readers that "there is no avenue open to the resurrected Christ for those who have not first gone the way of his hidden ministry as the suffering and crucified Jesus."¹⁵⁷ A further example of this same type of process may be seen in the intentional juxtaposition of the New Testament with the Old effected by the early Christian church. On Childs' view, this move reflected a theological intentionality which sought to preserve the discrete particularity of the Old Testament's witness while at the same time placing that witness within a larger context with the New Testament.¹⁵⁸

While it is true that Childs has sometimes argued that the canonical process subordinated or even obscured the historical particulars attached to a given prophet's message,¹⁵⁹ he nevertheless makes it clear that this is not *uniformly* the case in prophetic literature. At times editorial moves in the canonical process preserved a text's historical particulars for future generations, while at other times they effectively loosened its historical moorings. The process was not monolithic in character, nor did it rest upon a single hermeneutical model, which is why Childs himself insists, over against the practitioners of *traditionsgeschichte*, that "there is no one hermeneutical key for unlocking the biblical message, but the canon provides the arena in which

¹⁵⁶ Childs, "The Canonical Shape of the Prophetic Literature," *Int* 32 (1978) 46-55, quote from 49.

¹⁵⁷ See Childs, "The One Gospel in Four Witnesses: The Need to Understand the Gospels in a Canonical Context" in *The Rule of Faith: Scripture, Canon, and Creed in a Critical Age* (ed. E. Radner and G. Sumner; Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse Publishing, 1998) 51-62, quote from 55. Cf. also Childs, *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction*, 84-6, 540.

¹⁵⁸ See Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994) 84.

¹⁵⁹ See Childs' discussion of Isaiah 40-66 in his *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 337. Cf. also his judgment that the text of Deutero-Isaiah had been 'drained of its historical particularity' (Childs, "The Canonical Shape of the Prophetic Literature," 50). Childs later clarified and qualified this remark in a response to his critics in *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 2 (1980) 205.

the struggle for understanding takes place,”¹⁶⁰ a qualification which Barton is apparently oblivious to. Moreover, such editorial “de-occasionalizing” was effected, not for the purpose of softening the theological message of a given prophet, but for the purpose of transmitting that message to future generations. In other words, the editorial intentionality at work in these moves sought to both preserve and expand the theological message of the prophets by preventing their messages from being historically locked in the past, and this sometimes involved certain ‘de-occasionalizing’ moves, not with respect to the theological message of the prophets *per se*, but with respect to the historical particulars associated with their messages. For Childs, this demonstrates that later ‘actualizations’ of original prophetic oracles were not motivated by a so-called “law of historical exclusivity,”¹⁶¹ but actually worked with a canon consciousness (*Kanonbewusstsein*) which sought to lay claim upon the future readers of prophetic literature.

In light of these observations, the question needs to be raised whether a canonical hermeneutic effectively swallows up the original messages of the Twelve’s prophets, or instead preserves their messages while at the same time placing them in a larger context. The answer to this question ultimately turns upon the methodological assumptions one works with, and as it turns out, there are good reasons to question the hermeneutical assumptions underlying Barton’s particular understanding of historical method.

Historical critics as foundationalist truth tellers: John Barton on canon and Old Testament interpretation

Underwriting Barton’s proposals on the DOL in the Twelve and his approach to prophetic hermeneutics in general is a programmatic distinction, initially articulated by Gabler and later extended by contemporary scholars such as Krister Stendahl,¹⁶² between the descriptive and

¹⁶⁰ Childs, *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context*, 15.

¹⁶¹ Von Rad defines this law as the belief that “a certain event or certain historical experience can be attached only to a single definite point in history” (Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:110). Cf. also Joseph Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in Old Testament Interpretation*, 69-70. Advocates of the method of *traditionsgeschichte* combined this law with the theological message or *kerygma* of biblical texts, resulting in a doctrine of “kerygmatic intent” in which historical events and the theological message attached to them were *necessarily* situation-specific, and therefore capable of addressing *only* the particular historical period in which they originated.

¹⁶² Krister Stendahl, “Biblical Theology, Contemporary,” *IDB* 1:418-32.

constructive (or normative) tasks involved in biblical hermeneutics. Following in the train of Gabler, Barton regards the descriptive task of biblical exegesis to be a purely historical enterprise whose proper method is historical. The activities of theologians and dogmaticians, while legitimate in their own sphere, belong to the speculative and secondary aspects of biblical interpretation and are not to be confused with the descriptive task, which is necessarily historical in nature. This distinction is manifest, for instance, in his 1999 essay “Canon and Old Testament Interpretation,” where Barton asserts that “what drives ‘historical criticism’ so-called is not theology, but a concern to let the text speak for itself.”¹⁶³ Given the sharpness of this distinction and its implications for Barton’s approach to prophetic hermeneutics, it follows as a matter of course that approaches which attempt to reckon with the theological dimension of the Old Testament are by definition non-historical in their orientation. This is doubtless why he makes the assertion that the canonical approach is “a method within systematic theology, and it is as such that it should be evaluated.”¹⁶⁴

Barton’s approach to the Twelve, as well as his approach to prophetic hermeneutics, rests upon the hermeneutics of an exegetical version of *foundationalism* that arose in the wake of Gabler’s project to place biblical studies “on the sure path of a science”¹⁶⁵ via the newly emerging historical critical method. On this model “history” functioned as a objective control upon the task of biblical exegesis. As such, it constituted an attempt to introduce objectivity into the descriptive task of biblical exegesis by facilitating the removal of the subjective prejudices (read: theological biases) of the exegete.¹⁶⁶ In order to accomplish this task, biblical exegesis was to be remodeled

¹⁶³ John Barton, “Canon and Old Testament Interpretation,” in *In Search of True Wisdom: Essays in Old Testament in Honour of Ronald E. Clements* (ed. Edward Ball; JSOTS 300; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999) 39-52, quote from 49.

¹⁶⁴ Barton, “Canon and OT Interpretation,” 39.

¹⁶⁵ The allusion to Kant’s attempt to reconstruct philosophy upon the model of the natural sciences is deliberate, and on my view finds a parallel in Gabler’s attempt to reconstruct biblical exegesis in terms of the newly emerging historical consciousness awakened by the Enlightenment.

¹⁶⁶ As Gadamer has noted, in modern scholarship this ideal of objectivity is inherent in the very definition of what it means to be *scientific*: “What makes modern scholarship scientific is precisely the fact that it objectifies tradition and eliminates the influence of the interpreter and his time on understanding.” See Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (2nd ed.; trans. rev. J. Weinsheimer & D. G. Marshall; New York: Crossroad, 1989) 333; trans. of *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* (5th ed.; Tübingen: J. B. Mohr, 1986) 338.

on the basis of a particular approach to explanation found in the natural sciences (*erklären*).¹⁶⁷ However, in the case of Gabler's particular version of foundationalism, "history" rather than "the laws of physics" functioned as the foundational basis or "covering law" for judging the validity of particular exegetical claims. Whereas in the past, the historical referent of biblical texts functioned as an aid to their understanding, on Gabler's model the hermeneutical role occupied by historical referent now became *decisive* for the *real* meaning of biblical texts. Traditional views of the relation between biblical text and historical referent regarded the latter to be integrally connected with, *and* subordinate to, the canon's literary form. Gabler's historicist hermeneutic *reversed* that relationship, thereby effecting its own version of a Copernican revolution in biblical hermeneutics. Instead of being inescapably joined with, and subordinated to, Scripture's canonical context, historical referent now functioned as a hermeneutically independent and autonomous judge upon the literary form of the canon and thereby subordinated that form to itself.

As Frei has noted, this inevitably lead to the severing of historical referent from its native canonical context.¹⁶⁸ "Historical referent," and by extension, historical meaning, is now placed in an autonomously constructed category known as "history" in which the narrative or canonical context of Scripture no longer functions as the final arbiter or decisive court of appeal for its meaning.¹⁶⁹ The move to place biblical exegesis "on the sure path of a science" therefore amounted to the assumption that "history" rather than canonical context is decisive for the

¹⁶⁷ For a useful overview of the hermeneutical assumptions implicit in this explanatory model, as well as the contrasting model of *verstehen*, see G. H. von Wright, *Explanation and Understanding* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971) 1-33. Cf. also the discussion in *Hermeneutics Versus Science: Three German Views* (trans. & ed. John M. Connolly and Thomas Keutner; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988) 1-27. The roots of the conflict between the differing approaches to explanation inherent in concepts such as *erklären* and *verstehen* take their birth from the Enlightenment drive to explain phenomena by getting outside of them and subordinating them to a critical norm or "covering law" believed to be fundamental to the task of gaining an objective point of view upon them.

¹⁶⁸ Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

¹⁶⁹ Archaeological approaches to biblical exegesis (e.g., Albright et al.) also receive their mandate at this point, for if the historical referents of biblical texts are *hermeneutically* independent of their canonical context, then it follows that their meaning can be accessed through alternative media. For an overview of the way in which the literal sense of Scripture has been pursued through alternative media such as archaeological facts, reconstructed historical contexts, and tradition history, see Gerald T. Sheppard, "Biblical Interpretation in the 18th & 19th Centuries" in *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters*, 257-80.

meaning and/or interpretation of biblical texts. To state the matter another way, “history” was no longer the non-autonomous handmaiden to Scripture’s canonical context, but now functioned as its hermeneutical ground or *Grundlage*. The hermeneutics of subordinationism implicit in this approach to prophetic texts reflect a form of foundationalism peculiar to biblical hermeneutics which I will call *historical foundationalism*. Such an approach rests upon the assumption that in order to explain a text, one must somehow get outside of it and gain an *independent* perspective upon it. Ultimately such an independent perspective functions as the ground of justification for the interpretation of any biblical text, and thus biblical interpretation on this model amounts to a grounding exercise in which Scripture’s canonical meaning is ultimately grounded in a historical reality *outside* itself.

Conclusion

The above discussion sheds light upon Barton’s approach to prophetic hermeneutics and helps to contextualize it. On Barton’s view biblical scholars are first and foremost historians in a *foundationalist* sense. Their job, accordingly, is to use historical method as a foundational standard or norm by which to adjudicate and police the comparatively speculative activities of theologians: “Biblical critics’ obligations are to the text, not to the Church or to theology, and they have the duty of reporting what the text says, not what the theologian wants to hear.”¹⁷⁰ Consequently, and most unfortunately for advocates of the canonical approach, “there comes a point where biblical critics cannot rest content with inhabiting the restricted world of biblical studies, but have necessarily to interfere with the activities of doctrinal and systematic theologians.”¹⁷¹ Biblical critics here function as foundationalist truth tellers: they bear the judicial burden of judging the fit between the foundational historical realities uncovered by critical exegesis and the secondary (and therefore derivative) interpretations of biblical texts made by dogmaticians. However, Barton is not content to stop at this point. At the end of the day, on his view historical critical method is ultimately incompatible with canonical readings of the biblical text: “The idea that there is a special ‘canonical’ level of meaning above the natural sense of the

¹⁷⁰ Barton, “Canon and OT Interpretation,” 52.

¹⁷¹ Barton, “Canon and OT Interpretation,” 50.

text has been widespread in Christian history and has, of course, an extremely distinguished pedigree; but it is not compatible with biblical criticism as this has developed since the Reformation, and nothing is gained by pretending that it can be made compatible.”¹⁷²

A more accurate reading of the canonical approach would take account of the peculiar character of the dialectic that exists between critical methods and its theological readings of the text,¹⁷³ but Barton’s commitment to the Gablerian assumption that biblical scholarship is first of all historical, and only secondarily theological, requires him to force the canonical approach into an either/or option: either it is historical, or it is theological, but it cannot be both *at the same time*.¹⁷⁴ Such a sharp distinction presupposes *from the outset* the notion that “letting the text speak for itself” never involves letting it speak theologically, but only historically. In other words, presupposed in this distinction is a genre judgment regarding the biblical text, namely, that its true nature and function is primarily that of historical *text*, and not theological *witness*. This is *not* a conclusion Barton arrives at as a result of the applying the historical method to biblical texts, but rather a genre assumption he *begins* with. It is his starting point, not his conclusion. Indeed, it could not be otherwise, since every act of textual exegesis already presupposes a judgment about that text’s nature and genre, broadly construed.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, to approach biblical texts as though they were like “any other text” requires one to ignore a particular feature of those texts, namely their self-witness. The self-witness of prophetic texts speaks of their *theological* character as the word of God, and this identifies their genre *as scripture* rather than historical “text” *per se*. To rule out this particular feature of prophetic texts from the outset therefore misconstrues their true

¹⁷² Barton, “Canon and OT Interpretation,” 52.

¹⁷³ With respect to the canonical approach of Childs, Barton acknowledges that “it is hardly likely that Childs himself does not realize how often his ‘canonical’ readings rest on critical positions, and indeed he is perfectly willing to concede it, and not only to concede it but to state openly that he regards the historical-critical method as important and by no means simply evacuated of significance by the canonical approach” (Barton, “Canon and OT Interpretation,” 46). Nevertheless it is clear that Barton himself regards this to be a case of happy inconsistency in Childs’ hermeneutic.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. also Barton’s assertion that the canonical approach promotes the premise that “respect for the whole should replace concern for the parts; theology should replace history...” (Barton, “Canon and OT Interpretation,” 42).

¹⁷⁵ Viewed from this perspective, the qualifying phrase in the title of Childs’ 1979 introduction to the Old Testament is significant: *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*.

genre. This point can be made independently of the question whether one personally or existentially chooses to believe in or identify with their theological truth claims.

b. Ehud Ben Zvi

Ehud Ben Zvi constitutes another dissenting voice, along with John Barton, in the case against reading the Twelve as a single book or larger unity. Unlike Barton, however, Ben Zvi does not focus upon the way in which redactional moves in the Twelve have domesticated the individual voices of prophets such as Amos. Ben Zvi's arguments do not reflect a romantic nostalgia for recovering "the lost prophets" of the Twelve found in the older historical critical approach, an approach which Barton continues to identify with. To be sure, Ben Zvi recognizes that the *individual* books of the Twelve have been deliberately composed by means of a process that involved authors and redactors. In this respect Ben Zvi's understanding of the Twelve's formation history proceeds along lines that are amenable to historical criticism and genetic approaches in general. Differences between Ben Zvi and more orthodox historical critics like Barton are apparent, however, in the weight that Ben Zvi assigns to the role of the Twelve's *readers* with respect to their inclusion on a single scroll, a point which will be discussed following a brief overview of Ben Zvi's arguments.

Local or global intentionality in the Twelve?

Ben Zvi grants the books of the Twelve were intentionally composed, but argues that this intentionality was local rather than global in character, and thus concerned itself only with the literary horizon of individual books, and not with the Twelve as a whole. In support of this assertion he makes a number of arguments.¹⁷⁶ With respect to the witness of Ben Sira to the practice of writing the Twelve on one scroll, Ben Zvi argues that Sirach 49:10 speaks of individual prophets rather books.¹⁷⁷ He also argues that the individual superscriptions/incipits of the books make it clear that each book is to be read within its own context. Ben Zvi of course recognizes that there are thematic overlaps and even allusions to other books within individual

¹⁷⁶ See Ehud Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books or 'The Twelve': A Few Preliminary Considerations," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays in Honor of John W. Watts* (JSOTS 235; ed. J. W. Watts and P. R. House; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 125-56.

¹⁷⁷ Ehud Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books," 130 n. 18.

books of the Twelve. However, on his view these do not amount to a clear and unambiguous literary signal that the Twelve should be read as a unit. By way of contrast, the differentiating character of the superscriptions in the Twelve send a clear signal to its readers that each book is to be read in its own literary context.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, if the Twelve were intended to be read as a unit, one would expect a clear redactional signal to that effect, for example, a master superscription over the entire collection. The lack of such a clear literary signal only serves to reinforce the distinguishing character of the Twelve's individual superscriptions.

But what about the presence of so-called *Stichwörter* or catchwords in the Twelve? Does not this phenomenon indicate the presence of a redactional intent to create a definite literary sequence and global structure? In response Ben Zvi argues that the catchwords do not prove the presence of a global intent to constrain future readers to read individual books in definite sequence relative to one another, since shared vocabulary also exists in books that are not proximate to each other. Thus one must conclude that catchword links in the Twelve do not reflect a level of intentionality strong enough to rule out the possibility of accidental allusion, and therefore do not prove the presence of intentional cross-referencing in the Twelve. The apparent coherence in the overall form of the Twelve is therefore due either to mere chance, or to the fact that the certain parts of its individual books were transmitted by a common circle of tradents.¹⁷⁹

Ben Zvi further illustrates his argument by appealing to Obadiah, a book that plays a significant role in the variant book sequences found in the LXX and the MT. While those who follow the Masoretic ordering of the Twelve argue for a catchword link between Amos 9:12 and Obadiah 19, the book of Obadiah could just as easily have been placed after Joel, since the book of Joel ends with Edom's desolation (Joel 4:19) and the book of Obadiah's opening verses

¹⁷⁸ Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books," 137.

¹⁷⁹ Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books," 136, 154-55. In an online review of *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, Ben Zvi suggests that the larger coherence formed by the individual books of the Twelve derives from their common appeal to an "authoritative repertoire" of prophetic sayings: "...these themes or images point not to the unity of the Book of the Twelve but to a shared world of discourses, concepts, and images in ancient Israel out of which prophetic and other biblical literature emerged." See the online review published by the Review of Biblical Literature at http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/3218_3608.pdf Since this argument closely resembles earlier tradition historical attempts to account for the unity of prophecy, discussion of the hermeneutical problems it raises will be pursued later in connection with the tradition historical approaches of Mowinckel and von Rad.

continue that theme. Indeed, this may be the reason why the LXX order of the Twelve places Obadiah after Joel rather than Amos.¹⁸⁰ In any case, the differing literary orders of the Twelve also undermine the case for an intentionally composed, global structure in the Twelve. If such an intent was present during the production of the Twelve, how does one account for the apparently fluid character of the order of its individual books? Finally, the argument that there are textual markers within the individual books of the Twelve which direct readers toward other books also fails to persuade, since on Ben Zvi's view this would introduce reading strategies that were either unknown or uncommon among the ancient audiences of the Twelve.

How then does Ben Zvi account for the fact that the Twelve came to be written on one scroll? In the end Ben Zvi argues that the Twelve were written on a single scroll on the basis of the reading strategies employed by Jerusalem literati in the postexilic Persian period. These educated readers "read and reread" the Twelve in relation to one another, and thus "by default" the books came to be written on one scroll. This post-facto, reader-centered justification is not to be confused with the notion that the Twelve's author/redactors actually intended for the individual books to be read as a unit. Evidence for the latter sort of intentionality in the Twelve is either weak or absent altogether. More importantly from Ben Zvi's point of view, author/redactor-centered approaches to intentionality in the Twelve typically fail to take into account the way in which reading strategies in the postexilic period impacted the literary orders of the Twelve and eventually lead to their inclusion on one scroll.

Before moving on to evaluate Ben Zvi's second major contribution to hermeneutical discussions on intentionality in the Twelve, it is necessary to briefly reply to his arguments. With respect to the witness of Ben Sira, the fact that the Twelve are not named individually, but simply described collectively as "the Twelve prophets," strongly suggests that the Twelve were already known as a unit in Ben Sira's day. Moreover, in response to Ben Zvi's argument that the Twelve lack a clear redactional marker, or "master superscription," signaling that its books are to be read as a unit, let us suppose that such a superscription had been present. It is difficult to imagine what such a superscription would have looked like, or how it might have been written. Certainly a

¹⁸⁰ A similar logic undergirds Barry Jones' argument for privileging the LXX order of the Twelve over that of the Masoretic. See the discussion of Jones below in chapter five.

superscription such as “The Twelve” or “The Twelve Prophets” would not have helped, since the same ambiguity which Ben Zvi has noted in the witness of Ben Sira (Sirach 49:10) would now be present in the Twelve’s introductory superscription. Presumably Ben Zvi would also require a master list of regnal synchronisms akin to those found in books like Hosea and Micah, but lengthy enough to cover the entire temporal span of the Twelve from the preexilic to postexilic period. By way of contrast, the insertion of intentional cross-referencing and catchwords, along with other *internal* literary signals, would be a far more economical scribal means for indicating global intent, and on this writer’s view far more likely.

As far as ancient reading strategies are concerned, both Beate Ego and Aaron Schart have provided evidence that Jonah and Nahum were not read as isolated books in antiquity, but in their canonical sequence. As noted earlier, Beate Ego argues on the basis of a number of rabbinic texts that early Jewish readers of the Twelve read the books of Jonah and Nahum in light of one another.¹⁸¹ Schart also points out that the Jewish Rabbi Eliezer’s reading of Jonah 3:10 created problems for his reading of Nahum chapters 2 and 3, the latter of which predict the overthrow of Ninevah, while Jonah 3:10 speaks of its deliverance. Eliezer solved the problem by arguing that a period of forty years elapsed between the ministry of Jonah and that of Nahum, during which time Ninevah must have backslidden.¹⁸² To be sure, in the Masoretic order of the Twelve, the books of Jonah and Nahum are separated from one another by the book of Micah. This does not change the fact that readings of Jonah created problems for the reading of Nahum, and such problems would obviously not have been possible if the two books were being read in strict isolation from one another. Moreover, while modern form critics approach the Twelve on the basis of a book-oriented mentality, it is far from apparent whether ancient readers shared this approach. Given the fact that the reading strategies associated with rabbinic midrash rejected a “book mentality” in favor of seeing Scripture as a collection of verses, it is doubtful whether rabbinic tradition ever functioned with the criteria Ben Zvi appeals to in order to justify his case for reading the Twelve

¹⁸¹ Beate Ego, “The Repentance of Ninevah in the Story of Jonah and Nahum’s Prophecy of the City’s Destruction: Aggadic Solutions for an Exegetical Problem in the Book of the Twelve,” *SBL Seminar Papers*, 2000 (SBLSP 40; Atlanta: SBL, 2000) 249-250.

¹⁸² Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs* (BZAW 260; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998) 26. Schart bases his argument on the non-Talmudic document *Pirqe Eliezer* 43.

as individual books.¹⁸³ However, it is possible to go a step further and make the point that even if ancient audiences did not read the Twelve as a unit, this in itself does not prove that the Twelve was not intended to be so read. As is the case with other bodies of literature, the inherent literary potentialities of biblical texts were not grasped immediately or fully, but usually required the march of time and changing historical contexts before their fuller range of meanings and larger significance could be unpacked. Recognition of the “deuteronomistic” character of the Former Prophets may be cited as one example.

Ben Zvi’s appeal to the apparently “fluid” character of the Twelve’s book sequence will not be addressed in detail here, since this also forms a central tenet in the arguments of Barry Jones for de-privileging the Masoretic order of the Twelve and replacing it with a theory of “multiple literary editions” thought to be equally normative in their respective spheres of circulation. Jones’ arguments, which depend heavily upon certain text-critical theories developed by Eugene Ulrich, will be discussed at a later point. For now it should be noted that Ben Zvi’s attempt to grant a higher profile to reader-oriented approaches to the Twelve runs into a number of hermeneutical problems and confusions. His insistence upon the differentiating character of the superscriptions, while salutary for the preservation of the distinctive and discrete voices of each prophetic book, ultimately fails to account for the redactional phenomena of “cross-referencing” within the Twelve identified by Jörg Jeremias in Hosea and Amos,¹⁸⁴ two books which were brought together at a very early date in the Twelve’s formation history. If a redactional intent to relate individual books of the Twelve to one another was manifest at the earliest stages of their collection, then it would seem that the *onus probandi* or “burden of proof” lies upon those who, like Ben Zvi, argue that the Twelve have no redactional sense as a whole. Ben Zvi has attempted to shoulder this burden, but his arguments fail to persuade.

In the end, Ben Zvi’s argument confuses the distinction between the Twelve’s

¹⁸³ See Brevard S. Childs, “Critique of Recent Intertextual Canonical Interpretation,” *ZAW* 115:2 (2003) 182: “...midrash is an exegesis of biblical verses, not of books, which means that each verse is in principle connected to the most distant text as much as to its adjacent neighbor.” Cf. also B. D. Sommer, “The Scroll of Isaiah as Jewish Scripture, Or, Why Jews Don’t Read Books,” *SBL 1996 Seminar Papers*, 225-42. Sommer notes that for rabbinic exegetes, “Isaiah does not function as a book but as a collection of verses and pericopes” (231).

¹⁸⁴ Jörg Jeremias, “The Interrelationship between Amos and Hosea,” 171-186.

author/redactors and its readers.¹⁸⁵ If readers of the Twelve ascribed a certain meaning to its individual books which lead to their “reading and rereading” in relation to one another, and eventually to their inclusion on one scroll, then it follows that the various book sequences of the Twelve reflected in the LXX and MT were ultimately effected by the reading strategies of an educated elite in the Twelve’s post-compositional phase. But if such reading strategies are ultimately responsible for the Twelve’s current shape as a whole, rather than the intentions of author/redactors at work during the Twelve’s compositional phase, then such readers have in some sense become authors themselves. Instead of redressing the balance between author/redactor and reader-centered approaches to the Twelve, Ben Zvi’s reader-centered approach to prophetic intentionality actually blurs the hermeneutical distinction between them, since it is the reader who now, in author/redactor-like fashion, defines the final locations of the individual books in the Twelve by ascribing certain relations to them.

Ben Zvi’s hermeneutic ultimately allows the Twelve’s reception history to displace whatever intentions might have been driving its compositional phase. A canonical hermeneutic guards against this confusion by allowing for a clear distinction, on the basis of canon, between a text’s compositional history and its post-compositional reception history.¹⁸⁶ By failing to factor the hermeneutical significance of canon into his understanding of the tradition building process by which biblical texts were formed, Ben Zvi is left without a means to distinguish biblical authors from ancient readers, and by extension, the compositional history of biblical books from their reception. Thus it is not surprising to find the reading practices manifest in the Twelve’s reception history displacing the intentions that were at work in its compositional history. Since the hermeneutical issues involved in Ben Zvi’s approach bear a resemblance to the issues raised by Barry Jones’ approach to the Twelve, they will be discussed more fully at a later point.

De-historicizing and historicizing tendencies in the Twelve

¹⁸⁵ See Marvin Sweeney, “Sequence and Interpretation in the Book of the Twelve,” in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 50-1.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Christopher R. Seitz, “Biblical Authority in the Late Twentieth Century: The Baltimore Declaration, Scripture-Reason-Tradition, and the Canonical Approach,” in *Word Without End: The Old Testament as Abiding Theological Witness* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 90 n. 11; idem, “We are not Prophets or Apostles: The Biblical Theology of B. S. Childs,” 102-09.

In an essay composed nearly ten years later,¹⁸⁷ Ben Zvi attempts to build upon and extend the basic stance toward the Twelve reflected in his earlier writings. He sets out to identify “rules of selection” that would have increased/decreased the circulation, rereading, and study of the individual books of the Twelve by the “Jerusalemite literati” of the Persian Period. On Ben Zvi’s view, the methodological value of pursuing such a task lies in its ability to isolate general hermeneutical trends at work in the process by which individual books in the Twelve were selected for inclusion on one scroll. He contrasts his method with the exegesis of individual texts, passages, and pericopes, which on his view are “more open for debate” and therefore less methodologically sound.¹⁸⁸

Ben Zvi begins by focusing upon the way in which prophetic books construct images of the past.¹⁸⁹ Such constructions reflect “a basic logic of temporal preference”¹⁹⁰ which he hopes to uncover in order to understand the hermeneutical logic by which the Twelve came to be included on one scroll. He operates upon the hermeneutical premise that the more general such constructions are, the more likely they will be reread. Ben Zvi refers to such general constructions as a “quasi-temporal” or “transtemporal” constructions of the past. They typically focus up on themes that are part of the human condition and therefore reoccur in many different periods of history, for example, corruption of justice, oppression of the weak by a greedy, sinful elite, etc. In

¹⁸⁷ Ehud Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing and Historicizing Tendencies in the Twelve Prophetic Books: A Case Study of the Heuristic Value of a Historically-Anchored Systemic Approach to the Corpus of Prophetic Literature” paper read at the 2005 SBL meeting of the Formation of the Book of the Twelve Seminar.

¹⁸⁸ Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 1.

¹⁸⁹ Ben Zvi’s emphasis upon the creative and reader-centered character of Israel’s construction of her past finds a parallel in the approach of Edgar Conrad to the Twelve. See Edgar Conrad, “Reading Isaiah and the Twelve as Prophetic Books,” in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, vol. 1 (ed. Craig Boyles and Craig Evans; VTS 70; Leiden: Brill, ?) 3-17, esp. 4-5: “Diachronic studies of Isaiah are often mapped out against the story of Israel depicted in the Old Testament. This charting is problematic at a time when it is becoming increasingly clear that the Israel depicted in the biblical text is the construction by a later community of its past and not data to be utilised for writing history...My aim will be to understand the Book of Isaiah in much the same way that one appreciates a collage as a work of art in its own right apart from tracing the sources of its development. Just as a contemporary collage requires the observer to configure the parts, so a literary collage, such as the Book of Isaiah, necessitates the participation of the viewer/reader in its reception.” Cf. also “The End of Prophecy and the Appearance of Angels/Messengers in the Book of the Twelve,” *JSOT* 73 (1997) 65-79, esp. 65-7 where the same methodological assumptions are reiterated in approaching the Twelve.

¹⁹⁰ Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 21.

other words, these constructions succeed in generating their own transmission history because they have “attributes that resonate with other periods.”¹⁹¹ In hermeneutical terms, such constructions are broadly described by Ben Zvi as “partial de-historicizing for didactic purposes.”¹⁹² In contrast to this type of construction is the opposing tendency to focus upon a highly situation-specific moment in history that appears only once in history, is non-repeatable, and therefore a unique moment. Ben Zvi regards Haggai and Zech 1-8 as examples of this more narrow construction of the past, constructions which he refers to as “partial historicizing for didactic purposes.”¹⁹³ Such constructions tend to center around historically specific events which constituted “defining moments” in the creation of Israel’s social identity.¹⁹⁴

Prophetic literature obviously contains both of these approaches to constructing the past. Their specific hermeneutical function is to provide a context that will help the readers of prophetic literature grasp the message of its books. In the case of the Twelve, however, there is a clear preference for and “strong systemic trend”¹⁹⁵ toward “transtemporal” constructions of the past which move in a de-historicizing direction. Like Budde long before him, Ben Zvi is struck by the paucity of reference, apart from prophetic superscriptions, to individual prophetic figures, whether biographical or otherwise. He also notes the almost complete lack of concrete details with respect to narrative events in the Twelve and cites the book of Hosea as an example:

“The text was simply not designed to help the target rereaders reconstruct the actual sequence of events in the life of the historical Hosea, for the latter was not the intention of the book, nor was knowledge of that sequence considered to contribute much to the didactic and socializing purposes for which the book was written, read and reread.”¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 3.

¹⁹² Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 6.

¹⁹³ Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 13.

¹⁹⁴ This argument is anticipated in Ben Zvi’s earlier 1996 essay on the Twelve (see Ben Zvi, “Twelve Prophetic Books,” 141-142). There Ben Zvi argues that Obadiah 21 demonstrates that a book’s message is often communicated to readers, not by pointing to books outside itself, but by calling attention to unique and particular events within the book itself.

¹⁹⁵ Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 5.

¹⁹⁶ Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 4.

What then, is the purpose or intention behind this systemic trend in the Twelve? From a hermeneutical point of view, the goal of this de-historicizing tendency is to link the early Israel of the Exodus, Sinai, and monarchy with postexilic Israel by means of a “transtemporal” construction of Israel.¹⁹⁷ Since the attainment of this goal necessarily depends upon a non-historically specific image of Israel, this helps to explain why “de-historicizing” trends are dominant in the Twelve. A “transtemporal” or de-historicized image of Israel was required in order to meet the “ideological needs” of “postmonarchic literati” who were seeking to bridge the hermeneutical gap between themselves and “previous manifestations of Israel.”¹⁹⁸ At the same time this transtemporal image was also essential to the construction of a social identity for post-exilic Israel.¹⁹⁹ Ben Zvi gives a summarizing statement as follows:

“The more the message of a prophetic unit is dependent on unique, narrowly defined circumstances in the past, the less relevant it becomes to readerships living in substantially different circumstances, and certainly it becomes harder for the target rereadership to fully identify affectively with the book’s characters. The more open the text is, the more these readers were able to creatively imagine themselves into the book, and vicariously partake in it, the more likely that the book would fulfill its functions in the text-centered discourse of the literati of ancient Israel/Yehud. Of course, the more successful the prophetic book is, the larger the chances that it will be read, reread, studied and copied by the Jerusalemite literati, generation after generation. In other words, we are dealing with systemic aspects of the production and use of prophetic books.”²⁰⁰

Moving on to discuss the few exceptions to this general hermeneutical trend in the Twelve, Ben Zvi discusses Haggai and Zech 1-8 as examples of a comparatively minor hermeneutical trend in the Twelve which he describes as “partial historicizing for didactic purposes.” The qualifying adjective “partial” is important, since Ben Zvi wishes to stress that even in those cases where “historical anchoring” takes place, it manifests a general character, that is to say, events are described in terms of “a *limited* set of *wide, generally characterized* periods in the past rather than

¹⁹⁷ Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 7.

¹⁹⁸ Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 12.

¹⁹⁹ Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 8.

²⁰⁰ Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 8.

with single points in time or with any possible past period.”²⁰¹ Because of the general character of the historical anchoring that takes place in the Twelve, Ben Zvi describes this secondary and subordinate hermeneutical tendency as “partial historicizing.” One is naturally led to wonder why the book of Haggai and the (partial) book of Zech 1-8 seem to be swimming upstream with respect to the more dominant trend toward de-historicizing in the Twelve. The answer Ben Zvi provides is that the rebuilding of the second Temple was *a defining moment* from the past for the targeted readership of the post-exilic period. Precise historical reporting is particularly relevant in those cases where the unique significance of an event is being stressed. Hence more historical detail is given to emphasize the unique significance of the building of the second Temple as a defining moment in Israel’s past, and the books of Haggai and Zech 1-8 were written to facilitate this.²⁰² The defining character of the rebuilding is emphasized, for example, by the fact that the historically precise references in Haggai and Zech 1-8 are closely associated with the beginnings of Temple construction, and not with its completion, the latter of which is associated with a “utopian future.”²⁰³ The effect of this focus is to place the construction of the second Temple on a level with other defining moments in Israel’s past such as the Exodus, the Conquest, and the building of the first Temple in Solomon’s time.

As is the case with the more dominant trend toward “de-historicization” in the Twelve, these “historicizing” moves are also essential to the formation and maintenance of a peculiar social identity for Israel. They accomplish this by establishing a hermeneutical bridge with certain communal or social memories which have been generated by defining events in Israel’s past. To put it another way, these hermeneutical moves serve as socializing agents by which post-exilic Israel is socialized into a particular social identity:

“Much of this strong historicizing concerns punctual circumstances that were considered turning points within the social memory of Israel (e.g., the fall of Jerusalem and the Temple; and the counter memory of the great salvation of Jerusalem at the time of Sennacherib’s invasion), or crucial steps in the way to these heightened turning points—a kind of mental “via dolorosa” of temporal events. None of which can be described in

²⁰¹ Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 9.

²⁰² Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 16.

²⁰³ Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 17.

terms of a habitual past, but of precise, non-repeatable events.”²⁰⁴

Here Ben Zvi’s approach to prophetic hermeneutics is reminiscent of the approach of James Sanders.²⁰⁵ For Sanders, the process by which biblical texts were formed was ultimately the story of how Israel carved out a distinctive social identity for itself over against other ancient Near East nations. Since the decisive pressures involved in this process were anthropological and sociological in character, Israel’s concern to bear theological witness through the medium of her traditions is a second order concern.²⁰⁶ The process by which biblical texts were formed is therefore fundamentally about *identity formation*, and theological concerns are subordinated to a sociological theory of how Israel distinguished itself from other social groups in its time.²⁰⁷ On Ben Zvi’s view, the forces which underwrite the characterization of prophetic figures in the Twelve are also fundamentally social in character, and therefore closely tied to changing historical needs of its later readership: “It is the historical circumstances of the target rereaderships of prophetic books that should draw our attention since they played a substantial role in the shaping of the characterization of the prophetic figures that populate these books.”²⁰⁸

Conclusion

Ben Zvi’s approach to the Twelve illustrates the continuing influence of the historical and social reductionism inherent in the hermeneutics of historical foundationalism. Because of this it virtually goes without saying that his approach fails to do justice to the theological pressures at work in the Twelve’s formation history, pressures to which the Twelve itself bears witness. As

²⁰⁴ Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 20.

²⁰⁵ See the discussion of Sanders in S. Chapman, *The Law and Prophets*, 36-40.

²⁰⁶ Sanders appeals to a theological principle of monotheistic pluralism to protect himself from the charge of subjectivism and anthropocentrism (i.e., Schleiermachian hermeneutics). However, as Chapman notes, his attempts to ground his sociologically driven theory of the interaction between text and community in “pluralistic monotheism” have not succeeded in overcoming the reductive character of his hermeneutic (See Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets*, 40 n. 110).

²⁰⁷ James A. Sanders, *Torah and Canon* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972) 91: “A canon begins to take shape *first and foremost* because a question of identity or authority has arisen, and a canon begins to become unchangeable or invariable somewhat later, *after* the question of identity has for the most part been settled” (emphasis added). Cited in Chapman, *Law and the Prophets*, 39.

²⁰⁸ Ben Zvi, “De-historicizing,” 23 n. 15.

but one example, one might cite the redactional impact of the theological confession of God's character in Exodus 34:6-7 upon the Twelve.²⁰⁹ By way of contrast, Ben Zvi's approach to prophetic intentionality in the Twelve derives its motive force from the reading practices driving the "rules of selection" by which the Twelve was shaped to meet certain social needs in postexilic Israel. In this way he assigns a decisive role to the reading practices and peculiar social needs of the Jerusalem literati (read: educated elite) in the Persian period, the latter of which ultimately account for the Twelve's final book sequence. To be sure, the Twelve's editors were involved in a generalizing redactional effort aimed at increasing its circulation. However this effort was fully circumscribed, not by a theological intention on the part of prophecy's tradents to bear witness to the God's larger purpose in Israel's history, but by the reading practices of the Twelve's target readership. By elevating the role of readers in this way, he precludes theological realities such as canon from establishing a distinction between the hermeneutical stances occupied by the Twelve's author-editors and its later readers, a problem which resurfaces in the text historical approach of Barry Jones, albeit in the context of recent developments in textual criticism.

This is not to dispute, of course, the fact that the Twelve's editors had future readers in mind when they shaped the Twelve. The presence of hermeneutical guidelines in the various books clearly points to the presence of certain reader-related concerns in the Twelve. Rather, the point in dispute concerns the theological nature of the relationship between these guidelines in the Twelve and its later readers. Such guidelines take their mandate from the authoritative claim of prophecy upon future generations. Ben Zvi's hermeneutic reverses this relationship by subordinating prophecy's authoritative claims to the norm provided by ancient reading strategies in the Persian period. Reader-orientation on this model is not a derivative of prophecy's authoritative character, but its *raison d'être*. However, if ancient reading conventions ultimately account for the Twelve's book sequence, rather than prophecy's authoritative claims upon future readers, why privilege the arrangement given to the Twelve by the Jerusalem literati? Why not

²⁰⁹ R. C. van Leeuwen has traced the impact of the attribute formula of Exodus 34:6-7 upon the first six books of the Twelve. See R. C. van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve," *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott, and W. J. Wiseman; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993) 31-49. See further below the discussion of Jörg Jeremias on the book of Joel.

rearrange the order of the Twelve to better suit modern reading conventions? Indeed, the latter option has already been pursued in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century approaches to the Twelve (for example, the approach of George Adam Smith).²¹⁰ Whatever else one might think of such approaches, they at least enjoyed the virtue of consistency with respect to the modernist assumptions they were built upon. Ben Zvi may or may not be inclined to fault these approaches, but in any case the point is moot, since the logic of his own position not only precludes him from arguing for the primacy of one particular arrangement of the Twelve over another, but from rendering a judgment on the matter at all. In the end questions such as these cannot be adjudicated by an appeal to historical and social forces, because the contingency of historical and social forces admits of no necessity, or for that matter, continuing authority, as Lessing pointed out long ago.

Summary of genetic approaches

The hermeneutical stance on the role of ‘history’ occupied by Barton and Ben Zvi illustrates, though in strangely different ways, the continuing impact of historical foundationalism and its attendant hermeneutic upon genetic approaches to the Twelve. The external forces of history and society drive the voice of theology underground, resulting in a reductionist approach to prophetic intentionality in the Twelve, which in Barton’s case has strong affinities with the proximity quests inherent in author-oriented approaches. In the case of Ben Zvi the influence of historicism manifests itself in another way. By grounding the Twelve’s final book sequence in the reading strategies of a Jerusalem-based literati rather than prophecy’s authoritative claims upon future readers, the hermeneutical basis for its arrangement is transferred to historical and social realities *outside* itself. Viewed from this perspective, Ben Zvi’s approach, like that of Barton’s, continues the hermeneutical legacy of historical foundationalism, a legacy characterized by the attempt to ground prophecy’s inner dynamic in historical realities *external* to prophecy itself, whether in the judicial claims of ‘history’ upon biblical studies (Barton), or in the specific reading practices of a given historical context (Ben Zvi).

A further consequence of the genetic orientation inherent in Barton’s approach stems from

²¹⁰ See further below the analysis of James Nogalski’s work on the Twelve.

his practice of consigning prophecy's authentic voice to the past, as his approach to Amos illustrates. Prophetic tradition and the books it has generated block access to the real Amos. As a result, the true voice of the prophets must be recovered, either by gaining access to their original context using the tools of historical retrieval (archaizing), or by summoning them into the present by means of a hermeneutical theory for overcoming their historical particularity (contemporizing).

As noted earlier, this hermeneutical crisis has been further exacerbated by a hermeneutic of suspicion which problematized the relationship between the real and its interpretation. In the hermeneutical aftermath of Kant, all acts of interpretive translation, whether archaizing or contemporizing, could be performed only at the cost of distancing oneself from the 'noumenal' Amos, that is, the unedited Amos. Barton's approach to the Twelve ultimately offers no way out of this hermeneutical dilemma, because his historical commitments preclude an alternative scenario in which the prophetic word comes to meet us through the canonical form of Scripture, not by means of an inscrutable mysticism (contra James Barr), but through the hermeneutical moves embedded in the final form of prophetic books. As the Twelve's recent reception history demonstrates, the exegetical case supporting the literary reality of these moves in the Twelve is already up and running, and has been for some time.²¹¹ From this point of view, the Twelve does not need to be summoned into our present, but instead comes to meet us, anticipating the hermeneutical needs of its later readers through its own literary form.

III. Form critical and tradition historical approaches to prophetic intentionality

Form critical and tradition historical approaches to prophetic hermeneutics are closely related to one another and will therefore be examined together.²¹² Insofar as they have been exploited for the development of prophetic hermeneutics, both approaches have typically sought

²¹¹ Wolfe's early work on Twelve already recognized the presence a proto-midrashic tendency in the Twelve aimed at providing assistance to its future readers, though his historical commitments obviously prevented him from developing its hermeneutical significance for the Twelve. See Rolland Wolfe, "The Editing of the Twelve," 90, 119-20.

²¹² While form criticism *proper* studies the formal properties of the *Gattungen* or types inherent in prophecy's earliest oral phases, tradition history traces the history and transmission of these *Gattungen* leading up to and including the final form of the text, at least in principle, if not in practice. For this reason the method of tradition history is commonly viewed as an extension of form criticism which expands the study of *Gattungen* to include prophecy's written and redactional phases. See Klaus Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition: The Form-Critical Method* (trans. S. Cupitt; New York: Scribner, 1969).

to gain access to prophetic intentionality through a study of the changing forms (*Gattungen*) and social function (*Sitz im Leben*) of prophetic traditions over time. The impact of changing historical and social contexts therefore tends to play a central role in accounting for change and development in the forms of prophetic literature. Another significant element in their approach to prophetic hermeneutics derives from form criticism's early association with the comparative method utilized by the *Religionsgeschichtliche schule*. This method exploited data gathered from the comparative study of religions and form critical comparisons with ancient Near East analogues to construct a *Gattungsgeschichte* or typology which then functioned as a developmental standard by which to date *and* interpret the various layers of tradition present in the Old Testament. In terms of its approach to explanation, the method of *Religionsgeschichte* assigns a decisive role to the Bible's external milieu, and in this respect shares in the hermeneutics of historical foundationalism. Nevertheless, there are significant hermeneutical differences between the method of *Religionsgeschichte* and tradition history, as the subsequent comparison of von Rad and Gunkel will make clear. The approaches of von Rad, Hans Wolff, Jörg Jeremias, Aaron Scharf, and Odil Steck reflect a stance that is basically congruent with tradition history's approach to theological intentionality in the Twelve, although in the case of Jeremias, Scharf, and Steck, interests in reading the Twelve as a unity have largely overruled the hermeneutical consequences involved in approaching the prophetic corpus upon the assumption that its genre is *tradition* rather than *canon*.

a. Gerhard von Rad

The issues generated by historical tensions in von Rad's hermeneutic continue to resurface in the modern reception history of the Twelve, and this is ultimately why his work, although dated in some respects, is still significant for the hermeneutical issues underwriting various approaches to the Twelve. While it may be going too far to say that the Twelve's modern reception history consists in a series of footnotes to von Rad (paraphrasing Whitehead on Plato), the hermeneutical problems inherent in his approach find significant echoes in Ronald Clements'

influential work on the Latter Prophets,²¹³ as well as Barry Jones' attempt to de-privilege the Masoretic arrangement of the Twelve by collapsing the canon-generated distinction between the Twelve's literary and textual history in the late Second Temple period.²¹⁴ Although Jones makes use of a text historical rather than tradition historical method, his theory of "multiple literary editions" for the Twelve is fully consistent with the outworking of tradition history's presuppositions on canon. Indeed, his suppression of the reality of canon in the era preceding the rise of Christianity results in a state of textual egalitarianism which finds a parallel in tradition history's argument against privileging one level of tradition over another in the tradition history of prophetic books. Since the latter argument finds its roots in the hermeneutical consequences of von Rad's tradition historical method, an exposition and critical analysis of his approach to prophetic hermeneutics has relevance for a number of the hermeneutical issues undergirding recent approaches to the Twelve, especially issues surrounding the nature of prophetic intentionality, eschatology, and typology in the Twelve, as well as the hermeneutical significance of canon for its literary unity.

Gunkel and the hermeneutics of Religionsgeschichte

Because von Rad's approach to the prophets rests upon a theological modification of earlier form critical methods developed by Hermann Gunkel and the so-called *Religionsgeschichtliche schule* of Hugo Gressmann and Ernst Troeltsch, the hermeneutical stance he adopts toward the prophets cannot be appreciated apart from a brief discussion of Gunkel's use of the *Religionsgeschichte* method, the latter of which functions as a hermeneutical prelude to von Rad's own development of the method of *traditionsgeschichte*, and will therefore be addressed here by way of preface. In Gunkel's hermeneutic, the methods of *Religionsgeschichte* and form criticism were united on the basis of an approach to exegesis he referred to as "Bible Science"

²¹³ Ronald Clements, "Patterns in the Prophetic Canon," in *Canon and Authority* (ed. George W. Coats and Burke O. Long; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 43-56; repr. in *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996) 191-202.

²¹⁴ Barry Alan Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon* (SBLDS 149; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).

(*biblische Wissenschaft*).²¹⁵ On his view this approach to explanation provided biblical scholars with a truly scientific method for identifying the Old Testament's true nature and genre,²¹⁶ a step Wellhausen was unable to take precisely because he lacked the form critical tools necessary for the recovery of the Old Testament's oral dimension.²¹⁷ By combining the methods of *Religionsgeschichte* and form criticism Gunkel hoped to construct a history of types for the period preceding the written fixation of prophecy, a history which would not only refocus source criticism's picture of Israel's history, but would also provide insight into the true nature of Scripture by uncovering its taproot.

Viewed from this perspective Gunkel's "Bible Science" constitutes another manifestation of the influence of scientific models of explanation (*erklären*) upon the Old Testament. The reconstructed histories of Israel which derive from the method of *Religionsgeschichte* function as a sort of "covering law" for assessing the historical evolution of the Old Testament's religious content. More significant from a hermeneutical point of view is the fact that they also require access to data gleaned from the comparative study of ancient religions as a precondition for the possibility of their construction. The proper or "scientific" method for understanding biblical texts is thus made directly dependent upon the knowledge of *extra-biblical* comparative data,

²¹⁵ Hermann Gunkel, "What is Left of the Old Testament?" in *What Remains of the Old Testament and Other Essays* (trans. Rev. A. K. Dallas; London: Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1928) 18-9.

²¹⁶ Thanks to the form critical method, modern scholars "have now worked out a clear conception of what the OT is" (H. Gunkel, "What is Left of the Old Testament?" 18). The premises of form criticism have recently been called into question, however, and especially the notion that oral tradition was relatively stable and "fixed" by the time it was written down, thus justifying the somewhat paradoxical phrase "oral literature." Recent research suggests that the concept of "oral literature" is the result of imposing categories upon oral tradition which properly apply only to written literature. Moreover, given the *fluid* character of the interaction performer, audience, and occasion, to speak of "oral literature" is misleading. See especially Gale Yee's discussion in her *Composition and Tradition in the Book of Hosea: A Redaction Critical Investigation* (SBLDS 102; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 37-40; cf. also Walter Ong's summary critique of the notion of "oral literature" in his *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Routledge, 1982, 2002) 10-15.

²¹⁷ Although Wellhausen recognized the presence of oral traditions underlying the written sources of the Pentateuch, he did not pursue their study, apparently because his historical location placed him on the edge of the ANE discoveries that were necessary for the construction of a formal typology later exploited by the *Religionsgeschichtliche schule*. See Patrick Miller, "Wellhausen on the History of Israel's Religion," *Semeia* 25 (1983) 61-73, esp. 65.

something hitherto unprecedented in the history of biblical interpretation.²¹⁸ Nevertheless, on Gunkel's view it is just here that the method of *Religionsgeschichte* reveals its true character as objective *Wissenschaft*. In a classic essay contrasting traditional approaches to biblical theology with the method of *Religionsgeschichte*, Gunkel notes that the latter method has replaced the former, and he grounds this replacement in the rejection of the hermeneutical relevance of theological concepts such as inspiration for the task of exegesis: "The recently experienced phenomenon of Biblical Theology's being replaced by the history of Israelite religion is to be explained from the fact that the spirit of historical investigation has now taken the place of a traditional doctrine of inspiration."²¹⁹ In other words, in order to approach the Old Testament in an objective and (therefore) scientific manner, it must be approached using a *general* hermeneutic that brackets out its *theological claims* and treats it as "any other book":

"To Old Testament Science the Bible is *in the first instance* a book produced by human means in human ways. Science has brought it down from heaven and set it up in the midst of the earth. It treats the Old Testament and the people of Israel with the same methods as would be applied to any other book and any other people. And by doing so Old Testament Science justly claims to be a fully qualified member of the circle of historical sciences."²²⁰

The question may be raised whether such an approach can do justice to the peculiar features of prophetic texts, especially the theological character of their self-witness. Because the comparative method's explanatory power relies upon the identification of an area of *commonness* between prophetic texts and data gathered from a comparative study of ancient religions, in the nature of the case its approach begins by factoring out the distinctively theological features of prophetic texts, or at least regards them as non-essential to their "scientific" explanation.²²¹ But if one

²¹⁸ See Childs, "The Old Testament as Scripture of the Church," *CTM* 43 (1972) 710. Childs' rightly notes that when historical method is understood in these terms, the proper interpretation of the Old Testament becomes "the private bailiwick of technical scholars" and resembles the same priestcraft by which the medieval church "deprived the people of the Bible by claiming the sole right of proper interpretation."

²¹⁹ H. Gunkel, "Biblische Theologie und biblische Religionsgeschichte: I des AT," *RGG*² 1, 1089-91, quote from 1090. Cited in Brevard Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments*, 6.

²²⁰ H. Gunkel, "What is Left of the Old Testament?" 19, emphasis added.

²²¹ It is important to note that in Gunkel's hermeneutic, a particular understanding of what counts as "science" and "scientific" explanation is being presupposed, and that this hermeneutic has come under heavy assault in the wake of recent attacks on foundationalist hermeneutics. See for example Richard Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979). Cf. also the excellent review of Rorty's book by

begins by subtracting the theological claims from prophetic texts in order to justify subsuming them under a general, “one-size-fits-all” hermeneutic, one has subtracted precisely those features of prophetic texts which set them apart from other documents that are non-religious or non-theological in nature. This hardly sounds like the objective and truly scientific enterprise Gunkel envisions it to be.

As noted earlier, implicit in the positivist model for explanation (*erklären*) is the notion that to explain a text, one must somehow get outside of it and subject it to an overarching, critically reconstructed norm, in this case a reconstructed history of Israel. The problem with applying this model to prophetic texts lies in the decisive hermeneutical role it assigns to *external* historical realities, realities which then form the basis for creating an alternative history that effectively absorbs the material witness of Scripture.²²² The devotees of this model were therefore not explaining biblical texts *per se*, but creating new ones.²²³ That being said, Gunkel’s eclectic method also attempted to do justice to the *internal dynamic* by which biblical texts were formed,²²⁴ and it is just here that the roots of tradition history take their birth. The externally-oriented character of the *Religionsgeschichte* method tended to explain biblical texts by relying, at least initially, upon comparative data gathered from the study of ancient religions. By way of contrast, the method of tradition history focused upon the internal development and adaptation of formal patterns *within* biblical literature. Gunkel’s fusion of these two methods generated a hermeneutical dualism within his approach that remained unresolved, although it seems fair to say that he focused the bulk of his attention upon the tradition historical development of biblical texts,

Richard J. Bernstein, “Philosophy in the Conversation of Mankind,” *The Review of Metaphysics* 33 (1980) 745-75.

²²² Cf. Christopher R. Seitz, “What Lesson Will History Teach? The Book of the Twelve as History,” in *‘Behind’ the Text: History and Biblical Interpretation* (ed. Craig Bartholomew, et al.; SHS 4; Carlisle: Paternoster; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003) 450 n. 16.

²²³ This observation also helps explain why the practitioners of *Religionsgeschichte* made little or no theological use of the history of biblical interpretation prior to the period of the Enlightenment. As Childs notes in another context, the reconstructed texts on offer in historical critical scholarship no longer share a common text with the history of exegesis. See Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 369-70.

²²⁴ Gunkel’s eclectic approach combined “form criticism, *Religionsgeschichte*, and historical research within the one exegetical discipline” (Childs, *Introduction*, 142). By way of contrast, von Rad tended to focus upon developing the tradition historical aspects of Gunkel’s program.

including prophetic texts in the Twelve.²²⁵ His use of tradition history inaugurated a move away from viewing historical research in terms of “a correlation between so-called objective historical facts and the biblical account,”²²⁶ focusing instead upon the interpretive use to which historical realities have been put within a tradition building process. In effect, his studies in tradition history triggered a paradigm shift in biblical studies which abandoned the Enlightenment view of history as “ostensive referent” for a more epistemologically sophisticated view of history as “interpretive tradition.”²²⁷ For this reason Gunkel did not share the penchant in nineteenth-century historiography for uncovering history *wie eigentlich gewesen ist*, or history as “brute fact,” as if such a thing were even possible, but instead sought to trace the internal dynamic by which the biblical traditions were formed. The subsequent turn from “history as ostensive referent” to “history as tradition” effectively broke down the Kantian dichotomy between the real (*noumena*) and its interpretation (*phenomena*) which dominated nineteenth-century approaches to Israel’s history and the prophets.²²⁸ As a result, Gunkel’s tradition historical heirs did not find it necessary, nor for that matter even hermeneutically possible, to penetrate beyond Israel’s construal of her history to an extra-traditional realm of brute historical fact.

The importance of the issues at stake in Gunkel’s use of tradition history are evident from the way in which the hermeneutical implications of his program for the theological reading of Scripture have continued to generate debate among later generations of Old Testament scholars.

²²⁵ See for example Gunkel’s essay “The Close of Micah: A Prophetic Liturgy,” in *What Remains of the Old Testament and Other Essays* (trans. Rev. A. K. Dallas; London: Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1928) 115-149. The approach of Frank Cross represents a later attempt to refine Gunkel’s use of the *Religionsgeschichte* method for the purpose of explicating the relationship between myth and history in Israel’s hermeneutic. See Frank M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

²²⁶ Childs, “Critical Reflections on James Barr’s Understanding of the Literal and the Allegorical,” *JSOT* 46 (1990) 3-9, quote from 6.

²²⁷ Cf. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis* (London: SCM Press, 1967) 19: “It cannot be emphasized strongly enough that the problem in the history of tradition is distinct from the problem of determining historicity. The failure to recognize the distinction between history and tradition has led to all kinds of dubious psychological and historical conjectures when it comes to the problem of *Traditionsgeschichte*.”

²²⁸ For the way in which this dichotomy worked itself out in nineteenth-century attempts to gain access to the ‘noumenal’ or real Amos apart from the lens provided by his later interpreters, see Christopher R. Seitz, “On Letting a Text ‘Act Like a Man’ -- The Book of the Twelve: New Horizons for Canonical Reading, with Hermeneutical Reflections,” *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 22 (2004) 151-172

For example, the question whether biblical events enjoyed a certain hermeneutical autonomy from their tradition historical interpretation was the fundamental issue in dispute between the “Altians and the Albrightians” in the Biblical Theology Movement of the mid-twentieth century, that is, in the ongoing conflict between the heirs of tradition history and the heirs of archaeological method over the nature of biblical history. Warning against the dangers involved in granting hermeneutical autonomy to biblical events, especially for those interested in a theological reading of Scripture, Karl Barth wrote:

“The idea against which we have to safeguard ourselves at this point is one which has tacitly developed in connexion with modern *theological historicism*. It is to the effect that in the reading and the understanding and expounding of the Bible the main concern can and must be to penetrate past the biblical texts to the facts which lie behind the texts. Revelation is then found in these facts as such (which in their factuality are independent of texts). Thus a history of Israel and of Old Testament religion is found behind the canonical Old Testament....this road must be called the wrong one...because at bottom it means succumbing to the temptation to read the Canon differently from what it is intended to be and can be read—which is the same thing...the [text’s] form cannot therefore be separated from the content, and there can be no question of a consideration of the content apart from the form.”²²⁹

From the point of view of von Rad and others who shared Barth’s concern, even if biblical scholars were to succeed in the epistemologically impossible task of separating historical events from their interpretation, they would be left with nothing more than an archaeological or historical artifact that was “theologically speechless,”²³⁰ and therefore of no value for understanding the theological forces driving the process of tradition building in Israel’s history.²³¹

*Von Rad and the hermeneutics of tradition history*²³²

²²⁹ See Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics I/2* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1956) 492-93, emphasis added.

²³⁰ Cf. Christopher Seitz, “What Lesson Will History Teach?” 445.

²³¹ Cf. the parallel sentiments of Childs vis-a-vis the Pentateuch in “The Old Testament as Scripture of the Church,” 721: “Divine revelation is not buried in past historical events which depend on recovery by archaeology in order to be made available to the church. Rather, the long history of the development of tradition reflects God’s continuing revelation of Himself to His Church which left its mark in the canonical shaping of the Pentateuch.”

²³² At various places in the following discussion I am indebted to the penetrating analyses of von Rad’s hermeneutic by Christopher Seitz. See Christopher Seitz, “The Historical-Critical Endeavor as Theology: The Legacy of Gerhard von Rad,” in *Word Without End: The Old Testament as Abiding Theological Witness* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 28-40; idem, “Prophecy and Tradition History: The Achievement of Gerhard von Rad and Beyond,” in *Prophetie in Israel: Beiträge des Symposiums ‘Das Alte Testament und die Kultur der Moderne’*

Von Rad's theological use of tradition history also tended to move in an opposite direction from the method of *Religionsgeschichte* by moving toward, rather than away from, the final form of biblical texts.²³³ While he shared earlier form criticism's concern with the initial phases of oral tradition, his approach moved beyond that concern to study the application of *Gattungen* to narrative, law, prophecy and wisdom texts in the Old Testament. Moreover, it was von Rad rather than Gunkel or Mowinckel who made use of the tradition historical method to exploit the theological dimension of the Old Testament,²³⁴ thereby introducing the form critical insights of an earlier generation (Gunkel, Gressmann, Alt and Mowinckel) to "a new theological audience."²³⁵ At the same time it must be said that his approach also carried forward certain elements of the method of *Religionsgeschichte*, as well as the view of history native to the hermeneutics of historical foundationalism.²³⁶ As a result, his theological deployment of tradition history struggled to overcome the historical tensions generated by Gunkel's fusion of the methods of *Religionsgeschichte* and form criticism, tensions which are especially evident in his understanding of actualization in the prophets.

The hermeneutical concept of actualization (*Vergegenwärtigung*) lies at the center of von

anlässlich 100. Geburtstags Gerhard von Rads (1901-1971), Heidelberg, 18.-21. Oktober 2001 (ed. I. Fisher, et al.; Alte Testament und Moderne 11; Münster: Lit-Verlag, 2003) 29-52. Cf. also C. Seitz, "Two Testaments and the Failure of One Tradition-History," in *Figured Out: Typology and Providence in Christian Scripture* (Louisville, KY: WJK Press, 2001) 35-47. I am also indebted to Joseph W. Groves' discussion of the concept of actualization in the works of von Rad, Gunkel, and Mowinckel. See Joseph W. Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament* (SBLDS 86; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).

²³³ For this reason Rolf Rendtorff argues that a consistent application of the premises of tradition history inevitably leads one toward a focus upon questions surrounding the final form of biblical books. Thus while Gunkel and von Rad saw themselves as building upon source criticism, in point of fact they were unwittingly laying the groundwork for its destruction. See Rolf Rendtorff, "The Paradigm is Changing: Hopes—And Fears," *Biblical Interpretation* 1:1 (1993) 34-53, esp. 42; idem, "The 'Yahwist' as Theologian? The Dilemma of Pentateuchal Criticism," *JSOT* 3 (1977) 2-9; idem, *The Problem of the Process of Transmission in the Pentateuch* (JSOTS 89; trans. J. J. Scullion; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990). Cf. also "The Image of Post-exilic Israel in German Bible Scholarship from Wellhausen to von Rad," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992).

²³⁴ See Childs, *An Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 115.

²³⁵ Brevard Childs, "Gerhard von Rad in American Dress," in *The Hermeneutical Quest: Essays in Honor of James L. Mays on his 65th Birthday* (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1986) 77.

²³⁶ See the discussion of Barton above.

Rad's approach to the unity and theological integrity of prophecy,²³⁷ and also illustrates the residual influence of the method of *Religionsgeschichte* upon his hermeneutic. On the one hand, von Rad depended on data provided by his knowledge of comparative religions, and of the ancient Near East practice of mythological actualization in particular, to explain the cultic origin of Israel's sacred traditions.²³⁸ On the other hand, he also sought to discover the *distinctive* character of prophetic actualization by tracing its development within the Old Testament. Noting that the approaches to actualization in the ancient Near East were centered in religious cults which depended upon a cyclical, and therefore non-linear or non-eschatological view of history, he argued that Israel's distinctively *historical* approach to actualization arose in the wake of the breakdown of cultic actualization.²³⁹ The crisis which brought about this breakdown remains inexplicable, but was closely tied to the rise of historical consciousness in Israel. While this ultimately involved a shattering of the "anti-historical" understanding of actualization at work in cultic forms of actualization, this "shattering" was not a punctiliar event, but a gradual process.²⁴⁰ For a time, both forms of actualization existed side by side, and only gradually did cultic or mythological forms of actualization lose their influence altogether in Israel's tradition building process. By the time of Amos and Hosea, however, this historicized form of actualization was fully in place, and it formed the hermeneutical basis for their appropriation of Israel's saving traditions.

Von Rad's view of the origin and nature of Israel's saving traditions form the context for his understanding of their appropriation by the prophets, and will therefore be briefly recapitulated

²³⁷ Joseph Groves has convincingly argued that von Rad's peculiar understanding of actualization became the central category underwriting his approach to the theological integrity of the Old Testament. While Groves recognizes that von Rad himself denied the presence of a *conceptual* "center" for the Old Testament, on his view this does not preclude the fact that von Rad regarded actualization as the Old Testament's center in a *hermeneutical* or methodological sense. See Joseph W. Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament*, 144 n. 99; cf. Brevard Childs, "Gerhard von Rad in American Dress," 78.

²³⁸ See the chapter titled "Israel's Ideas about Time, History, and the Prophetic Eschatology" in *Old Testament Theology*, 2.99-125.

²³⁹ For a full discussion of the distinction between *cultic* and *chronological* actualization in von Rad's hermeneutic, see Joseph W. Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament* (SBLDS 86; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).

²⁴⁰ von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.108.

here, though this picture will be familiar to most readers. Taking Wellhausen's documentary hypothesis as a point of departure, von Rad modified source criticism's view of the formation of the Pentateuch, arguing instead for a Hexateuch in which the Jahwist, Elohist, Deuteronomist and Priestly writers were involved in the construction of confessional or saving histories built up from local oral traditions. Their peculiar genius lay in gathering together these various isolated saving traditions and *sequentializing* them, Deuteronomy 26:5 being a written record of one of the earliest examples of this summation of previously isolated oral traditions.²⁴¹ However, in order for the prophets to make use of these saving traditions for their own day, their original form necessarily had to be adapted. On von Rad's view this followed as a consequence of Israel's peculiar view of the relation between history and event. Israel's concept of history, which the prophets inherited, rested upon the belief that saving events were inseparably joined with the specific historical moment or time in which they occurred. As such, Israel's view of history clearly differed from the Enlightenment understanding of history and time as absolute. On the latter view, history functions as a sort of absolute container in which events occur, and thus can be abstracted from particular events, since history and time ultimately exist independently of these events. By way of contrast, Israel's saving history or *Heilsgeschichte* did not have an independent existence from the events which formed them. As a consequence, saving events in Israel's history were necessarily non-repeatable, since they could not be abstracted from the historical moment in which they occurred. Because of this, the theological message or *kerygma* inherent in Israel's saving traditions was historically discrete and localized in its outlook, inseparably bound to a particular time and geographical locale, and therefore non-transferrable to later situations apart from its reactualization.

Von Rad and prophetic intentionality

Against this background, the basic profile of von Rad's understanding of the peculiar intentionality driving the rise of prophecy begins to emerge. His approach to prophetic intentionality may be styled *kerygmatic intentionality*, since it combines the theological message of the prophets with the localized understanding of intentionality native to modern historical

²⁴¹ von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.105-07.

methods, the main difference being that von Rad's kerygmatic approach seeks to derive intentionality, not from its external historical context or referent *per se*, but from a study of the way in which Israel's traditions were modified in order to address the changing specifics of differing historical contexts. Viewed from this perspective, von Rad's approach to prophetic intentionality shares in historicism's continuing commitment to "the law of historical exclusivity."²⁴² The law itself rests upon a hermeneutical principle distilled from the Enlightenment philosophy of history enshrined in Lessing's ugly ditch, to wit, that "the accidental truths of history can never become the proof of the necessary truths of reason." Lessing's philosophy of history therefore denied the ability of past historical events to communicate or embody that which is universally applicable and binding upon later generations. Applied to tradition history, this meant that Israel's saving events, as well as the theological message attached to them, necessarily address *only* the particular historical period in which they originate—they are, as it were, locked in the past. To state it another way, the theological intentionality of a given tradition is necessarily localized in its outlook and scope. Because of this a hermeneutical gap exists between the prophets and the earlier saving traditions embodied in Israel's Hexateuch, a gap which can be only be bridged by means of the prophetic reactualization of Israel's saving traditions.

At the same time it is crucial to note that von Rad's understanding of the motive force driving actualization did not rest exclusively upon historical grounds, but *also* upon the theological character of the word of God. On the one hand, the theological warrant for the renewal of prophetic traditions in later contexts lies in von Rad's recognition that *from Israel's point of view*, the claims of the prophetic word cannot be limited to, or exhausted by, the specific needs of a given time and context. Here von Rad's concept of the history-creating word of God is

²⁴² Von Rad associates this law with the rise of historical consciousness in modernity and defines it as the belief that "a certain event or certain historical experience can be attached only to a single definite point in history" (Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:110). Cf. also the discussion in Joseph Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in Old Testament Interpretation*, 69-70. Here 'history' is understood as a temporal medium which *necessarily* isolates and particularizes any given phenomenon of human experience. It is the soil out of which modern existentialism grows. For an example of the way in which the hermeneutic accompanying this view of history finds expression in the theological exegesis of the Old Testament, see the remarks of Childs on Westermann's approach to Isaiah in his *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 337-38.

central,²⁴³ a concept in which the prophetic word, once injected into history, continues to reverberate through tradition history, pressing forward in time toward fulfillment, with each fulfillment in turn becoming the basis for a fresh renewal of the promise.²⁴⁴ Israel's own understanding of her history is thus a testimony to the inexhaustible nature of God's word and its continual fulfillment and renewal through time. On this theological level, a level reflective of Israel's own perspective, the so-called law of historical exclusivity obviously did not apply. On the other hand, however, von Rad's continuing commitment to a critical view of history restricted the scope of the application of Israel's saving traditions to specific historical contexts. Thus on a *historical* level, older saving traditions had no continuing theological validity beyond their own time, and therefore from a modern point of view, their reactualization is to be accounted for on the basis of historical rather than theological pressures.

Von Rad and the unity of prophecy

Von Rad never resolved the conflict inherent in the dual roles played by theological and historical pressures in his model of tradition history, an observation which in retrospect seems ironic, especially given his desire to come to terms with Israel's own grasp of her history rather than opting for a reconstruction of that history brokered by the comparative method of *Religionsgeschichte*.²⁴⁵ The continuing legacy of this conflict is manifest, for example, in his attempts to preserve the theological integrity and unity of prophecy in light of its editorial history. From one point of view von Rad's tradition historical method may be viewed as an attempt to justify the literary integrity of prophecy, a project made necessary in the fallout of source

²⁴³ See von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.80-98; cf. also Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament*, 35, 51-53, 119 n. 41; Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel* (SBT 37; London: SCM Press, 1962) 84; idem, "Critique of Recent Intertextual Canonical Interpretation," *ZAW* 115:2 (2003) 176: "The entire OT is consistent in confessing that there is a divine address in Scripture to a covenant people, mediated through the lawgivers, prophets, and sages that continually break through the filters of human consciousness in spite of its claims to autonomy. Especially for the prophets a divine word is proclaimed with its history-creating power to fulfill itself in promise or judgment."

²⁴⁴ Cf. the comments of C. Seitz on hermeneutical significance of Zechariah 1:1-6: "The idea that a word from the past outlives original audiences and one who delivered it both, is explicitly detailed at a pivotal moment of the Twelve's transition, at the beginning of Zechariah (1:1-6)...New generations are addressed by a former word, and the former word gives rise to new prophetic discourse of a different yet continuous character." See C. Seitz, "On Letting a Text 'Act Like a Man,'" 151-172, quote from 170.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Christopher R. Seitz, "Prophecy and Tradition History," 33.

criticism's tendency to fragment the prophetic witness into isolated and disparate units. Source critical approaches to the prophets had precluded the possibility of reading them as a unity, because compositional literary units were understood in terms of that which lies *within* the boundary of the respective sources and *not* that which lies between them. Source criticism thus lacked a mechanism by which to justify the practice of reading *across* documentary and sectional boundaries, thereby problematizing the unity of Old Testament prophecy. Von Rad's tradition historical approach offered an alternative hermeneutical model for understanding the relations between disparate prophetic sources. Following Gunkel's lead, the ultimate origins of prophetic literature were reconceptualized in terms of oral traditions rather than literary sources,²⁴⁶ a move which cleared the way for reading the prophets as a unity on the basis of their common standing within a given tradition, for example, the traditions of the Exodus, Sinai, the Conquest, and Zion's inviolability now resident in the literary witness of the Old Testament.²⁴⁷ Once it was recognized that the authors and editors working within these traditions shared a common stock of theological ideas, the common places in the prophets could be accounted for, as well as the practice of reading the prophets as a literary unity. In other words, a unified theological reading of Israel's individual prophetic traditions was possible on the basis of their common relation to an *external* theological tradition.

In the tradition-historical approach of Sigmund Mowinckel, for example, this took the

²⁴⁶ Childs, *Introduction*, 307: "The terminology of books, authors, and glosses was replaced with that of tradition, circles, and collections."

²⁴⁷ On Rolf Rendtorff's reading, tradition history continued the movement back toward the Old Testament's final form inaugurated by Gunkel's use of form criticism, and for this reason he interprets Von Rad and Noth as transitional figures standing between Gunkel and Childs. Cf. his remarks along these lines in his essay "The Paradigm in Changing," *Biblical Interpretation* 1 (1993) 43: "I have sought to demonstrate that Old Testament scholarship in this century was, and still is, deeply determined by the methods of *Literarkritik*, in the form of the Documentary Hypothesis. At the same time, this paradigm was continually undermined by form criticism and its continuation in tradition criticism and, in a certain sense, in redaction criticism—a development that finally led to a new interest in the final form of the books, and even larger entities, within the Old Testament. There is continuity with the present discussion about the final shape of the text, canon criticism, and the like." On Rendtorff's view, Old Testament scholarship's continuing failure to recognize that form criticism laid the groundwork for source criticism's destruction is due to the ruling 'power of paradigms' in a Kuhnian sense.

form of arguing that a given prophetic book was the product of a *common school* of prophets.²⁴⁸ Literary unity in the book of Isaiah, for example, could be accounted for in terms of the assumption that both Second and Third Isaiah were members of a common prophetic school. This helps to explain why in Mowinckel's case, tradition historical commitments effectively prevented him from taking seriously the possibility that the traditions of prophetic books worked on the basis of a collective intentionality which sought to forge hermeneutical and theological links between prophetic oracles, links which were both deliberate and purposive. When such links became apparent in the prophets, Mowinckel's commitment to his particular version of tradition history obliged him to regard them as the *incidental* by-product of their location in a common tradition or school. Consequently, literary relations between the prophetic books were not the product of a conscious intention on the part of tradents to relate them to one another, but merely incidental to the fact that both were the product of a common prophetic school.²⁴⁹

Ronald Clements has noted that Mowinckel's approach to the unity of the prophets somewhat ironically resembles the single authorship model of conservative scholars such as O.T. Allis and E. J. Young, since it argues for literary unity on the basis of the common vocabulary and literary styles found within prophetic books, the main difference being that in the case of Mowinckel, the common literary style is accounted for in terms of a school of prophet-disciples rather than a lone prophet.²⁵⁰ Clements further argues that the "school" model obscures the relationship between the prophet and his interpreters, the latter of which were not probably not prophets in the official sense, nor were they authors in their own right, but rather inspired *interpreters* of the revelation given through the original prophetic oracles. Still others have argued that tradition history's notion of a "school" is an anachronistic reading of the master-

²⁴⁸ Sigmund Mowinckel, *Jesaja-disiplene: Profeten fra Jesaja til Jeremia* (Oslo: Forlagt AV.H. Aschhoug & Co., 1925). On the application of this theory to the problem of Second Isaiah, see R. Clements, "Beyond Tradition History: Deutero-Isaianic Development of First Isaiah's Themes," in *OT Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon*, 79 n. 7.

²⁴⁹ In the case of the book of Isaiah, Clements argues that appealing to the notion of a common school or outlook in the prophets does not serve to explain the "truly *intrinsic* connection of content between the various blocks of material." See Ronald Clements, "Deutero-Isaianic Development," 79, emphasis added.

²⁵⁰ For criticisms of this approach, see R. Clements, "The Unity of the Book of Isaiah," in *OT Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon*, 94-5; idem, "The Ezekiel Tradition: Prophecy in a Time of Crisis," 146-48; idem, "The Interpretation of OT Prophecy," 14-5; cf. also H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah*, 8.

disciple relationship found in later Hellenistic schools of philosophy into Old Testament narratives and have questioned the notion that the relationship between a prophet and his “followers” bears any resemblance to the master-disciple relationship found in philosophical Hellenistic schools and the later New Testament period.²⁵¹

In the case of von Rad, however, prophecy’s unity becomes problematic for different reasons. With reference to the Twelve in particular, his failure to get in touch with its own system of cross-reference does not stem from a commitment to the “school model” of Mowinckel, but from his continuing commitment to a theory of history imported from modernism.²⁵² This commitment ultimately frustrated his effort to adopt an empathetic stance on Israel’s own faith-construal of her history, as well as his ability to come to terms with the broader canonical intentionality at work in the Twelve. This is manifest, for example, in his attempts to account for Micah’s usage of the Zion tradition in Micah 3:12, a usage which appears to be the polar opposite of the usage found in Isaiah. Here the hermeneutical consequences which follow from the localized orientation of kerygmatic intentionality become apparent, since the historical particularism inherent in this orientation individualizes and isolates the traditions generated by the prophets and their tradents. Contrasting Isaiah’s use of the tradition of Zion’s inviolability with that of Micah 3:12, von Rad argues that “...there is absolutely no bridge between Micah and the hopes cherished concerning Zion by Isaiah, his fellow-countryman and contemporary. Micah in fact expected Zion to be blotted out of the pages of history.”²⁵³ Here von Rad’s historically restrictive reading of prophetic intentionality is precisely what creates the problem for him with respect to Isaiah and Micah, especially since he wishes to highlight, not only the diversity of the prophets, but also their literary integrity, albeit rough-edged and complex. Yet his doctrine of kerygmatic intentionality tends to hermeneutically foreground the *discrete* contexts of the various

²⁵¹ For example, K. H. Rengstorf argues that the OT examples typically appealed to by the practitioners of tradition history actually involve master-servant relationships rather than master-disciple relationships in the Hellenistic sense of the term. See K. H. Rengstorf, maqthv, *TDNT* IV, 426-31.

²⁵² Cf. C. Seitz, “Prophecy and Tradition History,” 31.

²⁵³ von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.176.

prophetic books rather than that which links them together.²⁵⁴ Thus while his version of tradition history sheds light upon the disparate interpretations of the Zion tradition in Isaiah and Micah 3:12, it appears to be left without a mechanism for justifying the literary unity and ‘common places’ in the prophets.

Von Rad and the origins of prophetic eschatology

Von Rad attempted to provide redress for this issue by grounding the literary unity of the prophets in his peculiar theory of prophetic actualization, arguing that while there are “great differences” between the prophets, yet “their religious ideas led them to an absolutely common conviction, one so novel and revolutionary when compared with all their inherited beliefs, that it makes the differences, considerable as these are, seem almost trivial and peripheral.”²⁵⁵ As one reads on in his discussion, it becomes apparent that this shared conviction consists in the prophetic judgment that Israel’s saving traditions are insufficient, in their original and unaltered form, to address the needs of the largely apostate Israel later confronted by the prophets. For this reason the distinctive characteristic of the prophetic reactualization of Israel’s traditions consists in their eschatological orientation,²⁵⁶ an orientation which carries with it the implication that “only the acts which lie in the future are to be important for Israel’s salvation.”²⁵⁷ As von Rad notes elsewhere: “On this view of the matter, the message of the prophets has to be termed eschatological wherever it regards the old historical bases of salvation as null and void.”²⁵⁸ In other words, the very presence of eschatology in the prophets implies the insufficiency of Israel’s past saving traditions, and it is precisely this conviction which unites the prophets in spite of their otherwise “great differences.” In sum, while the diversity of prophetic tradition consists in the

²⁵⁴ Cf. Seitz, “Prophecy and Tradition History: The Achievement of Gerhard von Rad and Beyond,” 46.

²⁵⁵ von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.177.

²⁵⁶ von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.113: “The new element which in a certain respect differentiates [the prophets] from all previous spokesmen of Jahwism is—to use the controversial but unavoidable term—the eschatological element.”

²⁵⁷ von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.185.

²⁵⁸ von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.118.

characteristic and specific attitude of each prophet toward tradition,²⁵⁹ its unity may be found in the common prophetic conviction that Israel's saving traditions must be creatively revitalized in order to address the needs of later generations. The emergence of eschatology in the prophets was inseparably bound up with this revitalization and a direct consequence of the prophetic need to overcome the localized intentionality inherent in the earlier actualizations by which Israel's saving traditions were formed.

Von Rad on the Day of Jahweh

Von Rad's discussion of the origin of the DOL in the prophets also illustrates the impact of kerygmatic intentionality upon his hermeneutic.²⁶⁰ Recognizing that the DOL is often regarded as the heart of prophetic eschatology, von Rad asks whether the widespread employment of the DOL in the prophets suggests that the prophets borrowed it from a previously existing, well-established eschatological tradition that formed a component part of the general intellectual landscape of the ancient Near East.²⁶¹ While the practitioners of *Religionsgeschichte*, and Gressmann in particular, argued along these lines, von Rad regards this explanation of the DOL's origins as improbable, since on his view it fails to account for the fact that the DOL is not an exclusively eschatological concept in the prophets, but is sometimes used in connection with *past* events as well.²⁶² In contrast to his earlier reliance upon comparative data to account for the cultic origins of actualization, here von Rad's commitment to uncovering the *internal dynamic* governing prophetic actualization leads him to actively resist the externally-oriented method of *Religionsgeschichte*. Rather than rely upon external comparisons with ancient Near East mythological practices, especially given the ambiguous character of the DOL in the prophets, he argues that a more sound approach would be to closely examine prophetic usages of the DOL in

²⁵⁹ von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.185 note 17.

²⁶⁰ On the DOL, see von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.119-25.

²⁶¹ von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.119.

²⁶² von Rad cites Ezekiel 13:5, 34:12, and Lamentations 1:12; 2:22 as illustrative examples.

light of Israel's saving traditions.²⁶³

Such an examination reveals that the DOL typically involves Jahweh coming to execute battle upon his enemies, a fact which leads von Rad to ground the origin of the DOL in Israel's ancient holy war tradition: "In this concept of Jahweh's coming to an act of war we have at least one concept clearly stamped with Israel's own tradition, and we should establish its relationship with the prophetic utterances about the day of Jahweh before we try any other methods of interpretation."²⁶⁴ In light of these observations it is not surprising that he also resists the standard critical view that Amos 5:18-20 presupposes a fully developed "popular eschatology" (*Volksesthatologie*), as though eschatological ideas were already up and running in the Israel prior to Amos's day.²⁶⁵ Rather Amos's use of the language of "darkness" to describe the judgment theophany of Jahweh clearly indicates that his concept of the DOL was based upon a prophetic revitalization of Israel's ancient holy war traditions. The novelty which arises from this revitalization in Amos 5:18-20 does not consist in the idea that the judgment theophany of Jahweh will be "darkness,"²⁶⁶ but in the reality that the DOL will now be directed against Israel. Von Rad further notes that Isaiah twice connects the eschatological event of war with one of the holy wars of the past,²⁶⁷ confirming the hypothesis that Israel's saving traditions, rather than a preexisting eschatological tradition derived from mythological actualization practices, or a previously existing *Volksesthatologie*, is the basis for the DOL in the prophets.

It is crucial to recognize that for von Rad, the holy war tradition actualized by the prophets was not eschatological *per se*. While eschatology does not exist in a preformed state somewhere outside Israel's saving traditions, neither does it exist within those traditions *per se*. Rather, it

²⁶³ Distinguishing his own view of the origin of prophetic eschatology from that of Gressmann, von Rad notes: "This view of the eschatological message differs from the earlier one in that it does not presuppose either a whole 'complex' of eschatological expectations on which the prophetic preaching could draw or an already made eschatological *schema*" (*Old Testament Theology*, 2.118).

²⁶⁴ von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.123.

²⁶⁵ von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.125.

²⁶⁶ von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.137 note 14.

²⁶⁷ Here von Rad compares Isaiah 9:4 with Judges 7, and Isaiah 28:21 with 2 Samuel 5:20, 25.

arises from the prophetic actualization and projection of those traditions into the future. The eschatological stance occupied by the prophets vis-a-vis Israel's past is precisely what constitutes their distinctiveness, on the one hand, and the common or uniting factor in their hermeneutical stance toward her older traditions, on the other. Yet this stance itself is the inevitable consequence of a prophetic need to overcome the localized intentionality driving the process of tradition building. As a result, the theological motives at work in the eschatologizing of Israel's traditions, and in the role played by the DOL in particular, stand in direct opposition to the historical pressures which made such eschatologizing necessary in the first place. In the end, this struggle for supremacy between historical and theological pressures within the traditioning process "both carried forward and vetoed" the legacy generated by historical pressures in von Rad's hermeneutic.²⁶⁸

Von Rad on typology in the prophets

The hermeneutical issues generated by the historical tensions in von Rad's hermeneutic find further expression in his use of typology to account for the inner logic of prophetic eschatology.²⁶⁹ As his discussion of the relation between Isaiah and Micah 3:12 makes clear, kerygmatic intentionality problematized the unity of prophecy by foreclosing the possibility of establishing intrinsic hermeneutical linkages between the prophetic books. It also rendered problematic the link between the Old and New Testament, and this raised significant hermeneutical issues for von Rad, since as a Christian theologian he was also concerned to demonstrate the unity of the Bible's two-testament witness to Jesus Christ. The pursuit of the Bible's larger unity therefore placed an additional burden upon his hermeneutic to overcome the existing impasse between prophecy's localism and the need for a forward-moving tradition history leading up to the New Testament. A particular theory of typology served to bridge this gap. The earlier saving events of the Exodus, the founding of Zion, and the establishment of David's throne had to be projected into the future in order to guarantee their continuing relevance, and typology

²⁶⁸ See Christopher Seitz, "Two Testaments and the Failure of One Tradition-History," 35.

²⁶⁹ In von Rad's hermeneutic prophetic eschatology is a species within the larger genus of typology: "Unquestionably, the reactualization of historical saving appointments or events in the eschatological message of the prophets is typical of Jahwism, and is a special form of typological thinking" (von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.458).

became the mechanism by which this eschatological projection was accomplished. By typologizing events such as Exodus, the prophets created a movement within the tradition process which continued to press forward until finally reaching fulfillment in the New Testament. Typology therefore also became the means by which to open up one end of the Old Testament and make it lean forward into the New Testament, ostensibly overcoming the separation of the Old from the New generated by the isolating historicism of *Religionsgeschichte*. Once again, however, this solution was bought at the price of vetoing the kerygmatic intentionality driving the growth of Israel's salvation history:

“...the effort to conjoin tradition-history and typology, as a way to understand the relationship between the two testaments of Christian Scripture, made difficult the theology of history upon which it depended in the first place. This history had to be *misread* and projected into the realm of eschatology or the ideal in order accommodate a notion of constant forward-movement, eventually leading into the New Testament. In order to get the Old Testament to lean into the New, its *sensus literalis* had to be viewed as both historically referential [i.e., historically exclusive] but also as essentially eschatological: the projection into a spiritual realm of quite explicit historical credenda.”²⁷⁰

It should be noted that the hermeneutics of historical misreading implicit in von Rad's appropriation of typology do not come to an end with the prophetic reactualization of Israel's saving history. Prophetic projections into the future were also addressed to local contexts, and therefore subject to the same hermeneutical limitations as the saving traditions from which they were drawn: “The message of every prophet was exactly directed to meet a specific time, and it contained an offer which was never repeated in precisely the same form as it had with the original speaker.”²⁷¹ In other words, new typologies continually arise in Israel's history as each generation reappropriates earlier prophecies for their own day.

Here again the conflict between von Rad's concept of the history-creating word of God and prophecy's historical particularism becomes evident. On a theological level the prophetic word remained open to the future, creating its own history through the continuing fulfillment and renewal of the inexhaustible word of God. On this level typologizing functions as a form of

²⁷⁰ C. Seitz, “Prophecy and Tradition History,” 38, emphasis added.

²⁷¹ von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.299. Cf. also 300: “Thus, the message of every prophet was closely bound up with the point in history at which it was delivered, and after this point no message could be repeated exactly in its original sense. This is where creative interpretation begins.”

prophetic *exegesis* which draws out the representative character of Israel's saving events for the future. From a modern historical point of view, however, prophetic typologizing is a form of *eisegesis* which runs counter to the historical particularism of prophecy. On this level, prophecy is not open to the future, but must be rendered open by overcoming its historically discrete kerygma. This dualism in von Rad's hermeneutic accounts for the fact that he sometimes speaks as though prophecy is inherently open to the future,²⁷² while at other times implies that this openness is the product of prophecy's creative reinterpretation.²⁷³ As a result, the picture of prophecy, eschatology, and typology in von Rad's *Old Testament Theology* varies according to the particular perspective he is speaking from, whether that of Israel's own grasp of her history, or that of the critical stance on history adopted by modernism.

Von Rad and the hermeneutical significance of canon

Tradition history approaches the prophetic corpus upon the assumption that its genre is *tradition* rather than *canon*, the latter of which is usually regarded as a secondary classification associated with certain post-facto decisions made by rabbinic Judaism and the early Christian church. Because of the narrow definition of canon at work in tradition historical approaches,²⁷⁴ the hermeneutical significance of canon for the *process* of tradition building is either ruled out from the outset, or finally subordinated to the voice of history. Von Rad's approach to the prophets stands as a case in point. His commitments to tradition history virtually excluded the possibility that a canonical principle was at work in the tradition building process, whereby some

²⁷² Cf. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.361: "All presentation of history in the Old Testament is one form or another inherently open to a future. 'Radical openness for the future' has been rightly called the characteristic of the understanding of existence in the Old and New Testaments alike; in this connexion 'future' is always a future to be released by God."

²⁷³ "Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy that Jahweh would lead his people home was valid in that precise form only for the exiles of Babylon. Even Trito-Isaiah could only take it up in a considerably altered form, because the historical situation had altered. Thus, the message of every prophet was closely bound up with the point in history at which it was delivered, and after this point no message could be repeated in exactly its original sense. This is where creative interpretation begins" (von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.300).

²⁷⁴ See especially note 33 above.

traditions were either reused without significant alteration,²⁷⁵ or were subject to an editorial adaptation regarded as perpetually valid.²⁷⁶ To be sure, the application of prophecy was often localized in character, especially in its early phases. At the same time it is also clear that the shaping of original prophecies often sought to render the material in such a way as to lay authoritative claim upon future generations, and thus based itself upon a hermeneutical stance reflective of “canon-consciousness” (*Kanonbewusstsein*). To take but one example from the Twelve, Joel 1:3 may be cited: “Tell your children of it, and let your children tell their children, and their children another generation.”²⁷⁷ In his study of the development of the concept of *Vergegenwärtigung* in von Rad’s hermeneutic, Joseph Groves makes a similar observation: “What we need to note in connection with actualization is that the canonization process, which concluded with the fixation of both the number of books and the texts of those books for the Old and New Testaments, regards the Biblical materials as eternally valid, good for all generations. While one cannot deny that historical specificity did function in the Old Testament, especially in relation to the prophetic oracles, one cannot deny that the counter-trend of canonization was also present.”²⁷⁸

Because the consequences of von Rad’s failure to develop the hermeneutical implications of this “canonical principle” for prophetic tradition continue to register themselves in more recent

²⁷⁵ See for instance Ackroyd’s seminal article “The Vitality of the Word of God in the Old Testament: A Contribution to the Study of the Transmission and Exposition of Old Testament Material,” in *Studies in the Religious Tradition of the Old Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1987) 61-75. Ackroyd traces the use of a prophetic formula that is reapplied without significant alteration to three different contexts in the book of 1 Kings (1 Kings 14:11; 16:4; 21:24).

²⁷⁶ Westermann’s study of OT psalms points to a form of actualization which editorially adapted material “for all generations” rather than a specific time. See Joseph Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament*, 76: “...a central aspect of von Rad’s concept [of actualization] is that each contemporization is aimed at a specific historical situation, and that the material must be actualized anew by each succeeding generation. The implication of the actualization in the psalms is that they are valid for all generations as they are—Psalm 79 as reiterated praise of God, Psalm 78 as a constant warning to the people of God. This is not easily squared with the psalm being applicable to a specific historical occasion, as von Rad would have it.”

²⁷⁷ Joel 1:3 (RSV).

²⁷⁸ Joseph W. Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament*, 160.

approaches to the Twelve, albeit in different contexts,²⁷⁹ it is important to call attention to one such consequence at this juncture. By suppressing the hermeneutical significance of canon for the traditioning process, von Rad was ultimately left without a theological rationale for privileging the final form of prophetic books over their earlier levels of development. The remarks of Joseph Groves are *apropos* here: “Von Rad and other proponents of actualization claim to have rescued the secondary material in the prophets from obscurity and returned it to its place of theological validity. Compared to Wellhausen’s scornful dismissal of non-genuine words, they have. However, all that actualization has done is to create more layers of interpretation in the prophetic literature to go along with the original layer.”²⁸⁰ As a result, the various layers of tradition within a prophetic book continue to possess independent theological value in their own right, apart from the role assigned to them by the final form of the book. The result is a state of tradition historical egalitarianism which ultimately undermines the case for privileging the final form of prophetic books.²⁸¹

In retrospect, this shortcoming in von Rad’s version of tradition history appears ironic, since the recognition that a “canonical principle” was at work in the traditioning process actually has its roots in form criticism’s attempt to establish the exact genre of the Old Testament’s literary prehistory. Building upon Gunkel’s method, Otto Eissfeldt sought the prehistory of the concept of canon in the development of oral tradition, and this opened the door to the recognition that a canon-consciousness was already at work in oral tradition, prior to its written phases. While Eissfeldt himself failed to follow through on this insight, it was developed in part by Peter

²⁷⁹ Cf. for example the discussion of Ben Zvi above and the later discussion of Barry Jones below.

²⁸⁰ Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation*, 161, emphasis added.

²⁸¹ Cf. Robert B. Laurin, “Tradition and Canon,” in *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament* (ed. Doug Knight; London: SPCK, 1977) 272: “The canonizing process...teaches us to accept each stage in the developing canon as having authority in witnessing to how each generation heard God’s will for themselves...No stage...is the final or more authoritative stage. The people of God in every generation must engage in the canonizing process, that is, must hear the spirit convincing it of God’s word for itself in its own situation.” Cited in Barton, “The Canonical Meaning of the Book of the Twelve,” 64-5.

Ackroyd and Ronald Clements,²⁸² and later more fully by Brevard Childs.²⁸³ The canonical approach to the prophets inaugurated by the works of these scholars points up the fact that a more comprehensive approach to the theological intentionality at work in the final form of the Twelve is needed in order to come to terms with its redaction history. The argument being made here, especially in light of von Rad's treatment of Micah 3:12, is that the historicism inherent in tradition history's narrow concepts of prophetic intentionality and canon effectively precludes that project. To be sure, a canonical hermeneutic does not deny that *kerymatic intentionality* functioned within the larger rubric provided by the broader *canonical intentionality* manifest in the Twelve.²⁸⁴ It simply resists the attempt to reduce the latter to the former in the name of a modern view of history read back into the traditioning process, a reduction which inevitably arises from an inflexible and inadequate view of the nature of prophetic actualization and its comprehensive theological richness.²⁸⁵

Conclusion

In the Enlightenment ideal of rationality reflected in the method of *Religionsgeschichte*, biblical texts were to be explained on the basis of external data gleaned from the comparative study of ancient religions, thereby gaining an "objective" point of view on them. On this view, to

²⁸² On Eissfeldt, Ackroyd and Clements, see Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets*, 20-3; 44-5 note 136. It should be noted that Clements' earlier interest in developing canon's hermeneutical aspect was more or less abandoned in his later work on the prophets. See Clements, "Beyond Tradition History: Deutero-Isaianic Development of First Isaiah's Themes," in *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* (Louisville, KY: W/JK Press, 1996) 80 n. 10; cf. also 83 n. 15.

²⁸³ See Brevard Childs, "Response to Reviewers of Introduction to Old Testament as Scripture," *JSOT* 16 (1980) 52: "In one sense, I have simply extended the insights of the form critical method which called for an exact description of the material's literary genre."

²⁸⁴ Cf. Childs' remarks in *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context*, 15: "At times the shaping process introduced systematic features; at times it structured the material historically."

²⁸⁵ Cf. Brevard Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 79: "In the recent hermeneutical debate the term actualization (*Vergegenwärtigung*) denoted that process by which an ancient historical text was rendered accessible to a modern religious usage...Although this description occasionally applies (Isa. 16:13f.), the chief point to be made by the canonical approach is that actualization is by no means limited to this one model. Rather, it is constitutive of the canon to seek to transmit the tradition in such a way as to prevent its being moored in the past. Actualization derives from a hermeneutical concern which was present during the different stages of the book's canonization. It is built into the structure of the text itself, and reveals an enormous richness of theological interpretation by which to render the text religiously accessible."

explain a biblical text is to gain an independent point of view on it, to somehow separate oneself from the text's own perspective instead of identifying with it. Stated in anthropological categories, this model for explanation requires the adoption of an *etic* rather than *emic* perspective,²⁸⁶ since objective distance is a necessary precondition for their *scientific* (read: unbiased) explanation, and this "critical" perspective cannot be had apart from somehow getting outside the text to be explained. As Rorty and other critics of Enlightenment rationality have pointed out, this approach to explanation is fundamental to all versions of foundationalism and modernism.²⁸⁷ The danger inherent in this model for explanation lies in its refusal to reckon with the possibility that such a critical perspective may actually distort, rather than illuminate, the text in question by subordinating it to an alien norm outside itself, thereby obscuring the distinctive contours of its theological particularity.

In contrast to the method of *Religionsgeschichte*, tradition history held out promise for recovering prophecy's own inner logic and internal dynamic by promoting an approach to explanation which sought to identify with Israel's own faith-construal of her history. In contrast to the leveling tendency inherent in the history-of-religions method, which reduced the prophetic *witness* of the Old Testament to one historical *source* among others,²⁸⁸ von Rad's theological deployment of tradition history reflected something of the hermeneutical wisdom inherent in the old Aristotelian maxim that the *nature* of an object determines the mode by which it is known. Whatever else its shortcomings, his theological use of tradition history rightly recognized that historical categories cannot be used to fully illumine a phenomenon that is first and foremost theological. He also recognized that at best, the adoption of the external vantage point offered by *Religionsgeschichte* would only allow one to explain certain formal features which prophetic texts

²⁸⁶ See Christopher Seitz, "What Lesson Will History Teach? The Book of the Twelve as History," 448 n. 12.

²⁸⁷ Richard Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

²⁸⁸ Cf. Childs, "The Canon in Recent Biblical Studies: Reflections on an Era," *Pro Ecclesia* 14:1 (2005) 30: "Another characteristic feature of the modern approach within the English-speaking world has been the shift from a primarily theological perspective to the dominance of the history-of-religions categories. From this point of view there are no privileged canonical texts, but all texts are treated equally as potential sources, regardless of later canonical or non-canonical status."

share in common with their ancient Near East milieu. On his view such a hermeneutic was ill-suited for the purpose of uncovering the internal dynamic and theo-logic driving biblical prophecy, and for this reason he attempted to overcome the hermeneutical limitations inherent in *Religionsgeschichte* by stressing the importance of adopting an empathetic stance on Israel's history.²⁸⁹

Nevertheless, residual influences from historicism and its objectivist project continued to plague tradition historical approaches, as illustrated by Mowinckel's work on the prophets. In his attempt to preserve the unity of prophecy, Mowinckel appealed to a prophetic school model as a sort of "external scaffolding" to account for that unity.²⁹⁰ His approach to prophecy's unity demonstrates that in the end, tradition historical models replaced the method of *Religionsgeschichte* with an approach to prophecy which also grounded its explanation in external historical realities, whether the realities in question be the literary practices of a bygone prophetic school, or a reconstructed set of traditions thought to be decisive for the hermeneutical logic of prophecy. Instead of recovering the internal dynamic at work in the formation of prophetic books, this model merely shifted the explanatory ground for understanding prophetic literature from the comparative forms of ancient religions to yet another external entity known as tradition history. While von Rad clearly avoided this problem to some extent, the continuing legacy of historicism in his own version of tradition history also problematized prophecy's unity, as well as his approach to prophetic intentionality, eschatology and typology. This legacy ultimately frustrated his efforts to adopt an emic stance on the prophets that would do justice to their theological outlook, resulting in an irreconcilable conflict in his hermeneutic between his theological concept of the 'history-creating' word of God and his continuing historical debts to modernism.

Although a broader approach to prophetic intentionality has recently surfaced among the

²⁸⁹ The empathetic stance adopted by von Rad's version of tradition history is anticipated in certain respects by Dilthey's earlier work in hermeneutics. Dilthey rejected the positivist assumption, virtually commonplace in the mid-nineteenth century, that all the sciences constituted a formal unity and hence could be studied in terms of a general hermeneutic encompassing all of them. Dilthey's well-known distinction between *erklären* (scientific explanation) and *verstehen* (empathetic interpretation) was an attempt to preserve a special hermeneutic for the historical sciences and the various disciplines associated with the humanities (cf. Mark Brett, *Biblical Criticism in Crisis? The Impact of the Canonical Approach on Old Testament Studies*, 88-89).

²⁹⁰ Cf. the remarks on tradition history in Christopher R. Seitz, "What Lesson Will History Teach?" 449.

tradition historical heirs of von Rad and Wolff in Germany, most notably in the approaches of Jörg Jeremias and Aaron Schart, neither of these scholars develop the hermeneutical significance of canon for the Twelve's redaction history. This lack of development remains significant, especially in light of Barry Jones' text historical approach to the Twelve. Jones' use of recent developments in the field of textual criticism demonstrates that the hermeneutical aspect of canon is not merely a tangential matter, lacking relevance for the study of the Twelve, but an issue which directly impacts the case for privileging one arrangement of the Twelve over another. In sum, the problems generated by von Rad's approach to prophetic intentionality continue to reverberate in the modern reception history of the Twelve, anticipating a number of hermeneutical issues which have not been addressed, much less resolved, in recent approaches to the Twelve. Viewed from this perspective, the legacy of von Rad's struggle lives on.

d. Hans W. Wolff

The legacy of von Rad's approach to theological intentionality in the Twelve continued in the work of Hans W. Wolff, a student of von Rad's. Two salient examples illustrating the hermeneutical problems generated by that legacy for Wolff may be found in his approach to the books of Jonah and Joel. While these examples necessarily focus upon the historicist aspects of his exegesis, it should not be forgotten that his approach to the prophets, like that of his mentor von Rad, continued the move away from the method of *Religionsgeschichte* inaugurated by Gunkel and was fundamentally theological in its outlook. For this reason the following criticisms should be read in the context of the preceding analysis of von Rad's struggle to come to terms with the theological pressures at work the prophets, a struggle in which Wolff fully shared.

Wolff and the canonical setting of Jonah

With respect to Jonah,²⁹¹ Wolff argued that the book arose as an attempt to critically address the ethnic exclusivism of postexilic Judaism, and thus reflected a theological intentionality aimed at addressing the specific needs of Hellenistic Judaism in the postexilic period. This historical correlation of Jonah with the peculiar needs of postexilic Judaism, rather

²⁹¹ Hans W. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah: A Commentary* (trans. M. Kohl; Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, 1986). Wolff argues that the presence of Greek maritime motifs in Jonah 1 helps establish its date in the early Hellenistic period (ibid., 78).

than its canonical setting in the Twelve, provided the hermeneutical key for understanding its kerygmatic function. As a result, the canonical setting of the book of Jonah among *preexilic* prophets was deemed irrelevant for the exegetical task of ascertaining its theological meaning and hermeneutical function. Here Wolff's approach once again illustrates the way in which the tradition historical doctrine of kerygmatic intentionality prevents the final form and canonical setting of prophetic books from playing a significant role in their explanation. As others have noted, a theological understanding of God as Creator is manifest in the book of Jonah, an understanding which forms the basis for a prophetic critique of Israel's misunderstanding of her election. This prophetic critique of Israel's misreading of her election is consistent with other prophetic witnesses in the Old Testament, and is therefore neither derived from nor limited to the postexilic context of Hellenistic Judaism.²⁹² Especially significant for the purposes of this discussion is the fact that Jonah is placed among the preexilic prophets in both the MT and LXX orders of the Twelve. Its canonical position therefore serves as a check against attempts to draw a strict one-to-one correlation between Jonah's alleged historical setting and its theological intentionality or purpose. Like the book of Deuteronomy,²⁹³ the book of Jonah presents a problem for the practitioners of *traditionsgeschichte*, since it demonstrates that the logic undergirding the tradition building process was not confined to the narrow historicism implicit in the notion of kerygmatic intentionality, but worked with a broader canonical intentionality in which biblical books were sometimes given 'non-historical' settings for theological and hermeneutical purposes.

Wolff's treatment of Jonah also points up a larger hermeneutical problem in historical critical approaches to prophetic historiography. To argue that the book of Jonah has been given a 'non-historical' setting in the Twelve presupposes the legitimacy of the narrow and attenuated sense which historical critics typically assign to the term 'history.' While this usage obviously continues to be useful in certain contexts, it by no means exhausts the legitimate usages of the term 'history' and therefore should not be allowed to rule out in Procrustean fashion broader usages of the term, especially since the narrowly historicist notion of what counts as 'history'

²⁹² See Childs, *Introduction*, 425-27.

²⁹³ On Deuteronomy, see Childs, "The Old Testament as Scripture of the Church," *CTM* 43 (1972) 720-21.

clearly fails to account for the Twelve's own approach to historiography. The term should therefore be expanded to include the 'canonical-historical,' that is, the relations between prophetic books in the context of their canonical presentation.²⁹⁴ While this is not to argue that a book's position is *always* hermeneutically significant, it does point up the fact that a *truly* historical exegesis must not foreclose from the outset the possibility that a book's *position* may also contribute to its meaning. Again, the fact that tradition history's hermeneutic resists this broader understanding of 'history' seems particularly ironic in light of both Wolff and von Rad's attempts to take seriously Israel's own approach to her history.

Wolff and kerygmatic intentionality in Joel

A related problem manifests itself in Wolff's otherwise excellent commentary on Joel,²⁹⁵ and also serves to illustrate the way in which the historicism inherent in kerygmatic intentionality can actually prevent one from appreciating the theological pressures inherent in the prophetic books themselves, and prophetic eschatology in particular. Wolff calls for a sharp demarcation between chapters 1 and 2 of Joel based on form critical and historical criteria, arguing that the locust plague in chapter 1 speaks of *past* historical events, while chapter 2 speaks of *future* historical events. In other words, the kerygmatic intentionality reflected in the locust plague of Joel 1 is directed toward a different historical situation than that of Joel 2. However, even if one regards it as plausible that Joel 1 and 2 reflect differing historical contexts, this observation in itself sheds little or no light upon the motives undergirding their present literary union in the canonical *book* of Joel. Such a union reveals that prophetic eschatology spans historical differences in the interest of bearing witness to the larger theological unity of the locust plagues in Joel 1 with the DOL and the reality of God's judgment in Joel 2:1ff. The intentionality inherent in Joel's final form brings these chapters *together*, albeit from allegedly disparate historical contexts, in order that their voices may be heard in concert, rather than in isolation, and the

²⁹⁴ See Christopher Seitz, "What Lesson Will History Teach?" 464, 466: "Joel's connection to Amos is historical in the context of the canon's final presentation, and that sort of 'historical reference' must be carefully handled as well by exegesis...I suspect this approach to the Twelve...ought to be called canonical-historical, to differentiate it from a strict diachronic analysis presently in vogue and tied to tradition-history or history-of-religions frames of reference." Cf. also the similar remark in C. Seitz, "On Letting a Text 'Act Like a Man,'" 161.

²⁹⁵ Hans W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos* (trans. W. Janzen et al.; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977).

rationale for this union stems from the basic conviction that these chapters form two parts of a single theological reality. Separating this material on historical grounds also runs counter to the *canonical* intent stated in Joel 1:3, an intent which seeks to lay hold of future generations of hearers rather than promoting a model of intentionality uniformly tied to historically discrete kerygma. In sum, Wolff's commitment to a kerymatic model of intentionality prevents him from coming to terms with the theological nature of the retrospective reading of history and eschatology at work in Joel: "The basic point to be made is that the prophet can move freely from the threat of a past historical event to the coming eschatological judgment because he sees both as sharing the selfsame reality. To posit two totally separate and distinct historical events recorded in these two chapters not only misses the subtle literary manner of shifting from past to future, but seriously threatens the theological understanding of prophetic eschatology which spans temporal differences."²⁹⁶

Wolff and typology in Joel

Wolff's hermeneutic also has troubling implications for the understanding of prophetic typology in Joel. As was the case with von Rad, in Wolff's hermeneutic prophetic eschatology and typology are closely tied and tend to be mutually explicative of one another. On Wolff's view, for example, Joel 3-4 constitutes a eschatological projection the DOL in Joel 1-2, presumably made by the prophet himself. As a result of this projection, the repentance called for in chapter 2 now functions typologically to adumbrate the fact that in a coming age, only those Israelites who call upon the name of the Lord in repentance will be saved (Joel 3:5). However, the kerymatic intentionality undergirding his view of chapter 2 effectively breaks down its representative and figural character, since on historical grounds prophecy can be rendered open to the future only by misreading its localized intent. This undermines the representative significance of God's past acts of judgment for the future, thereby undercutting the typological relationship between the past and the future in prophetic eschatology.²⁹⁷ By way of contrast, the typological character of the eschatological redaction undergirding the union of Joel 3-4 with Joel 1-2 bears

²⁹⁶ B. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 391.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Childs, *Introduction*, 393.

witness to a different understanding of the relationship between the past and future in God's purpose with his people, one in which the past acts of God in history are not conceived of as static events locked in the past, but as events which continue to have representative significance for the future.²⁹⁸

e. Jörg Jeremias

The work of Wolff's student Jörg Jeremias on Hosea and Amos moves in a different direction.²⁹⁹ In an effort to account to for the 'common places' in Hosea and Amos, Jeremias argues for the presence of intentional cross-references between the books. In support of this, he adduces two notable examples in the book of Hosea which borrow language from Amos. Hosea 4:15 and 8:14 contain phrases which reflect a literary dependence upon Amos 4:4 and 1:4, respectively, and in both cases these phrases appear to have been added when Hosea's prophecies passed through a Judean redaction, thereby producing a version of Hosea for Judean readers.³⁰⁰ What are the hermeneutical implications of such a move? On Jeremias's view, the fact that these actualizing continuations in Hosea borrow language from Amos indicates an intent on the part of Hosea's tradents to relate his oracles to those of Amos. In other words, those who treasured Hosea's oracles and later applied them to Judah never intended for them to be read in isolation from the prophecies of Amos. More interesting for the purposes of this discussion is Jeremias's claim that this intentionality was non-historical in orientation. That is to say, the driving intention behind the Judean redaction of Hosea, modeled upon the language of Amos, was to prevent Hosea's Judean readers from reading him "historically."³⁰¹

Having demonstrated that the prophecies of Hosea point its readers to Amos, Jeremias then argues that the reading process in Amos also directs its readers toward Hosea. Two verses

²⁹⁸ Cf. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 393: "Far from being a denigration of history, [Joel] actually confirms its significance by drawing out the representative feature of the life of faith in its struggle for obedience in the world."

²⁹⁹ See Jörg Jeremias, "The Interrelationship between Amos and Hosea," 171-186.

³⁰⁰ Although Jeremias recognizes that both Hosea and Amos passed through a Deuteronomistic redaction sometime in the late seventh-century B. C., he argues that the process of "standardizing" Hosea's prophecies in light of Amos began earlier, sometime after the fall of Samaria in 722 B. C. See Jeremias, "Interrelationship," 173.

³⁰¹ Jeremias, "The Interrelationship Between Amos and Hosea," 175.

which function as “hermeneutical keys” within the book of Amos, verses 3:2 and 7:9, both borrow language from Hosea, thereby introducing topics of concern from Hosea not otherwise treated in Amos.³⁰² This is hermeneutically significant for the reading process of Amos, since the placement of Amos 3:2 and 7:9 indicates that they were intended to govern the reading of the texts they introduce, texts which are of central importance to the message of Amos. The fact that these governing hermeneutical keys in central passages from Amos point to Hosea is therefore a strong indication that Amos’s tradents intended for his prophecies to be read in conjunction with Hosea. Along the way Jeremias also advances the supposition that the *book* of Hosea in its earliest form was more influential upon the book of Amos in its earliest form, rather than vice versa. Thus while the prophet Hosea was younger than the prophet Amos, the book associated with Hosea’s name is older than the book of Amos. Jeremias conjectures that this helps to explain why the book of Hosea comes first in the corpus of the Twelve rather than the book of Amos, even though the prophet Amos’s ministry preceded that of Hosea.³⁰³

Given Jeremias’s general location among the heirs of von Rad and the method of *traditionsgeschichte*, the sharpness with which he breaks with the notion of kerygmatic intentionality is both refreshing and surprising. Stated negatively, his insights on Hosea and Amos demonstrate that the commitment to kerygmatic intentionality nurtured by an older generation of tradition critics effectively prevented them from discerning the presence of intentional linkages between the prophets. Positively, Jeremias’s argument moves in the direction of recognizing the presence of a canonical intentionality at work in the earliest phases of the Twelve’s formation history.³⁰⁴ In contrast with the localized approach to the prophets found in

³⁰² Jeremias also briefly discusses further examples from Amos 2:8, 5:25, 6:8. See Jeremias, “Interrelationship,” 183-85. Cf. also Jörg Jeremias, *The Book of Amos: A Commentary* (trans. Douglas Stott; OTL; Louisville, KY: WJK Press, 1998) 7.

³⁰³ David Freedman argues for the priority of Hosea on the basis of its superscription, which in contrast to Amos and Micah, provides a chronological framework capable of spanning all three books, and hence is placed first for those reasons (Freedman, “Headings in the Books of the Eighth Century Prophets,” AUSS 25 (1987) 9-26; cf. the summary in Jones, *Formation*, 192-193).

³⁰⁴ It should be noted that Jeremias himself does not make use of this terminology. It is unclear to me what role the hermeneutical significance of canon occupies in his hermeneutic, though his work on Hosea and Amos supports the stance on intentionality inherent in canonical hermeneutics.

von Rad and Wolff, he emphasizes that the traditioning process which resulted in the books of Hosea and Amos did not highlight that which is discrete and singular about each book. Instead, the messages of both prophets were shaped in a literary manner that prevented later readers from escaping the continuing theological force of their message by reading them historically, that is, reading them as 'news' from the past, interesting for its own sake, but ultimately inapplicable to later readers and therefore stranded in irrelevance. Jeremias's work on Hosea and Amos constitutes a textbook example from the Twelve illustrating the fact that prophetic actualization did not function according to a "law of historical exclusivity." In this vein he notes that although "historical-critical scholarship for me is an indispensable tool in opening the riches of biblical texts, I want to stress the fact that its interest—to gain the historical dimension of texts by understanding the way they grew—has nothing to do with the interest of the biblical traditionists who wanted to state the relation between different prophets and different texts by showing their common elements."³⁰⁵ In sum, the historicism resident in tradition history's approach to prophetic intentionality is simply inadequate when it comes to the matter of discerning the intentionality at work in Hosea and Amos.

The approach of Jeremias may also be fruitfully contrasted with the traditional historical approach of Mowinckel discussed earlier. If the traditions of Hosea and Amos established hermeneutical links between them, then their 'common places' are not to be accounted for in terms of their common standing within an external tradition or school, but in terms of a redactional process of cross-fertilization intended to relate the books to one another. Thus the common places between Hosea and Amos can be accounted for in terms of *intentional*, rather than *incidental*, hermeneutical moves. As noted earlier, the problem with Mowinckel's approach was that it explained the origin of the unifying features of the Twelve in terms of an *external* entity, and in so doing failed to grasp the internal dynamic by which prophetic books developed, the recovery of which constituted the original mandate for the method of *traditionsgeschichte* over against that of the *Religionsgeschichtliche schule*. The work of Jeremias on Hosea and Amos is important because it demonstrates that the literary unity generated in the inaugural phase of the

³⁰⁵ Jeremias, "Interrelationship," 171-72.

Twelve's formation history was not a tradition historical unity, but rested upon hermeneutical moves which sought to establish internal hermeneutical linkages between the books themselves. While Jeremias's willingness to break ranks with the narrow historicity driving the approaches of von Rad and Wolff may or may not exert a lasting impact upon the discipline of tradition history, it should be welcomed nonetheless.

Jeremias on Joel and the Twelve

In a 2005 essay delivered at the SBL meeting of the Formation of the Book of the Twelve Seminar,³⁰⁶ Jeremias sought to build upon the earlier work of James Nogalski on the Book of the Twelve, and in particular Nogalski's thesis that the book of Joel function as a "literary anchor" in the Twelve which forms an interpretive key for unifying its major literary threads.³⁰⁷ At the same time, Jeremias takes issue with Nogalski's view that Joel was specifically composed to occupy textual space between Hosea and Amos, arguing instead that Joel originally circulated as an independent book that was later incorporated into the Twelve. The question may be raised why Joel was not placed first, given Jeremias's supposition that it functions as a hermeneutical key for the Twelve as a whole. In response he argues that two previously existing literary references in Hosea made it necessary for the Twelve's tradents to place Joel after Hosea. First, the tradents who positioned Joel after Hosea apparently interpreted Hosea 1:2 to mean that the Lord spoke to Hosea *first*. Secondly, the call to repentance at the end of Hosea (Hosea 14:1-2) anticipates the opening chapters of Joel. A third reason concerns Joel's relation to prophetic tradition. The fact that Hosea begins by relating the word he received to the reigning kings of his day (Hosea 1:1) is indicative of a different means of legitimization at work in Hosea's prophetic ministry. The lack of reference to reigning Persian kings in Joel, along with its multitude of references to earlier prophetic tradition, demonstrate that for Joel the appeal to prophetic tradition has become decisive, an appeal which could not have been made in Hosea's day, at least not with the same

³⁰⁶ Jörg Jeremias, "Joel and the Twelve: The Hermeneutical Function of the Book of Joel in the Masoretic Text of the Twelve Prophets," paper read at the 2005 SBL meeting of the Formation of the Book of the Twelve Seminar.

³⁰⁷ See James A. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 218; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993) 275-78; idem, "Joel as 'Literary Anchor' for the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 94-9.

force. Stated differently, Joel is ‘a prophet amongst prophets’ in a way in which Hosea cannot be, since Hosea had comparatively few prophetic predecessors. Hosea comes first, then, because he locates and legitimizes his revelation vis-à-vis reigning kings and a direct appeal to the word of God rather than by exploiting the images and language of a long established prophetic tradition.

Jeremias on the DOL in the Joel

Jeremias then moves on to the specifics surrounding Joel’s hermeneutical function in the Twelve. Noting that Joel deals almost exclusively with the theme of the DOL, a theme which occurs in each of its four chapters, he nevertheless argues that Joel’s view of the Lord’s character, rather than the DOL *per se*, is decisive for the book’s hermeneutical function. For Joel, the DOL functions as the means by which God’s character is further clarified in the process of dealing with both Israel and the nations. As such, it functions in an instrumental or subordinate fashion rather than an end in itself. But just how does the DOL function in Joel to further clarify God’s character? In answer to this question, Jeremias argues that Joel’s concept of the DOL, while clearly dependent upon Amos, also expands upon that concept, thereby teaching readers of the Twelve how to understand the fuller implications of the DOL vis-à-vis God’s revealed character.

On the one hand it clear, argues Jeremias, that Joel teaches some things about the DOL that are derived from the book of Amos. For example, the DOL will be a dark day of judgment.³⁰⁸ Moreover, the judgment which the DOL brings will include *both* Israel and the Nations.³⁰⁹ On the other hand, the book of Joel expands upon the concept of judgment in Amos, and in the process further clarifies the character of God for readers of the Twelve. Like Amos 4:9 and 7:1-2, Joel 1:4ff. associates the judgment of God with locust plagues. In Joel, however, we learn that the judgments of the DOL will occur in two stages, an idea not present in Amos’s concept of the DOL. In Joel the locust plagues become the first stage in a two-stage judgment which culminates in a ‘full strength’ judgment from which there will be no recovery, a judgment without remainder. As forerunners or harbingers of a greater judgment to come, the locust plagues in Joel function as a warning of a more totalizing judgment yet to come. At the same time the fact that the judgment

³⁰⁸ Amos 5:18; cf. Joel 2:1-2.

³⁰⁹ Cf. Amos 1-2 with Joel 3-4.

will not occur all at once, but in two stages, provides the people of God with space for repentance.

Yet another way in which Joel expands upon Amos's concept of the DOL is found in Joel 2:12, where the possibility of salvation, predicated upon repentance, is held out to the people of God. In Amos 5:18, no such possibility is held out; rather, the DOL is to be a dark day of judgment. For Jeremias, the idea that the threat of God's judgment does not entail irrevocable judgment, but also includes the possibility that he will relent from sending calamity, is something that first occurs in Joel in the Twelve.³¹⁰ He recognizes that Jonah also contains this idea, but argues that Jonah is later than Joel and therefore dependent upon Joel rather than vice versa.

What, then, is the source for this way of reading the DOL in Joel? Here we begin to see the close relation between the book of Joel and the prophetic tradition to which it appeals, as noted above. First, although the language of Joel 2:13 makes it clear that Joel's view of God's character is dependent upon the attribute formula of Exodus 34:6-7, the idea that God relents is something which Joel *adds* to this confession. In Exodus 32 we learn that Moses the prototypical prophet made supplication on behalf of the rebellious people of God, after which God relented from sending the calamity he had originally intended to send (Ex. 32:14). Joel's addition of the phrase *וַיִּנָּחֵם יְהוָה עַל-הָרָעָה* ("and the Lord relented from the evil") to the confession of Exodus 34:6-7 therefore arises from his reading of the Mosaic tradition of prophetic intercession in Exodus 32.³¹¹ In like manner, the prophet Amos reveals himself to be a prophet 'like unto Moses' (Deut. 18:18-22) when he performs a similar intercessory function on behalf of Israel (Amos 7:1-2). Thus the resources for reading Amos's dark DOL in terms of the possibility of salvation and forgiveness are contained within the prophetic tradition inaugurated by Moses and continued in the ministry of Amos. By exploiting these resources, Joel teaches readers of the

³¹⁰ In this connection Jeremias also argues that the Hebrew phrase translated as "Who knows" in Joel 2:14 has been subject to a common misunderstanding. The phrase is usually understood as being expressive of the freedom of God. God may turn, or he may not, but inasmuch as he is sovereign, his response ultimately remains a matter of uncertainty. Jeremias argues that the phrase "Who knows" in Joel 2:14, being a newer Hebrew expression of the earlier Hebrew word found in Amos 5:15, does not refer to uncertainty but to the personal conviction of Joel that the Lord will relent if his people repent (the details of Jeremias's argument on this point were not available to me). Thus for Joel, the possibility of forgiveness is not uncertain, *provided* the people of God repent and turn to the Lord.

³¹¹ Cf. Thomas B. Dozeman, "Inner-Biblical Interpretation of Yahweh's Gracious and Compassionate Character," *JBL* 108 (1989) 207-23, esp. 221.

Twelve how to read the DOL in light of its additional potential for forgiveness and restoration, rather than the judgment without remainder that Amos 5:18-20 seems to entail.

Conclusion

Jeremias's approach to Joel moves in the direction of recovering the theological character of the intentionality at work in the Twelve. In contrast to Wolff, his arguments ground the intentionality of the book in a theological understanding of God's character, rather than the historical concerns of a given period. To be sure, Jeremias's insights on Joel are in need of further development. If Joel functions as a literary anchor and hermeneutical key for the Twelve, as both Nogalski and Jeremias have argued, then one would expect its theological understanding of God's character to resurface in other books in the Twelve. At this juncture it should be noted that R. C. van Leeuwen's study of the Twelve tends to both confirm and extend the significance of Jeremias's work by demonstrating the impact of the *Gnadenformel* in Exodus 34:6-7 upon Hosea through Micah.³¹² Van Leeuwen argues that this impact also continues in the opening lines of Nahum (1:3), and in light of the transitional role played by Nahum in the Twelve, "functions primarily to stitch together the two major composite clusters in the Twelve (Hosea-Micah and Nahum-Malachi)."³¹³ Although van Leeuwen does not develop this latter argument in detail, the fact that the attribute formula also occurs at a critical juncture in the Twelve, that is to say, at a point when the Assyrian threat to Israel is coming to an end, tends to underscore its theological impact upon the Twelve as a whole.

Jeremias's work also points to the canonical character of the intentionality inherent in Joel. The presence of hermeneutical keys or 'guidelines' within individual prophetic books in the Twelve has been noted before.³¹⁴ In the case of Joel, Jeremias's work breaks fresh ground by arguing that the intentionality driving the production of such guidelines did not limit itself to the literary horizon of Joel, but also sought to constrain the interpretation of the Twelve as a whole by means of theological understanding of God's character, the latter of which it was the purpose of

³¹² R. C. van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve," 31-49.

³¹³ van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom," 47.

³¹⁴ For example, see the remarks of Childs on Hosea 14:10 and the appendices to Malachi, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 382, 495; cf. also Childs, "The Canonical Shape of the Prophetic Literature," 51-2.

Joel's DOL to clarify. By providing hermeneutical assistance to the Twelve's future readers, Joel may be said to reflect a 'canonical intent' (cf. Joel 1:3) that seeks to lay claim upon future generations. Again, this approach to prophetic intentionality stands in marked contrast to the kerygmatic intentionality undergirding the tradition historical approaches of von Rad and Wolff.

Nevertheless it remains true that Jeremias himself does not develop the theological and hermeneutical implications of canon for the process of tradition building in the prophets. Critical discussion of canon's hermeneutical aspect for the Twelve's formation history is conspicuously absent in his writings. Whether this absence arises from a lack of 'epistemological self-consciousness' on Jeremias's part, or from an *a priori* commitment to a narrow definition of canon, remains unclear. However, this in no way diminishes the significance of his work for a much-needed hermeneutical overhaul of tradition historical approaches to the Twelve in light of the theological concept of canon.

f. Aaron Schart

The work of Aaron Schart on the Twelve continues the move away from the historically attenuated approach to prophetic intentionality expressed in the 'kerygmatic exegesis'³¹⁵ of von Rad and Wolff. In a *Habilitationschrift* completed under the oversight of Jeremias,³¹⁶ Schart sought to build upon the hermeneutical implications of Jeremias's work on Hosea and Amos for the entire formation history of the Twelve. On Schart's view, the fact that the earliest redactional moves in the Twelve's formation history sought to relate Amos to Hosea establishes a hermeneutical precedent which continues in the redaction history of the Twelve as a whole. Thus the redaction history of the book of Amos may be taken as an index for the growth of the Twelve as a whole. His study of the redaction history of Amos resembles Wolff's in broad outline and uncovers six major layers in the literary history of Amos,³¹⁷ which he then directly correlates to

³¹⁵ See Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 74-5.

³¹⁶ Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs: Neuarbeitungen von Amos im Rahmen scharfenübergreifender Redaktionsprozesse* (BZAW 260; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998).

³¹⁷ On the redaction history of Amos, see Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 50-100, esp. the summary on 98-100; cf. the introductory discussion of Amos in Hans W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos* (trans. W. Janzen et al.; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977) 107-13; Jörg Jeremias, *The Book of Amos: A Commentary* (trans. Douglas Stott; OTL; Louisville, KY: WJK Press, 1998) 5-9. A lucid summary

the growth of the Twelve.

Schart on the Twelve's formation history

Schart understands the growth of the Twelve in terms of six major redactional phases, all of which left their marks upon the developing corpus of Amos. The earliest version and literary core of the book of Amos originally consisted in chapters 3-6* and was later expanded by Amos's tradents to comprise chapters 1-9*.³¹⁸ At this stage Hosea and Amos were joined by a process of redactional cross-referencing, thereby inaugurating the first redactional phase of the Twelve's formation history. Jeremias's theory regarding the early union of Hosea and Amos allows Schart to refine an emerging consensus in scholarship on the Twelve, namely, that the earliest edition of the Twelve consisted in a Deuteronomistic "Book of the Four" comprising Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah.³¹⁹ Schart argues that this "Book of the Four" constituted the *second* major redactional phase in the Twelve's literary growth, and he adds two basic caveats. First, in response to N. Lohfink's critique of "pan-Deuteronomism" in Old Testament studies,³²⁰ Schart questions whether the redaction which united the books of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah should be properly called "deuteronomistic." At the same time he recognizes that the Twelve's superscriptions reflect an "objective and linguistic proximity" to the concepts inherent in the deuteronomistically edited books of Joshua-Kings, and consequently he settles for the more

of Wolff's arguments may be found in Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 399. Wolff's view has come under assault in the past three decades, as noted by Karl Möller, "Renewing Historical Criticism," in *Renewing Biblical Interpretation* (ed. C. Bartholomew et al.; SHS 1; Carlisle: Paternoster; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000) 160. Finally, an overview of recent redactional approaches to Amos may be found in Karl Möller, "Reconstructing and Interpreting Amos's Literary Prehistory: A Dialogue with Redaction Criticism," in *'Behind' the Text: History and Biblical Interpretation* (ed. C. Bartholomew et al.; SHS 4; Carlisle: Paternoster; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003) 397-441.

³¹⁸ Asterisks are used here and elsewhere to indicate that the chapter boundaries do not contain all the material presently found in the Masoretic text of the chapters in question.

³¹⁹ See Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, 85-88; Rainer Albertz, "Exile as Purification: Reconstructing the Book of the Four (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah)," *SBL Seminar Papers, 2002* (SBSLP 41; Atlanta: SBL 2002) 213-233, esp. 233.

³²⁰ Norbert Lohfink, "Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung?" in *Jeremia und die 'deuteronomistische Bewegung'* (ed. W. Gross; BBB 98; Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum, 1995) 313-82.

neutral title “D-Corpus” for the “Book of the Four.”³²¹ Secondly, he argues that prior to the formation of this corpus, Hosea and Amos were brought together, then subsequently joined to a provisional and pre-deuteronomistic version of Micah chapters 1-3*. The D-corpus proper was subsequently formed when Micah 6 and a partial version of Zephaniah 1 were added in tandem with a deuteromistic-like redaction of Amos.³²² The catalyst which produced its final literary shape lay in the fulfillment of the original oracles against Israel and Judah: “The literary remains of the pre-exilic prophets were mostly shaped under the impression that the original oracles had been fulfilled. The exiles of northern Israel and Judah functioned as the basic proof for a precursor of the Book of the Twelve, which presumably contained at least Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah.”³²³

The third redactional phase consisted in the addition of Nahum and Habakkuk, both of which were united on the basis of the form-concept (**נִשְׁבַּע**) found in their superscriptions, as well their common usage of theophany hymns (Nahum 1:2-8/Habakkuk 3:3-15). The addition of these two books registered itself redactionally upon the book of Amos in terms of a corresponding ‘hymnic layer.’ The fourth stage consisted in the addition of the books of Haggai and Zechariah 1-8,³²⁴ two books which proclaim a new era of salvation. This addition resulted in the redactional addition of ‘salvific layer’ to the close of Amos 9. The fifth stage consisted in the addition of Joel, Obadiah, and Zechariah 14, an ‘eschatological layer’ dominated by the theme of the DOL. This stage left its mark upon the growth of Amos in terms of the redactional additions of Amos 4:9 and phrases added to Amos 9:13. The sixth and final phase did not involve a redaction of

³²¹ See the remarks by Schart in *Die Entstehung*, 46, 156 n. 2, 304-5.

³²² For this reason, Paul Redditt distinguishes *seven* rather than six redactional phases in Schart’s reconstruction of the Twelve’s formation history (see Redditt, “The Production and Reading of the Book of the Twelve,” 12-13). Redditt’s reckoning includes the intermediary phase postulated by Schart in which the pre-deuteronomistic version of Micah (chapters 1-3) was joined to Hosea-Amos, *after* which a deuteronomistic-like redaction added Micah 6 and parts of Zephaniah 1. The formation of Schart’s D-Corpus therefore involves three phases rather than two, strictly speaking.

³²³ Aaron Schart, “Reconstructing the Redaction History of the Twelve Prophets,” in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 46.

³²⁴ Schart argues that one must remain open to the possibility that this redactional phase also included Zechariah 9-13.

Amos proper, but simply the addition of Malachi and Jonah. At the same time, Schart agrees with Odil Steck and others that those who added the well-known coda on Moses and Elijah to the end of Malachi intended to connect the canonical sections of the Law and the Prophets.³²⁵

Conclusion

It now remains to conclude with some remarks on the larger hermeneutical issues involved in Schart's approach.³²⁶ Schart's analysis of the growth of Amos represents a refinement of Wolff's, but clearly goes beyond both Wolff and Jeremias by attempting to directly correlate the growth of Amos with the larger growth of the Twelve as a whole. His approach to prophetic intentionality in the Twelve does not narrowly restrict that intentionality to the localized needs of particular historical periods, and he also seeks to develop some of the hermeneutical implications of the Twelve's redaction history for prophetic hermeneutics.³²⁷ His analysis of the factors involved in the union of Hosea and Amos, as well as the "Book of the Four," indicates that during the earliest stages of the Twelve's formation, its tradents were reading history in light of the fulfillment of the oracles of the preexilic prophets, a reading which directly impacted the way in which the Twelve was being shaped. The meaning of prophetic oracles in the Twelve are not derived from Israel's exile experiences. Rather, these experiences derive their meaning from the oracles of the prophets. In other words, the historical events associated with the exiles of the northern and southern kingdom are hermeneutically subordinated to the words of the prophets and read in light of them, rather than vice versa. The prophetic intentionality which shaped the Twelve does not direct itself toward a series of discrete historical contexts associated with each of its prophets, but reflects a reading of Israel's exile history in light of the prophetic word, a "retrospective reading" which not only impacted the shape of individual prophetic books, but also

³²⁵ Odil Steck argues that the close of Malachi constitutes a case in point that there are literary signals within the prophetic corpus that direct our attention to larger literary horizons. On his view, Malachi 3:22-24 and Joshua 1 form a macro-inclusio uniting the larger bodies of the Law and the Prophets in the Hebrew canon. See Odil H. Steck, *The Prophetic Books and their Theological Witness* (trans. James D. Nogalski; St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2000) 17-20, 117-21.

³²⁶ Criticism's of Schart's use of redaction criticism, especially in light of the new literary approaches of Alter, Berlin, and Kugel, may be found in Karl Möller, "Renewing Historical Criticism," 159-61.

³²⁷ See especially Schart, "Reconstructing the Redaction History of the Twelve Prophets," 34-48, esp. 46-8.

left its mark upon the Twelve's sequence.³²⁸

Here 'history' plays an important role in the Twelve's formation, though not in the narrow, attenuated sense usually associated with genetic approaches such as Barton's. Apparently the tradents who shaped the Twelve worked with a concept of historicity very different from Barton's. The work of Jeremias and Schar on the Twelve's redaction history evidences the fact that a larger historical construction project was underway, one in which the messages of its individual prophets were being correlated to one another in the interests of "a large-scale account of YHWH's dispensation of history."³²⁹ In this construction project, earlier prophecies were read in light of a deeper understanding of their significance. The tradents who shaped the "Book of the Four" had come to realize that the prophetic word of judgment against Israel included Judah, a conclusion not immediately evident when Amos first spoke of a coming DOL directed against Israel (5:18-20). To be sure, subsequent 'history' had clarified what that judgment meant, but not on the basis of its alleged hermeneutical autonomy. Rather, history unfolded under the theological shadow of the prophetic word of judgment.

g. Odil Steck

The work of Odil Steck continues the trend toward approaching prophetic books in terms of their larger canonical settings. Since much of the methodological reasoning undergirding his approach to the prophets is articulated in *The Prophetic Books and their Theological Witness*,³³⁰ the following discussion and interaction with the methodological issues raised by his approach will necessarily focus upon this work. In many ways Steck's work consists in an effort to refine the discipline and practice of historical method without losing touch with historical criticism's legitimate concern to place a critical control on the enterprise of interpreting prophetic texts. On his view such a control is not only helpful, but actually necessary in view of the fact that contemporary approaches to the task of prophetic interpretation "are in fact determined by present

³²⁸ Cf. Brevard S. Childs, "Retrospective Reading of the Old Testament Prophets," 362-377.

³²⁹ Christopher R. Seitz, "What Lesson Will History Teach?" 448.

³³⁰ Odil H. Steck, *The Prophetic Books and their Theological Witness* (trans. J. Nogalski; St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2000).

concerns.”³³¹ In this respect, historical method exercises a legitimate function that is properly ‘critical’ in the Enlightenment sense of the term. It seeks either to overcome or to effectively neutralize the influence of contemporary concerns upon the interpretation of ancient texts, and it typically does so by seeking to understand these texts in terms of their original historical settings. Properly utilized, historical method’s concern is to enable the interpreters of prophetic texts to gain a critical and objective perspective on their own biases, and in so doing prevent them from anachronistically imposing these biases on to ancient texts. Since the categories of ‘history’ and ‘historical context’ play a central role in facilitating this objectivist project, this method is appropriately styled the ‘historical-critical’ method. Its continuing indispensability for the task of interpreting the prophets consists in its potential for allowing the interpreters of prophetic texts to perceive them in their ‘otherness,’ and to understand them on their own terms.

Yet in spite of the promise historical critical method holds for those seeking a truly ‘scientific’ approach to the prophets, it must be admitted that confusion now besets the field of prophetic hermeneutics. The traditional historical critical attempt to clearly distinguish primary from secondary material in the prophetic books has fallen into disarray, largely because the literary witness left by Israel’s prophets proved to be “more brittle” than the practitioners of historical method anticipated. In point of fact, prophetic books proved to be highly resistant to historical critical attempts to dissect and dismantle their literary integrity. Instead of readily yielding themselves to critical attempts to lay bare the original prophet by means of surgically clean incisions, the prophetic books shattered into many pieces under the impact of critical knives. And like Humpty Dumpty of old, the prophetic books could not be put back together again. In light of this breakdown, Steck suggests that it is time for historical critics to reckon with the fact that their attempts to distinguish primary oracles from secondary elaborations in the prophets was “harder than we thought, and our attempts are more subjective, more trendy than we admit.”³³² A remedy for this breakdown and ensuing confusion must be found, and it is the stated purpose of Steck’s book to provide one. From the outset, however, he makes it clear that this remedy cannot

³³¹ Steck, *The Prophetic Books*, 3.

³³² Steck, *The Prophetic Books*, 7.

lie in a general retreat from or repudiation of historical critical method, since to do so would require one to surrender the aforementioned legitimate claims of *Wissenschaft* upon the discipline of biblical exegesis. The person who therefore wishes to make a genuine contribution to overcoming the current malaise in prophetic hermeneutics necessarily “faces the challenge of winning over the scientific world.”

Recovering a place for prophetic books in exegesis

Stated in brief, Steck’s own proposal for achieving this goal involves reversing the general movement of historical critical method from original historical context back to prophetic text. Instead of by-passing the prophetic books in order to focus upon their original historical contexts, Steck suggests that exegetes must now start with the prophetic book and seek to discern its intentions as a whole *before* seeking to uncover the original oracles of the historical prophets. The problem is that traditional historical criticism failed to see that “the prophet is only provided in the superimposition of a relatively lengthy process of tradition that may have played a more or less active role.” Consequently “the book stands in front of the prophet” and therefore anyone wishing to find the prophets “must first go through the book.”³³³ In short, the historical critical attempt to gain direct access to the prophet by going around or behind the book that now “stands in front of” the prophet must be judged mistaken.

Thus while Steck still regards the project of demarcating the original boundaries of prophetic oracles to be a legitimate enterprise, his appeal to the community of scientific exegesis consists in proposing another point of entry for the pursuit of this project, namely, the prophetic book itself. This is only true “return path to the prophet,” and the scientific world must now acknowledge that this path “cannot be shortened” by giving priority to that which lies behind the text. The historical critical goal of gaining objective access to the prophet is in the nature of the case *indirect*, rather than direct, since the framework of the prophetic book, rather than historical context *per se*, circumscribes the perimeter within which access to the prophet is now possible. Ironically, those who choose to bypass this framework do not achieve an objective reading of the prophets, since any reading of the prophets is possible once “one forgets the literary framework

³³³ Steck, *The Prophetic Books*, 7.

that the text provides, or if one forgets what the text demands in terms of approaches.”³³⁴ In other words, Steck wishes to stress that doing justice to the literary integrity of the book as a whole must now function as a necessary starting point for pursuing the traditional historical task of distinguishing primary and secondary material within a prophetic book:

“The question of intentional meaning in developing prophetic books as a whole should finally receive its due. In an extensive shift, prophetic books should be declared a conventional focal point of research. This shift means that the search for the original work of the respective prophet must proceed more peacefully and more slowly. Once one ascertains, where possible, the meaning of the book-forms of the prophetic transmission, then the path back to the question of the original work of the prophet can only proceed with caution from the latest presentations of meaning back to the oldest presentations from which everything started. Only then can one seek the prophet behind these oldest presentations at the beginning of a reception process that has been adapted for meaning that led to the growth of the books.”³³⁵

Another way of construing what he is advocating would be to think of his proposal as offering a new control for the scientific task of exegesis, one in which “the literary frame that the text provides” is allowed to function as an objective control upon speculative historical reconstructions of the original prophet.

The limitations of form criticism

According to Steck, form critical approaches failed to grasp this possibility precisely because of their tendency to think of the prophets as *speakers*, when in fact that which presents itself to us for study is a prophetic *book*. The consequences inherent in this manner of approaching the prophets institutionalized the historical critical practice of seeking the prophet directly, “alongside development of the book,” rather than seeking the prophet *through* the book itself. The literary fragmentation which resulted from this procedure ironically gave birth to precisely the sort of subjectivism which the historical critical method set out to overcome. Citing the Immanuel text of Isaiah 7 as a good example of the “highly divergent conclusions” which result from this fragmentation, Steck calls attention to the fact that “Anything can be done to a

³³⁴ Steck, *The Prophetic Books*, 8.

³³⁵ Steck, *The Prophetic Books*, xii.

single, defenseless exegetical specimen in the question of genuine or fictional Isaiah logia.”³³⁶ Of even greater cause for concern is the fact that this procedure marginalizes the objective control and constraints the prophetic book itself places upon the historical critical task of recovering the prophet’s identity. In other words, the assumptions inherent in form criticism’s approach to the prophets do not reckon with how the prophetic book itself functions as an objective vehicle for conveying the prophet’s identity. Consequently, literary criticism in all its forms must no longer be arbitrarily limited to the framework of individual pericopes, or to a text’s *Sitz im Leben*, but must expand their sphere of investigation to the whole book if the scientific goal of gaining an objective approach to the prophets is to be realized.

Rather than surrendering the goals of *Wissenschaft*, then, Steck instead proposes that “the given shape of the book and its literary stages have to carry their own right and weight as a scientific subject.”³³⁷ In other words, the prophetic book itself, and not merely its logia or various literary stages, must now be made “a scientific subject.” Doing so will provide a much needed check upon the subjectivity to which historical critical method has ironically fallen prey. Again, dismantling the literary integrity of a prophetic book in order to gain access to the prophet has directly contributed to this subjectivity, since without the control provided by the prophetic book as a whole, exegesis inevitably ends up pursuing the literary image of the prophet on the basis of a set of *a priori* assumptions which reflect nothing more than the “personal outlook” of the exegete:

“The given shape of the book and its literary stages have to carry their own right and weight as a scientific subject. No longer can they be only a by-product of procedural determinations of the transmission of ostensibly genuine, and thus more highly evaluated, prophetic material. Today, if the guiding criteria are not the subjective assessment and personal outlook of the exegete, then determinations about the original prophetic figures can no longer be the presupposition. Instead, only at the end can they be the result of investigation into the book’s shape. In other words, we must first far more decisively consider what we really know and proceed from that which stands indisputably at our disposal.”³³⁸

In order to further illustrate his argument, Steck appeals to recent trends in the book of Isaiah

³³⁶ Steck, *The Prophetic Books*, 8

³³⁷ Steck, *The Prophetic Books*, 11.

³³⁸ Steck, *The Prophetic Books*, 11.

toward rejecting the traditional Duhmian construct of three Isaiahs as a starting point and treating the book as a whole instead. Only in this way can one do justice to the source we actually do have, namely, the prophetic book. Clearly, Steck is not rejecting historical criticism's concern with sources. He is simply arguing that a method which focuses on hypothetically reconstructed sources behind the text necessarily disregards a great deal about the source biblical exegetes *actually have* before them, namely, the prophetic book.

Focusing on the book as a source for our image of the historical prophet not only provides a check on the subjectivity inherent in the older historical critical methods, as noted above, but also allows for a meaningful interaction with older precritical commentaries which read the book in this way. This observation has a Childsean ring to it, as does Steck's insistence that pursuing historical questions on the basis of prophetic books in series with one another is "no less historical" than the pursuit of the prophet in his original oral context.³³⁹ Moreover, in distinction from the text historical approaches of Barry Jones, Eugene Ulrich, and many others,³⁴⁰ Steck does not attempt to extend the formation period of prophetic books to the period following 200 B.C. by weakening the distinction between the literary and textual history of prophetic books. Rather, his work is limited to exploring the prophetic books within the limits of their formation history, and for Steck this limitation "lies at the close of the third century B.C.E." He writes:

"Without undervaluing the continuation of interpretation until the vocalized version in the Masoretic codices of the Middle Ages, we nevertheless see no reason to push this limitation into this late period, since Qumran proves that the later Masoretic contributions no longer really concerned prophetic book formation. No one doubts the fact that the reception history operated on traditional editions of our text."³⁴¹

In other words, for Steck the presence of *pesharim* at Qumran presupposes a distinction between text and commentary that is possible only on the basis of a stabilized (vs. evolving and fluid) Hebrew text. Thus those who exegete prophetic books today should "differentiate between adaptation of transmitted material inside the books until the conclusion of the book's formation

³³⁹ Steck, *The Prophetic Books*, 14. See now Christopher Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007).

³⁴⁰ See further below the analysis of Barry Jones' approach to the Twelve in chapter five of this work.

³⁴¹ Steck, *The Prophetic Books*, 214 n. 17.

and later external adaptation of the transmitted books after the formation is concluded.”³⁴²

While Steck freely grants the contributions made by purely synchronic approaches to the prophets, he also goes on to argue that inasmuch as synchronic approaches must *also* reckon with the distinction between a prophetic book’s formation history and its reception history, they will necessarily be forced to wrestle with diachronic questions, since all forms of ‘adaptation’ necessarily involve one in historical questions, including the way in which prophetic books were ‘externally adapted’ to later audiences in the post-biblical period, a phenomenon which simply cannot be grasped in purely synchronic terms:

“We do not contest the value and achievement of these new synchronic reading insights and approaches for our approach...Nevertheless, even for literary science an adaptation also necessitates the transformation of criteria into an increasingly conscious historical approach which does justice to the character and peculiar features of the sources. In addition, one should include the fact that text-worlds should not be perceived as closed intellectual realms, but should be perceived in reference to historical worlds of experience.”³⁴³

Turning now to a few remarks on Steck’s methodological approach, the first thing to be noted is that it shares much in common with a canonical approach to the prophets. Steck manifests a concern for the objective reality and ‘otherness’ of the prophetic text, yet does not allow the text’s ‘otherness’ to foster a hermeneutical crisis, as is so often the case with historical critical approaches. He also fully recognizes that the proper starting point for gaining access to the historical prophets are the books attributed to them, rather than some alternative context provided by the tools of historical retrieval. Finally, his emphasis upon the role of official schools in preserving the text, as well as his conviction that the prophets were stabilized by 200 B.C., dovetails at points with a number of arguments which will be advanced in chapter five over against the text historical method of Barry Jones.

At the same time, it should be noted that the distinction Steck makes between the formation history of the prophetic books and their textual history is one which he argues for and establishes on *historical* grounds. As a result of this, one is left wondering about the role played

³⁴² Steck, *The Prophetic Books*, 15.

³⁴³ Steck, *The Prophetic Books*, 15.

by canon, if any, in establishing the distinction the literary history of prophetic books and their subsequent transmission history. This curious phenomenon also resurfaces to some extent in the works of Tov, Talmon, and others who hold comparatively conservative historical views on the stabilization of the Hebrew text in pre-Christian Judaism. However, as discussion of Barry Jones' work will reveal, it is far from clear whether a historical rationale operating independently of theological concerns can account for the presence of a stabilized body of literature known as the Hebrew Bible in pre-Christian Judaism. Nor can historical arguments fully protect the distinction Steck is carefully seeking to preserve between the formation history of prophetic books and their textual history. As textual historians such as Tov have noted, the very distinction between a text's formation history and its transmission already presupposes something very close to a concept of canon. Making such a distinction therefore requires, not merely a historical rationale, but ultimately a *theological* rationale, apart from which historical rationales function much like torsos detached from their larger organic relationship to a body. These caveats notwithstanding, Steck's approach offers a refreshingly realistic approach to the prophets that is at once both canonical and historical in its orientation.

Summary of form critical and tradition historical approaches

Against synchronic approaches, the approaches of Jeremias, Schart, and Steck refuse to surrender the continuing relevance of the historical dimension for the Twelve's exegesis. Schart in particular rightly argues against the suitability of synchronic approaches by noting that the dated superscriptions in the Twelve clearly point to the continuing relevance of the historical dimension for both its formation and exegesis.³⁴⁴ Any method which dispenses with the *Tiefendimension* (i.e., depth dimension) of texts is therefore inadmissible. At the same time, the failure of these three scholars to clarify more fully the *theological* implications of that dimension reflects a continuing ambiguity in tradition historical efforts to broaden our understanding of prophetic intentionality on the basis of fresh hermeneutical insights into the Twelve's redaction history. As noted earlier, in a number of cases these insights highlight the *canonical* character of the intentionality at work in the Twelve. More importantly, they do so upon the basis of the

³⁴⁴ On this consult Schart's discussion in the first chapter of *Die Entstehung*, as well as his summary remarks on p. 304.

editorial moves inherent in the Twelve's formation history, and not upon dogmatic grounds *per se*.³⁴⁵ The hermeneutical implications which follow from this are especially significant, because they undercut the criticism of Barton and not a few others, namely, that the notion of canonical intentionality constitutes a dogmatic imposition upon prophetic texts, rather than a concept that arises from the historical study of texts themselves. To state matters another way, the work of Jeremias and Schart demonstrates that in exegetical practice, historical and theological issues are inextricably bound up with one another in prophetic texts and cannot be hermeneutically separated from one another after the manner of Gabler and his modern day disciples. For this reason the use of historical methods to interpret prophetic texts will inevitably confront interpreters with theological questions, and vice versa. In the nature of the case things could not be otherwise, since as Jeremias himself notes, in dealing with a prophetic book such as Amos, one is dealing with a "theological book through and through, not a tractate of social criticism, even though social themes do indeed play an important role in it."³⁴⁶

In sum, the work of Jeremias, Schart, and Steck has promising potential for uniting tradition historical and redaction critical tools with a theological reading of the prophets, a task which von Rad, Wolff, and others were prevented from achieving because of their peculiar historical commitments. In the case of von Rad in particular, the impasse generated by the inherent conflict between his theologically charged concept of the 'history-creating' word of God, on the one hand, and his historical commitments to modernism, on the other, was left largely unresolved and continued to find expression in tradition historical hermeneutics,³⁴⁷ as illustrated by Wolff's tendency to pit kerygmatic intentionality against the broader theological intentionality at work in the final form of Joel and the canonical setting of Jonah.³⁴⁸ For this reason the failure

³⁴⁵ See note 122 above.

³⁴⁶ Jörg Jeremias, *The Book of Amos: A Commentary*, ix.

³⁴⁷ Joseph Groves' study of actualization traces the further evolution of this conflict in German OT scholarship, as well as its deployment in British and American OT scholarship, in *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament*, 63-101.

³⁴⁸ Cf. Childs' remarks on Wolff in his review of Barr's *Holy Scripture*, 69: "The danger inherent in the use of the term "kerygmatic" is in playing it against the final form, as was the practice of the last generation of form critics (e.g., H. W. Wolff)." See Brevard Childs, "Childs Versus Barr: Review of *Holy Scripture: Canon, Authority*,

of Jeremias and Schar to explicitly develop the hermeneutical significance of canon for prophetic hermeneutics, and for the redaction history of the Twelve in particular, seems particularly unfortunate, especially in light of their exegetical insights into the anti-historicist intentionality driving the Twelve's redaction history.³⁴⁹ Attention to theological issues such as canon in prophetic hermeneutics is not merely a needed "supplement" to historical methods, as though such issues could be added to historical method in block-like fashion, or as though theological issues were merely the icing on an otherwise perfectly good cake. Theological questions do not "spring into action once the interpreter has fulfilled his historical-critical duties," but are necessarily bound up with historical questions in prophetic texts from the outset.³⁵⁰ To argue otherwise presupposes the possibility of isolating historical pressures from theological concerns in prophetic texts, a project which is doomed to failure. Thus while one may readily applaud the broader intentionality Jeremias and Schar have uncovered in the Twelve using historical tools, as well as the promise it holds for overcoming the hermeneutical impasse generated by tradition history's historicist legacy, the theological basis for this intentionality has not yet fully come into its own, but awaits further development in their approaches.

IV. Redaction historical approaches to prophetic intentionality

In contrast to narrowly authorial approaches to prophetic intentionality, redaction historical approaches generally manifest a more positive attitude toward the hermeneutical value of later additions in prophetic oracles. Prophetic intentionality is not derived from or correlated with the degree of authentic material in a given book, whether minimally (Budde, Wolfe) or maximally (Schneider, Lee) conceived, but from the hermeneutical impact of later frameworks upon earlier prophecies. To be sure, distinctions between original oracles and secondary additions

Criticism by James Barr," *Int* 38 (1984) 66-70.

³⁴⁹ The claim that an "anti-historicist intentionality" was at work in the Twelve's formation should not be confused with the anti-*historical* intentionality undergirding purely synchronic approaches to the Twelve.

³⁵⁰ Karl Möller wrongly construes canonical hermeneutics as a hermeneutic which calls for the supplementation of historical criticism "by asking additional [i.e., theological] questions." See Karl Möller, "Renewing Historical Criticism," 149, cf. 163. In point of fact, canonical hermeneutics does not find persuasive Gabler's attempt to hermeneutically separate historical and theological issues. Cf. Brevard Childs, "Does the Old Testament Witness to Jesus Christ?" 57-64, esp. 60: "This misleading mischief goes back at least to the time of Gabler."

are still maintained. Yet the latter are not devalued as hermeneutically inferior, and the value judgments implicit in terms like “authentic” and “inauthentic” are generally avoided. Indeed, redaction historical approaches often argue that apart from the historical “updating” afforded by such additions, the continuing significance of prophetic oracles for later historical contexts would not have been possible, especially given the “historical particularism” of the original oracles. Redaction critics therefore seek to discern the presence of later historical perspectives in earlier oracles, perspectives evoked by changing historical contexts and the need to harmonize earlier prophecies with later points of view. Insofar as redaction historical approaches seek to gain access to the forces driving prophetic intentions, emphasis therefore tends to fall upon the effects produced by changing historical contexts upon prophetic oracles. In varying degrees, the redaction historical approaches of Ronald Clements and James Nogalski to prophetic intentionality reflect these hermeneutical assumptions.

a. Ronald Clements

In a programmatic 1977 essay on prophetic hermeneutics,³⁵¹ Ronald Clements sought to negotiate the gap between the New Testament’s reading of Old Testament prophets and historical critical readings of the same. While his arguments were directed toward the Latter Prophets in general rather than the Book of the Twelve *per se*, the hermeneutical character of his arguments helped spark a widespread interest in reading the Twelve *as a unity*,³⁵² and even scholars who do not follow all his hermeneutical assumptions cite his 1977 essay as an influence upon their work in the Twelve.³⁵³ Interaction with Clements’ views on prophetic hermeneutics is therefore mandated by the current interest in reading the Twelve as a unity, especially for those interested in

³⁵¹ Ronald Clements, “Patterns in the Prophetic Canon,” in *Canon and Authority* (ed. George W. Coats and Burke O. Long; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 43-46; repr. in *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996) 191-202.

³⁵² See the above discussion of Andrew Lee’s 1985 doctoral dissertation on the “canonical unity” of the Twelve.

³⁵³ Although the approaches of Paul House and R. C. van Leeuwen not only differ among themselves, but also with Clements, both of these scholars cite Clements’ 1977 essay as an influence upon their work. See Paul R. House, *The Unity of the Twelve* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990); R. C. van Leeuwen, “Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve,” *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott, and W. J. Wiseman; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993) 31-49, esp. 32 n. 4, 33 n. 14.

the hermeneutical issues surrounding the nature of prophetic eschatology and intentionality at work in the Twelve.

Clements' essay began by noting that texts such as Sirach 49:10 and Acts 3:24 suggest that early Jewish and Christian interpretation of the prophets sought to hear them in terms of a unified message. The thematic content of this message may be summarized in terms of the prophetic themes of judgment and salvation, but the New Testament places special emphasis upon the prophetic hope of future salvation and restoration. By way of contrast, apart from a handful of exilic and postexilic prophets, Old Testament prophets are typically characterized as *Unheilsprompheten* or prophets of doom by historical critics. The apostolic attempt to read them as *Heilsprompheten* or prophets of salvation is therefore thought to be misguided on a fundamental level. Moreover, historical criticism does not find a "unified message" in the prophets, but moves in the opposite direction by seeking to recover that which is distinctive to each prophet, and by correlating each prophet with a given historical context. For this reason, historical critics regard the New Testament's reading of the prophets to be little more than a "harmonizing" imposition made necessary by Christian concerns and therefore lacking proper motivation, hermeneutically speaking.

In an attempt to provide such a motive, Clements traces the origin of the New Testament's harmonizing tendency back to the Old Testament itself, and to the period of the Babylonian exile in particular. He begins by pointing out that the prophetic hope for restoration is not an entirely postexilic phenomenon, but a factor at work in the preexilic prophets as well.³⁵⁴ As a case in point, he focuses on the alleged secondary character of Amos 9:11-15. As is well-known, most historical critics regard this passage as a postexilic addition reflecting a Judean hope for restoration of the old Davidic empire. Following von Rad, he argues that the elements of hope expressed in Amos 9:11-12 are "best understood as originally applicable to a situation in the eighth century."³⁵⁵ Although this oracle most probably occurred shortly after the fall of Samaria

³⁵⁴ Clements, "Patterns in the Prophetic Canon," 197: "...the more carefully the actual expressions of hope ascribed to the preexilic prophets are examined, the more apparent does it become that many of them can be perfectly well understood in a preexilic context."

³⁵⁵ Clements, "Patterns," 197.

in 722 B. C., he surmises that it possibly traces back to Amos himself, though one cannot be certain. Since Amos undoubtedly shared in Israel's historical memories of the united monarchy under David, a hope for a Judean restoration would not be surprising on his part. This memory may have found expression in the eighth century, either in the prophecies of Amos himself, or in the wake of the collapse of the non-Judean dynasty of Jeroboam II and the northern kingdom in 722 B. C. In such a situation the return of the old Judean theology of kingship, centered around the chosen king David, would certainly be intelligible on historical grounds. In any case, even the controversial case of Amos 9:11-12 illustrates that a plausible *historical* case can be made for the presence of hope in the eighth century, and therefore there are no compelling historical reasons for limiting such a hope to the postexilic period, since other passages of hope in preexilic prophecy may also be accounted for using this line of argument. The question whether these hopeful passages are authentic or redactional does not trouble Clements, since the point he wishes to stress is that many of those purported to be redactional make perfectly good sense when read against a preexilic historical background.

At the same time he argues that the preexilic hope of the prophets was not "properly" eschatological, but concerned itself with an immediate hope for political restoration.³⁵⁶ This stems from the fact that during both the preexilic and postexilic era in Israel, key historical events functioned as focal points for political change and also served as catalysts for "relating prophecies firmly to political realities and giving to them a basis for 'fulfillment.'"³⁵⁷ The hope inherent in early prophecy was therefore closely aligned with the political fortunes of preexilic Israel. Once the northern kingdom fell, this hope attached itself to the fortunes of Judah, flowering especially in the time of Josiah and the beginnings of the deuteronomistic movement. The historical collapse of Jerusalem in 587 B. C., however, forced a temporary end to the preexilic hope for the restoration of the old Davidic empire, during which time an eschatological outlook began to manifest itself in the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah, Ezekiel, and in the deuteronomistic

³⁵⁶ Clements, "Patterns," 195: "It is impossible to deny the fundamental soundness of scholars who have seen that it is only toward the end of the Babylonian exile, in the second half of the sixth-century B. C., that a truly 'eschatological' message of hope was delivered to Israel."

³⁵⁷ Clements, "Patterns," 198.

redaction of Jeremiah.

With respect to the preexilic prophets, eschatology “proper” was born under the editorial star of the deuteronomists who shaped them in terms of a unified message of judgment and restoration. They succeeded in construing the *Prophetenaussage* of the preexilic prophets in eschatological terms by means of a harmonizing hermeneutic which ultimately triumphed over the limitations generated by their localized perspectives and historically disparate contexts.³⁵⁸ This hermeneutic developed itself in two phases, phase one of which occurred sometime after 587 B. C. when the deuteronomists edited the preexilic prophets in light of the eschatological outlook of Jeremiah, Deutero-Isaiah, and Ezekiel, resulting in a proto-canonical prophetic corpus comprised of both exilic and preexilic prophets. A second phase was inaugurated when the postexilic prophets Haggai and First Zechariah were added to this collection. Clements argues that the eschatological outlook in these books was more radical, since the Persian restoration did not live up to exilic expectations. By means of these additions the eschatological outlook of the earlier collection was further radicalized into apocalyptic, eventually leading to the completion of the larger canonical collection known as the Latter Prophets.³⁵⁹

It is important to note at this point that the hermeneutical effect of this “harmonizing” was to produce a more “timeless” form of preexilic prophecy which not only rendered it open toward the future, but also guaranteed its continuing applicability and relevance. Indeed, reconciling the tension between situation-specific prophecies and the need to guarantee their continuing relevance was, on Clements’ view, the most prominent concern underwriting the reinterpretation of early prophecy: “Overall we may claim that the tension between a historical particularism, dictated by the origin of prophecy in specific historical and politically defined situations, and a religious timelessness, determined by the need of succeeding generations to continue reading, and learning

³⁵⁸ On Clements’ view, this harmonizing tendency in Latter Prophets finds an earlier expression in the Former Prophets, and in the *Prophetenaussage* of 2 Kings 17:13-15 in particular, a passage which summarizes the message of preexilic prophets in terms of a uniform message of judgment and a call for repentance. See Clements, “Patterns,” 193.

³⁵⁹ For an overview and discussion of Clements’ view on the formation of the Old Testament canon, see Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets*, 24-30.

from, preserved prophecies marks the most prominent concern in its interpretation.”³⁶⁰ Because the deuteronomists were able to overcome this tension, the preexilic hope for restoration now lay in the future, rather than an immediate political reality. Although preexilic political hopes experienced a temporary revival in the early postexilic period, the failure of Zerubbabel to restore the Davidic kingdom resulted in further disillusionment and ultimately spawned the rise of apocalyptic, the latter of which gave up historical hope altogether and came to associate hope with the end of history itself.³⁶¹

The hermeneutical problems inherent in Clements’ correlation of early prophecy with political optimism, as well as the relation between his views on the rise of prophetic eschatology and those of traditional historical criticism, will be examined in due course. The issue now at hand more properly concerns the hermeneutical logic by which the deuteronomists construed the *Prophetenaussage* of the preexilic prophets in eschatological terms. Given the political orientation of the preexilic hope for restoration, how does one account for the eschatological overtones the deuteronomists find in preexilic prophecy? The answer ultimately lies in the hermeneutical impact of the shift from oral to written prophecy in the history of Old Testament prophecy.³⁶² The formation of a written prophetic corpus brought the predominantly oral traditions of preexilic prophecy into a literary relationship with later prophecies reflecting different historical concerns. In order to preserve the literary integrity of the prophetic witness, it then became necessary to reconcile the political orientation of preexilic prophecies with the eschatological outlook of later prophecies. The harmonizing hermeneutic used by the deuteronomists thus arose as a direct consequence of the move from oral to written prophecy *and*

³⁶⁰ Clements, “Prophecy as Literature: A Reappraisal,” in *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996) 211.

³⁶¹ Clements, “Patterns,” 200: “The actual restoration which was achieved under Persian domination fell far short of this [eschatological] expectation, and so we find prophetic voices of this period pointing increasingly toward a more remote and transcendent salvation, ultimately bordering on the frontiers of apocalyptic vision.”

³⁶² For the larger methodological assumptions underlying Clements’ understanding of the shift from oral to written prophecy, see his essay “Prophecy as Literature: A Reappraisal,” 203-16, esp. 205 n. 7. His understanding of the impact of written prophecy upon oral tradition draws heavily from socio-anthropological studies of the impact of literacy upon western societies. See especially Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Routledge, 1982, 2002).

the subsequent formation of larger prophetic collections.³⁶³ In sum, the creation of larger canonical collections of prophecies created a hermeneutical trend toward the harmonization of prophecy which led the deuteronomists to read the preexilic prophets *as if* the message of eschatological restoration were authentic to their oracles, when in fact the modern critic knows that such was not the case:

“The formation of a canonical corpus of prophetic literature therefore has not felt any element of impropriety in affirming the message of the hope of *coming* salvation in relation to all of the forewarnings of doom which individual prophets made. So far as the redactors and scribes were concerned...they were simply expressing a feature which they regarded as authentic to the message, even though a modern critic would have to admit that it was not necessarily authentic to each particular prophet’s lips.”³⁶⁴

Thus while one obviously cannot accept, as a historical critic, the hermeneutic which the deuteronomists worked with, one can at least understand the literary factors responsible for their acts of hermeneutical imposition,³⁶⁵ acts by which the *Unheilspropheten* were later made to fulfill the additional role of *Heilspropheten*. Due to its predominantly oral character, preexilic prophecy concerned itself with localized historical situations and immediate political realities rather than saving events lying in the future. In other words, the situation-specific character of oral prophecy precluded the development of eschatology proper. However, the textualizing activities of the deuteronomists lifted preexilic prophecies out of their local contexts and brought them into literary relation with exilic prophecies which were eschatological in their outlook, and the forming of this larger canonical collection carried with it certain hermeneutical consequences. The interpretation of the preexilic prophets could no longer avoid being influenced by, or for that matter harmonized with, the outlook of later prophecies. Prophecies which had hitherto

³⁶³ Clements, “Patterns,” 201: “Once again, as in the case of the proclamation of doom, the process of forming a canonical collection has carried with it the tendency toward establishing a uniformity of interpretation. In consequence, all the prophetic assurances about a future salvation have been affected by the predominantly eschatological character which the latest parts of the prophetic corpus attest.”

³⁶⁴ Clements, “Patterns,” 196, emphasis added.

³⁶⁵ Clements, “Patterns,” 197: “In such a fashion we can at least come to understand the value and meaning of the way in which distinctive patterns have been *imposed* upon the prophetic collections of the canon so that warnings of doom and disaster are always followed by promises of hope and restoration. By such means all the prophets have been presented, in the canonical testimony to their preaching, as prophets of salvation” (emphasis added).

“possessed a relatively straightforward historical interpretation” in their original context were now ‘eschatologized’ as a result of the literary influence made possible by their conjunction with other prophecies.³⁶⁶ In this way the localism inherent in preexilic prophecy was overcome and rendered open toward the future.³⁶⁷ Eschatology proper is thus “an important *consequence* of the way in which the compilation of a canonical collection has affected the interpretation of its parts.”³⁶⁸

Clements on the origins of prophetic eschatology

It now remains to critically assess the hermeneutical assumptions undergirding Clements’ views on eschatology and the nature of prophetic intentionality. At the outset it should be noted that Clements’ approach to the origins of prophetic eschatology resembles in broad outline the standard historical critical picture of prophetic eschatology and its historical development.³⁶⁹ That picture typically draws a sharp distinction between prophecy and eschatology, arguing that prophecy initially addressed itself to the immediate needs of its own time rather than future realities. Prophecy is thought to have gained an eschatological or future orientation only after the disillusionment fostered by two exiles began to seriously threaten the continuing validity of the promises made to Abraham and Moses. Prophecy was then ‘eschatologized’ by projecting the fulfillment of these promises into the future. A third and final phase in the evolution of prophecy occurred under the impact of further disillusionment in the postexilic period, when the Persian restoration failed to live up to the eschatological expectations of the exilic prophets. Prophecy then moved from eschatology to apocalyptic, giving up a future-oriented historical hope altogether and looking to the end of history for the ultimate fulfillment of the prophetic words of judgment and promise.

³⁶⁶ Clements, “Patterns,” 194.

³⁶⁷ Clements, “Patterns,” 200: “By *conjoining* words of hope to threats of doom, the original threats take on a more timeless significance and are set in a new perspective” (emphasis added).

³⁶⁸ Clements, “Patterns,” 200, emphasis added.

³⁶⁹ Although this picture has been modified over the years, its basic outline and hermeneutical commitments remain the same, especially its penchant for correlating eschatology with historical disillusionment. Robert Carroll, for example, argues that the “cognitive dissonance” generated by historical disillusionment was fundamental to the formation of prophetic eschatology. See Robert P. Carroll, “Eschatological Delay in the Prophetic Tradition?” *ZAW* 94 (1982) 47-58; idem, *When Prophecy Failed: Cognitive Dissonance in the Prophetic Traditions of the Old Testament* (New York: Seabury, 1979).

In addition to the *historical* motives driving this standard or received picture of the development of prophetic eschatology, Clements adds a *literary* factor. This factor was a direct result of the move from oral to written prophecy and the subsequent formation of larger canonical collections of prophecy. In the end, however, he does not directly correlate this literary factor with theological pressures at work in the prophets, but with the death of hope for political restoration occasioned by the events of 587 B. C. In this respect his understanding of the emergence of prophetic eschatology reflects the central role that historical pressures occupy in redaction historical approaches to prophetic eschatology.³⁷⁰ Such approaches closely correlate the rise of prophetic eschatology with changing historical contexts, as though the former cannot be explained unless one finds a historical category or situation to align it with, or as though a one-to-one correspondence existed between the words of the prophets and the political fortunes of Israel.³⁷¹ Although Clements' recognizes that theological forces were at work in the rise of prophetic eschatology, emphasis falls upon the role played by changing historical events and contexts. These "new events," rather than the inner logic and theological nature of the prophecy itself, are what drive "the need for new interpretations of old prophecies."³⁷²

Underlying Clements' correlation of eschatology with the production of a larger, written corpus of prophecy is also the assumption that because oral prophecies were situation-specific in their application, they necessarily lack an openness toward the future. This is why the written and redactional phases of prophecy in Clements' account of eschatology become the *sine qua non* or necessary precondition for its possibility. The possibility that prophecy in its oral phase, though addressed to particular situations, nevertheless functioned as a *regula fidei* or norm that was open

³⁷⁰ Cf. the criticisms of Brevard Childs, *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context*, 128-30; idem, "Retrospective Reading of the Old Testament Prophets," 373-74.

³⁷¹ See for example Frank M. Cross, "Samaria and Jerusalem in the Era of the Restoration," *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1998) 173-202. Cross argues for a close tie between hope for political restoration, historical disillusionment, and the literary growth of Israel's narrative histories, that is, the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronicler's History. With respect to the latter he writes: "The Chronicler's presentation of the activities of Hezekiah and Josiah positively supports the view that he looked to the reestablishment of the united kingdom of Israel and Judah ruled from Zion, a hope framed not in terms of apocalyptic consummation but in terms of an immediate political reality" (187).

³⁷² Clements, "Patterns," 199.

to the future, does not seem to have occurred to Clements, since on his view early prophecy's proto-canonical character and future orientation derives from the written and redactional phases of its history. Oral prophecy's localism must therefore be overcome before eschatology proper and the hermeneutical concerns associated with canon can arise, and "prophecy as literature" provides the hermeneutical key for this project.

To be sure, the future orientation of prophetic eschatology and 'canonical intentionality' are closely related, since both reflect a concern to extend the authoritative claims of the prophetic word into the future. However, the idea that such forces are limited to prophecy's written phases seems unlikely at best, especially given the way in which tradition typically functions within religious communities. In a community committed to tradition, the editorial shaping of earlier traditions, whether oral or written, typically proceeds by *extending the authority* of that tradition into new contexts, thus reflecting "a canon-consciousness of sorts."³⁷³ In other words, the editorial shaping of earlier prophetic tradition *presupposes*, rather than creates, tradition's openness to the future. From the fact that prophecies were addressed to specific situations, it therefore does not follow that their theological authority was limited to localized contexts, and thus 'closed' to the future. Here Clements' understanding of prophetic eschatology founders upon the same hermeneutical premise and stumbling block that stymied von Rad and the practitioners of 'kerygmatic exegesis,' namely, that the continuing theological validity of early prophecies cannot be meaningfully distinguished from their localized application. As a result, the localized intent of early prophecy stands in direct conflict with the eschatological or canonical intent of later prophecy. In the case of von Rad, the adoption of this premise is especially ironic, since he intended *Vergegenwärtigung* to function as a hermeneutical device for relating the *theological* dimension inherent in Old Testament prophecy to its editorial history. The same might be said in the case of Clements, since he also seeks to relate theological concerns in the prophets with

³⁷³ See Michael Fishbane, "Revelation and Tradition as Aspects of Inner-Biblical Exegesis," *JBL* 99:3 (1980) 343-361, esp. 359: "The striking reuse of older legal texts instead of composing new ones, or the reapplication of earlier oracles instead of their nullification, indicate that these older deposits of revelation had already achieved authoritative status—thus suggesting a canonical consciousness of sorts, insofar as such authoritative texts would constitute a precanonical canon. A central result of this process of innovation and renovation is that the image of the ancient divine revelations as comprehensively and permanently authoritative was carefully safeguarded. From this perspective, *exegetical tradition extends the authority of older materials*—be these laws, theological or narrative dicta, or prophecies" (emphasis added).

historical critical scholarship.³⁷⁴ In the end, however, his attempt to ground the origins of prophetic eschatology in a broad move from oral to written prophecy does not overcome the inherent conflict between early prophecy's 'kerygmatic intentionality' and the broader 'canonical intentionality' at work in prophecy's written phases.

While Clements' approach to the Latter Prophets obviously differs from von Rad's in a number of ways, it also founders upon a similarly *modern* philosophy of history in which prophecy remains anchored in the past and must therefore be summoned into the present by the voice of history. The historically developmental picture of eschatology which arises from this philosophy breaks down the theological link between early prophecy and its later, eschatological expansion by undercutting early prophecy's continuing theological significance. Thus while Clements argues for the comparatively earlier origins of a prophetic canon and eschatology, especially in contrast to standard critical accounts, both still partake of an *ad hoc* character in his hermeneutic. To be sure, Clements adds certain literary factors to the standard developmental account of eschatology, as noted above. However, his conclusions do not succeed in altering that picture on a fundamental level, but only in readjusting its focus. While he succeeds to some extent in closing the gap between historical criticism and the New Testament's reading of the prophets, his solution only pushes the origins of their "hermeneutic of imposition" further back to the deuteronomists. It is one thing to grant, with Clements, that the deuteronomists did not read early prophecy "historically," but another thing to ask whether they were right in doing so. If early prophecies were not open to the future, what justifies reading them after the manner of the deuteronomists, as though they were applicable to a broad variety of future contexts? Again, this dilemma necessarily arises from the failure of historical critical scholarship to reckon with the continuing theological significance of prophecy from the outset. It is the latter which ultimately accounts for prophecy's semantic richness, a richness which not only generated a wealth of specific applications, but also a series of future extensions. This is but another way of making the point that the canonical character of prophecy is neither incompatible with, nor reducible to, its

³⁷⁴ Clements' stated intent is to reconcile "historical" exegesis and its view of the prophets with the "theological aspects" of that task, lest they "fall apart into two irreconcilable compartments of scholarship." See Clements, "Patterns," 201.

localized applications. One may therefore freely grant that during its early phases, prophecy often expressed itself in terms of ‘kerygmatic intent’ to relate itself to specific situations, yet avoid the hermeneutical error of confusing a particular *instantiation* of prophecy with its *nature* as a whole.

Prophecy and eschatology in Micah 3:11-12: a test case

Micah’s judgment oracle against Zion in Micah 3:11-12 forms an interesting test case for assessing the adequacy of Clements’ argument that eschatology proper derives from an exilic need to overcome the close correlation between early prophecy and historico-political realities. Knud Jeppesen has noted that most scholars regard both Micah 3:11-12 and the bulk of Micah 3 to be “Micah’s *ipsissima verba*,” first spoken in the eighth-century B.C.³⁷⁵ At the same time it is also clear that this oracle, which speaks of a future disaster yet to fall upon Zion, cannot be correlated with a particular historical event or set of events *in Micah’s own day*, since “the biblical as well as extra-biblical sources agree that Sennacherib’s siege of Jerusalem was given up without much harm done to the temple and the town.”³⁷⁶ Given the lack of historical fulfillment of this oracle in Micah’s day,³⁷⁷ how then does one account for the preservation of this oracle and the later role it plays in the Book of the Twelve? More importantly, how does one account for the fact that this oracle now forms the center of the Book of the Twelve?³⁷⁸ Sensing the problem this creates for historical criticism’s correlationist account of prophecy, Jeppesen suggests that it must have been the case that a remnant within Israel in Micah’s day believed in a cause-and-effect relationship between their behavior and the possibility of a coming disaster, “and therefore the saying was remembered without an event to connect it to.” Yet he does not explain the basis for this conviction, nor does he consider the possibility that Micah’s tradents operated with the conviction that prophecy *per se* had continuing theological significance for future generations, irrespective of

³⁷⁵ See Knud Jeppesen, “‘Because of You!’: An Essay About the Centre of the Book of the Twelve,” in *In Search of True Wisdom: Essays in Old Testament in Honour of Ronald E. Clements* (ed. Edward Ball; JSOTS 300; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999) 196-210, quote from 200.

³⁷⁶ Jeppesen, “‘Because of You!’”, 200.

³⁷⁷ Although Jeremiah 26:19 implies that the leaders of Hezekiah’s day understood that Micah’s oracle was directed against them, the oracle nevertheless did not find fulfillment in Micah’s day, because the judgment it prophesied for Zion was temporarily delayed by the repentance of Hezekiah and the people of Judah.

³⁷⁸ According to the Masorah parva in BHS, Micah 3:12 is verse 526 out of 1050 in the Book of the Twelve.

whether this significance could be strictly correlated with historical events in Micah's own time.

At the end of the day, Micah 3:11-12 presents a major problem for Clements' correlationist account of the relation between early prophecy and historico-political realities, since its eschatological outlook points to the inherent capacity of eighth-century prophecy to relate itself to future realities, even though these realities cannot be neatly aligned with political or historical events in Micah's day. As others have suggested, the fact that this oracle occurs precisely at the Twelve's center is surely not without theological significance. On the contrary, its signal position in the Twelve serves to underscore the governing outlook and stance on the prophetic word adopted by its tradents, a stance in which the continuing theological significance of prophecy and its openness to the future explains history's unfolding, rather than vice versa.

Clements and the retrospective reading of the prophets

The differences between canonical and redaction historical approaches to prophetic intentionality emerge most clearly in their respective understandings of the motive forces by which prophetic eschatology arose. At issue here is not the question whether later editors interpreted earlier prophecies with the benefit of hindsight and subsequently registered these later interpretations upon earlier levels of the prophetic tradition. Clements rightly recognizes that prophetic editors engaged in a "retrospective reading" of early prophecies based upon a more mature understanding of their full range of meanings and implications. Rather, the disagreement turns over the nature of this "retrospective reading." Were these later readings congruent with the theological outlook of earlier tradition, or were they anachronistic "impositions" of later historical perspectives upon earlier prophecies? Canonical approaches to prophetic eschatology argue that prophecy's future orientation is a theological extension of the authority and canon-consciousness inherent in prophecy's earliest phases. The theological link between early prophecy and its later fulfillment allowed prophetic editors to move from later events to earlier prophecy on the basis of the conviction that both were part of a unified reality.³⁷⁹ In other words, the rationale which justified the projection of later perspectives onto earlier prophecies was theological, rather than historical in character. Retrospective editorial moves thus functioned as a way of confirming the

³⁷⁹ Cf. Childs, "Retrospective Reading," 376.

truth claims of early prophecy, while at the same time affirming their basic theological unity with later fulfillments. Moreover, although in the early phases of prophecy this authority often expressed itself in terms of situation-specific applications, it nevertheless remained open to the future, even after finding fulfillment in later, eschatological contexts, for the claims of the prophetic word are not exhausted by their role in a particular historical context, but continue to spill over into the future.³⁸⁰

The retrospective reading of prophecy is therefore that process by which prophecy comes into its own and receives its due rights in later contexts. By way of contrast, Clements' model of retrospective reading ultimately breaks down the theological continuity between original prophecies and their eschatologically oriented redactions. Changing historical contexts rather than theological pressures evoke this reading, resulting in a historically referential reading of early prophecy in which theological concerns, while still important, are nevertheless subordinated to the changing political and historical fortunes of preexilic Israel. This not only runs the risk of reducing prophecy to a commentary on the early political history of Israel, but also compromises its integrity by severing the theological link between prophecy and its later interpretation, since from a *historical* point of view, later interpretations must now be viewed as anachronistic "impositions" of later historical concerns onto earlier prophecies.

Clements and prophetic intentionality

Finally, although Clements recognizes that the later editing of earlier prophecies represents an attempt to draw out their fuller implications for later contexts, he self-consciously avoids connecting these redactional moves with a "hermeneutical interest" in canon. As a result, prophetic intentionality in Clements' account is driven, not by the intrinsic theological pressures of prophecy itself, but by the need to "update" the significance of earlier prophecies for later historical contexts. In an essay on Deutero-Isaiah, for example, Clements speaks of 'canon' as though it primarily relates to the demarcation of the limits of the prophetic canon, rather than an intrinsic theological force already at work during the formation history of prophetic books:

"So far as a book such as Isaiah is concerned, with its unique historical and literary problems, it appears to be methodologically wrong to attempt to resolve these problems by an all-embracing hermeneutical appeal to the perspective of canon. The book of Isaiah

³⁸⁰ Cf. Childs, "Retrospective Reading of the Old Testament Prophets," 374: "...to suggest that the divine threats to Judah and Jerusalem as recorded in 2:6-4:1 were regarded as fulfilled by the destruction of 587 is to miss the function of prophetic eschatology which remains future-oriented to every successive generation. At the same time, the book of Isaiah retains the figure of King Ahaz unchanged in all his historical particularity...an interpretation which flattens this distinctive, dialectic approach to history can only result in serious exegetical reductionism."

had acquired its present shape by the time the limits of the canon were determined. No doubt the understanding of prophecy inherent in the way in which the book was given shape bore some relationship to the interests of those who finally endorsed the canon. Yet the redactional shaping of the book took place *first*, and it would appear to be an entirely proper and valuable field of enquiry to examine this, quite apart from an hermeneutical interest in the ‘canon’ in its larger compass. Furthermore the varied interests which contributed to the shape of the book may then, incidentally, provide a better insight into the reasons why the whole corpus of the Former and Latter Prophets acquired the shape it did in the canon of the Old Testament.”³⁸¹

Here Clements appears to be following the standard historical critical practice of defining canon narrowly in terms of closure or as a list of authoritative books. It is therefore not surprising to find him arguing that a hermeneutical interest in ‘canon’ has nothing to do with the prophetic intentionality at work in the redactional shaping of the Latter Prophets.

Andrew Lee revisited

Clements’ 1977 essay was widely influential and directly influenced the approach to prophetic intentionality, literary unity, and eschatology in Andrew Lee’s 1985 doctoral dissertation on the Book of the Twelve.³⁸² The problems with Lee’s views on prophetic intentionality have been previously addressed, and therefore will not be discussed further here. However, the relationship between Clements’ approach to the unity of the Latter Prophets and Lee’s approach to the unity of the Twelve, along with its implications for Lee’s understanding of prophetic eschatology, invites further comparison and analysis at this point. With respect to the unified message of the Latter Prophets, Clements argued that it was “precisely the element of *connectedness* between the prophets, and the conviction that they were all referring to a single theme of Israel’s destruction and renewal, which has facilitated to ascription to each of them of the message of hope which some of their number had proclaimed after 587 B. C.”³⁸³ It should now be clear that this argument forms the basic logic undergirding Lee’s argument for reading the

³⁸¹ Ronald Clements, “Beyond Tradition History: Deutero-Isaianic Development of First Isaiah’s Themes,” in *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* (Louisville, KY: W/JK Press, 1996) 80 n. 10, emphasis added. Cf. also 83 n. 15.

³⁸² For a critical assessment of Lee’s See the earlier discussion of authorial approaches to intentionality for Lee’s views on prophetic intentionality.

³⁸³ Clements, “Patterns,” 196, emphasis added.

Twelve as a unity. Following Clements, he emphasizes the default character of the mutual literary influence that occurs as a result of bringing the individual books of the Twelve into a larger collection, and he also emphasizes the way in which the literary “conjoining” of originally disparate prophecies impacted their later interpretation, resulting in a more “timeless” application which “updated” their significance for later contexts. Thus once Nahum was conjoined with the rest of the Twelve, its hopeful message of deliverance gained a “timeless” significance because of the way in which the individual books of the Twelve update and extend the message of one another.³⁸⁴ To be sure, for Clements such “updating” would involve far more editorial additions than Lee is willing to concede. Nevertheless, the rather heavy hermeneutical freight he assigns to the literary “conjoining” of prophecies into a canonical collection clearly reflects the influence of Clements.

A further example may be found in Lee’s understanding of the origins of prophetic eschatology in the Twelve. The DOL in Amos 5:18-20 does not reflect eschatology proper, since on Lee’s view it originally lacked the eschatological sense later attributed to it.³⁸⁵ Rather, the DOL in Amos 5:18-20 “takes on” an eschatological sense as a result of being conjoined in a single literary collection with the prophecies of Zephaniah and Malachi:

“A further example of mutual influence may be found in the concept of the Day of Yahweh. In Amos 5:18-20, it is not originally employed as a technical term. It gains such a characterization in the time of Zephaniah due to the prophet’s oracles and takes on an eschatological significance. Later prophecies such as Mal. 4:1, with its emphasis on the judgment of the wicked by fire, give this concept further coloration. Amos’ original idea about the Day of the Lord becomes more pregnant in meaning because of its association

³⁸⁴ Andrew Lee, *The Canonical Unity of the Scroll of the Minor Prophets*, 220-21: “Similarly, when the books of the XII are *conjoined*, the interpretation of one is influenced by the other. The judgments in Nahum against Ninevah cannot escape being read as an indictment against whichever nation happens to be the enemy at the time, whether it be Babylonia or some future foe. And the expression of deliverance (1:15) becomes *timeless* in its application, the more so as the other books in the XII update the historical situation of the prior works” (emphasis added).

³⁸⁵ While it is certainly true that the eschatological note in Amos 5:18-20 is somewhat subdued compared to the usages of the DOL in Zephaniah and Malachi, it is not absent altogether. Amos 5:19 relies upon the idea of “expectation” in order to make the point that the DOL will frustrate popular expectations and hopes. Just as one who flees from a lion does not expect to be confronted by a bear, and just as one who leans upon a wall for support does not expect to be bitten by a serpent, so also Amos’s DOL will be the reverse of what is expected, darkness rather than light.

with these other books due to its inclusion in the Scroll of the Twelve.”³⁸⁶

The views of both Clements and Lee imply that eschatology in the Twelve arose in a default or *ad hoc* manner as a result of their inclusion in larger, canonical collections of prophecy. In the case of Lee’s work on the Twelve, this results in the conclusion that the later, more properly eschatological ideas of judgment in Zephaniah and Malachi now influence the reading of Amos’s DOL, thereby transforming it into an eschatologically pregnant concept, while at the same time updating it for usage by later audiences. Lee thus attempts to account for the eschatological character of Amos’s DOL by means of the same hermeneutic at work in Clements’ account of eschatology, an account in which eschatology is “an important *consequence* of the way in which the compilation of a canonical collection has affected the interpretation of its parts.”³⁸⁷

Conclusion

The legacy of von Rad’s struggle to negotiate the impasse between modern historical concerns and the eschatological outlook inherent in early prophecy resurfaces in Clements’ account of prophetic eschatology. Whereas von Rad struggled to overcome this impasse by means of an emic appeal to the history-creating word of God, Clements seeks to overcome it by recourse to the hermeneutical impact of literary media upon early prophecy. In the end, both approaches fail to come to terms with early prophecy’s openness to the future, although it may be argued that von Rad’s appeal to Israel’s belief in the inexhaustible nature of the prophetic word is relatively more successful in accounting for the rise of prophetic eschatology than Clements’ appeal to literary factors. Having minimized the continuing theological significance of early prophecy, Clements is forced to compensate for the resulting disjunction between early prophecy and eschatology by accounting for the latter in terms of prophecy’s literary aspect. In contrast to Clements’ emphasis upon literary factors, von Rad’s approach grants a comparatively higher profile to the role played by theological pressures in the rise of eschatology. This observation holds true in general, even though in retrospect it must be admitted that von Rad’s historical commitments led him to unduly restrict the scope of early prophecy’s application, resulting in

³⁸⁶ Lee, *The Canonical Unity*, 221 n. 3.

³⁸⁷ Clements, “Patterns,” 200, emphasis added.

historical tensions which ultimately undermined the integrity of the theological link between early prophecy and its eschatological extension.

At the end of the day, the combined appeal to historical and literary factors in the Clements' redaction historical approach cannot account for the rise of eschatology in the prophets, nor for the DOL and all its manifestations in the Book of the Twelve. While it cannot be denied that the inclusion of prophecies in larger collections served to *heighten* their eschatological dimensions, the argument that eschatology derives from the hermeneutical consequences inherent in the exilic move toward "prophecy as literature" replaces the theological bridge between early prophecy and eschatology with a *literary* rationale. This not only severs the theological link between prophecy and its eschatological extension, but also falls prey to the methodological confusion involved in attempting to illuminate an essentially theological phenomenon by means of literary categories. By way of contrast, the theo-logic driving prophecy's openness to the future ultimately lies in the dynamic view of the prophetic word articulated in passages such as Zechariah 1:4-6: "Be not like your fathers, to whom the former prophets cried out, 'Thus says the LORD of hosts, Return from your evil ways and from your evil deeds.' But they did not hear or heed me, says the LORD. Your fathers, where are they? And the prophets, do they live for ever? But my words and my statutes, which I commanded my servants the prophets, did they not overtake your fathers?"³⁸⁸

b. James Nogalski

In a doctoral dissertation completed in 1991 at the University of Zürich,³⁸⁹ James Nogalski sought to explain both the formation history and the literary unity of the Twelve by means of a redaction historical approach influenced by the methods and prophetic hermeneutics of Odil H. Steck.³⁹⁰ Nogalski's dissertation was later published in two volumes titled *Literary Precursors to*

³⁸⁸ Zechariah 1:4-6, RSV.

³⁸⁹ James Nogalski, *Redactional Layers and Intentions: Uniting the Writings of the Book of the Twelve* (PhD diss., University of Zürich, 1991).

³⁹⁰ For Steck's approach to redaction criticism, see Odil H. Steck, *Old Testament Exegesis: A Guide to the Methodology* (SBLRBS 39; trans. J. Nogalski; 2nd ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998). For the hermeneutical issues involved in Steck's approach, see idem, *The Prophetic Books and their Theological Witness* (trans. James D. Nogalski; St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2000) 127-204, trans. of *Die Prophetenbücher und ihr theologisches Zeugnis:*

*the Book of the Twelve and Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve.*³⁹¹ In *Literary Precursors* Nogalski made use of redaction historical logic to reconstruct the Twelve's formation history, arguing that the earliest forerunner to the Twelve was formed when Hosea, Amos, Micah and Zephaniah were united on the basis of their chronological superscriptions, thereby forming a "Deuteronomistic Precursor" to the Twelve sometime during the sixth century B. C.³⁹² A later redactional phase united the books of Haggai and Zechariah 1-8 during the late Persian period, resulting in a second precursor alongside the earlier Deuteronomistic corpus.³⁹³ In this way the six dated books of the Twelve were brought together first, thus forming an overarching chronological framework which extended from the preexilic period of the eighth century prophets down to the postexilic period of the restoration. In *Redactional Processes* Nogalski argued that a critical stage in the Twelve's formation history occurred when a "Joel-Related Layer" consisting of the undated writings of Joel, Obadiah, Nahum, Habbakuk, and Malachi was redactionally integrated into the chronological framework formed by the two literary precursors, resulting in a collection of eleven prophetic books dating to the fourth century B. C. Further editorial activity occurred when Zechariah 9-14 and Jonah were also redactionally integrated on the basis of the hermeneutical outlook provided by the "Joel-Related Layer," resulting in the Book of the Twelve proper.³⁹⁴

Joel as metahistory

Wege der Nachfrage und Fährten zur Antwort (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996).

³⁹¹ James Nogalski, *Literary Precursors in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 217; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993); idem, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 218; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993). A shorter summary of the arguments in *Redactional Processes* may be found in Nogalski's later essay "Joel as 'Literary Anchor' for the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 91-109. These arguments are further extended in connection with the DOL in Hosea, Joel, Amos, and Obadiah in Nogalski's essay "The Day(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve," in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers, 1999* (SBLSP 38; Atlanta: SBL, 1999) 617-642.

³⁹² Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 85-88.

³⁹³ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 240-72.

³⁹⁴ For a summary of the redaction critical logic undergirding Nogalski's argument for the integration of a "Joel-Related Layer" in the Twelve, see *Redactional Processes*, 275-78. Nogalski argues for the primacy of the Masoretic order of the Twelve and endorses Schneider's argument that the alternative LXX order is to be explained by the fact that it shifts the older writings (Hos-Amos-Micah) to the front of the corpus, resulting in the order Hos-Amos-Micah-Joel-Obadiah-Jonah. See Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 2 n. 8.

Building upon the arguments of Siegfried Bergler,³⁹⁵ Nogalski sees Joel as a instance of scribal prophecy or *schriftprophetie* which never had an independent circulation prior to its incorporation in the Twelve, whether orally or literarily.³⁹⁶ On his view Joel was specifically composed to occupy a position between Hosea and Amos, and he supports this view by appealing to “dovetailing genres” with Hosea and Amos found at the beginning and ending of Joel. Noting that the book of Hosea ends with a call to repentance to the northern kingdom (Hosea 14:2), the response to which is not narrated within Hosea, he argues that Joel’s prologue (1:1-4) should not be read as though it were an independent summons to attention, but rather as an introductory transition between Hosea and Joel. In particular he argues that the literary antecedent to the rhetorical question in Joel 1:2 “Has this happened in your days or the days of your fathers?” is found in Hosea’s call to repentance in Hosea 14:2, thus indicating that Joel’s rhetorical question presupposes Hosea 14:2 as the context for its intelligibility.³⁹⁷ Taken together, Joel 1:2 and Hosea 14:2 imply that the repentance called for in Hosea 14:2 has not yet been fulfilled in Joel’s day. With respect to Joel’s ending, Nogalski also notes that the message of eschatological judgment against the nations in Joel 4:1-21 dovetails with the oracles of judgment against the nations in Amos 1-2. He also points to the presence of recurring vocabulary or “catchwords” between the books of Hosea, Joel, and Amos, as well as the paradigmatic significance of Joel’s location for the comprehensive literary logic and unity of the Twelve.³⁹⁸ Since this latter feature of Nogalski’s argument is by far the most hermeneutically significant aspect of his reconstruction, it will

³⁹⁵ Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 5-6. See also Siegfried Bergler, *Joel als Schriftinterpret* (BEATAJ 16; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1988).

³⁹⁶ See the summary in *Redactional Processes*, 275-76.

³⁹⁷ See J. Nogalski, “Joel as a Literary Anchor in the Book of the Twelve,” 98 n. 15. Nogalski argues that Joel 1:2 is typically regarded as a wisdom teacher’s “call to attention” (*Lehreröffnungsruf*) on the basis of the mistaken presupposition that the book of Joel had an independent existence and circulation prior to its incorporation into the Twelve. Cf. Hans W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 20. On his view this renders the question in Joel 1:2 unintelligible by isolating Joel 1:2 from its literary connection with Hosea 14:2. This in turn forces the would-be translators of Joel 1:2 to introduce a comparative element in the verse in order to render it intelligible (“Has *anything like* this happened in our days or the days of your fathers?”). Nogalski argues that a more literal translation of Joel 1:2 should be adopted at this point in order to more effectively highlight its connection with Hosea 14:2.

³⁹⁸ These arguments are summarized in Nogalski, “Joel as ‘Literary Anchor’ for the Book of the Twelve,” 91-109.

therefore form the focus of discussion in what follows.

With respect to the paradigmatic character of Joel in the Twelve, Nogalski points out that the locust imagery in Joel 1-2 reoccurs frequently throughout the Twelve. On the basis of a comparison of Joel 1:4 with Joel 1:7, he argues that the locusts of Joel 1:4 are not to be understood literally, but as a metaphor for invading armies. Hence the locust imagery associated with the coming DOL in Joel 1-2 is to be understood in terms of “attacking armies that invade the land in succession,” a motif which redactionally resurfaces in later books of the Twelve, especially the books of Nahum (Nahum 3:16) and Habbakuk (Hab. 1:9), which conceive of these locusts in terms of Assyria and Babylon, respectively.³⁹⁹ The repetition of Joel-like motifs in other books of the Twelve serves to underscore Joel’s paradigmatic significance, since the key to the interpretation of these motifs is found in Joel. He also points out that Joel exhibits a literary sequence which moves from a call to repentance in light of forthcoming judgment (Joel 1:1-2:17) to a promise of *future* restoration and forgiveness conditioned upon the actualization of repentance (Joel 2:18-4:21). Indeed, as readers move from Hosea through Malachi in the reading process of the Twelve, it becomes increasingly clear that Joel’s way of construing the causal relationship between non-repentance and judgment on the one hand, and repentance and restoration on the other, has exerted an influence on the literary sequence of the Twelve as a whole.

Nogalski accounts for Joel’s literary influence by arguing that the redactional integration of the “Joel-Related Layer” was motivated by an editorial intent to unify the Twelve on the basis of Joel’s literary structure, the latter of which functioned as a hermeneutical paradigm for structuring the Twelve’s history of judgment and restoration. As a result of this redactional activity, and especially the placement of Joel among preexilic books, a broad relationship of promise and fulfillment now obtains between Hosea and the postexilic books of Haggai and Zechariah.⁴⁰⁰ The repentance called for in Joel 1:8-2:17, and the *promise* of positive actions on

³⁹⁹ See Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 123-27; idem, “Joel as ‘Literary Anchor,’” 103 n. 24; cf. idem, “Intertextuality and the Twelve,” in *Forming Prophetic Literature*, 111 n. 24.

⁴⁰⁰ Although Malachi 3:11 also connects the locust imagery of Joel with divine judgment, the book of Malachi apparently constitutes something of an exception to the postexilic pattern of fulfillment vis-a-vis the promise of Joel, presumably because the people of Malachi’s time had reverted to the same non-repentant stance occupied by

God's part in 2:18-27, both of which are mirrored and anticipated by a similar thematic sequence in Hosea 14, now finds literary *fulfillment* in the postexilic repentance of the people described in Zechariah 1:2-6, and in the fulfilled promises of temple reconstruction and restoration in both Haggai and Zechariah. In sum, Joel's dual message of 'judgment for non-repentance' and 'restoration for repentance' is anticipated by the book of Hosea and "played out" literarily in the rest of the Twelve. Thus Nogalski argues that Joel functions as a "metahistory" which transcends, but does not replace, the chronological shape of the Twelve.⁴⁰¹

The paradigmatic character of Joel's influence in the Twelve also serves to explain the exiles of the northern and southern kingdoms, as well as the postexilic restoration of Judah. With respect to preexilic books such as Hosea, Amos, Micah and Zephaniah, Joel's stance on the restorative role of repentance makes it clear that the judgments spoken of in these prophetic books came to pass as a direct result of Israel and Judah's lack of repentance. On the other hand, the restoration described in the postexilic books of Haggai and Zechariah may also be explained in terms of the fulfillment of Joel's promise that *if* the people repent, Yahweh will restore what the locusts have eaten (Joel 2:12-25).⁴⁰² It is important to note at this juncture that on Nogalski's view, the repentance of YHWH's people is *not* actualized in Joel, but waits until Zechariah and the post-exilic period for its realization. Prior to that only the Ninevites in Jonah repent:

"When one reads Joel as eighth century prophetic voice, based on its context in the Twelve not the date of its composition, then the chronological markers of Joel 3:1, 2, 4; and 4:1 do not indicate the immediate repentance of the people following Joel 2:17. In other words, while an isolated reading of Joel often assumes that the people repent following 2:17, the Twelve does not narrate the repentance of YHWH's people prior to the generation of

preexilic Israel and Judah. However, the fact that the God-fearers in Malachi 3:16-18 are described in terms of the broader categories of the righteous and the wicked, rather than Israel and Judah, suggests that by the end of the Twelve, Joel's promise is fulfilled in terms which transcend earlier ethnic distinctions in Twelve, a possibility which Nogalski hints at, but does not develop. See Nogalski, "Intertextuality and the Twelve," 108 n. 16, 118; cf. idem, "Joel as 'Literary Anchor,'" 109.

⁴⁰¹ Nogalski, "The Day(s)," 628. On the concept of metahistory, see Odil H. Steck, *Die Prophetenbücher und ihr theologisches Zeugnis* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996) 50-4.

⁴⁰² Nogalski, "Joel as 'Literary Anchor,'" 107.

Haggai and Zechariah.”⁴⁰³

In sum, although Joel calls for repentance, and like Hosea 14 narrates the promises of restoration that will follow *if* the people repent (Joel 2:18-27), Nogalski argues that this repentance is not actualized in the book of Joel itself, but later in the Book of the Twelve, and in the book of Haggai and Zechariah 1:2-6 in particular.

Before moving on to an evaluation of Nogalski’s stance on Joel’s message of repentance and his construal of Joel as “metahistory,” it should be acknowledged that his work reflects a number of sound exegetical insights into the intentional character of the redactional moves at work in the Twelve’s intertextual relationships. His argument that the succession of locust invasions described metaphorically in Joel 1:4 functions as a hermeneutical key in Nahum and Habakkuk for interpreting the Assyrian and Babylon invasions of Israel and Judah helps to account for a major motif at work in the Twelve’s literary unity, and it also highlights the hermeneutical function of the book of Joel in the Twelve as a whole. In addition, his insights into the “dovetailing genres” found in the Masoretic sequence of Hosea-Joel-Amos underscore the deliberate character of Joel’s location between Hosea and Amos, while at the same time recognizing its postexilic origin.

This stands in welcome contrast to the practice of earlier expositors who found the Twelve’s book sequence puzzling and therefore sought to disentangle its sequence by reordering its books on the basis of historical and chronological criteria.⁴⁰⁴ The late nineteenth-century approaches of George Adam Smith and Alexander Francis Kirkpatrick serve as cases in point, although many others from that period could be cited as well.⁴⁰⁵ Smith’s two-volume commentary

⁴⁰³ Nogalski, “The Day(s),” 629-30. In a clarifying footnote, Nogalski adds: “Not until Zech 1:2-6 does a prophetic text in the Twelve clearly indicate that the people repent...Elsewhere only the Ninevites in Jonah repent” (630 n. 23). Cf. also his remarks in “Joel as ‘Literary Anchor’ for the Book of the Twelve,” 97-8: “...the promise of YHWH’s positive actions appears in 2:18-27, but, as with Hosea 14:5ff., the restoration still lies in the future and the reader is never told explicitly whether the people repent.”

⁴⁰⁴ H. B. Swete argues that the arrangers of the LXX order transposed Joel to a position following Hosea, Amos, and Micah because of their chronological sense that Joel did not belong among the eighth century prophets. See Henry B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914) 227.

⁴⁰⁵ George Adam Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets Commonly Called the Minor* (13th ed.; 2 vols.; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1908).

on the Twelve departed from the Masoretic order and treated Amos first, followed by Hosea and Micah. In volume two he also followed a chronological rather than canonical order of presentation, treating Zephaniah first, followed by Nahum, Habbakuk, Obadiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and finally Joel and Jonah.⁴⁰⁶ Although more recent approaches to the Twelve accept its canonical order, many still attempt to account for that order by appealing to the logic of historicism. Even Francis Watson's hermeneutically sensitive treatment of the Twelve falls into this error vis-a-vis Joel and Obadiah.⁴⁰⁷ On Watson's view the possibility that non-chronological or hermeneutical concerns may have been preeminent in the placement of books like Joel and Obadiah is precluded, since the chronological framework created by the six dated books of the Twelve effectively "historicizes" even its undated books.⁴⁰⁸

Commentaries within the tradition of "historical grammatical" exegesis also allow the Twelve's canonical order to stand. However, Hosea is typically treated first in such commentaries, not because its position vis-a-vis the other books in the Twelve may be hermeneutically significant, and therefore a matter for investigation, but because exegetes in this tradition have an inherited respect for Scripture which precludes the possibility of reordering its book sequences in the name of "scientific" exegesis. Nevertheless the historical project of disentanglement still manifests itself on the level of literary relations between the individual books, since what counts for "meaning" in the Twelve is limited either to a given book's historical

⁴⁰⁶ By way of contrast with G. A. Smith, Kirkpatrick's roughly contemporaneous lectures on the prophets treat Obadiah and Joel as the earliest prophets. See Alexander F. Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets: The Warburtonian Lectures for 1886-1890* (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1901). For a more recent example encompassing the entire Bible, see Joseph Rhymer, ed., *The Bible in Order* (Garden City, NY: 1975). Cited in C. Seitz, "On Letting a Text 'Act Like a Man' -- The Book of the Twelve," 156 n. 12.

⁴⁰⁷ Francis Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (London: T & T Clark, 2004) 133-38.

⁴⁰⁸ F. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, 136: "In the canonical redaction of the Twelve, prophecy is historicized...The texts it contains are set within a redactional framework that serves to historicize them..." As such, these texts are anchored in the past for Watson. The one exception to this rule appears to be the book of Habbakuk, to which Watson assigns the hermeneutical task of bridging the gap between latter day readings of the Twelve and its eleven "historicized" books. While Watson's argument that Habbakuk functions as an "epitome" of the Twelve bears merit, especially for the light it sheds upon Paul's holistic reading of the Twelve, one need not conclude from this that the location of books such as Joel and Obadiah lacks hermeneutical significance. One suspects that Habbakuk is made to carry the bulk of the Twelve's hermeneutical freight, not because Paul or the Twelve require such a stance, but because of the curious mix of canonical hermeneutics and historicism in Watson's hermeneutic.

context or to the literary relations within a given book.⁴⁰⁹ The possibility that a larger literary logic unites the Twelve generally does not find expression within “historical grammatical” circles, in large part because it rests upon a more conservative version of the same historicism undergirding historical critical approaches to the Twelve. This is *not* to argue, of course, that the historical context and internal literary relations of prophetic books are to be ignored, nor is it to argue that a book’s position is *always* hermeneutically significant. Nevertheless, the argument is being made that historical exegesis must remain open to the possibility that a book’s position may also contribute to its meaning, and that approaches which preclude this possibility from the outset are *insufficiently* historical.⁴¹⁰ Again, it must be said that Nogalski’s work on the Twelve stands as a welcome corrective to such approaches, whether traditional or modern.

Joel and the retrospective reading of the Twelve

Such correctives notwithstanding, Nogalski’s reading of Joel 2, as well as his construal of Joel as “metahistory,” reflect something of a continuing uneasiness and residual discomfort with the approach to historiography at work in the Twelve. To be sure, Nogalski argues for the appropriateness of Joel’s location on the basis of its hermeneutical significance for the rest of the Twelve, and *to this extent* he parts company with scholars who adopt a purely diachronic approach when confronted with the task of explaining the Twelve’s book sequence. At the same time, Joel’s message of actualized repentance remains a problem for Nogalski, and it is just here that a certain resistance to the Twelve’s own approach to brokering its history resurfaces in his hermeneutic. On the one hand, the appropriateness of Joel’s location among the preexilic prophets is rigorously defended by Nogalski, in spite of the discomfort this causes for historicists. On the other hand, Joel’s message of actualized repentance must be de-occasionalised in keeping with the book’s *metahistorical* function. One also wonders whether Joel’s message of repentance has been made part of a metahistorical paradigm in order to prevent it from disrupting the linear

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. for example the otherwise excellent commentary series on the Twelve by Thomas E. McComiskey, ed., *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary* (3 vols; Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1992, 1993, 1998).

⁴¹⁰ “To ignore this kind of context in the name of historical context is wrongly to foreshorten what we mean by history and a properly historical approach....For final canonical form is also a piece of history, belonging to decisions made in the past about how an ancient prophetic witness is finally to be heard” (C. Seitz, “On Letting a Text ‘Act Like a Man,’” 161).

symmetry of the promise-fulfillment schema suggested by Nogalski.

In any case, what Nogalski gives to hermeneutics with one hand by defending Joel's location in the Twelve, he takes away with the other by de-occasionalizing his message of repentance. Although this does not result in a reordering of the books after the manner of Smith et al., it nevertheless generates similar theological consequences, since it removes a crucial theological element from the reading process of the Twelve. Readers making their way from Hosea to Amos via Joel are now bereft of the proper stance and theological context from which to understand the otherwise harsh judgments rendered in Amos. By *enacting* the repentance called for in Hosea, Joel provides a context for the justification of YHWH's indictment against his own people in Amos 2:4ff. This indictment is now seen against the backdrop of the joint message of Hosea and Joel, namely, that YHWH not only desires the repentance of his people (Hosea 14:2), but is also compassionate and forgiving toward those who do *in fact* repent (Joel 2:18-27). Viewed in terms of the context provided by Hosea and Joel, the decision of YHWH in Amos 2 to exercise judgment upon his unrepentant people is not the act of a tyrant, but that of a compassionate God who is at once both merciful *and* just.⁴¹¹ Therefore by the time readers enter the book of Amos, God's judgment of the northern kingdom is fully justified, and the people of Israel are left ἀναπολογήτους, without apologetic or excuse, a guilty posture further aggravated by the subsequent repentance of the Ninevites to a call virtually identical to Joel's (cf. Joel 2:12-13 with Jonah 3:7-4:2).

This is ultimately why Nogalski's reading of Joel 2 fails to persuade, although grammatical problems with his reading may also be cited at this point. His rejection of the actualized character of the repentance in Joel 2 virtually overrides the ordinary sense of the waw consecutive imperfect (*wci*) which introduces Joel 2:18, since the *wci* is most often used in contexts which denote temporal succession in the past rather than the future.⁴¹² Although

⁴¹¹ Cf. the discussion in C. Seitz, "On Letting a Text 'Act Like a Man' -- The Book of the Twelve: New Horizons for Canonical Reading, with Hermeneutical Reflections," 163-64.

⁴¹² See Paul Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, vol. II (trans. & rev. T. Muraoka; Pontifical Biblical Institute: Rome, 1991) 390: "The Wayyiqtol form [i.e., *wci*], like the qatal form of action verbs [i.e., *qal* perfect], is mainly used in the sphere of the *past* for a single and instantaneous action: Waw mainly adds the idea of succession." Cf. also Mark D. Futato, *Beginning Biblical Hebrew* (Winona Lake, IA: Eisenbrauns, 2003) 163-4.

Nogalski is doubtless right to argue that a parallel exists between the larger literary sequence of Hosea 14:2-4/5-9 and Joel 2:1-17/18-27 (viz., a call to repentance followed by a promise of future restoration),⁴¹³ this parallel breaks down on a grammatical level, since the future sense of the qal imperfect which begins the promise section in Hosea 14:5-9 clearly does not find a parallel in the piel wci which introduces the corresponding promise section in Joel 2:18-27.⁴¹⁴ Nogalski seems to be aware of this issue and attempts to provide redress for it by arguing that when one reads Joel in terms of its canonical context among the eighth century prophets of the Twelve, rather than the historical context provided by its postexilic date of composition, the repentance implied by the use of the *wci* in Joel 2:18 no longer refers to an actualized historical reality retrospectively registered in the midst of Hosea and Amos, but instead functions as part of a conditional promise which awaits fulfillment in the days of Haggai and Zechariah. But the question needs to be asked whether the grammatical transformation Nogalski argues for is viable, or whether it is actually made necessary by his judgment that Joel functions as a “metahistory” which transcends (but does not replace) the Twelve’s chronological shape.

In other words, at issue here are not merely the problems generated for Joel’s use of Hebrew grammar and syntax by Nogalski’s de-occasionalised reading of Joel 2:18. While this reading effectively reduces the gracious response of Yahweh described in Joel 2:18 to a hypothetical conditional, Nogalski’s construal of Joel as a metahistory raises more troubling hermeneutical issues, especially for redaction historical approaches to retrospective reading in the Twelve. Here Nogalski’s family resemblance with Clements’ version of retrospective reading becomes apparent. By de-historicizing the realized aspects of the people’s repentance in Joel 2, Nogalski effectively undercuts its retrospective theological link with both Hosea and Amos in the name of “metahistory.” However, from the point of view of retrospective reading in the prophets, *theologically* conceived, Joel’s message of realized repentance is not an anachronism or historical discomfort to be overcome by dissolving it into a hypothetical conditional, or by elevating the book itself to the level of a timeless kerygmatic paradigm. Rather, the positioning of Joel between

⁴¹³ Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 4 n. 10.

⁴¹⁴ Had Joel 2:18 made use of a waw consecutive perfect (wcp), which usually denotes temporal succession in the future, the parallel Nogalski attempts to draw between Joel 2:18 and Hosea 14:5 would be more plausible.

Hosea and Amos by the Twelve's tradents functions as a way of retrospectively confirming that Joel's enactment of repentance forms part of a unified theological reality inaugurated by the calls to repentance in both Hosea 14:2-4 and Amos 4:6-11, but realized in the people's repentance in Joel 2.

At the same time, the eschatological outlook on repentance in Joel 3-4 is not thereby jeopardized or exhausted, but continues to sound its notes into the future.⁴¹⁵ Joel retrospectively confirms the messages of historical Hosea and Amos (Joel 1-2), thereby actualizing them for Joel's day, while at the same time projecting their calls for repentance into the future (Joel 3-4). Stated in slightly different terms, Joel both actualizes and anticipates repentance. Oddly enough, Nogalski's stance on Joel's message of repentance reflects a continuing confusion in this regard, since he argues elsewhere that Joel is an "an actualization and reapplication of Hosea in post-exilic Jerusalem."⁴¹⁶ Another way of stating this would be to say that Joel actualizes the message of the historical Hosea for postexilic readers. Yet it is difficult to see just how this can be the case if the repentance spoken of in Joel 2 fails to find concrete fulfillment in the Twelve (apart from Jonah) prior to the books of Haggai and Zechariah. In the end one suspects that this confusion ultimately derives from a certain resistance to the Twelve's own approach to rendering its history, and to Nogalski's construal of Joel as "metahistory" in particular, a construal which undermines the confirmatory stance which Joel occupies vis-a-vis Hosea and Amos.

Conclusion

Modern readers may nevertheless object to this retrospective reading of Joel's function by reminding us that Joel portrays an act of communal and liturgical repentance which is actualized in a *postexilic* generation. Since the books of Haggai and Zechariah also describe communal acts

⁴¹⁵ Cf. Richard Schultz, "The Ties that Bind: Intertextuality, the Identification of Verbal Parallels, and Reading Strategies in the Book of the Twelve," in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers, 2001* (Atlanta: SBL, 2001) 55: "The rich prophetic imagery describing the day of the LORD resists an effort to narrow its referent to just one historical event." Repr. in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 235; ed. Paul Redditt & Aaron Schart; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003) 27-45. This is not to imply, of course, that Joel is non-referential, but simply to affirm van Leeuwen's judgment that Joel "is multireferential in its typicality vis-a-vis history." See also R. C. van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve," 40 n. 32.

⁴¹⁶ Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 26. Earlier on page 22 Nogalski notes that this essential perspective on the book's role was anticipated by Erich Bosshard, "Beobachtungen zum Zwölfprophetenbuch," *BN* 40 (1987) 30-62.

of postexilic repentance, would it not make more sense for Joel to be positioned among the postexilic books of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi in the Twelve? Obviously from the point of view of diachronic concerns, such an arrangement would make better sense. However Joel's position refuses to bend to modern approaches to history read back into the Twelve in the name of diachronic concerns. Moreover, the position of late books such as Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah in the Twelve make it clear that other concerns were at work in the formation of its overall book sequence.⁴¹⁷ The answer to this question therefore cannot be resolved on the basis of historical logic alone. Ultimately it lies in the theological character of the retrospective reading at work in the Twelve's book sequence. The prophetic word must receive its due rights, not only in Zechariah's day, but also in the preexilic context of Hosea and Amos's day, in order that the claims of the prophetic word upon Israel's past history may *also* be confirmed for future readers of the Twelve, both in Joel's day and beyond. Placing Joel's postexilic message of *realized* repentance within a *preexilic* context reinforces these claims in a way not made possible by the sequential locations of Haggai and Zechariah.

Joel is indeed a prophet "born out of due time" who nevertheless becomes part of an eighth century story. Yet Joel's transposition into this earlier story does not erase the actualized character of repentance in Joel, regardless of the offence it creates for modern concepts of history. Historicism cannot uncover the hermeneutical logic at work in Joel's message of repentance because that message frustrates its systematic commitments to diachronic logic. To be sure, the overall shape of the Twelve clearly manifests a chronological framework stretching from the eighth century B. C. down to the postexilic period. Yet the retrospective theo-logic at work in the location of books such as Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah clearly demonstrates that this framework did not result in a systematic or totalizing commitment to ordering its books in a purely diachronic fashion. Viewed from this perspective, Joel points up the fact that the Twelve's redactors

⁴¹⁷ Cf. Rolf Rendtorff, "How to Read the Book of the Twelve as a Theological Unity," 76: "But what about the writings that are not dated? It would be too simple to say that those who put the individual writings together had no information about the time of the activity of these prophets. From that point of view, the question why the undated writings have been put where they now stand would be even more urgent. Seemingly, in most cases, there were no particular chronological reasons." Cf. also idem, *The Canonical Hebrew Bible: A Theology of the Old Testament* (trans. David E. Orton; Leiden: Deo Publishing) 265: "Half of the writings contain the indication of a particular period or time for the ministry of the prophet...That no indications of time are made in the other writings can hardly be coincidental, given the carefully considered system of superscriptions."

interpreted its history on the basis of a theological stance in which the prophetic word is lord over history, both present *and* past.⁴¹⁸ Here modern concerns with historical anachronism lose their power to override Joel's message of actualized repentance, and Joel remains a testimony to the gulf separating modern and ancient ways of reading history.

Summary of redaction historical approaches

In many ways the approaches of Clements and Nogalski represent a positive advance upon older forms of redaction criticism. Secondary interpretations and elaborations in the prophets are not dismissed as "inauthentic," but subjected to close exegetical analysis with a view toward uncovering their hermeneutical significance. In the case of Nogalski, this analysis has been extended to the corpus of the Twelve as a whole, and this is no mean feat by anyone's standards. It would certainly be a mistake to conclude, in light of the criticisms that have been advanced here, that the approaches of Clements and Nogalski are hermeneutically rotten, both "root and branch." Clements' work on the Latter Prophets provided a much needed stimulus toward the possibility of reading the Twelve as a unit, and Nogalski has put future generations of scholars in his debt with his thorough and painstaking analysis of the Twelve's redaction history.

Having said this, it almost seems ungrateful to call attention to the way in which their approaches demonstrate the residual influence of historicism upon redaction historical logic and its approach to prophetic intentionality, eschatology, and retrospective reading in the prophets. Because Clements' outlook on prophetic intentionality ultimately leaves no room for the theological pressures exerted by canon's hermeneutical aspect, the role of changing historical contexts must be invoked in order to account for the pressures driving the editorial expansion of early prophecy. This results in a developmental account of eschatology that weakens the theological link between early prophecy and eschatology and threatens its theological integrity. Moreover, while both Clements and Nogalski recognize the presence of retrospective reading in the prophets, their views on the *nature* of that reading continue to reflect, albeit in varying degrees, the tensions created for theological readings of the Twelve by historicist logic. In the

⁴¹⁸ This forms the theological counterpart to Wolff's observation that during the period of late antiquity, earlier books were often prefaced by later books in order to inform and govern their interpretation. See his introductory comments on Joel in *Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos* (trans. W. Janzen et al.; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977).

case of Nogalski this manifests itself in a certain resistance to the approach to historiography at work in the Twelve. The Twelve's canonical sequence does rather strange things with history, especially from a modern point of view, juxtaposing the past with present in order to render its theological account of history to future readers. While this points up the fact that the Twelve's approach to brokering history cannot be reconciled with the developmental views that dominated nineteenth-century approaches to the history of prophecy, it also spells trouble for Nogalski's reading of Joel 2 and his construal of Joel as "metahistory." In the end the Twelve subordinates temporality and sequentiality to the right of prophecy to claim its own legacy, both past, present and future.

V. A text historical approach to prophetic intentionality

Criticism of the speculative character of redaction historical approaches to the Twelve spawned the effort of Barry Jones to introduce objective controls for the enterprise by exploiting recent developments in the field of textual criticism. While Jones' study clearly belongs to the family of intentionalist approaches to the Twelve, it differs from those approaches in arguing that access to the collective intentionality which formed the Twelve is to be gained through a study of its *textual* history. To state the difference more precisely, the text historical approach shares in historical criticism's goal of reconstructing the literary history of texts, but it pursues that project on the basis of manuscript evidence from the transmission history of biblical texts rather than redaction critical methods. The text historical approach argues that an empirical basis for reconstructing biblical books is needed in order to overcome the inherently speculative character of redaction historical approaches, and that the surviving manuscript evidence from Qumran provides such a basis. A corollary of this argument is the accompanying claim that the transmission history of prophetic texts provides a more reliable and objective window upon their composition history than traditional historical critical methods. The method is exemplified in the writings of a number of Qumran textual scholars, the most influential of which are Shemaryahu Talmon, Emanuel Tov, and Eugene Ulrich. Although Frank Cross is not typically cited as a proponent of this approach, owing in part to the aggressive criticisms which have been made of his theory of local texts by Tov and others, his writings have nevertheless contributed to some of its tenets. Barry Jones' doctoral dissertation on the Twelve makes an extensive application of this

developing approach in textual criticism and will therefore form the focus of attention in what follows.

a. Barry Jones

The problem of variant book sequences in the Twelve raises the question whether attempts to account for the literary and theological unity of the Twelve should base themselves upon the Masoretic text. In a 1994 dissertation on the Twelve,⁴¹⁹ Barry Jones argued against the practice of granting priority to the Masoretic text in the investigation of the Twelve's literary unity, since on his view the Masoretic order of the Twelve was merely one literary order among other equally prominent literary orders, orders which find expression in both the LXX and the Qumran manuscript 4QXII^a.⁴²⁰ Fundamental to his thesis is the larger methodological claim that recent developments in textual criticism offer a more promising and objective approach to the study of the Twelve than other approaches, especially redactional approaches.⁴²¹ Jones' dissertation is important, not only because it represents the first full scale attempt to justify the literary unity of the LXX Twelve, but also because of its hermeneutical implications for the closely related questions of text and canon. In this section a critical assessment of hermeneutical assumptions at work in Jones' text historical approach will be undertaken with a view toward demonstrating their limitations, as well as their relationship to the larger issues of textual stability and canon in the late Second Temple period. The examination of the arguments and evidence which follows will seek to demonstrate that the variant book sequences of the Twelve, while problematic in certain respects, ultimately fail to provide solid reasons for departing from the consensus practice of pursuing the Twelve's unity on the basis of the Masoretic text. The excursus on manuscript evidence which concludes this discussion will also demonstrate that on the whole, the weight of the available textual evidence supports this conclusion.

The Proposal of Barry Jones

⁴¹⁹ Barry Alan Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon* (SBLDS 149; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995). Jones' dissertation was completed in 1994 at Duke University.

⁴²⁰ See the chart provided by Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 54. 4QXII^a may preserve the unique transition order Malachi-Jonah, although this is a matter of considerable dispute. See further below.

⁴²¹ Jones, *Formation*, 47. For a summary of Jones' criticisms with reference to redactional approaches to the Twelve, see pages 21-23.

Jones wishes to argue that the LXX order of the Twelve is an alternative *literary* edition of the Twelve, and not merely an alternative *textual* edition of the Twelve. On his view the LXX order of the Twelve is the product of intentional redactional activity that was theologically motivated, and thus properly belongs to the compositional history of the Twelve. Because of this it should be examined “as a literary collection in its own right” instead of being reduced to a mere chapter in the textual history of the Twelve.⁴²² Although he argues that the LXX order of the Twelve is earlier, it is important to note that he does not come to the conclusion that the Masoretic order of the Twelve now occupies the status of a corrupt textual variant. Rather, he argues that the Masoretic order is the result of a later redaction that also belongs to the compositional phases of the Twelve’s literary history. This way of construing the relation between the Masoretic and LXX orders of the Twelve reflects Jones’ judgment that in antiquity, there were “multiple arrangements or editions of the Twelve, of which the Masoretic arrangement was but one.”⁴²³ In other words, for Jones the fact that a plurality of literary editions circulated in the Second Temple period with respect to a given book indicates that the Masoretic order of the Twelve was merely one literary order among other equally prominent orders, orders which include both the LXX order and the order represented by 4QXII^a.

In the period preceding the discoveries at Qumran, attempts to explain the sequential differences between the LXX and Masoretic orders of the Twelve usually involved the judgment that the Greek order reflected a secondary adjustment of the Hebrew order along chronological lines. In his widely used *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Henry Swete echoed Herbert Ryle’s judgment that variation in the LXX and Masoretic orders of the Twelve was probably the result of “an attempt to secure greater accuracy in the chronological arrangement.”⁴²⁴ According to Swete, both topical and chronological factors motivated what he referred to as “the Greek method of grouping.” With the notable exception of the five books of the Law, Swete regarded the canonical sequences of the Prophets and Hagiographa preserved in the LXX codices

⁴²² Jones, *Formation*, 173.

⁴²³ Jones, *Formation*, 174.

⁴²⁴ Swete, *Introduction*, 227; Herbert Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament: An Essay on the Gradual Growth and Formation of the Hebrew Canon of Scripture* (London: Macmillan, 1892) 229.

to be the product of textual “decomposition.”⁴²⁵

While few contemporary biblical scholars would be inclined to account for these differences in precisely the same manner today, the judgment that the LXX order of the Twelve stands in a secondary textual relation to that of the Masoretic still reflects the majority view among scholars approaching the Twelve as a unity.⁴²⁶ Nogalski’s two-volume study of the Twelve asserts that “solid evidence suggests that the alternate Septuagint order depends upon the MT,”⁴²⁷ a judgment that reflects an earlier position effectively argued by Dale Schneider in his 1979 dissertation on the Twelve.⁴²⁸ A direct consequence of Schneider’s argument, which Schneider does not make explicit, is that the LXX order of the Twelve belongs to the *textual* rather than the *literary* history of the Twelve.⁴²⁹ This consequence also appears to be implicit in Nogalski’s approach to the Twelve. Although Nogalski does not make an extended case for the

⁴²⁵ Swete, *Introduction*, 218: “Neither of these groups escaped decomposition when it passed into the Greek Bible. The Former Prophets are usually separated from the Latter, the Poetical books coming in between. The Hagiographa are entirely broken up, the non-poetical books being divided between the histories and the prophets. This distribution is clearly due to the characteristically Alexandrian desire to arrange the books according to their literary character or contents, or their supposed authorship. Histories were made to consort with histories, prophetic and poetical writings with others of their respective kinds. On this principle Daniel is in all Greek codices and catalogues one of the Greater Prophets, while Ruth attaches itself to Judges, and Canticles to Ecclesiastes.”

⁴²⁶ In the judgment of Aaron Schart, a “consensus” now exists among scholars working on the Twelve “that the Masoretic order was the original one.” See Aaron Schart, “Reconstructing the Redaction History of the Twelve Prophets,” in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 37 n. 17. Other recent advocates of the primacy of the MT order include Odil Steck, Burkard Zapff, Chris Seitz and Francis Watson. See Odil H. Steck, “Zur Abfolge Maleachi-Jona in 4Q76 [4QXII^a]” *ZAW* 108 (1996): 250; Burkard Zapff, “The Perspective of the Nations in the Book of Micah,” *SBL Seminar Papers, 1999* (SBLSP 38; Atlanta: SBL, 1999) 599; Christopher R. Seitz, “What Lesson Will History Teach? The Book of the Twelve as History,” in *‘Behind’ the Text: History and Biblical Interpretation* (ed. Craig Bartholomew et al.; SHS 4; Carlisle: Paternoster; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003) 454; Francis Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (London: T & T Clark, 2004) 80-88. Otherwise: see Marvin Sweeney, “The Place and Function of Joel in the Book of the Twelve,” *SBL Seminar Papers, 1999* (SBLSP 38; Atlanta: SBL, 1999) 591-595. Both Barry Jones and Sweeney argue that the LXX order is older than the MT order.

⁴²⁷ James A. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993) 2.

⁴²⁸ See Dale A. Schneider, *The Unity of the Twelve*, unpublished Yale diss., 35-7, 224-25. Schneider argues that the LXX order was derived from the MT order by means of a transposition that shifted the books of Amos and Micah forward in the corpus of the Twelve, leaving the books of Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah in the same internal sequence but further back in the collection.

⁴²⁹ Jones, *Formation*, 172.

primacy of the Masoretic order,⁴³⁰ he does argue at length that the Masoretic order rests upon an elaborate network of *Stichwörter* or catchwords, and his attempt to demonstrate the presence of an editorial intent to unify the Twelve clearly depends upon the particular location of these catchwords in the various books. A corollary to Nogalski's argument, insofar as it is successful, is that the LXX order of the Twelve constitutes a later transposition of the book's original unity and therefore properly belongs to the textual (rather than literary) history of the Twelve.⁴³¹

According to Jones, the unwarranted assumption that the LXX order of the Twelve belongs to the textual history of the Twelve accounts for the fact that neither Schneider nor Nogalski attempted to identify catchword patterns that unify the LXX form of the Twelve, but instead chose to focus upon the Masoretic form of the Twelve. He therefore seeks to overturn this assumption by making use of text-critical arguments to support of the LXX sequence of the Twelve. A supporting pillar in his case is the argument that the crucial catchword linking Amos 9:12 with Obadiah in the Masoretic text (אֱדוֹם) was absent from the Hebrew *Vorlage* that the LXX translator of Amos 9:12 based himself upon.⁴³² In light of this absence he argues that the theme of Edom more properly links Joel with Obadiah rather than Amos, and thus bears witness to the LXX sequence Joel-Obadiah. Since Amos 9:12 occupies a prominent place in his attempt to argue for the priority of the LXX sequence of the Twelve, his exegetical case will be examined at this point before turning to the larger methodological assumptions underlying his approach.

A Missing Catchword?

Jones summarizes the efforts of scholars to explain the variant readings of Amos 9:12 found in the LXX and MT as follows: 1) the differences between the LXX reading אַרְוֹ = τῶν ἀνθρώπων (humanity) and the MT reading אֱדוֹם = 'ēdôm (Edom) can be explained in terms of the ambiguity involved in vocalizing a consonantal text and 2) in antiquity the Hebrew verbs יִרְשׁוּ

⁴³⁰ Nogalski signals his reliance upon Schneider's argument with a footnote, which Jones characterizes as dismissive (Jones, *Formation*, 172-173). See Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 2 n. 8.

⁴³¹ Jones, *Formation*, 172-173.

⁴³² Jones, *Formation*, 175-191.

(inherit) and דרש (seek) could have easily been confused with one another, since at that time the Hebrew letters *yod* and *dalet* were written in an almost identical fashion, thereby resulting in the LXX reading שרש = ἐκζητήσωσι, and finally 3) the LXX wrongly translates the phrase אדם שארית (the remnant of humanity) as the subject rather than the object of the verb, thereby ignoring the direct object marker in the Masoretic text.⁴³³

Against this consensus Jones argues that 1) the Greek translation of the Twelve was the work of a single translator⁴³⁴ and 2) this translator consistently rendered the verbs ירש and דרש as κληρονομαί and ἐκζητέω, respectively, in all other occurrences of the verbs in question in the LXX Twelve.⁴³⁵ He also points to eight instances in which the LXX translator accurately rendered אדם as Edom, all of which undermine, in his opinion, the hypothesis that the differences between the LXX and Masoretic versions of Amos 9:12 arose on a translational level. A more plausible option on Jones' view would be to recognize that neither the Hebrew noun אדם nor the verb ירש were present in the LXX translator's source text. In light of these observations, the closing reference to Edom in LXX version of Joel 4:19 forms a more likely attachment point for the book of Obadiah than the book of Amos. He therefore concludes that Joel and Obadiah were originally adjacent to one another, and by extension, that the LXX order represents an older order

⁴³³ Jones, *Formation*, 176-178.

⁴³⁴ The question whether the Twelve was the work of one translator or two has been debated. For the argument that the Greek translation of the Twelve was the work of a single translator, see J. Ziegler, "Die Einheit der Septuaginta zum Zwölfprophetenbuch," in *Beilage zum Verlesungsverzeichnis der Staatl* (Akademie zu Braunschweig/Ostpr., 1934/35) 3-16. F. Baumgärtel and J. Hermann argue in favor of two translators in "Die Septuaginta zum Zwölfprophetenbuch das Werk zweier Übersetzer," in *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Septuaginta* (Berlin: Kohlhammer, 1923) 32-38. It is generally conceded that Ziegler's arguments for a single translator have carried the day. For a helpful overview of the arguments of both parties in the debate, see Jones, *Formation*, 88-90. On the date of the translation of the Twelve, Thackeray's argument that the Greek translation of the Latter Prophets should be dated in the late third century or early second century B. C. is probably still the best. See H. St. J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Prophetic Books," *JTS* 4 (1902-03) 78-85; idem, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins* (London: Oxford Press, 1920) 13, 28-29, 45-46; cf. also Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch—A Discussion of an Early Revision of Jeremiah 29-52 and Baruch 1:1-3:8*, HSM 8 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976) 135-137; K. Jobs and M. Silva, *Invitation to The Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000) 158.

⁴³⁵ Jones, *Formation*, 179.

of the Twelve than the Masoretic order.⁴³⁶

However, Jones' argument fails to take account of the literary relation between Amos 9:12 and the larger context of the book of Amos. Four of the eight references to Edom that Jones cites in the third plank of his argument may be found in the opening two chapters of Amos, which contain a series of judgment oracles against the nations.⁴³⁷ Nations that geographically encircle Israel (Syria, Philistia, Phoenicia, Edom, Ammon, Moab) are included within these judgment oracles, including Judah and Israel as well (Amos 2:4ff.). The phrase in Amos 9:12 אַדְוָם יִירְשׁוּ אֶת שְׂאֲרֵיתָא, (in order that) "they may possess the remnant of Edom," summarily applies vocabulary from these judgment oracles to Edom, for example, "to possess (יִרְשׁוּ) the land of the Amorite" in Amos 2:10, and "the remnant (שְׂאֲרֵיתָא) of the Philistines" in Amos 1:8, and "Edom" (אַדְוָם) in Amos 1:11.⁴³⁸ The allusions to Amos 1-2 in Amos 9:12 serve to make the point that the nations surrounding Israel will be the possession of the restored people of Israel.⁴³⁹ In this context the summary phrase "and all the nations which are called by my name" not only alludes to the list of nations in Amos 1-2, but also hints at the figural character of Edom as a type of the nations, a theme which also finds expression elsewhere in the Twelve in Obadiah 1:8, where the redactional connective הַהוּא בְּיָוִם הַהוּא links Edom's impending judgment with God's larger plan of eschatological judgment upon the nations.⁴⁴⁰

In light of these contextual considerations, as well as the universalistic flavor of the phrase immediately linked to Edom in Amos 9:12 (כָּל הַגּוֹיִם = all the nations), the LXX translator's

⁴³⁶ It should be noted at this point that Jones' arguments do not deal with what many have argued is a natural fit between the end of Joel and the beginning of Amos (see Nogalski, "Joel as a Literary Anchor," 99 n. 18).

⁴³⁷ Amos 1:6, 9, 11, and 2:1.

⁴³⁸ See Joseph W. Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament*, 183.

⁴³⁹ This theme is clearly continued in Obadiah 19-21, where Israel is given possession of Esau/Edom, Philistia, Ephraim, Gilead, Phoenicia, and the Negev.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. Brevard Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 414. Cf. also Bergler's study of *Edom-typologie* in Joel and its relationship to Obadiah (Siegfried Bergler, *Joel als Schriftinterpret*, 295-333).

decision to render אֲדוֹם figurally as τῶν ἀνθρώπων appears to be based upon larger contextual warrants found in the Twelve and the book of Amos itself, rather than a translation strategy aimed at producing a one-to-one correspondence between אֲדוֹם and its literal equivalent. The translator's subsequent decision to depart from his usual practice of rendering שָׂרִי with κληρονομαί, choosing instead the verb ἐκζητέω, is probably also a derivative of his decision to interpret אֲדוֹם figurally. In any case, the relationship of Amos 9:12 to Amos 1-2, as well as the universalist outlook of phrase linked to Edom in Amos 9:12, provide warrant for the LXX rendering of Amos 9:12 without making it necessary to appeal to the *hypothetical* presence of a Hebrew Vorlage which contained the *scriptio defectiva* אֲדָם rather than אֲדוֹם.

Methodological Assumptions

Jones argues that literary critical and redactional approaches to the Twelve are too subjective, relying as they do upon “internal clues alone.”⁴⁴¹ But is his suggestion that text historical evidence provides a more “objective” approach to the Twelve plausible?⁴⁴² His attempt to demonstrate that the books of Joel and Obadiah were originally contiguous, and that the Masoretic order of Joel-Amos was a later interpolation, certainly constitutes a supporting pillar in his argument. More fundamental to his entire argument, however, is the methodological move involved in collapsing the distinction between literary and textual phases of the Twelve's transmission history. Indeed, a major part of Jones' thesis involves the argument that the distinction between the compositional and textual phases of biblical literature in general, and the Book of the Twelve in particular, is largely artificial. From this it follows, according to Jones, that in the transmission history of a given biblical book, the overlap between its compositional and textual phases allows biblical scholars to treat the latter as a window upon the editorial history of the former. Conversely, if textual evidence sheds light only upon a given book's transmission history, as opposed to its literary or compositional history, then it cannot serve as a *major* source of insight into its redactional history.

⁴⁴¹ Jones, *Formation*, 26.

⁴⁴² Jones, *Formation*, 43, 47.

The italicized qualification in the preceding sentence is important, since few biblical scholars would wish to deny that a certain overlap or analogy exists between the scribal techniques involved in the composition of biblical books and those which are manifest in their subsequent history of transmission and copying. For this reason it is entirely reasonable to argue that a family resemblance obtains between the scribal practices of post-biblical Israel and those which were at work in the biblical period itself. However, the crucial point to be noted at this juncture is that previous approaches to the transmission history of biblical books viewed that process as essentially reproductive rather than creative in nature. Hence this phase was not generally viewed as a window providing direct access to the editorial and compositional histories of biblical texts. Scribal variations were almost exclusively regarded as the result of natural growth and transmission errors—the sort of stuff that typically accompanied the transmission history of a document over a period of time. However, on Jones’ view this older practice of making a clear distinction between a text’s compositional history and its subsequent transmission was decisively refuted by an influential article published in 1975 by Shemaryahu Talmon.⁴⁴³ He believes Talmon has made a decisive case for “blurring” the distinction between author and scribe, and therefore by extension, a case for blurring the older distinction between a text’s compositional history and its transmission history. There are good reasons, however, to dispute certain aspects of Jones’ reading of Talmon, making it necessary at this point to provide a brief overview of Talmon’s arguments.

As others have noted, the results of Talmon’s article were anticipated by nineteenth-

⁴⁴³ Shemaryahu Talmon, “The Textual Study of the Bible—A New Outlook,” in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard Press, 1975) 321-400; cf. Jones, *Formation*, 44.

century scholars such as Wellhausen⁴⁴⁴ and William Robertson Smith,⁴⁴⁵ both of whom modeled their approach to “higher” criticism upon principles learned from the study of textual criticism. Using a wealth of examples drawn from biblical manuscripts, Talmon’s study demonstrated the presence of continuity between the stylistic techniques of authors and scribes, the historical origins of which probably trace back to a phase in Israel’s history when the offices of prophet and scribe were united in one person.⁴⁴⁶ On the basis of these observations he suggested that the historic tendency of biblical scholarship to sharply distinguish a book’s compositional history from its subsequent history of copying must be abandoned. On the contrary, since the techniques used by both author and scribe were similar, the textual history of a book could be used to shed light upon its compositional history. By extension it also becomes evident, according to Talmon, that one can no longer sharply separate so-called “higher” and “lower” criticism.⁴⁴⁷

By building upon the results of Talmon’s work, as well as that of Emanuel Tov⁴⁴⁸ and

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. Tov, “Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible 1947-1997,” in *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism*, 76-77: “Wellhausen had already realised that the LXX of Samuel contained individual readings or pericopes which were not created in the course of the transmission of the biblical text, but at an earlier stage, that of the composition of the book, and hence related to its literary analysis.” Cf. also Magne Saebo, “From Pluriformity to Uniformity,” 132-133, and J. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen 1871) xi.

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 3rd ed., 90-91: “Higher criticism is often supposed to have no other basis than the subjective fancies and arbitrary hypotheses of the scholars. When critics maintain that some Old Testament writings, traditionally ascribed to a single hand, are really of composite origin, and that many of the Hebrew books have gone through successive redactions...it is often supposed that these are mere idle theories unsupported by evidence. Here it is that the Septuagint comes to justify the critics. The variations of the Greek and Hebrew text reveal to us a time when the functions of copyist and editor shaded into one another by imperceptible degrees. They prove that the Old Testament books were subjected to such processes of successive editing as the critics maintain....” Cited in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J. H. Tigay; Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1985) 4-5. Tigay notes that Smith called special attention to the differences between LXX and MT Jeremiah, as well as the conflicting accounts of the story of David and Goliath in 1 Samuel 16-18. Interestingly, both of these texts have become areas of fresh interest in the wake of Qumran. See Tov, “The Composition of 1 Samuel 16-18 in Light of the Septuagint,” and idem, “The Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah in Light of Its Textual History,” both reprinted in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (SVT 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 333-384.

⁴⁴⁶ Talmon, “The Textual Study,” 336.

⁴⁴⁷ Talmon, “The Textual Study,” 327-328.

⁴⁴⁸ Tov devotes an entire chapter to the relation between textual and literary criticism in his *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001) 313-350.

Eugene Ulrich,⁴⁴⁹ Jones hopes to rescue the LXX order of the Twelve from the denigrative status of a “corrupt textual variant”⁴⁵⁰ and reevaluate it in light of the compositional history of the Twelve. Another significant feature of his methodology derives from his use of a taxonomy for the transmission history of the Hebrew Bible developed by James Sanders.⁴⁵¹ Sanders divided the transmission history of the Hebrew text into four phases: the 1) the *Urtext*, or compositional phase of the original text, 2) the *accepted texts*, or phase when multiple editions of the *Urtext* were produced and circulated, 3) the *standard text*, or phase when these multiple editions were suppressed in favor of a proto-Masoretic or proto-rabbinic text, and 4) the *Masoretic text*, or later phase when the *standard text* received vowel points and other Masoretic notation in order to guarantee the preservation of its particularity. Jones asserts that Sanders’ taxonomy should be “applied directly” to the study of the Twelve’s composition, and proceeds to argue that the proper starting point for the study of the Twelve’s compositional history is the period of *accepted texts*, which on his view corresponds to the period of Qumran and its *diversity* of text types. While freely admitting that the Masoretic order of the Twelve has survived as the primary textual witness to the Twelve, Jones nevertheless argues that to read such a primacy back into the Qumranic period of *accepted texts* would be anachronistic in view of the plurality of text types and literary editions that were in circulation at that time.⁴⁵² This diversity entails the conclusion that “multiple literary editions” of biblical books were circulating in Palestine prior to the first century A. D., such that one cannot privilege one edition over the other.

The obvious implication of Sanders’ taxonomy is that the period preceding the

⁴⁴⁹ Eugene Ulrich, “The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible,” in *Sha’rei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane, E. Tov and W. Fields; Winona Lake, I.N.: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 267-91; repr. in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origin of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999) 51-78.

⁴⁵⁰ Jones, *Formation*, 172.

⁴⁵¹ James A. Sanders, “Text and Canon: Concepts and Methods,” *JBL* 98 (1979) 5-29, esp. 8-11; cf. Jones, *Formation*, 48-49.

⁴⁵² Jones, *Formation*, 48; cf. also Ulrich, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Text,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. Flint and J. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998-99), 1:98; idem, “The Qumran Biblical Scrolls and Their Historical Context,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed. Timothy H. Lim; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000) 71-72.

establishment of a standard text was characterized by a state of textual fluidity and de-stabilization. In such a context a concept such as “canon” is at best ambiguous, if not also anachronistic, especially since canonization and textual stabilization tend to relate to one another in terms of cause and effect.⁴⁵³ Indeed, on the basis of the Qumran scroll 11QPs^a, a Psalms scroll which contains more psalms than the Masoretic Psalter and also manifests a different sequential arrangement, Sanders concluded that the Hebrew text of the Psalter had not yet been stabilized prior to the Christian era. From this he also drew the further conclusion that the third division of the Hebrew Bible, the *Ketuvim* or Writings, were not canonized until late in the first century A. D. In the wake of Jack Lewis’ influential critique of the “Council” of Jabneh,⁴⁵⁴ which undermined the older critical view that the Writings were canonized in 90 A. D., Sanders extended the date for the closing of the Old Testament canon to an even later period following the Bar Kochba revolt.⁴⁵⁵

Sanders’ use of 11QPs^a as evidence for a de-stabilized Psalter in the late first century B. C. has been successfully challenged by a number of Qumran scholars,⁴⁵⁶ as well as his assumption that textual diversity at Qumran precludes the possibility that a relatively stabilized text operated within the larger confines of Palestine at that time. Since the latter point will be addressed more fully later in the discussion of Jones’ views on canon, it will be instructive at this point to gain further clarity on what Jones means by “multiple literary editions.”⁴⁵⁷ Eugene Ulrich defines a “double literary edition” as follows:

A literary unit—a story, pericope, narrative, poem, book, and so forth—appearing in two (or

⁴⁵³ Cf. B. Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1992) 60; idem, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 97.

⁴⁵⁴ Jack Lewis, “What do we mean by Jabneh?” *JBR* 32 (1964) 125-32.

⁴⁵⁵ Sanders, “The Scrolls and the Canonical Process,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. Flint and J. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998-99) 1:1-23.

⁴⁵⁶ Fundamental to Sanders’ argument is the genre judgment that 11QPs^a is a *biblical* text. For arguments supporting the view that 11QPs^a is a *liturgical* text, see M. Goshen-Gottstein, “The Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a): The Problem of Canon and Text,” *Textus* 5 (1966) 22-33; Shemaryahu Talmon, “Pisqah Be’emsa’ Pasuq and 11QPs^a,” *Textus* 5 (1966) 11-21; Patrick W. Skehan, “Qumrân and Old Testament Criticism,” in *Qumran: Sa péité, sa théologie, et son milieu*, BETHL 46 (Leuven: University Press, 1978) 163-182; Emanuel Tov, “Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran,” *RQ* 16 (1995) 581-600; idem, “A Categorized List of All the ‘Biblical Texts’ Found in the Judean Desert,” *DSD* 8:1 (2001) 68-69; idem, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 346.

⁴⁵⁷ Jones, *Formation*, 47.

more) parallel forms in our principal textual witnesses, which one author, major redactor, or major editor completed and which a subsequent redactor or editor intentionally changed to a sufficient extent that the resultant form should be called a revised *edition* of that text.⁴⁵⁸

The following discussion will take its starting point with the problems involved in establishing criteria by which to distinguish variant *readings* from variant *editions* of the Book of the Twelve, given the fragmentary nature of the manuscript evidence from Qumran for the Twelve.

Variant Readings or Variant Editions?

In an attempt to clarify the distinction between text types, which he regards as primarily the product of ordinary scribal realities, and literary editions, which reflect “more substantial variation,” Frank Cross notes that the great majority of variants found in the text types at Qumran “appear to be the product of natural growth or development in isolation in the process of scribal transmission, not of a controlled or systematic *recensio*, revision or collation, at a given place or time.”⁴⁵⁹ As an example of the kind of substantial variation required to describe two texts as a variant “literary editions” of one another, both Cross and Ulrich appeal to the manuscript evidence for short and long Jeremiah found at Qumran.⁴⁶⁰ However, Cross admits that “these two categories cannot be neatly separated.” Ulrich attempts to address this problem by setting forth criteria that a given manuscript must meet in order to qualify as a separate “edition.” He argues that one precluded from speaking of a separate literary edition only in those cases where “the scope of the variant tradition is smaller than a single pericope.”⁴⁶¹ It must be kept in mind, however, that in the case of the Book of the Twelve the manuscript evidence available from Qumran is quite fragmentary, and in no case have complete books of the Twelve been preserved,

⁴⁵⁸ Eugene Ulrich, “Double Literary Editions of Biblical Narratives and Reflections on Determining the Form to Be Translated,” in *Perspectives on the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honor of Walter J. Harrelson* (ed. James L. Crenshaw; Macon, G. A.: Mercer University Press, 1988) 101-116; repr. in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999) 35, emphasis added.

⁴⁵⁹ Cross, “The Fixation of the Text of the Hebrew Bible,” in *From Epic to Canon*, 210.

⁴⁶⁰ See Frank Cross, “A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration,” in *From Epic to Canon*, 159; cf. Eugene Ulrich, “The Canonical Process,” 283.

⁴⁶¹ See Eugene Ulrich, “Double Literary Editions,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 35.

such as one finds in the case of Isaiah. Rather, the manuscript evidence for the Twelve provides a number of fragmentary passages, and in many cases, very small passages at that.⁴⁶² This raises the question whether the manuscript evidence from Qumran can support Jones' project, even if one were willing to grant that it does so in the cases of Isaiah and Jeremiah.

This is especially the case with the Qumran manuscript 4QXII^a, which Jones makes use of in order to argue that a third "edition" of the Twelve circulated in antiquity alongside the LXX and MT versions. 4QXII^a has been dated to 150 B. C. by Russell Fuller and contains comparatively small sections of the books of Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah.⁴⁶³ While on Jones' view 4QXII^a bears witness to the unique transition order of Malachi-Jonah, it is important to note that the reconstruction which Jones relies upon has joined together a fragment from the end of Malachi with another fragment containing Jonah 1:1-5. In other words, there is no *single* fragment containing both the end of Malachi and the beginning of Jonah. Rather, in Fuller's reconstruction the two fragments have been joined.⁴⁶⁴ Moreover, this has been done on the basis of the remnants of three Hebrew letters in the fragment containing the end of Malachi, only *one* of which is clearly identifiable. These letters are found in the column immediately to the left of the end of the Malachi and are identified by Fuller as the Hebrew letters *Waw*, *He*, and *Kaph*.⁴⁶⁵ Fuller argues that these letters match up with expected letters in the fragment containing Jonah 1:1-5. However, as others have pointed out,⁴⁶⁶ only the letter *He* appears to be correctly identified

⁴⁶² For a convenient listing of the biblical passages in the Twelve preserved at Qumran, Nahal Hever, and Murabba'at, see Fuller, "Form and Formation," 99-100; cf. also the helpful tables provided by Emanuel Tov, "A Categorized List of All The 'Biblical Texts' Found in the Judean Desert," *DSD* 8:1 (2001) 75; Ian Young, "The Stabilization of the Biblical Text in the Light of Qumran and Masada: A Challenge for Conventional Qumran Chronology?" *DSD* 9:3 (2002) 373.

⁴⁶³ Russell Fuller, "The Form and Formation of the Book of the Twelve," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays in Honor of John W. Watts*, JSOTS 235 (ed. J.W. Watts and P. R. House; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 92, 98.

⁴⁶⁴ Russell Fuller, "The Twelve," in *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets*, DJD XV (ed. Eugene Ulrich et al.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 221-32.

⁴⁶⁵ Consult plate XLI, fragment 9ii., in DJD XV.

⁴⁶⁶ In a series of discussions on the website of the *Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Greg Doudna pointed out that the letter which Fuller identifies as *Waw*, found in line 10 of the fragment containing the end of Malachi, cannot be a *Waw* "because there is a trace of a left horizontal stroke visible near the top." He also notes

by Fuller, and this is a *very* thin basis upon which to build the claim for the existence of a third “edition” of the Twelve alongside the LXX and MT versions, nor does it meet the criterion for establishing a variant literary edition cited by Ulrich. To be sure, *something* followed Malachi in the fragment in question. However, whether it was Jonah or a colophon is impossible to determine,⁴⁶⁷ and in any case, it fails to provide a sufficient basis for supporting the claim that “multiple literary editions” of the Twelve circulated in antiquity.

Scribal Changes and Literary History

The question must also be raised whether scribal changes effected in the transmission history of a given biblical book are to be placed on a par with earlier, compositional moves which were being made during the productive phases of biblical texts. A careful consideration of this question renders it doubtful whether the attempts of Ulrich and others to “erase the false line between authors and copyists”⁴⁶⁸ can bear the methodological freight Jones places upon them in his study of the Twelve. Both Talmon and Ulrich acknowledge that the contributions rendered by “creative scribes,” while affecting the final form of various biblical books, do not effect *major* changes in the meaning of the texts in question. After describing at length the nature of scribal activity, Talmon concludes that while the professional scribe should not be considered “a slavish

that “the slant is wrong for a *Waw*,” as well as “a thickening at the lower part of the downstroke unlike what would be expected for a *Waw*.” Doudna goes on to note that “the letter looks to me like it could be the remains of a *Bet*, but in any case a *Waw* is excluded.” He also questions Fuller’s identification of *Kaph* in line 11 of the fragment containing the end of Malachi (fragment 9ii.), arguing instead that “the slight curve to the right at the bottom of the downstroke is not that of a *Kaph*, and its position, as well as its shape, is inconsistent as well. The letter looks to me like it could be a *Resh* or perhaps an *Aleph*, but in any case a *Kaph* is excluded.” Finally, in an interchange with Aaron Scharf over the views of Odil Steck on 4QXII^a, Doudna also notes that Fuller himself had previously argued for a match with the Jonah fragment based on a reading of the Malachi fragment which clearly identified only *two* Hebrew letters, *Lamed* and *He*, in the purported match with Jonah. Fuller apparently abandoned this reading at a point prior to the publication of DJD XV. These discussions may be found in the email archives for December 1997 at the Orion website (<http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il>) under the heading “orion XII/Minor Prophets question.”

⁴⁶⁷ Stephen B. Chapman also questions whether 4QXII^a has value as an independent textual witness to a third literary order of the Twelve, arguing that there is “nothing to contradict the possibility that Malachi might have been followed by a text *other* than Jonah” (Stephen B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets*, 138-39, 145 n. 99). Cf. also the more recent arguments of Francis Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (London: T & T Clark, 2004) 84 n. 11.

⁴⁶⁸ Ulrich, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Text,” 82; idem, “The Canonical Process,” 52. Ulrich is here building upon Talmon’s arguments, although he makes a comparatively more aggressive application of those arguments to the nature of the canonical process than either Talmon or Tov appear to be willing to do.

copyist,” he should nonetheless be considered “a minor partner in the creative literary process.”⁴⁶⁹ Likewise Ulrich concedes the judgment of Talmon that “a great number, probably an overwhelming majority, of Qumran variants in biblical scrolls and in Bible quotations resulted from insufficiently controlled copying and/or sometimes represent diverging *Vorlagen*.”⁴⁷⁰ In light of this Ulrich’s argument takes on a qualified form: scribal activity during the post-compositional phases of biblical texts, while admittedly not effecting a major role in their composition, “at least *partially* constitutes the canonical process.”⁴⁷¹ Tov also tends toward caution in his evaluation of scribal activity, especially after a text received its authoritative canonical status. During the period *prior* to this, scribes may have intervened in a text in a manner not sharply distinguishable from the author. Following the close of this period, however, he regards this sort of “free approach” to the text on the part of scribes as unlikely:

“Many scribes took the liberty of changing the text from which they copied, and in this respect continued the approach of the last authors of the books. . . This free approach taken by the scribes finds expression in their insertion of changes in minor details and of interpolations. Although many of these changes also pertain to content, one should draw a quantitative and qualitative distinction between the intervention of author-editors before the text received its authoritative (canonical) status and the activity of the copyists which took place after this occurred. The latter made far fewer and smaller changes and were less free in their approach than the former—as can be seen from most of the Qumran texts.”⁴⁷²

Tov’s remarks are particularly significant at this juncture, not only because they do not overlay and exaggerate the creative significance of scribal activity in the Qumran texts, but also because they call attention to the role played by canonization in establishing a distinction between the creative and reproductive phases of biblical texts and their transmission. Especially relevant is Tov’s observation that “one should draw a quantitative and qualitative distinction between the intervention of author-editors before the text received its authoritative (canonical) status and the

⁴⁶⁹ Talmon, “The Textual Study,” 381.

⁴⁷⁰ Talmon, “The Textual Study,” 380. Cited in Ulrich, “The Canonical Process,” 61.

⁴⁷¹ Ulrich, “The Canonical Process,” 62 (emphasis added).

⁴⁷² See Emanuel Tov, “The History and Significance of a Standard Text of the Hebrew Bible” in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation* (ed. Magne Saebo; 2 vols.; Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996) 56-57, emphasis added.

activity of the copyists which took place after this occurred.”⁴⁷³ In other words, during the period following canonization proper, far fewer changes were made in biblical texts from a quantitative point of view, and this comparatively more conservative stance toward biblical texts is grounded in a *qualitative* distinction between the precanonical and postcanonical phases of biblical texts. It is instructive at this point to compare also the remarks of Brevard Childs on this matter. After describing some of the ways in which the literary and textual phases of biblical books overlapped one another, Childs notes:

“Nevertheless there are some equally important elements of difference between the literary and textual phases. The literary process involved major moves affecting the understanding of the literature, such as combining sources, restructuring the material into new patterns, and providing new redactional contexts for interpreting the tradition. By contrast, the textual phase of Old Testament formation was minor in comparison. Differences between Hebrew and Greek forms of the book of Jeremiah, for example, mark the widest degree of variation within this phase, but generally only slight variations of meaning are at stake. Again, the literary phase often involved considerable freedom on the part of the tradents in exerting an active, intentional effect. By contrast, the textual phase reflects a far more conservative, passive role with the activity focused on preserving and maintaining traditions rather than creating them.”⁴⁷⁴

The remarks of both Talmon and Tov, and to a certain extent even Ulrich himself, support Childs’ observation that the major redactional and structural moves made during the compositional phases of biblical texts do not find a parallel in their post-literary, textual phases, the latter of which marked a period in which scribal activity was comparatively passive. They also serve to underscore the role of canonization in establishing a distinction between the *creative* stance taken toward Israel’s traditions during the biblical period and the *reproductive* stance toward tradition which followed. Such a distinction is fundamentally theological in character and therefore cannot be accounted for on historical or literary grounds alone, which is why a certain inevitability accompanies Jones’ rejection of its validity for the late Second Temple period. By limiting the force of this distinction to the end of the first century A. D.,⁴⁷⁵ Jones effectively blurs the

⁴⁷³ Tov, “The History and Significance,” 57.

⁴⁷⁴ B. Childs, *Introduction to the OT as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 95.

⁴⁷⁵ Jones, *Formation*, 76: “...there is no direct evidence of a closed, fixed canon of Hebrew Scriptures until the end of the first century CE. Prior to that time, it is only possible to speak of a ‘canonical process’...”

distinction between the Twelve's textual history and its literary history,⁴⁷⁶ resulting in a fundamental confusion of the hermeneutical stance of biblical author-editors with that of scribal copyists in the era prior to Christianity.

This confusion is aided and abetted in no small measure by his dependence upon Sanders' taxonomy for the transmission of biblical texts. Sanders' paradigm bears an all-too-familiar resemblance to the developmental reading of the canon's history refuted by Stephen Chapman's study of the Law and the Prophets,⁴⁷⁷ a reading which assumes that the canonization proper of the Hebrew Bible emerged late in the first century A. D. after Jewish rabbis rallied around the proto-Masoretic text and suppressed its rival texts. Because the Hebrew Bible lacked canonical status in the era prior to the rise of Christianity, the stabilizing influence of canon upon the development of the Hebrew text was also absent, resulting in a state of literary flux and textual diversity in which "multiple literary editions" of the Book of the Twelve circulated. The proto-Masoretic form of the Twelve was merely one text among others at that time. In such a state of affairs, the LXX rendering of the Twelve should no longer be construed as merely a "translation," if by that term we mean to imply that the LXX lacks an independent integrity of its own.⁴⁷⁸ Rather, it is to be viewed as an alternative literary edition of the Twelve in its own right, equally prominent alongside the proto-Masoretic order of the Twelve.

Jones' collapse of the distinction between the Twelve's literary and textual history also illustrates the way in which earlier problems associated with the method of tradition history have resurfaced in the context of recent developments in textual criticism. The family resemblance between Jones' text-critical approach and the method of *traditionsgeschichte* is evident, for example, in a programmatic article on the history of the Hebrew text by Magne Saebo. Saebo broadly construes the history of the Hebrew text leading up to the Christian era as a move from

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. the discussion of Ben Zvi's hermeneutic in the section on genetic approaches to the Twelve, where a similar issue manifests itself.

⁴⁷⁷ See Stephen B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study in Old Testament Canon Formation* (FAT 27; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 1-70.

⁴⁷⁸ Cf. the remarks of Brevard Childs on the LXX in this regard in his *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 98-99. Childs notes that the Septuagint's recension history demonstrates that it never had an independent integrity of its own apart from the Hebrew text.

pluraformity to uniformity, a movement in which the proto-Masoretic text gradually emerged from a period characterized by widespread textual diversity to become the dominant Hebrew text. He notes that he arrived at this particular understanding of the history of the Hebrew text as a result of insights gained while writing a commentary on Zechariah 9-14:

“During my detailed investigation of the text, however, I realized in many instances that the text history in a strict sense was mingled with the still living (creative) literary ‘Traditionsgeschichte’ of the text. Or put in other words: The creative element did continue in the various forms of the transmission of the text, in its Hebrew form as well as in the non-Hebrew versions. The transmission of the text turned out to be productive, not re-productive. My main conclusion was that the text transmission really had to be understood as ‘Traditionsgeschichte’, as a variegated and at the same time continuous tradition history. And as such it had to be integrated in the biblical tradition history in a broader sense.”⁴⁷⁹

On Saebo’s view, the transmission history of biblical texts in the late Second Temple period continues the creative element found in their literary history, and therefore both phases are now to be subsumed under the broader genre of tradition history. This is in fact also the logical outcome of Jones’ program, and helps to shed light upon his reading of the history of the Hebrew text during that period, the whole of which is “on the way to canon” (Saebo’s apt phrase) rather than an era in which canon is already operative. By granting equal hermeneutical weight to the literary and textual phases of biblical texts in the era preceding the rise of Christianity, Jones’ program effectively denies the intrinsic function of canon as a limiting concept which establishes an end to the compositional era of biblical texts by assigning a normative authority to that particular

⁴⁷⁹ Magne Saebo, “From Pluraformity to Uniformity. Some Remarks on the Emergence of the Massoretic Text, with Special Reference to Its Theological Significance,” in *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 11 (1977-78) 133-134, repr. in *On the Way to Canon: Creative Tradition History in the Old Testament* (JSOTS 191; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

segment of their history,⁴⁸⁰ thereby distinguishing that era from what follows.⁴⁸¹ But if canon is merely the result of a late rabbinic privileging of one group of Hebrew texts over another, rather than an intrinsic property of those texts from the outset, then the question of canon no longer properly belongs to the history of the Hebrew text, but to the history of Judaism. Jones cannot have it both ways. He wishes to draw implications from the textual history of the Twelve for the question of canon,⁴⁸² when in fact his method presupposes from the outset that canon is an extrinsic rather than intrinsic property of biblical texts. While Jones is fully aware that his method rests upon a narrow, extrinsic definition of canon as “a closed list of scriptural books,” he nevertheless embraces this definition because on his view, it is “technically more precise” than “the broader sense of canon as an authoritative text or texts” and also has the advantage of avoiding the charge of “anachronism.”⁴⁸³ For this reason it would be more consistent for him to simply treat the history of the Hebrew text without attempting to relate that history to canon at all, in order to avoid confusing the history of Judaism in the first century A. D. with the history of the Hebrew text.

It now remains to evaluate another main plank in Jones’ argument, namely, the assumption that textual diversity at Qumran supports the conclusion that “multiple literary editions” of biblical books were circulating in Palestine prior to the first century A. D., such that one cannot privilege one edition over the other. This argument underwrites Jones’ claim for de-privileging the Masoretic order of the Twelve, as well as his belief that the canonical process of the Hebrew Bible extended to the end of the first century A. D. Since Jones’ reading of the textual evidence

⁴⁸⁰ On the character of the concept of canon as a limiting concept, see Childs, “The Canonical Shape of the Prophetic Literature,” *Int* 32 (1978), 47-48: “Canon serves to....define the scope of this history by establishing an end to the process. It assigns a special quality to this particular segment of history which is deemed normative for all future generations of this community of faith....to take canon seriously is also to take seriously the critical function which it exercises in respect to the earlier stages of the literature’s formation....the final form of the text performs a crucial hermeneutical function in establishing the peculiar profile of a passage. Its shaping establishes an order in highlighting certain features and subordinating others, in drawing elements to the foreground, and in pushing others to the background.”

⁴⁸¹ For an illuminating discussion of the problems this creates for Biblical Theology and its two-testament witness, see Christopher R. Seitz, “Two Testaments and the Failure of One Tradition-History,” 35-47.

⁴⁸² See Jones, *Formation*, 59-78.

⁴⁸³ See Jones, *Formation*, 69-70.

from Qumran ultimately cannot be separated from his views on the status of canon in the late Second Temple period, both of these aspects of his thesis be examined more fully in the following paragraphs.

Textual Diversity at Qumran

If Jones' conclusions are sound, there would certainly be reason to question whether one should regard the Masoretic arrangement of the Twelve, let alone the Masoretic text as a whole, as "the *vehicle* both for recovering and for understanding the canonical text of the Old Testament."⁴⁸⁴ It should be noted, however, that Jones' interpretation of the period preceding the first century A. D., and especially his assessment of the significance of Qumran's textual diversity, is not without its challengers. At the outset it should be admitted that from a historical point of view, the available evidence admits of more than one interpretation. Nevertheless, a plausible case has been made for the claim that Qumran's diversity does not preclude the existence of a proto-Masoretic standard text in Palestinian temple circles during the last few centuries prior to the rabbis.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁴ Brevard Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 97. For a recent summary of the issues involved in the primacy of the Masoretic text for Biblical Theology, see Christopher R. Seitz, "Two Testaments and the Failure of One Tradition-History," 40-42.

⁴⁸⁵ See Ian Young, "The Stabilization of the Biblical Text in the Light of Qumran and Masada: A Challenge for Conventional Qumran Chronology?" *DSD* 9:3 (2002) 382-390; Al Wolters, "The Text of the Old Testament," in *The Face of Old Testament Studies: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches* (ed. David W. Baker and Bill T. Arnold; Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999) 30-31; Emmanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001) 28-32, 190-191; idem, "Scriptures: Texts," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols.; ed. L. Schiffman and J. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford Press, 2000) 2:834; idem, "A Qumran Origin for the Masada Non-Biblical Texts," *DSD* 7 (2000) 61; idem, "The Significance of the Texts from the Judean Desert for the History of the Text of the Hebrew Bible," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson; JSOTS 290; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 299-300; idem, "The History and Significance of a Standard Text of the Hebrew Bible" in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation* (ed. Magne Saebo; 2 vols.; Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996) 62-66; Adam S. van der Woude, "Pluraformity and Uniformity: Reflections on the Transmission of the Text of the Old Testament," in *Sacred History and Sacred Texts in Judaism* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer and F. Garcia Martinez; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1992) 162-169; idem, "Fifty Years of Qumran Research,," in Vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1998-99) 41-43; L. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism and Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994) 161, 171-173; Julio Trebolle-Barrera, "Qumran Evidence for a Biblical Standard Text and for Non-Standard and Parabiblical Texts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed. Timothy H. Lim; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000) 98-99. Citing van der Woude and Schiffman, Trebolle-Barrera argues that the Torah, Isaiah, the Twelve, and the Psalms had reached a comparatively high degree of standardization by the Hasmonean period, a standardization that is more or less presupposed in the Qumran exegetical literature on these books, even though other textual forms were obviously allowed to coexist alongside them at Qumran.

While one may choose to construe the textual movement from Qumran to the first century A. D. as a move “from pluraformity *to* uniformity,”⁴⁸⁶ the arguments of Tov, van der Woude, and Schiffman demonstrate that an alternative reading of this period is possible, namely, a reading which characterizes this movement in terms of “pluraformity *and* uniformity.”⁴⁸⁷ Sanders’ fourfold taxonomy rests upon the presupposition, rightly questioned by Tov, van der Woude, Schiffman, and others, that a standard or received text did not arise until the first century A.D., and that textual plurality in the period prior to this precludes the possibility of a standard text. However, this analysis effectively begs the question, since it ignores the possibility that pluraformity was not functioning in all locales in Palestine, most notably in temple circles. Tov in particular has mounted a good case on historical and text-critical grounds for the close connection between the proto-Masoretic text and temple scribes in the second century B. C.⁴⁸⁸ Brevard Childs’ criticisms of A. C. Sundberg, who argues for a hypothesis similar to that of Jones, are also *apropos* at this juncture. In response to Sundberg’s attempt to preclude the existence of a stabilized text in Judaism prior to the first century A. D., Childs notes:

“Sundberg’s reconstruction also fails to reckon with the very different attitudes toward scripture within Judaism of this period. The discoveries at Qumran have conclusively established the wide range of religious writings treasured by one historical community of Palestine. However, by emphasizing the element of diversity, Sundberg has failed to reckon with the element of stability and restrictiveness clearly manifested in one branch of Judaism, namely Pharisaic Judaism, whose canon was essentially established before the rise of Christianity and independently of this later challenge.”⁴⁸⁹

In fairness it should be noted that the views of Frank Cross represent a dissenting voice in this

⁴⁸⁶ M. Saebo, “From Pluraformity to Uniformity: Some Remarks on the Emergence of the Massoretic Text, with Special Reference to Its Theological Significance,” 127-137.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. the comments of Adam S. van der Woude: “Instead of assuming a gradual development from pluraformity to uniformity in the textual tradition of the Old Testament, as has been postulated by Albrektson, E. Ulrich and others, we should consider another possibility: that a far-reaching uniformity of textual tradition existed in the religious circles around the Temple of Jerusalem well before 70 CE *alongside* a pluriform tradition elsewhere in Palestine, with both traditions being exemplified by the Qumran biblical texts” (A. S. van der Woude, “Fifty Years of Qumran Research,” 42).

⁴⁸⁸ On the connection between temple circles and the proto-Masoretic text, see Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 28, 191; “A Qumran Origin,” 61; “Scriptures: Texts,” 834; “History and Significance,” 58, 64, 66.

⁴⁸⁹ Brevard Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments*, 61.

matter. Cross regards the attempt to speak of a “standard text” prior to the time of the rabbis as “anachronistic,” since on his view one cannot detect “a trend toward, or a narrowing down to, the proto-Masoretic text” prior to the time of Hillel.⁴⁹⁰ At the same time he acknowledges the presence of a growing tendency in the late Second Temple period to correct the Greek text toward the proto-Masoretic text family.⁴⁹¹ Does not the presence of this trend support, rather than undermine, the case for a standard text in late Second Temple period? In order to understand the reason Cross rejects this possibility, one must take into account his particular definition of “standardization.” For Cross, standardization implies the suppression of rival texts, something which clearly did not occur in the late Second Temple period. Hence he is unwilling to make allowance for the existence of a standard or “official” text in pre-Christian Judaism, since on his view the distinction between “official” and “vulgar” texts presupposes the suppression of rival texts, and therefore could not have arisen prior to the late first century A. D. Tov and Schiffman are clearly using terms like “official” or “standard text” in another sense. For them the presence of an “official” text in pre-Christian Judaism need not imply the active suppression of rival or “vulgar” texts, but simply the priority of the proto-Masoretic text in circles associated with the temple in Jerusalem. In any case, the objections of Cross notwithstanding, it should be clear that the apparent acceptance of textual diversity at Qumran does not entail the conclusion, contra Jones, that this state of affairs was the norm throughout the rest of Palestine.⁴⁹²

Although the question of a standard text can be distinguished from questions of canonicity, the two are nevertheless closely related, as the arguments of Sanders from the Cave 11 Psalms

⁴⁹⁰ Frank Cross, “The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert,” *HTR* 57 (1964) 290, 298-99; idem, “The Fixation of the Text of the Hebrew Bible,” in *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988) 211.

⁴⁹¹ Cross, “The Fixation of the Text,” 206.

⁴⁹² Jones’ analysis also overlooks the fact that from a quantitative point of view, the proto-Masoretic text was the dominant textual family at Qumran. The 1992 edition of Tov’s *Textual Criticism* originally estimated the percentage of proto-Masoretic texts at Qumran to be 60 percent. Although Tov later reduced this estimate to 35 percent in the 2001 edition, this reduction merely reflects the fact that Tov reassigned some of these texts to the category of “non-aligned.” As Ian Young has pointed out, this still leaves the proto-Masoretic texts at Qumran in a dominant position, “since non-aligned texts are merely marked off by their *non-relationship* to other textual groups” See Ian Young, “The Stabilization of the Biblical Text,” 371 n. 24, emphasis added.

scroll demonstrate.⁴⁹³ Jones' view of the status of canon in the period preceding the rabbis is also a case in point. After surveying various approaches to the question of canon, he arrives at the conclusion that prior to the close of the first century A. D., one may speak of a "canonical process," but not a closed canon.⁴⁹⁴ Again, while the historical evidence does not allow one to construct an airtight case for a closed canon prior to the time of the rabbis, plausible historical arguments have been constructed in favor of a Hasmonean date for the closing of the Hebrew canon.⁴⁹⁵ Moreover, the plausibility of the case for a proto-Masoretic standard text in Palestinian temple circles tends to strengthen such a case.

This is not to suggest, however, that the Qumran community itself also recognized a standard text.⁴⁹⁶ The apparent absence of a *textus receptus* at Qumran presents a problem for those who argue for a causal link between a particular text type and a social group,⁴⁹⁷ or who

⁴⁹³ Sanders, "The Scrolls and the Canonical Process," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. Flint and J. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998-99) 1:1-23.

⁴⁹⁴ Jones' arguments build upon the work of other Old Testament scholars who argue for an open canon of the Hebrew Bible at the turn of the era (Jones, *Formation*, 59-78, esp. 76; Ulrich, "The Canonical Process," 59-60; idem, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 84-87; Sanders, "The Scrolls and the Canonical Process," 7 n. 19).

⁴⁹⁵ On the case for a second century B. C. date for the closing of the canon, see Roger T. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church* (London: SPCK, 1985); idem, "Formation of the Hebrew Bible," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder; CRINT 2/1; Assen: Van Gorcum Press, 1988) 39-86; Philip R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1998) 169-184; Sid Z. Leiman, *The Canonization of the Hebrew Scripture* (Camden, C. T.: Arcon Press, 1976) 131; cf. also Stephen B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study in Old Testament Canon Formation* (FAT 27; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 1-70; E. Earle Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity: Canon and Interpretation in the Light of Modern Research* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992) 2-50, 125-138; Patrick D. Miller, "The Canon in Contemporary American Discussion," in *Israelite Religion and Biblical Theology: Collected Essays* (JSOTS 267; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000) 603-28; Christopher R. Seitz, "Two Testaments and the Failure of One Tradition-History," in *Figured Out* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001) 40-42; Bruce K. Waltke, "How We Got the Hebrew Bible: The Text and Canon of the Old Testament," in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (ed. Peter W. Flint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001) 32.

⁴⁹⁶ A helpful overview of more important issues surrounding this question may be found in Tov, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judean Desert," *JSS* 39 (1988) 32-37, especially p. 33.

⁴⁹⁷ Talmon's theory of *Gruppentexte* reflects the conviction that social communities tend to rally around a particular "group text" as a means of establishing group identity and socializing their members. Recognizing that the textual pluriformity at Qumran is somewhat problematic for his view, Talmon suggests that the relatively short historical existence of the community was not conducive to the production of a standard text (Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Bible," in *QHBT*, 325-326).

argue that the Qumran community recognized a closed canon. In an attempt to make a case for the claim that the Qumran community rejected the notion of an open canon, Schiffman argues that the manuscripts copied at Qumran “show a high degree of Masoretic dominance despite divergences from the Masoretic text in many details.”⁴⁹⁸ The inference which Schiffman draws from this is that the scribes at Qumran recognized a *textus receptus* that was essentially proto-Masoretic. Tov and others are rightly skeptical about the possibility of identifying a *textus receptus* at Qumran.⁴⁹⁹ Moreover, the lack of a standard text at Qumran was probably a side effect of the Qumran community’s belief in ongoing prophecy, which according to van der Woude would have minimized the need for a standard text.⁵⁰⁰ In contexts where one has the living, spoken word of a charismatic priest-prophet to rely upon, the crisis of authority that normally accompanies textual diversity is minimized and divergences in written texts do not receive the level of attention, nor do they generate the sort of crisis that tends to occur in contexts where

⁴⁹⁸ Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 172. Schiffman’s argument rests in large part upon a distinction established by the work of Tov between imported texts and native texts written in “Qumran scribal practice.” The distinction has proved to be controversial. See Emmanuel Tov, “The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls Found at Qumran,” *Textus* 13 (1986) 31-57; idem, “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judean Desert,” *JSS* 39 (1988): 5-37; idem, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001) 107-117; idem, “Further Evidence for the Existence of a Qumran Scribal School,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery—Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem 2000) 199-216. George J. Brooke argues that Tov’s attempt to define and isolate “Qumran scribal practice” should be resisted at this point and is in fact “subversive of the discipline of textual criticism in a dangerous way.” See G. J. Brooke, “*E Pluribus Unum*: Textual Variety and Definitive Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed. Timothy H. Lim; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000) 107-119, quotation from 109. Likewise, Eugene Ulrich argues that the category is “sufficiently misleading” to justify its retirement, and he cites Schiffman’s usage of it as a case in point (Ulrich, “Multiple Literary Editions,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 111-112). It is difficult to escape the impression, however, that Ulrich objections are a function of his *a priori* commitments to his theory of “multiple literary editions” as a paradigm for assessing Qumran’s textual diversity.

⁴⁹⁹ Tov, “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judean Desert,” 28-34; idem, “The Significance of the Texts from the Judean Desert,” 299; cf. also Adam S. van der Woude, “Pluraformity and Uniformity,” 157.

⁵⁰⁰ Adam S. van der Woude, “Fifty Years of Qumran Research,” 43: “The Pharisaic conviction that the Holy Spirit had withdrawn from Israel since the days of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi excluded appeal to a later divine inspiration, thereby entailing a shift from authority outside Scripture to Scripture alone. This development gradually lead to the canonization of Holy (Hebrew) Scripture as God’s literally inspired word, and did not admit of various diverging textual recensions. But the situation at Qumran was different: since the community knew its own divinely-inspired authorities, pre-eminently the Teacher of Righteousness, the need to replace textual pluraformity by uniformity was not urgent.” Cf. also his more lengthy remarks in van der Woude, “Pluraformity and Uniformity,” 167-169.

written texts constitute the sole voice of authority. In any case, from the fact that Qumran either lacked or chose not to produce a *textus receptus*, it does not follow that such was the case in Palestine as a whole.

Conclusion

It now remains in closing to briefly note a number of further concerns with Jones' text historical method which do not bear directly upon his views of canon, but upon the method of textual criticism itself. The first concerns the limitations inherent in text-critical taxonomies and manuscript classifications. One should bear in mind that labels such as "proto-Masoretic" and "pre-Samaritan" for biblical manuscripts are generally established on the basis of individual readings, scribal tendencies, and the orthography present *within* a given book. As a rule, the *location* of a given biblical manuscript in the larger book sequence of the Hebrew Bible does not play a role in establishing these labels, except in those cases where the surviving textual evidence indicates that more than one biblical book was written upon a single scroll. As a result, a certain ambiguity tends to be present when one uses the adjectival term "proto-Masoretic." Does this term refer to the text type or family that a given biblical manuscript has been identified with, its sequential location vis-a-vis other books, or both? Of course one might argue that this ambiguity is surmountable in the case of the Twelve, inasmuch as the surviving manuscript evidence from Qumran preserves key Masoretic transition orders. Unfortunately even in the latter case ambiguity remains, especially in those cases when a given text is judged to be non-Masoretic at the level of its individual sentences, yet "proto-Masoretic" at the level of its book sequence. 4QXII^c is a case in point.⁵⁰¹ This early first century B. C. manuscript⁵⁰² reflects the Masoretic sequence Joel-Amos,⁵⁰³ but preserves readings that often agree with the Septuagint. 4QXII^c illustrates the fact that a given manuscript may be characterized as proto-Septuagintal or proto-Masoretic, depending upon whether one is speaking of textual families or book sequences. In the case of the LXX Twelve, this problem is exacerbated even further by the lack of a textual witness

⁵⁰¹ On 4QXII^c see Fuller, "Minor Prophets," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:554-557, esp. 555, idem, "A Critical Note on Hosea 12:10 and 13:4," *RB* 98 (1991) 344-357, esp. 344.

⁵⁰² Fuller, "Minor Prophets," 555.

⁵⁰³ Russell Fuller, "The Form and Formation of the Book of the Twelve," 86-101, esp. 92.

in pre-Christian antiquity to its book sequences. Such observations again raise the question whether a text historical approach to Twelve can shed much light upon the problem of variant book sequences in the Twelve.

A further concern should be noted in reference to Jones' attempt to de-privilege the Masoretic order of the Twelve. On text-critical grounds one may freely admit that the Masoretic text is not always the "best" text. Ulrich rightly notes that the proto-Masoretic text the rabbis identified with was not "a critically selected text," at least not in the modern sense of the term. But this only serves to underscore the fact that other criteria guided their use of the proto-Masoretic text. The standards by which modern text criticism judges a text to be "superior" do not entail the further conclusion that such a text is therefore the preferred vehicle for recovering the *theological* dimension of Israel's scriptures.⁵⁰⁴ The role of the text as theological witness cannot be adequately assessed according to modern standards of textual criticism, since later additions and expansions, including sequence alterations, may have taken place for theological reasons that did not have text-critical concerns in view.⁵⁰⁵ In sum, a text that is inferior from a modern text-critical point of view may in fact be superior from the point of view of theological witness. These observations also suggest that another approach to the Twelve is needed, especially if one wishes to do justice to the theological pressures by which it was formed.

Summary of Jones' text historical approach

Jones' method is grounded in the conviction that textual evidence provides a more objective basis for assessing the form and formation of the Twelve than other approaches, especially redactional approaches. A major problem for his method is the lack of manuscript

⁵⁰⁴ Ulrich, "Qumran Biblical Scrolls in Their Historical Context," 72. At the same time it should be granted that a certain degree of text-critical activity was involved (*contra* Albrektson; see van der Woude, "Pluraformity," 159-160, n. 24).

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. for example Christopher Seitz, "The Prophet Moses and the Canonical Shape of Jeremiah," *ZAW* 101 (1989) 3-27, esp. 18ff. Seitz defends the MT's placement of Jeremiah's oracles against the nations (Jer. 46-52) by demonstrating that the MT movement from Egypt to Babylon in Jer. 46-52 consummates the entire message of the book of Jeremiah, and chapter 45 in particular. On the other hand, the LXX placement of these oracles in the context of chapter 25 frustrates the exegetical logic at work in chapter 45, which is now left hanging at the end of the book.

evidence for the LXX arrangement of the Twelve prior to the Christian era.⁵⁰⁶ By way of contrast, the antiquity of the Masoretic order of the Twelve is relatively well-attested, especially at Qumran, which contains a number of manuscripts that bear witness to key Masoretic transition orders in the Twelve. In order to negotiate this stubborn disparity, Jones is forced to lean heavily upon a method that will allow him to overcome the hermeneutical significance of the distinction between the textual and literary phases of prophetic books, thereby surmounting the existing gap between later manuscript evidence for the LXX Twelve and pre-Christian Judaism. In the end the textual evidence he appeals to from the period of pre-Christian Judaism turns upon the status of a single manuscript, 4QXII^a, which attests to neither the Masoretic nor the LXX order of the Twelve.⁵⁰⁷ The problems with this approach have already been noted, and therefore will not be rehearsed here.

This raises the question whether the text historical method adopted by Jones places us upon a more sound methodological footing for investigating the literary unity of the Twelve. A significant problem for his approach concerns the nature and extent of the scribal changes effected in the transmission history of a given biblical book. Are these changes to be placed on a par with earlier, compositional moves that were being made? This seems doubtful, since even the scholars Jones appeals to acknowledge that scribal changes were relatively minor in comparison to the literary moves being made during the compositional phase of biblical books. This is not to say, of course, that such changes shed no light whatsoever on the compositional history of prophetic books. Nevertheless, the qualifying remarks of Talmon, Tov, and Ulrich should serve as a warning against overplaying the hermeneutical significance of these changes, since all parties concerned tend to agree that these changes were comparatively minor in significance.

In the end, however, the critical issue in Jones' approach does not turn upon the hermeneutical significance of scribal activity in the textual history of biblical books, but upon the status of canon in pre-Christian Judaism. Most scholars would grant that scribal intervention in

⁵⁰⁶ See the review of manuscript evidence, along with relevant bibliography, provided at the end of this section.

⁵⁰⁷ Both Tov and Fuller place 4QXII^a in the category of "non-aligned" manuscripts. See Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 116; Russell Fuller, "Minor Prophets," in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:555, 557.

biblical texts became more conservative once biblical texts achieved a canonical status, or were subjected to canonization proper.⁵⁰⁸ This admission highlights the fact that one's view of the distinction between the literary and textual phases of a given book is inseparably bound up with one's views of the canonical process. Indeed, it can be argued that the very distinction between the "literary" and "textual" phases of biblical books already presupposes the notion of canon. Thus the real issue at stake in Jones' approach is not whether the literary and textual phases of a given book overlapped one another, but whether the canonical process of the Hebrew Bible extended into the first century A. D., or whether it had already come to an end by that time. Scholars who opt for the former position will obviously be more disposed to attach hermeneutical significance to the creative character of scribal activity in late antiquity, and Jones' arguments stand as a case in point. In view of the recent arguments for identifying the close of the canonical process with the Hasmonean period, however, his arguments are open to question.

From a comparative point of view, Jones' approach to the Twelve demonstrates that the legacy generated by the method of tradition history lives on in recent developments in textual criticism. The approach of Magne Saebo in particular illustrates the hermeneutical consequences inherent in tradition history's stance on canon for the history of the Hebrew text in the late Second Temple period. These consequences find a parallel in Jones' attempt to de-privilege the Masoretic arrangement of the Twelve. By collapsing the canon-generated distinction between the Twelve's literary and textual history in the late Second Temple period, Jones is left without a theological basis for privileging one particular arrangement of the Twelve over another, whether Masoretic or otherwise. The result is a state of textual egalitarianism which parallels tradition history's argument against privileging one level of tradition over another, whether early or late.

⁵⁰⁸ This term properly refers to the notion of closure. However, a good case can be made for the fact that the notion of "canonization," like that of textual "standardization", is a also process, and hence one cannot identify the canonical status of a given biblical book with the notion of closure, or "canonization proper" (see B. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 58-9).

Excursus on the Manuscript Evidence for the Book of the Twelve

The book sequence preserved by the Masoretic text of the Twelve finds attestation in manuscripts from Qumran,⁵⁰⁹ Nahal Hever,⁵¹⁰ Wadi Murabba'at,⁵¹¹ and differs from the LXX sequence with respect to the order of the first six books.⁵¹² Although a number of Greek manuscripts were discovered at Qumran,⁵¹³ evidence for the LXX sequence of the Twelve at Qumran is thus far lacking. The Greek Minor Prophets scroll discovered at Nahal Hever appears to follow a Masoretic order and does not provide evidence for the LXX order of the Twelve unless one makes the assumption that Greek and Hebrew orders of the Twelve were identical at that time.⁵¹⁴ In light of these observations one may say that in the period spanning the mid-second century B. C. to the turn of the era, the Masoretic order of the Twelve is relatively more well attested than its LXX counterpart. The main exception to this observation is found in 4QXII^a, a Hebrew manuscript which apparently follows neither the Masoretic nor the LXX orders for the Twelve. Since this manuscript may preserve the unique transition order Malachi-Jonah, various

⁵⁰⁹ Russell Fuller, "The Twelve," in *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets*, 271-318; idem, "The Form and Formation of the Book of the Twelve," 86-101; idem, "Minor Prophets," in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:554-557. The manuscript 4QXII^b preserves the sequence Zephaniah-Haggai and dates to 150 B.C. 4QXII^c dates to 75 B.C. and preserves the Masoretic transition order Joel-Amos, although in the latter case textual damage makes it impossible to be certain. 4QXII^e preserves the Masoretic sequence Amos-Obadiah and dates to 50-25 B.C.

⁵¹⁰ Emmanuel Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr)* (DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). This scroll attests to the Masoretic sequence order Jonah-Micah, as well as the transition orders Nahum-Habakkuk, Habakkuk-Zephaniah, and Haggai-Zechariah. It should be noted that the (reconstructed) sequence Jonah-Micah is based upon a physical join. Barthelemy initially dated the scroll to the mid-first century A.D., but the approximate date of 50 B. C. established by Peter J. Parsons has now gained general acceptance. See Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll*, 19-26; Leonard J. Greenspoon, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Greek Bible," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998-99) 1:105.

⁵¹¹ Pierre Benoit et al., *Les grottes de Murabba'at* (DJD 2; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961). The Hebrew Minor Prophets scroll known as Mur88 dates from A.D. 50-100. It preserves the Masoretic transition orders Jonah-Micah and Micah-Nahum, along with the orders Habakkuk-Zephaniah, Zephaniah-Haggai, and Haggai-Zechariah.

⁵¹² The MT preserves the sequence Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah; the LXX sequence is Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah. The two sequences are otherwise identical.

⁵¹³ The most significant Greek manuscripts were discovered in caves 4 and 7. For an overview and discussion, see Leonard J. Greenspoon, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Greek Bible," 101-127.

⁵¹⁴ Fuller, "Form and Formation," 93.

attempts to address its significance will be discussed more fully at a later point in this excursus.⁵¹⁵

Manuscript evidence supporting the LXX sequence of the Twelve is relatively late in comparison and finds its earliest attestation in the third century A. D. Washington Papyrus,⁵¹⁶ along with the standard fourth and fifth century codices Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus.⁵¹⁷ Early evidence for the LXX arrangement of the Twelve may be present in three Pseudepigrapha in which the individual prophets of the Book of the Twelve are listed by name.⁵¹⁸ The first of these, *The Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, is generally regarded to be a composite work of mixed Jewish and Christian elements and is consequently difficult to date. Certain passages referring to Isaiah's martyrdom in chapters 1-5 may date as far back as the Maccabean period, while other passages probably reflect Christian interpolations of the late first and second centuries A. D.⁵¹⁹ The Twelve are cited in 4:22 in the following order: Amos, Hosea, Micah, Joel, Nahum, Jonah, Obadiah, Habakkuk, Haggai, Zephaniah, Zechariah, and Malachi. This order follows neither the MT nor the LXX order of the Twelve, although relatively speaking, it is closer to that of the LXX.⁵²⁰ Given the likelihood that this passage reflects a Christian

⁵¹⁵ Russell Fuller dates 4QXII^a to 150 B. C. See Fuller, "The Twelve," in *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets*, 221-232; idem, "Form and Formation," 92, 98. Odil Steck has recently argued that the transition order preserved in 4QXII^a is secondary to the MT order of the Twelve. See Odil H. Steck, "Zur Abfolge Maleachi-Jona in 4Q76 [4QXII^a]" *ZAW* 108 (1996): 250; cf. Barry Jones, "The Book of the Twelve as a Witness to Ancient Biblical Interpretation," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 68-69, 72-73; idem, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 6-7; Stephen B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets*, 138-139.

⁵¹⁶ On the Washington Papyrus, see Henry A. Sanders and Carl Schmidt, *The Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection and the Berlin Fragment of Genesis* (Ann Arbor, M.I.: University of Michigan Press, 1927); cf. also Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 233-234. Patristic lists preceding the fourth century A.D. list the Twelve as τῶν δώδεκα ἐν μονοβίβλῳ, Οἱ δώδεκα, without listing the books individually.

⁵¹⁷ For convenient access to the orders listed in this codices, consult Henry B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914) 201-202. Swete also lists the eighth century A.D. Codex Venetus, which departs from the usual LXX order of the Twelve by transposing Micah to the position following Jonah.

⁵¹⁸ Cf. the discussion in Barry A. Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 11-12.

⁵¹⁹ See M. A. Knibb, "Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985) 2:149-150. The earliest textual witnesses to the work are Greek and Latin fragments which date from the fifth or sixth century A. D. and contain most of chapters 2-3 and parts of 4 and 7. Scholars generally agree that chapters 6-11 and 3:13-4:22 represent Christian interpolations.

⁵²⁰ Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 11.

interpolation, its witness to the LXX order of the Twelve sheds little, if any, light upon the pre-Christian arrangement of the Twelve in its Old Greek translation. In addition, the manner in which the individual prophets are listed in the context of 4:21-22 is more along the lines of summary of sources rather than a categorical listing of the Twelve based upon a textual witness.⁵²¹

Another pseudepigraphal work, *The Lives of the Prophets*, dates to the early Christian era⁵²² and presents the Twelve in the context of a narrative sequence that discusses each prophet individually. The order the narrative follows is Hosea, Micah, Amos, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. With the notable exception of Micah, which precedes rather than follows Amos, the narrative sequence follows the order given in the LXX codices. There is no indication that the order adopted by the narrator reflects a categorical listing of the Book of the Twelve; rather, the Twelve are simply presented for the purpose of discussing their lives and especially the manner of their deaths.⁵²³

The Fourth Book of Ezra also contains a reference to the Twelve prophets. 4 Ezra 1:38-40 lists the Twelve and follows the sequence given in the later LXX codices: “And now, father, look with pride and see the people coming from the east; to them I will give as leaders Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and Hosea and Amos and Micah and Joel and Obadiah and Jonah and Nahum and Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who is also called the messenger of the Lord.”⁵²⁴ Jones notes that “the context of this listing is concerned more with the prophets as individuals than with their literary remains.”⁵²⁵ Once again there is little reason to interpret this

⁵²¹ This summary does not end with the naming of the last prophet of the Twelve, but also mentions “the words of righteous Joseph” and “the words of Daniel.” The former is probably a reference to the pseudepigraphon of *The Prayer of Joseph* (Knibb, “Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah,” 163 n. c2).

⁵²² D. R. A. Hare argues that the first quarter of the first century A. D. is “the most probable date.” Hare disagrees with the more widespread view, articulated by C. C. Torrey, that the book was originally composed in Hebrew and argues instead that the book was originally composed in Greek. The earliest Greek manuscript, Codex Marchalianus, dates to the sixth century A. D. See D. R. A. Hare, “The Lives of the Prophets,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985) 2:379-381.

⁵²³ For a brief alternative assessment, see Ehud Ben Zvi, “Twelve Prophetic Books or ‘The Twelve’: A Few Preliminary Considerations,” 134 n. 24.

⁵²⁴ Bruce M. Metzger, “The Fourth Book of Ezra,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985) 1:526.

⁵²⁵ Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 11.

list as though it were self-consciously based on an early, pre-Christian textual witness to the LXX order of the Twelve. One should also note that many scholars regard chapters 1-2 and 15-16 to be a Christian framework that was added to an originally Jewish document that consisted only of chapters 3-14.⁵²⁶ The main body of the document, probably written originally in Hebrew,⁵²⁷ dates to about A. D. 100, with the addition of the four-chapter framework probably occurring sometime in the second half of the third century A. D.⁵²⁸ Moreover, two of the surviving Latin manuscripts, Codex Complutensis and Codex Mazarinaeus,⁵²⁹ both witness to a different order for the Twelve.⁵³⁰ In view of these considerations, it is doubtful whether 4 Ezra's listing of the Twelve can be taken as a self-conscious attempt to mirror the LXX order of the Twelve, nor can it be said to provide a window through which one can view a pre-Christian stage of the LXX manuscript traditions.

4QXII^a

Odil Steck has argued that 4QXII^a preserves an order that is secondary to the Masoretic order, which he takes as the original order of the Twelve.⁵³¹ He argues that the theological motives underlying the production of 4QXII^a find expression in the thematic sequence of Israelite

⁵²⁶ Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra," 517.

⁵²⁷ Metzger notes that "the presence of notable Hebraisms (such as the infinitive absolute construction) has led most modern scholars to postulate a Hebrew original underlying the Greek" (Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra," 520).

⁵²⁸ Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra," 520.

⁵²⁹ A tiny scrap of papyrus dating from the fourth century A. D. preserves in Greek the text of two verses (15:57-59). The oldest surviving Latin manuscript, apart from 16 verses found on a seventh-century palimpsest, is Codex Sangermanensis (A. D. 822). Codex Complutensis and Codex Mazarinaeus date from the ninth and eleventh centuries respectively. A listing and discussion of the existing textual witnesses may be found in Jacob M. Myers, *I and II Esdras: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (AB 42; New York: Doubleday, 1974) 113-115; cf. also Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra," 518-519.

⁵³⁰ The order listed in these manuscripts is Zechariah, Hosea, Amos, Joel, Micah, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Jonah, Malachi, Habakkuk. Haggai is missing (Myers, *I and II Esdras*, 149).

⁵³¹ Steck, "Zur Abfolge," 249-253.

repentance followed by Gentile conversion,⁵³² a topical sequence that was created by appending the book of Jonah to Malachi 3:22-24, the latter of which had already taken its place at the end of the Twelve before Jonah was added.⁵³³ Steck links the theological forces that produced this transition order with the comparatively benevolent Seleucid rule immediately preceding Antiochus IV, arguing that it represents an attempt by second-century B. C. Jews to call Israel to repentance in the hope that their Gentile overlords might convert to Judaism. Steck reconciles his thesis with the later date for the copying of 4QXII^a (150 B. C.) by the supposition that it preserves a transition order created at an earlier time.

The main problem with Steck's thesis lies in the fact that the date of copying for 4QXII^a cannot be easily reconciled with the theological motives with which he identifies it. The anti-Hellenistic mood that dominated the early Maccabean period makes it difficult to explain why literature aimed at Gentile conversion from an earlier period would still be copied and circulated in Palestine, especially at that particular time. One suspects that this problem, rather than the textual evidence itself, is what leads Steck to argue that 4QXII^a functioned eschatologically rather than historically.⁵³⁴ More plausible would be the possibility that the manuscript bears witness to a phenomenon that Old Testament scholars still wrestle with today, namely, the genre incongruity involved in placing the book of Jonah with its "biographical" genre in the midst of oracular prophets.⁵³⁵ It is not difficult to imagine, therefore, that the position of the book of Jonah may

⁵³² Odil H. Steck, "Zur Abfolge Maleachi-Jona in 4Q76 (4QXII^a)," 251-253; cf. Barry Jones, "The Book of the Twelve as a Witness to Ancient Biblical Interpretation," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, 68-69, 72-73.

⁵³³ Steck cites two reasons for supposing that Malachi 3:22-24 already marked the end of the Twelve when Jonah was added. First, that Ben Sira shows awareness of larger prophetic corpus that ends with the Twelve and second, that Ben Sira also knows that the end of Malachi references Elijah (48:10). From this Steck draws the conclusion that the necessary conditions for interpreting Elijah as a prophetic figure linking the former and latter prophets are present in the writings of Ben Sira (c. 180 B. C.). The textual sequence which 4QXII^a preserves was probably created in the opening decades of the second century B. C. prior to Ben Sira. See Steck, "Zur Abfolge," 250, 252.

⁵³⁴ Steck, "Zur Abfolge," 252.

⁵³⁵ In an early twentieth-century study of the Twelve, Budde attempted to resolve this tension by arguing that Jonah was a later addition to an original eleven book corpus made primarily for the purposes of numerical symbolism. According to Budde an editor probably added Jonah in order to arrive at a number that functioned as a symbol of the Twelve tribes of Israel (see Karl Budde, "Eine folgenschwere Redaktion des Zwölfprophetenbuchs,"

have enjoyed a certain fluidity in the transmission history of the Twelve, and that 4QXII^a possibly bears witness to this fluidity.⁵³⁶

However, if in fact 4QXII^a does testify to the transition order Malachi-Jonah, it is a *singular* phenomenon, as both Fuller and Steck have noted.⁵³⁷ Because of this one cannot rule out the possibility that it represents an anomalous exception in the transmission history of the Twelve rather than an actual scribal tradition.⁵³⁸ Moreover, the remnants of three Hebrew letters, only *one* of which is clearly identifiable, would seem to be a rather thin basis for arguing that 4QXII^a witnesses to the unique transition order Malachi-Jonah.⁵³⁹

On the basis of its age and irregular semi-cursive script, Fuller suggests the possibility that 4QXII^a was brought to Qumran rather than copied there,⁵⁴⁰ though this supposition remains inconclusive at best. He also notes the likelihood that Jonah was placed in the second half and probably the final third of the (hypothetical) larger scroll represented by 4QXII^a.⁵⁴¹ The difficulty is that one really has no way of knowing the precise location that the sequence represented by

218-229).

⁵³⁶ Cf. A. Schart, "Reconstructing the Redaction History of the Twelve Prophets," 38.

⁵³⁷ Odil H. Steck, "Zur Abfolge," 250: "Der Befund in 4Q76 ist, wie Fuller in einem neuen Beitrag zur ältesten Handschriftenüberlieferung von XII mit Recht hervorhebt, singular: Die nur bis Sach erhaltenen Handschriften 4Q82 (4QXII^a), 50-25 v. Chr., Mur88, um 100 n. Chr., 8HevXIIgr, zwischen 100 und 50 v. Chr., bieten Jona wie MT vor Micha, und Fuller kommt auf Grund der alten hebräischen wie griechischen Texttradition um die Zeitenwende zu der Folgerung, dass der Befund, ausgenommen 4Q76, die Bücheranordnung von XII in MT zu bestätigen scheint." Cf. Fuller, "Form and Formation," 92, 96.

⁵³⁸ Jones himself acknowledges this possibility (see Jones, *Formation*, 130).

⁵³⁹ See the discussion above. Fuller rejects the idea that 4QXII^a is secondary to the Masoretic tradition and argues that it should be taken as a third early witness to the Twelve alongside the LXX and Masoretic traditions (Fuller, "The Twelve," 222). Schart follows Fuller in accepting 4QXII^a as a legitimate witness to a third, independent order for the Twelve (Schart, "Reconstructing," 37). Finally, Steck argues that with minor adjustments, Fuller's reconstruction finds independent confirmation in the reconstruction offered by the Göttingen Qumranforschungsstelle (Steck, "Zur Abfolge," 249).

⁵⁴⁰ Fuller, "Minor Prophets," in *EDSS*, 1:555.

⁵⁴¹ Fuller, "The Twelve," 222.

4QXII^a occupied in the collection of the Twelve, especially given its singular character.⁵⁴² It is conceivable that other late prophetic books may have followed Jonah in 4QXII^a. On the basis of the manuscript itself, however, the evidence is simply too fragmentary to draw any clear conclusions.

In conclusion, the variant book sequences of the Twelve which have been preserved textually, while problematic, do not call into serious question the consensus practice of pursuing the question of its literary unity upon the basis of the Masoretic text. While a conclusive *historical* case for privileging the Masoretic order of the Twelve probably cannot be made, the arguments against that case fail to convince. On the whole one may say that the weight of manuscript evidence supports the Masoretic order of the Twelve.

VI. Narrative approaches to prophetic intentionality

Narrative approaches resist the project of diachronic reconstruction involved in excavating the literary prehistory of prophetic texts, since on their view the genetic history of prophetic books are largely irrelevant for their explanation. Building upon the hermeneutical theories of Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur, narrative approaches argue that the meanings of biblical texts enjoy a certain semantic autonomy or ‘distanciation’ from the intentions of their author-editors,⁵⁴³ having been generated by the larger web of linguistic relationships created by their final form. Prophetic intentionality is therefore sharply distinguished from the external realities of authorial intent and historical referent, and equated instead with the notion of ‘textual intentionality.’ Viewed from this perspective, narrative approaches to the Twelve share in the hermeneutics of

⁵⁴² Cf. in this respect the comments of Francis Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, 84 n. 11: “The editors [DJD XV] acknowledge that the order Malachi-Jonah is uncertain (p. 222). In fact, even their more cautious claim that Jonah was probably placed in the final third of the collection (p. 222) seems to go beyond the evidence. All that can be safely said is that the ‘remnants of three letters are visible on frg. 9ii, indicating that something followed the Book of Malachi’ (p. 228). The evidence that this something was ‘Jonah’, or any other text from the Book of the Twelve, is inconclusive.”

⁵⁴³ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (2nd ed.; trans. rev. J. Weinsheimer & D. G. Marshall; New York: Crossroad, 1989) 292-96; idem, “Reflections on My Philosophical Journey,” in *The Philosophy of Hans-Georg Gadamer* (ed. L. E. Hahn; Illinois: Open Court, 1997) 52; Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur, “The Conflict of Interpretations,” in *Phenomenology: Dialogues and Bridges* (ed. R. Bruzina & B. Wilshire; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982) 306-8; Paul Ricoeur, “The Hermeneutical Function of Distanciation,” *Philosophy Today* 17 (1973) 129-141; idem, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth, Texas: The Texas Christian University Press, 1976) 29-30.

anti-realism, a larger movement associated with the rise of postmodernism and its attack on the hermeneutics of historical foundationalism. In one form or another, the theory of semantic autonomy entailed by the literary holism of anti-realist hermeneutics underwrites narrative approaches to the Twelve, as the following analysis of Paul House's work and narrative hermeneutics will make clear.

a. Paul House

In a work on the Twelve published in 1990,⁵⁴⁴ five years after Andrew Lee completed his dissertation on the Twelve, Paul House also sought to build upon the insights set forth in Ronald Clements' programmatic 1977 essay.⁵⁴⁵ While Lee's approach to the Twelve's intentionality combined intentionalist and non-intentionalist elements, House's work remained consistently within the parameters of narrative theology with respect to his approach to prophetic intentionality and its relation to genetic questions. Setting aside diachronic concerns with the formation of the Twelve, House expanded Clements' emphasis upon the twin themes of judgment and restoration to a threefold literary movement of sin, punishment, and restoration. Movement one focuses upon the prophetic theme of sin and constitutes the unifying feature of Hosea through Micah. Movement two concentrates upon the prophetic message of judgment and encompasses Nahum through Zephaniah. Finally, movement three is found in the corpus of Haggai through Malachi and centers upon the theme of restoration.

The literary issues raised by House's highly schematized account of the Twelve's unity have often been pointed out and need not be rehearsed here.⁵⁴⁶ More troubling from a hermeneutical point of view is his attack upon the continuing validity of diachronic questions for canonical hermeneutics. According to House, a consistently canonical hermeneutic should not concern itself with questions surrounding the Twelve's formation history. Rather, its focus must be upon the canonical text as we *now* have it:

“[For the advocates of canonical criticism] the question is not *how* the books came to be

⁵⁴⁴ Paul R. House, *The Unity of the Twelve* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990).

⁵⁴⁵ Ronald Clements, “Patterns in the Prophetic Canon,” in *Canon and Authority* (ed. George W. Coats and Burke O. Long; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 43-46; repr. in *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 191-202.

⁵⁴⁶ See Barry Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 30-1, for the standard criticisms of House's method, many of which are repeated elsewhere. Jones' criticism does not deal with the hermeneutical issues raised by House's approach, but simply takes it for granted that approaches which ignore genetic questions are wrong. Cf. also R. C. van Leeuwen, “Scribal Wisdom,” 32 n. 5.

arranged as they are, but is how they are to be understood as they *now* appear. Of course the presupposition behind these queries is that there is some significance in canonical shaping. That significance can only arise, though, from the text itself and not from theories of how or *why* the prophets and redactors worked as they did.”⁵⁴⁷

House’s criticisms of Childs and others who continue to make use of diachronic methods basically amounts to an attempt to clear some rhetorical room for his own synchronic version of “canonical criticism.”⁵⁴⁸ While he is rightly uneasy with the forced and reductionistic character of certain editorial approaches to the unity of the Twelve, the question must be raised whether his own approach actually solves the problem of prophecy’s relation to history in the Twelve or merely ignores it. Within the one Book there are twelve discrete witnesses, a fact testified to by the superscriptions, both dated and undated, at the beginning of each book. As Schart has noted in his own study of the Twelve, the presence of such superscriptions clearly indicates the continuing significance of the Twelve’s historical dimension for its interpretation.⁵⁴⁹ The hermeneutical role played by the Twelve’s superscriptions also insures that each book continues to maintain its own unique witness and particularity.⁵⁵⁰ By failing to reckon with the interpretive relevance of prophecy’s historical dimension, House’s narrative approach effectively undermines the hermeneutical basis for the discrete character of these twelve witnesses as *individual* witnesses within a larger and complex unity.⁵⁵¹ In other words, his approach ultimately undermines the legitimate contributions historical methods have made for our understanding the complex

⁵⁴⁷ Paul House, *The Unity of the Twelve* (JSOTS 97; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990) 30, emphasis added.

⁵⁴⁸ Despite House’s claim to be practicing a version of “canonical criticism,” his approach bears only a formal resemblance to the canonical approach of Brevard Childs. Childs would clearly be uncomfortable with House’s anti-diachronic stance.

⁵⁴⁹ Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 304. Schart makes an extended case for the continuing hermeneutical significance of prophecy’s historical dimension in the initial chapter of his book.

⁵⁵⁰ The differentiating character of the superscriptions/incipits in the Twelve has been rightly emphasized by Ehud Ben Zvi. See Ehud Ben Zvi, “Twelve Prophetic Books or ‘The Twelve’: A Few Preliminary Considerations,” 125-56, esp. 137. As argued earlier, Ben Zvi attempt to make use of this observation to argue against reading the Twelve as one book ultimately fails to reckon with the evidence for editorial “cross-referencing” within the Twelve.

⁵⁵¹ In this respect, the Book of the Twelve is roughly analogous to the fourfold collection of the gospels in the New Testament.

character of the Twelve's unity, contributions which, although often wrongly applied, are not necessarily irrelevant or bankrupt in themselves.

Critical reflections on narrative approaches

One way of assessing narrative approaches is to conceive of them as *literary* versions of the philosophical *holism* which followed in the wake of Hegel's monistic collapse of Kant's noumenal/phenomenal distinction. In contrast to the hermeneutical dualism implicit in Kant's distinction, Hegel conceived of *one* reality coming to self-consciousness by means of a dialectical movement in which whole and part *mutually* condition and interpret one another. Since reality is one, conflicting knowledge claims made from within this one reality cannot be adjudicated or justified by means of an appeal to realities 'external' to it. From this philosophical monism 'non-referential' theories of meaning take their birth, insisting that since *all* relations are internal, appeals to 'external' referent in the pursuit of meaning are philosophically moot. Indeed, appeals to external referent must be *necessarily* omitted. Non-referential theories of meaning therefore tend to be predicated upon various versions of monism, whether historical (Hegel) or linguistic (structuralism).

Narrative approaches to the prophets thus constitute a form of linguistic holism, a sort of literary Hegelianism without the idealist metaphysics to go with it. The meaning of prophetic books is thus identified with their literary context as a whole, while the contributions to meaning offered by the 'external' realities of authorial intent and historical referent are either deemed irrelevant or redescribed in terms of *intratextual* linguistic relationships. In other words, narrative approaches proceed upon the assumption that all hermeneutically *significant* relations are ultimately internal to prophetic books themselves.⁵⁵² This non-referential, ahistorical outlook

⁵⁵² This is the literary counterpart to the Hegelian doctrine of internal relations, the latter of which also follows from Hegel's monism. Cf. the remarks on structuralism in Michael Devitt and Kim Sterelny, *Language and Reality: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Language* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987) 213: "From our perspective, this is the most surprising and objectionable feature of structuralism, for it omits reference. Part of the meaning of 'brown' is given by the fact that it refers to brown things. A word's relation to others in the language—internal relations—are undoubtedly important to its meaning, but so also are its relations to the world outside the language—its external relations."

inheres in varying degrees in the approaches of Paul House and Edgar Conrad to the Twelve.⁵⁵³ These variant expressions of literary holism should not be confused with a canonical hermeneutic, since the latter does not subscribe to the proposition that the meaning of prophetic texts are wholly self-contained, nor does it subscribe to the corollary proposition that the relation between whole and part in a literary work entails the conclusion that ‘external’ realities are either irrelevant or insignificant for its explanation.⁵⁵⁴ A canonical hermeneutic does not sever the meaning of prophetic texts from their ostensive referents, whether theological or historical, and this marks a fundamental difference between canonical approaches and the approach to biblical referentiality found in structuralist, poststructuralist, and narrative approaches to the prophets (contra House).⁵⁵⁵ The latter approaches rest upon a genre error, or in philosophical terms ‘a category mistake,’ regarding the fundamental character of biblical narratives and prophetic texts. Because Scripture is *witness*, and not merely narrative,⁵⁵⁶ its meaning ultimately cannot be separated from the realities to which it points.⁵⁵⁷

Viewed from this perspective, current controversies surrounding the contribution of

⁵⁵³ See Edgar Conrad, *Reading the Latter Prophets: Towards a New Canonical Criticism* (JSOTS 376; London: T & T Clark International, 2003). Despite the reference to “canonical criticism” in Conrad’s title, his work reflects little, if any, of the hermeneutical sensitivity toward historical issues found in the canonical approach of Brevard Childs.

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. Brevard Childs, *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context*, 6: “However, because the biblical text continually bears witness to events and reactions in the life of Israel, the literature cannot be isolated from its ostensive reference. In view of these factors alone it is a basic misunderstanding to try to describe a canonical approach simply as a form of structuralism (*contra* Barton).” Cf. also his summary remarks in *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments*, 18-20, and especially his critique of George Lindbeck’s version of ‘intratextuality’ in Childs, *The New Testament as Canon*, 541-45.

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, 103: “The Christian church has never been text-bound in the sense that the text has an authority separated from the reality of which it speaks. However, in the modern debate the acute danger has come from the reverse side, namely, in trying to separate the reality from the text. The confession of a canon opposes both attempts at separating text from reality. The text of Scripture points faithfully to the divine reality of Christ while, at the same time, our understanding of Jesus Christ leads us back to the Scripture, rather than away from it.”

⁵⁵⁶ See further Christopher R. Seitz, “The Canonical Approach and Theological Interpretation,” in *Canon and Biblical Interpretation* (ed. C. Bartholomew & A. Thiselton; SHS 7; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006) 96-101.

⁵⁵⁷ Childs, *The New Testament as Canon*, 545: “Christians have always understood that we are saved, not by the biblical text, but by the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ who entered into the world of time and space.”

biblical referentiality to textual meaning reflect the continuing legacy of the problems generated for prophetic hermeneutics by the methods of *Religionsgeschichte* and tradition history. As argued earlier, the method of *Religionsgeschichte* tended to ground the explanation of biblical texts in their external milieu, while tradition history sought to recover prophecy's own internal dynamic through the reconstruction of Israel's saving traditions. While the latter method better suited von Rad's goal of understanding prophetic literature on its own terms, he nevertheless struggled to maintain a hermeneutically significant role for the 'external' historical realities which initially triggered the growth of prophetic traditions, a struggle which resulted in the charge that his tradition historical approach had severed prophetic theology from its historical moorings.⁵⁵⁸

The alternative to von Rad's approach offered by canonical hermeneutics has been well-articulated by Brevard Childs, and bears repeating in full at this point:

"A canonical approach...attempts to overcome the sharp polarity in the debate whether the object of an Old Testament theology is a faith-construal of history (*Geschichte*), according to von Rad, or based on a reconstructed scientific history (*Historie*), according to Hesse and others. It reckons with the fact that Israel bore witness to its encounter with God in actual time and space, and yet registered its testimony in a text through a complex multi-layered manner which far transcends the categories of ordinary historical discourse. The canonical approach views history from the perspective of Israel's faith-construal, and in this respect sides with von Rad. However, it differs in not being concerned to assign theological value to a traditio-historical trajectory which has been detached from the canonical form of the text. To put the issue in another way, *the canonical approach seeks to follow the biblical text in its theological use of historical referentiality* rather than to construct a contrast between *Geschichte* and *Historie* from the outset. At times, the nature of an Old Testament passage has been so construed as to register little which is accessible to objective historical scrutiny. At other times, an event which is grounded in common historical perception, such as the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 BC, is of central importance for the theological task. In sum, although different dimensions of history are freely recognized, by focusing on Israel's historical role as the bearer of the traditions of faith, these two aspects of Israel's experience are held together in a subtle balance within the shape of the canon, and should not be threatened by some overarching theory of

⁵⁵⁸ For bibliography on the debate which raged in the mid-twentieth century over the faith/history dichotomy allegedly present in von Rad's use of tradition history, see Joseph Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament*, 153-54. See also Roland deVaux, "Is it possible to write a 'Theology of the Old Testament,'" chapter 3 in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (trans. Damian McHugh; London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1972). As Groves rightly points out, most of von Rad's critics overlook the fact that his interpretations of the Old Testament draw upon modern *historical* reconstructions "which influence and sometimes determine the theological message of a passage" (157).

history.”⁵⁵⁹

In other words, a canonical hermeneutic does not play the text’s theological witness off against its historical referent (*contra* narrative approaches), nor does it fuse the two (*contra* genetic approaches). Rather it allows the text itself to function as a critical norm for assessing the hermeneutical role assigned to historical referent in a given literary context. In the *theological* use of referentiality exploited by the tradents of prophetic books, the explanatory contribution of historical referent sometimes played a minor role, while at other times occupying a higher profile, as Childs notes with respect to the historical datum provided by the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. The basic point to be made at this juncture is that the tradents of biblical prophecy did not assign a *uniform* role to the realities of historical referent, or for that matter authorial intent, in the production of prophetic books. Because the hermeneutical contributions rendered by historical referent and authorial intent for the interpretation of prophetic books necessarily *varies* in degree,⁵⁶⁰ the exegetical significance of these contributions must be judged on a case-by-case basis, rather than being subjected to an overarching theory of literary holism or historical reductionism from the outset. Both narrative and genetic approaches prejudge these matters and therefore ultimately fail to come to terms with the approach to prophetic intentionality and historical referent inherent in the Twelve.

Concluding observations on narrative approaches

Undergirding the hermeneutics of anti-realism implicit in narrative approaches is the assumption that the transformative power of narrative creates a world whose meaning is wholly self-contained. Older notions of authorial intent and historical referent are therefore wholly internalized and reinterpreted in terms of textual intentionality and the visionary world created by the web of relations within narrative itself. To state the matter more provocatively, narratives create their own intentionality and referentiality by swallowing up the real world which gave them

⁵⁵⁹ Childs, *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context*, 16, emphasis added.

⁵⁶⁰ See Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis*, 122: “Some situations are controlled by historical elements; others remain relatively or completely free from such. However, it belongs to the descriptive task to understand *what forces* are operative on a given text” (emphasis added). For a full discussion of Childs’ nuanced understanding of the relationship between historical events and the theological use of referentiality at work in the prophets, see his *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis*, 118-27.

birth and which provided the causal conditions for their genesis. As a result of this metamorphosis, the genetic history of a narrative is now fundamentally irrelevant for its exegesis. Rather, narrative is to be understood wholly on its own terms, that is, in terms of the artificial world it creates by devouring its genetic parents. This being the case, the historical realities embodied in authorial intent and referent are not merely subordinated to narrative, but dispensed with altogether.⁵⁶¹ It therefore comes as no surprise to find that the intensity with which von Rad struggled to balance his theological commitments with historical concerns is noticeably absent in recent synchronic approaches to the Twelve. Indeed, in the fallout of Old Testament scholarship's struggle to unite historical method with a theological reading of the prophets, a general weariness with historical questions seems to have set in among biblical exegetes. Narrative approaches to the Twelve know nothing of von Rad's struggle with history, having transcended the difficult issues it raises by giving up on that struggle altogether. This constitutes postmodernism's reflex to the attack on the hermeneutics of foundationalism and modernism mounted by Richard Rorty and many others in the late twentieth-century.

Be that as it may, the continuing confusion over the nature and role of intentionality generated by these assaults is not limited to synchronic approaches, but also finds expression in approaches sympathetic to historical concerns, as the issues raised for prophetic hermeneutics in Andrew Lee's approach to the Twelve demonstrate. To be sure, the fact that prophetic texts have passed through a process of multi-layering means that the move from text to historical referent is not straightforward, as though the relation between the text and referent rested upon a simple mathematics of one-to-one correspondence. The complexity of the relation between text and history, however, does not constitute an argument against history's relevance. For this reason a canonical hermeneutic, whatever else its limitations may be, continues to hold promise for theological exegesis over against both narrative and genetic approaches.

Concluding summary of chapters 1 - 6

The primary hermeneutical problem 'historical foundationalism' has generated for

⁵⁶¹ The balanced discussion provided by Meir Sternberg on the relation between the genetic history of narratives and their intentionality constitutes something of an exception to the anti-realist outlook of most narrative approaches. See Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

prophetic hermeneutics is the problem of historical distance. The historical approach to the prophets born under the influence of Enlightenment philosopher-historians such as Kant, Lessing, and Gabler, effectively consigned the Bible to the past. As a result, the tools of historical retrieval are not merely an added perk which moderns enjoy in contrast to pre-critical exegetes, but *indispensable* for the task of providing closure to the hermeneutical gap historical versions of foundationalism have fostered. Thus a ‘hermeneutics of proximity’ is born within exegetical practice for the purpose of providing the needed closure, albeit at the cost of undercutting the canonical form’s ability to broker the intentions of the historical prophets to later generations.⁵⁶² Moreover, because this paradigm also proceeds upon the assumption that the interpretive traditions attested to within the canonical form of prophetic texts effectively block access to the prophets themselves, it follows that one must somehow get ‘behind the text’ in order to gain access to their true intentions.⁵⁶³ Viewed from this perspective, historical foundationalism has a self-authenticating, circular character. In somewhat ironic fashion, it sets for itself the task of solving the problems generated by its own historical assumptions for the enterprise of prophetic hermeneutics.

Historical foundationalism also casts a long shadow over the enterprise known as ‘kerygmatic theology.’ Von Rad and the practitioners of the kerygmatic approach to prophetic intentionality operated upon the premise, imported from Lessing’s philosophy of history, that ‘history’ limits the theological reach of prophecy. Stated differently, ‘history’ as a medium was incapable of functioning as a vehicle for transhistorical truths, in part because of the continuing historical claims of the ‘law of historical exclusivity’ upon kerygmatic exegesis,⁵⁶⁴ and in part because of the localized focus in prophecy’s theological message. These premises ultimately underwrite the reasons von Rad and other adherents of ‘kerygmatic intentionality’ were driven to assert, either explicitly or implicitly, the claim that it was necessary for prophecy’s later

⁵⁶² Cf. the summary analysis of the approaches of Budde, Wolfe, Schneider and Lee provided in chapter one.

⁵⁶³ Cf. the summary analysis of the approaches of Barton and Ben Zvi in chapter two.

⁵⁶⁴ As noted earlier in chapter three, this concept finds clear expression in the first volume of von Rad’s *Old Testament Theology* (see von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:110).

interpreters to disregard or disrespect its original intent and application in order to overcome prophecy's localized character. In like fashion, prophecy's editorial expansion could not be accounted for in terms of the gravitational pull of prophetic oracles upon their later appropriations, circumscribing the canonical parameters of their orbit, but in terms of what might be more accurately styled 'adventures in misreading,' a hermeneutical practice in which prophecy's later interpreters 'imposed' their views on earlier prophecy for the sake of adapting it to the 'felt needs' of the moment. Thus later 'eschatological' applications of prophecy could be given a transhistorical extension only at the price of misreading prophecy's earlier intentions, since the latter was homiletically tied to the task of speaking to the prophet's own times rather than time frames beyond his own day. In this way an extended series of 'creative mistakes' were generated within the literary development of the prophetic books, mistakes which God somehow overruled for the sake of accommodating a yet-to-be-ushered-in Christological witness in the New Testament.

In sum, the hermeneutics of historical foundationalism underwriting the various approaches to prophetic intentionality herein surveyed (e.g., authorial, genetic, tradition historical, redaction historical, and text historical) share in common a failure to grasp the fact that prophecy's concern to speak to its own times in no way threatens its ability to speak a word to other times. This failure stems from the inherent limitations of the concept of 'history' at work in these approaches, since the *a priori* historical commitments involved in these approaches effectively preclude the possibility of overcoming the hermeneutical crisis fostered by 'historical foundationalism' in terms of the Twelve's own brokering of its history. By way of contrast, on 'a canonical approach' to the matter, the enduring authority of the word God spoke through the prophets does not stand in tension with the historical situatedness and particularity of prophecy as a word to its own time.⁵⁶⁵ For this reason prophecy need not be summoned into our present by means of the 'external scaffolding' provided by tradition history, inasmuch as the prophets come to meet us in the present through the hermeneutical bridge formed by their own literary legacy and

⁵⁶⁵ Cf. the remarks on the relation between kerygmatic intentionality and canonical intentionality near the close of the discussion of von Rad's tradition historical hermeneutic in chapter three above (89-90), as well as the comparison of the approaches of von Rad and Clements in chapter five (118-120).

its own unique disposal of history.⁵⁶⁶

Transitional introduction to chapter 7

To these observations it should be added, by way of transition into the chapter which follows, that ‘historical foundationalism’ and its attendant assumptions also rendered problematic the *ongoing* function of the prophets *as scripture* for the life of the modern church. The connective links provided by Scripture’s own canonical form, by which prophecy was hermeneutically linked with its antecedents (e.g., the Law), as well as its later appropriation in the New Testament, are now effectively severed. As a result, alternative linkages *external* to the canon’s own approach to brokering these matters must be put in their place (e.g., tradition historical or redaction critical linkages based on historical reconstructions) in order to prevent the prophets from being ‘stranded in irrelevance’ from both the Pentateuch and the New Testament. Again, this effectively problematizes the function of the prophetic books as Christian Scripture for the church, since apart from the provision of these external linkages, prophecy’s ability to bridge the past and the present by means of its own canonical linkages and inner logic remains ineffectual. The point to be made here is that ‘historical foundationalism’ carries with it certain consequences for our reading of the prophets, especially with respect to our understanding of prophecy’s relationship to other parts of the Bible, including the New Testament. That a certain irony attaches itself to von Rad’s own appropriation of this paradigm cannot be gainsaid, especially since his appeal to tradition history was intended to allow the prophets to function as a kind of hermeneutical bridge between the past and the future in biblical history. In point of fact, however, his historical commitments actually undermined that view, resulting in a view of prophecy in which the hermeneutical bridge formed by it “self-destructs once it has arced from the past into its next phase, until at last it ceases from its labors in the New Testament.”⁵⁶⁷

The problem, which the preceding discussions have hopefully made clear, is that von

⁵⁶⁶ See now especially the helpful discussion of these matters in Christopher R. Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics: Toward a New Introduction to the Prophets* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007). In what follows, I am indebted to Seitz’s discussion of the canonical character of the relation between the law and the prophets, as well as his observations on von Rad, many of which dovetail with the reading of von Rad offered in chapter three of this work.

⁵⁶⁷ Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, 125.

Rad's understanding of tradition history's forward movement was deeply problematic. For von Rad the rise of eschatology in the prophets is a direct consequence of the *ineffectiveness* of the older saving traditions of early Jahwism. What the prophets are doing is *new*, precisely because it overcomes the time-bound character of these saving traditions and projects them afresh into the future. Thus prophecy does not move forward into the New Testament by respecting the original intentions of these saving traditions, but instead overpowers their intentions by imposing a new eschatological agenda upon them. Indeed, at the end of the day it must be said that von Rad's understanding of tradition history ultimately leaves the modern church without a coherent hermeneutical means for linking the prophetic witness of the Old Testament to the New, as is the case with 'historical foundationalism' in general. Even his attempts to relink the two testaments by exploiting the traditional hermeneutical resources inherent in typology and eschatology fell prey to the 'self-destructing bridge' generated by his historical commitments. Thus while von Rad's appeal for a return to the more traditional gap-bridging tools provided by typology and eschatology mitigated the breakdown of his hermeneutic to some extent, in the end they too finally collapsed under the weight of his commitments to a narrow and attenuated concept of 'history.'

A canonical approach to the prophets offers a way forward out this dilemma by arguing that through the providential activity generated by the prophetic word, Old Testament Israel experienced a witness to the enduring character of God's word, a prophetic word that fully participates in the concrete situatedness of human existence, yet at the same time transcends the 'built-in' limitations of that existence. A prophetic word that, like Christ himself, is ultimately 'a word without end.' More to the point for the purposes of the chapter which follows, a canonical approach also affords us with the opportunity to relink the prophets with its canonical antecedent, that is, the Pentateuch, on the basis of the hermeneutical linkages provided by the canon's own literary form. In order to clarify the hermeneutical issues at stake, it will be helpful to take von Rad's own approach to the law and the prophets as a point of departure for critical interaction with late nineteenth-century readings of the law and the prophets, readings which von Rad sought to improve upon.

According to von Rad, the prophets were to be located within a tradition history whose

basic movement is always forward, a movement that, given the exegetical violence upon which it is predicated, “thrusts forward violently into the future.”⁵⁶⁸ Yet as others have noted,⁵⁶⁹ this heavy emphasis on the forward momentum of the prophets, now made possible by means of von Rad’s problematic appeal to tradition history, could not help but disturb the connection between Moses and the prophets by problematizing the way in which prophecy *also* looks *back* to the law. By advancing the argument that Israel’s prophets were *sui generis*, nineteenth-century views of the prophets, pioneered by Wellhausen and others, also problematized the relation between the law and the prophets, especially the Hebrew canon’s placement of the law before the prophets. While von Rad’s tradition historical model applied a “substantial repair patch” to this approach by arguing for a tradition historical link between the prophets and early Jahwism,⁵⁷⁰ his own approach nevertheless fell short of reestablishing a reliable hermeneutical link between the prophets and the Torah, since as Rendtorff has noted elsewhere, *traditions are not the same thing as Torah*.⁵⁷¹ This is why, in terms of von Rad’s tradition historical method, a decisive break with Wellhausen’s understanding of the law and the prophets was not possible. Instead, von Rad was only able to slightly modify Wellhausen’s picture of the prophet’s as unprecedented geniuses by showing their relation, not to a stabilized Pentateuch, but to saving traditions which predated the written Torah.⁵⁷² In other words, his “repair patch” agreed with the critical consensus of his day, namely, that the prophets were not indebted to Moses or to a stable pentateuchal legacy, while at the same time arguing that the prophets were to be linked by means of tradition history to something von Rad called “early Jahwism.”

As Christopher Seitz has noted, “the effort to argue for linkages backward was entirely reliant on von Rad’s own historical reconstruction of Israel’s traditions, and the success of this

⁵⁶⁸ Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* 2.332, cited in Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, 50.

⁵⁶⁹ See now the discussion of Rendtorff’s concerns in Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, 47-51.

⁵⁷⁰ Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, 62.

⁵⁷¹ Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, 47.

⁵⁷² Cf. the remarks of Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, 62: “The prophets remained *sui generis*. Indeed, the biblical text he used as a lens on his labors in [his second] volume [of *Old Testament Theology*] was Isaiah 43:18-19: “Remember not the former things nor consider the things of old. Behold I do a new thing.”

reconstruction was never universally acknowledged; moreover, the linkages were arguably never a major factor in the accounts of the prophets that he succeeded in producing anyway, however much it is fair to say that this feature was characteristic of von Rad's approach."⁵⁷³ In other words, the reasons why the reestablishment of a viable hermeneutical link between the prophets and Torah were never a major concern for von Rad ultimately derive from his interest in hooking up the prophets with the New Testament, rather than connecting them with a stabilized Pentateuch. For this reason the significance of the prophets for biblical theology in his schema lies precisely in their forward-leaning character, a character which it was the chief purpose of von Rad's distinctive understanding of tradition history to provide. At the same time it is crucial to note that his project necessarily proceeds upon the basis of the assumption that the Old Testament canon itself is incapable of providing the needed bridge in terms of its own literary form. Whatever linkages exist for von Rad between the prophets and Torah must therefore be supplied at the level of tradition historical reconstruction, rather than the figural and eschatological linkages and affiliations on offer in the canon's own form.

Certainly von Rad's construction of a forward-moving version of tradition history, into which the prophets were then retrofitted, placed a strain upon the backward-looking glance of the prophets toward the Pentateuch. Yet a second factor also made their connection with Torah difficult as well. On the basis of tradition historical interaction with Wellhausen's documentary hypothesis, von Rad had also adjusted the traditional canonical grouping of Torah from five books to six, arguing instead for 'Hexateuch' ending with Joshua, thus shifting forward the traditional canonical division between the Former Prophets and the Law. This too rendered problematic his attempt, admittedly weak, to reconnect the prophets with the law, since the Pentateuch had now been morphed into a new sixfold literary arrangement by means of von Rad's tradition historical logic. The fact that this new morphology for the law did not disturb von Rad overmuch is doubtless due to the fact, as noted earlier, that he was more concerned to guarantee the Christian character of Old Testament prophecy than he was with relating the prophets to the law.

Be that as it may, the chief reason von Rad was unable to reconnect the prophets with the

⁵⁷³ Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, 62-3.

law stems, once again, from his commitments to the narrow concept of ‘history’ inherent in his model of tradition history. This commitment effectively prevented him from approaching the canon’s own presentation of the law and the prophets in terms of a ‘historical dimension’ on offer for providing a potential solution to hermeneutical problem at hand.⁵⁷⁴ Because of this *a priori* constraint on von Rad’s exegetical enterprise, the canon’s own presentation also exercised little or no constraining influence on his approach to typology and eschatology, a fact which ultimately thwarted his efforts to account for way in which both these realities contribute to the production of hermeneutical linkages, not only between the past and the future, but more specifically, between the law and the prophets.

Canonical-historical linkages and dialectical movement in the Old Testament canon

One can perhaps now see why, with respect to the DOL in the Twelve, those who are sympathetic to treatments of the law which emphasize its discontinuity with the age of grace ushered in by the New Testament find their tradition historical counterpart in von Rad’s approach to the law and the prophets. On this view, which is generally shared by exegetes working within the tradition of modern Lutheranism, the DOL in the prophets is not about connecting with the law, but about moving forward to Christ. The DOL has no backward looking character, not only because historical critical method has failed to demonstrate this, but also because the DOL is all about leaving the law behind and moving on to greater realities yet to come in Christ. By way of contrast with this view, in what follows it will be argued that the DOL in the Twelve looks backward to the giving of the law at Sinai, and specifically to a God who is both merciful and just (cf. Exodus 34:5-7), while at the same time pointing beyond itself to the coming of that same God to Israel and the nations in justice and in mercy. In other words, the DOL in the Twelve looks backward to the original giving of the law at Sinai,⁵⁷⁵ while also looking forward to, indeed, *generating* a missionary movement from Israel to the nations.

Following von Rad and others, the present writer deems it highly unlikely that the prophets

⁵⁷⁴ According to Seitz, von Rad’s project failed precisely because he “ignores as a properly historical dimension the final form of individual prophetic books—and also the prophetic canon itself—as communicating a crucial dimension of prophetic history” (Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, 49).

⁵⁷⁵ Interestingly, Malachi 3:1-2 (cf. 3:23) also makes use of links which connect its messenger motif with a coming DOL, and in this respect looks back to Exodus 23:20 and 32:34.

of the Twelve, and still less their redactors, were unaware of the foundational traditions of Sinai and the Exodus, whether in traditional or partially textualized form. Nor does this writer regard it as likely that events as foundational for Israel's identity as the Exodus and Sinai somehow escaped textualization until the exilic or post-exilic period.⁵⁷⁶ Be that as it may, the point to be stressed at this juncture is that the argument which follows does not turn in the final analysis upon the question whether the diachronic priority of these traditions to prophets such as Hosea and Amos can be demonstrated on historical critical grounds. Regardless of whether one can prove or fully establish these facts upon historical grounds, it remains true that a final historical judgment concerning the significance of these Pentateuchal traditions for the Twelve has registered itself in the Twelve, a fact which provides hermeneutical warrant for reading the prophets in light of the Moses.

Thus as far as the approach to the law and the prophets adopted here is concerned, the legitimacy of reading the prophets in light of the law and vice versa does not rest upon the redaction critical recovery of hidden historical indices,⁵⁷⁷ but upon the hermeneutical signals and canonical indices placed within the Book of Twelve and the Law itself (see Mal. 3:22-23; cf. Mal 3:1 with Ex. 23:20-21; 32:34; Deut. 18:15). These hermeneutical indices serve to establish a larger canonical framework in which the law and the prophets are *now* hermeneutically and theologically *connected*.⁵⁷⁸ In other words, these indices form a bridge between the law and the prophets which constrains us to understand the relationship between the law and the prophets, not

⁵⁷⁶ See further notes 616 and 646 below.

⁵⁷⁷ Cf. the critical discussion of the redactional methodology employed by Frank Cross in Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 300-301. Childs argues that Cross's redaction critical approach to reconstructing the Deuteronomistic History proceeds upon the assumption that the "the key to the text's shape lies in some force outside the text requiring a reconstruction of the *hidden indices*" (emphasis added). For this reason the end result of Cross's method is "to reverse the priorities of the canonical text, either by bringing into the foreground features left in the background, or by providing a referential position from which to evaluate the rightness or wrongness of the canonical intent." In other words, Cross's method substitutes hitherto hidden historical indices, now brought to light by redaction critical methods, for the canonical indices provided by Scripture itself.

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. the like-minded stance found in Odil Steck, *The Prophetic Books and their Theological Witness*, 16: "Hence, in our method the only observations of indicators and interrelationships that play a role are those in which the text of the book itself (as a historical entity at the time of its formation) *signals how it wants to be received using the configuration and assertions of its vocabulary*" (emphasis added).

merely in terms of a simple one-directional movement forward from the law to the prophets,⁵⁷⁹ but also in terms of a move *back* from the prophets to the law, thereby enabling us to see the way in which the prophets and their tradents expand upon the law even while being constrained by it.

In addition to these signals, it should be also be noted in passing that editorial efforts to constrain the interpretation of the Twelve by coordinating its witness with other books outside the Twelve are not limited to Malachi, and therefore do not constitute an otherwise isolated phenomenon in the Twelve, but also find expression in the book of Micah, the latter of which directs its readers to Isaiah (cf. Mic. 4:1-5 with Is. 2:2-5) as well as Jeremiah (cf. Mic. 3:12 with Jer. 26:18).⁵⁸⁰ The text of Malachi 3:22 in particular expresses a canonical intentionality with respect to the law and the prophets which not only seeks to coordinate the Twelve with the laws of Moses, but also places a canonical check upon the practice of reading the Twelve in isolation from Torah. It is important to note, however, that the hermeneutical linkage between the prophets and the law do not merely proceed in one direction from the prophets back to Moses.

Deuteronomy 18:15 also provides another canonical link between Moses and the Twelve which directs readers from the law to the prophets. Moreover, as Seitz has astutely pointed out, the presence of these links in both Malachi and Deuteronomy is not mitigated in any way by the fact that the Latter prophets are positioned last in our English Bibles, nor by the fact that the books immediately following the Torah are referred to in our English Bibles as the Historical Books.⁵⁸¹

The preceding discussion should help clear the way for the claim being argued in the following chapter, namely, that the final canonical editing performed on the Twelve now constrains one to read its presentation in light of the Pentateuch, a claim further buttressed by the

⁵⁷⁹ This straightforward movement of the law to the prophets has been succinctly summarized by Luther as follows: “Prophetia enim nihil aliud quam expositio et (ut sic dixerim) praxis et applicatio legis fuit,” that is, “prophecy is nothing more than the exposition and practical application of the law” (cited in Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, 66). The notion that prophecy also promoted a retrospective reading which registered itself upon the developing corpus of the law does not form a component in premodernity’s understanding of the law and the prophets. It nevertheless remains true that traditional exegesis was able to freely move back from the prophets to the law as a matter of reading practice. Since ‘canon’ formed the boundaries within which God’s word was to be heard, a backward move from the prophets to the law posed no problem for the reading strategies of premodernity.

⁵⁸⁰ See now the discussion of the hermeneutical significance of these signals in Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, 125-30.

⁵⁸¹ Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, 66-7.

constraining influence of Exodus 32-34 upon Hosea. The manifold presence of ‘visitation texts’ in the book of Hosea (1:4; 2:15; 4:9, 14; 8:13; 9:9; 12:3), as well as their redactional impact upon a key hermeneutical juncture in the book of Amos (3:2, 14), also points to the canonical influence and significance of texts such as Exodus 32:34 for the editing of Hosea and Amos, as well as the way in which Exodus 32-34 informs the theological function of the DOL in the prologue of Hosea. It is important to stress once again that the intentionality which produced this state of affairs is not to be dismissed or downgraded as though it were somehow inferior to the more narrow intentionality associated with the original authorial intent and historical context of the traditions found in Exodus 32-34. If nothing else, the earlier analysis of Andrew Lee’s hermeneutic demonstrates that it is a mistake to sharply distinguish the intentionality at work in the authorial level of tradition from the intentions at work in its later textualization and editorial expansion. In like fashion, the earlier analysis of Wolfe and Barton also suggests that it is a mistake to privilege the original historical context of these intentions over their later editorial expansion. In sum, the intentions of those who textualized the Sinai and Exodus traditions now take their place as a part of a larger canonical intentionality constrained by the canon’s own presentation of the material. Of course this does not mean that the diachronic concerns of traditional historical criticism are now to be entirely dismissed as irrelevant. On the other hand, neither does it mean that they are to be allowed to overcome the larger canonical intentionality expressed in the final form and literary arrangement of the law and the prophets.

VII. The DOL and Hosea’s prologue

Critical engagement with the Twelve’s modern reception history suggests that with few exceptions, attempts to come to terms with the peculiar character of the prophetic intentionality in the Twelve reflect the continuing impact of historicism and its hermeneutical legacy upon the study of Old Testament prophecy. As a result the key roles played by theological pressures and the hermeneutical significance of canon in the Twelve’s formation history continue to be marginalized, particularly with respect to attempts to account for the DOL in the prophets and the eschatological and typological moves involved in prophecy’s interpretive expansion. In what follows an attempt will be made to constructively address these problems by focusing upon the opening chapters of Hosea and the interpretive use of the redactional connective **בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא** (“in/on that day”) in

Hosea 1:5 and 2:23. As noted at the outset of this study,⁵⁸² these ‘DOL texts’ and their larger theological significance for the Twelve have been virtually eclipsed by the central hermeneutical role assigned to Joel by the Twelve’s modern interpreters. Consequently the theological instruction offered by Hosea’s prologue on the DOL, as well as its additional contribution to the Twelve’s hermeneutical logic via the ‘wisdom coda’ in Hosea 14:10, have not been given their proper due, exegetically speaking. The following study will attempt to provide redress for this imbalance by arguing that Hosea’s prologue establishes a theological context for the logic of prophecy, Yahweh’s name, and the DOL which the wisdom coda in Hosea 14:10 both embraces and extends for readers of Joel through Malachi by establishing hermeneutical guidelines for the “wise” interpretation of prophecy. However, rather than proceeding directly to an analysis of Hosea 1:4-5 and 2:23-25 at this point, this study’s goal of producing a theological exegesis of ‘DOL texts’ in Hosea’s prologue will be better served by first providing a general terminological introduction to the DOL and its conceptual equivalents in the Twelve, followed by an overview of the hermeneutical issues raised by its tradition historical origins.

The Day of the Lord and its conceptual equivalents in the Twelve

In a paper delivered at the 1999 meeting of the Seminar on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve, James Nogalski provided a helpful summary of texts which invoke the DOL and its conceptual equivalents in the Twelve.⁵⁸³ While some have attempted to limit the discussion to explicit references to the formula **יִהְיֶה יוֹם**, Nogalski rightly recognizes that other temporal phrases are often used in the Twelve to invoke the DOL, and therefore function as conceptual equivalents.⁵⁸⁴ Explicit references to the formula **יִהְיֶה יוֹם** occur 12 times in the Twelve and span five books,⁵⁸⁵ with the majority of usages in a single book occurring in Joel (5x) and Zephaniah (3x). Other phrases which are closely related to **יִהְיֶה יוֹם** include **יוֹם צָרָה** (a day of

⁵⁸² See notes 20 and 21 above.

⁵⁸³ James Nogalski, “The Days(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve,” *SBL Seminar Papers 1999* (SBLSP 38; Atlanta: SBL, 1999) 617-42.

⁵⁸⁴ See the essay cited by Nogalski by A. Joseph Everson, “The Days of YHWH,” *JBL* 93 (1974) 329-37.

⁵⁸⁵ Joel 1:15; 2:1, 11; 3:4; 4:14; Amos 5:18, 20; Obad 15; Zeph 1:7, 14 (2x); Mal 3:23.

trouble) and אַף־יְהוָה יוֹם (the day of the wrath of Yahweh). The phrase יוֹם צָרָה is used in parallel with יְהוָה יוֹם in Zeph 1:14-15 and occurs in both Nahum 1:7 and Habakkuk 3:16, while the expression אַף־יְהוָה יוֹם occurs 2 times in the Twelve in Zeph 2:2-3.

A syntactical variant לַיְהוָה יוֹם (a day belonging to YHWH) occurs in Zech 14:1 and appears to be associated elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible with a day of ritual consecration or celebration, especially in the Pentateuch,⁵⁸⁶ though it should be noted that Pentateuchal texts always insert the definite article הַ before יוֹם. While all DOL texts in the prophets pertain to God's intervention in history,⁵⁸⁷ whether for weal or woe, in Pentateuchal texts the phrase לַיְהוָה יוֹם is normally used in a cultic sense to refer to a special day of celebration or consecration to Yahweh. Nevertheless, as Exodus 32:27-29 demonstrates, the historical and cultic senses of the DOL are closely related.⁵⁸⁸ As a result, the historical and cultic meanings associated with the DOL often overlap with one another and cannot be easily separated. In Exodus 32:27-28, for example, the day of judgment upon Israel for their worship of the golden calf involves the Mosaic bestowal of a special blessing upon the Levites (Exodus 32:29) for their role as the executors of Yahweh's judgment. In these verses, the day of judgment and consecration are one.

Among the more significant conceptual equivalents to the DOL in the Twelve are the three temporal formulas וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא (and it will happen in that day), בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא (in/on that day), and בְּאַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים (and it will happen in the latter days). The closely related twin

⁵⁸⁶ See Exod 16:25; 32:29; Lev 23:34; Deut 26:3; 1 Chr 29:5.

⁵⁸⁷ See James Nogalski, "The Days(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve," 621: "All prophetic day of the YHWH texts presume a point of divine intervention into human events."

⁵⁸⁸ See the essay "The Day of the Lord" in *The Dictionary of Biblical Theology* (ed. Xavier Leon-Dufour; trans. P. Joseph Cahill; New York: Desclee Co., 1967) 89-93, esp. 89: "Worship commemorates and proclaims God's intervention in history."

formulas **וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא** and **בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא** occur 40 times in the Twelve,⁵⁸⁹ and function editorially as introductory temporal formulas for attaching redactional appendages.⁵⁹⁰ As redactional connectives, these temporal formulas synchronize earlier prophecies with later interpretive expansions.⁵⁹¹ The same also holds true in general for the introductory temporal formula **הִנֵּה בַּיָּמִים הַהֵמָּה** (Behold, in those days).⁵⁹² On the other hand, the temporal formulas **וְהָיָה בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים** (and it will happen in the latter days) and **הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים** (Behold, the days are coming) tend to distinguish what follows from what precedes, thus creating a *sequential* rather than *synchronous* relationship with earlier prophecies.⁵⁹³

The tradition historical origins of the DOL

In his 1975 commentary on the book of Zephaniah, Arvid Kapelrud reflected on the DOL and the various theories on offer for explaining its origin.⁵⁹⁴ With respect to Amos' usage of the concept, Kapelrud wrote: "It has usually been supposed that Amos turned the idea of the Day

⁵⁸⁹ Hos. 1:5; 2:18; 2:20; 2:23; Joel 4:18; Amos 2:16; 8:3, 9, 13; 9:11; Obad 1:8; Mic 2:4; 4:6; 5:9; Zeph 1:9, 10; 3:11, 16; Hag 2:23; Zech 2:15; 3:10; 6:10; 9:16; 11:11; 12:3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11; 13:1, 2, 4; 14:4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 20, 21. Cf. also Micah 7:11, 12 which lack the preposition **ב**.

⁵⁹⁰ See Simon DeVries, "Futurism in the Preexilic Minor Prophets Compared with That of the Postexilic Minor Prophets," *SBL Seminar Papers, 2001* (SBLSP 40; Atlanta: SBL, 2001) 19-38, esp. 19-20. Cf. also his more lengthy study *From Old Revelation to New: A Tradition-Historical and Redaction-Critical Study of Temporal Transitions in Prophetic Prediction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995).

⁵⁹¹ See DeVries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 43-55; idem, "Futurism in the Preexilic Minor Prophets," 21.

⁵⁹² The formula **הִנֵּה בַּיָּמִים הַהֵמָּה** occurs 4 times in the book of the Twelve in two books (Joel 3:2; 4:1; Zech 8:6, 23).

⁵⁹³ The temporal transition **וְהָיָה בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים** occurs in Micah 4:1, while **הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים** occurs in twice in Amos (8:11; 9:13) in the Twelve. Cf. the analysis of Amos 8:11-14 and 9:11-15 in Joseph Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament* (SBLDS 86; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 181-82. Following an earlier study by DeVries, Groves argues that the redactional connective "on that day" (Amos 9:11) forms a synchronic connection with what precedes it, whereas "Behold the days are coming" (Amos 8:11) tends to dissociate what follows from what precedes, and thus creates a sequence. Thus "on that day" creates a synchronous relationship, while "Behold the days are coming" creates a sequential relationship. Cf. also Simon J. DeVries, *Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow: Time and History in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968).

⁵⁹⁴ Arvid S. Kapelrud, *The Message of the Prophet Zephaniah: Morphology and Ideas* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1975) 80-87.

around, and that conception is still dominant. The question remains, however, how he could do so.”⁵⁹⁵ Kapelrud’s observation raises an important issue. Given the popular expectation in Amos’ day that the DOL would be a day of judgment upon the enemies of Yahweh’s people, how did Amos come to conceive of it as a dark day of judgment for Israel? As noted earlier, von Rad intuitively sensed the importance of this question and argued that the DOL originated in Amos’ creative revitalization of Israel’s ancient holy war traditions. Over against Gunkel and Gressmann, both of whom attempted to ground the origins of the DOL in the external milieu and mythological practices of the ancient Near East,⁵⁹⁶ von Rad sought to account for the DOL in terms of the internal dynamic at work in the prophetic actualization of Israel’s saving traditions. At the same time he recognized the presence of novelty in Amos’ concept of the DOL, since Israel’s holy war traditions were based upon the assumption that Yahweh’s day of judgment-battle would be directed against Israel’s enemies, whereas the DOL in Amos 5:18-20 is directed against Israel itself.

While von Rad’s argument offers a partial resolution to the hermeneutical dilemma raised by Kapelrud, on his view there is a real sense in which it fails to fully engage the issue. According to Kapelrud, this dilemma “cannot be given a satisfying answer when we apply von Rad’s theory,” since it fails to explain “how Amos could emphasize an idea of the Day which was surely not identical with the main conception of the people” and ultimately leaves “too many problems unresolved.”⁵⁹⁷ Kapelrud then goes on to argue that the DOL “had its origin in Assyrian-Babylon ideology of the great god determining the fate of men at the great annual festival,” a position he arrives at by modifying the views of both Mowinckel and L. Černý.⁵⁹⁸ Accordingly, he reads Amos 5:18-20 as an *ambiguous* statement on the DOL which could be either light or darkness, depending on “the determination of the destiny which Yahweh was going to perform.”⁵⁹⁹ However, given

⁵⁹⁵ Kapelrud, *The Message of the Prophet Zephaniah*, 81.

⁵⁹⁶ Cf. Kapelrud, *Message*, 83.

⁵⁹⁷ Kapelrud, *Message*, 82.

⁵⁹⁸ Kapelrud, *Message*, 83-87, quote from 87.

⁵⁹⁹ Kapelrud, *Message*, 85.

Amos' clear insistence that the DOL would be darkness rather than light, Kapelrud's reading of Amos 5:18-20 seems unlikely. For this reason it too fails to account for Amos' departure from the *status quo* or received reading of the DOL at work in Amos' own day. Moreover, although Kapelrud's view differs on a material level from the views of both Gunkel and Gressmann, on a formal and methodological level it clearly bears a family resemblance to the method of *Religionsgeschichte*, since it ultimately accounts for the origins of the DOL by drawing parallels between comparative data gleaned from the ancient Near East and prophetic usage of the DOL. In the end Kapelrud's view represents an attempt to revise and refine the conclusions Gunkel and Gressmann arrived at by means of the method of *Religionsgeschichte*. The hermeneutical problems raised by the comparative method have already been discussed, and need not be rehearsed here.

In an essay published six years after Kapelrud's commentary, Yair Hoffman offers an alternative account of the DOL which, in a manner reminiscent of von Rad's approach, attempts to find a source for its origins *within* biblical tradition rather than relying upon external comparisons with ancient Near East data.⁶⁰⁰ Hoffman suggests that prophetic applications of the DOL found in the Book of the Twelve reflect the influence of the Elijah traditions contained in the narrative of 1 Kings 18, especially verses 38-40, which describe a judgment theophany that results in the judgment of both Baalism and the prophets of Baal. On his view, the prophetic concept of the DOL probably originated in connection with this judgment theophany on behalf of Israel. He buttresses his case for this claim by pointing out the connection between the DOL and the extinction of the remnant of Baal in Zephaniah (cf. Zeph. 1:4 with 1:14-15),⁶⁰¹ as well as the association of Elijah with the DOL in Malachi 3:23. He also makes reference to a number of similarities in language and imagery between the DOL in Zephaniah and 1 Kings 18:38-40, for example, the use of the Hebrew verb אכל (to consume or devour) to describe the fire of Jehovah (אש־יהוה) in 1 Kings 18:38 which consumes all within its path and which finds a significant echo

⁶⁰⁰ Yair Hoffman, "The Day of the Lord," *ZAW* 93 (1981) 37-50, esp. 44-5.

⁶⁰¹ Hosea 2:18-19 also illustrates this connection, although Hoffman does not appeal to this passage in support of his argument, apparently because he is limiting his discussion to explicit usages of the phrase יום־יהוה.

in the all-consuming fire of God's jealousy described in Zeph. 1:18 and 3:8 (וּבַאֵשׁ קִנְאָתוֹ). A further connection between the events related in 1 Kings 18:38-40 and Zephaniah's usage of the DOL is reflected in Zeph. 1:7, where the DOL involves the preparation of a sacrifice (זֶבַח) for Yahweh's consecrated guests which is then styled "a day of sacrifice" (יוֹם זֶבַח יְהוָה) in Zeph. 1:8. Although the term זֶבַח normally denotes a sacrifice, its semantic range does include the idea of slaughter. This may be seen, for instance, in the parallel use of זֶבַח with טָבַח (slaughter) in Isaiah 34:6. Hence Hoffman regards the judgment-slaughter depicted in 1 Kings 18:38-40 as a prototype for Zephaniah's construction of the concept of the DOL, though he recognizes that the phrase *yom Yahweh* itself was probably borrowed from the language of Amos 5:18-20. Finally, he also suggests that the popular expectation in Amos' day that the DOL would be a dark day of judgment against Israel's enemies stems from the continuing influence of the Elijah tradition related in 1 Kings 18:38-40, wherein Yahweh's judgment theophany clearly results in judgment upon Israel's enemies. As many commentators have noted, the *Volkseschatologie* which appears to be implicit in Amos 5:18-20 fits rather nicely with the period of blessing and territorial expansion which the northern kingdom was then experiencing under Jeroboam II's reign.⁶⁰²

While Hoffman's theory rightly notes the connection in Zephaniah's prophecies between the DOL and the extermination of Baalism, the linguistic connection between these prophecies and the judgment-slaughter depicted in 1 Kings 18:40 is rather lean. Although it is true that the term זֶבַח is used in parallel with טָבַח in Isaiah 34:6, 1 Kings 18:40 uses a third term (שָׂחַט) to describe Elijah's act of judgment-slaughter executed upon the prophets of Baal. Moreover, the extermination of Baalism accounts for only a small percentage of the themes associated with the DOL in the Twelve, a fact readily attested to by the paucity of examples Hoffman himself provides. Of greater significance for the purposes of this study is the observation that the theories of Hoffman and Kapelrud, albeit based upon different methodological approaches, nevertheless fail to explain the basis for Amos' radical departure in Amos 5:18-20 from a reading of the DOL which

⁶⁰² On the concept of *Volkseschatologie* in Amos 5:18-20, see J. van der Ploeg, "Eschatology in the Old Testament," *Oudtestamentische Studien* 17 (1972) 90-99, esp. 95.

was presumably already popular in his day. As a result, the historical prophet Amos emerges as an innovative and revolutionary figure who turned the popular expectations in his day upside down “by suggesting that Israel could also be numbered among God’s enemies.”⁶⁰³ Such a view tends to lend support to a one-sided reading of Amos, reminiscent of Wellhausen and akin to that of Barton, by making the prophet stand out in sharp relief from the traditions that preceded him.⁶⁰⁴ At the end of the day, the views of Kapelrud and Hoffman fail to provide redress for this imbalanced reading of Amos’ concept of the DOL, and this points up the need for a fresh approach to the issue.

A canonical answer to Kapelrud’s tradition historical dilemma

Are there no precedents for reading the DOL as a day of judgment *upon Israel* prior to Amos? In the paragraphs that follow, an alternative proposal to the theories of Kapelrud and Hoffman will be advanced which takes as its starting point the complex of events surrounding the Sinai traditions found in the book of Exodus. Study of the linguistic and conceptual links between the Sinai theophany (Exodus 19-24), the golden calf incident (Exodus 32-34), and DOL texts will suggest that the Twelve’s deployment of the DOL borrows from the language and imagery of these traditions, especially the description of Yahweh’s judgment upon Israel in Exodus 32. At the same time it should be stressed that the way forward from the tradition historical impasse noted by Kapelrud does not lie in a renewed pursuit of the diachronic project inaugurated by von Rad and others, a project which would inevitably involve the relocation of Amos’ DOL prophecy on a tradition historical trajectory, thereby detaching it from the Twelve’s canonical form. On the contrary, in what follows it will be argued that the tradition historical dilemma associated with the origins of Amos’ DOL prophecy has *already* been anticipated *and* addressed by the Twelve’s canonical form.

Stated differently, the resolution of Kapelrud’s dilemma lies in recognizing that the Twelve’s final form has already rendered a critical judgment on the question of the tradition historical origins of Amos’ DOL prophecy. Regardless of whether those origins can now be identified, the fact remains that the Twelve’s final form has located both the historical prophet

⁶⁰³ J.J.M Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991) 177.

⁶⁰⁴ See above the discussion of Barton’s reading of Amos 5:18-20.

Amos and his prophecies within a larger concert of voices. Thus the man Amos and the DOL prophecy found in Amos 5 no longer stand out as revolutionaries without a past, but now take their place among other prophetic voices in the Twelve, a fact which Kapelrud's continuing commitments to the hermeneutics of tradition history prevent him from seeing. The historical prophet Amos is now presented, not as *primus inter pares*, but as 'a prophet amongst prophets' in the Twelve. In like fashion his declaration of the coming DOL is now placed, not first among the Twelve's prophetic voices, but third following Hosea and Joel. As a result, whatever Amos' DOL prophecy may have once meant historically has now constrained toward a larger theological purpose and agenda by the Twelve's tradents. In the linguistic and conceptual analysis which follows, therefore, Amos' DOL prophecy is examined first for the purposes of maintaining continuity with the issues raised by Kapelrud, and not for reasons stemming from either diachronic concerns or tacit commitments to the hermeneutics of *traditionsgeschichte*.

The DOL in the Twelve and the Sinai traditions

On a linguistic level, Amos's use of the language of "darkness" (חֹשֶׁךְ) to describe the coming of Yahweh in judgment finds no verbal counterpart in the Sinai theophany of Exodus 19-24.⁶⁰⁵ Nevertheless, Amos' use of the imagery of "darkness" to describe the judgment parousia of Yahweh finds a precedent in the Sinai theophany tradition found in Exodus 20:21, the latter of which describes Yahweh's visible presence on Mount Sinai in terms of "thick darkness" (הָעֲרָפֶל). Moreover, both Zephaniah and Joel exploit the Sinai traditions of Exodus 19-24, making use of its theophanic language and imagery to describe the coming of Yahweh in judgment. Admittedly, both Zephaniah and Joel make use of the same vocabulary of "darkness and gloom" found in Amos 5:20 to describe the DOL.⁶⁰⁶ However, they also make use of theophanic imagery that clearly invokes the Sinai theophany traditions in Exodus 19-24, especially in their description of the DOL as "a day of clouds and thick darkness" (Zeph. 1:15; Joel 2:2; cf. Ex. 19:16; 20:21; 24:15-16), heralded by quaking (Joel 2:10; cf. Ex. 19:18) and the sound of the dread trumpet (Zeph. 1:16; Joel

⁶⁰⁵ Outside the Sinai traditions, the term finds a *verbal* precedent in the context of the plague judgments upon Egypt. See Exodus 10:22.

⁶⁰⁶ Zephaniah appears to be dependent upon Amos for his use of the vocabulary of "darkness and gloom" in Zephaniah 1:15, while Joel 2:2 appears to be dependent upon Zephaniah rather than Amos.

2:1; cf. Ex. 19:16), along with the devouring fire of Yahweh's wrath which consumes all within its path (אֶכְלֵם; Zeph. 1:18; Joel 2:3; cf. Ex. 24:17) and puts an end to Yahweh's enemies (כָּלָה; Zeph. 1:18; Nah. 1:8-9; cf. Ex. 32:10, 12; 33:3, 5).⁶⁰⁷ As the latter references suggest, prophetic usage of DOL texts in the Twelve also reflect the influence of the broader golden calf traditions in Exodus 32-34. Indeed, the judgment-slaughter executed upon apostate Israel in Exodus 32:27ff. is foreshadowed in Exodus 32:10, where Yahweh voices to Moses his desire to put an end (כָּלָה) to Israel for their worship of the golden calf and rebellion against his revealed word. This connection between Yahweh's judgment and the extinction of his enemies finds expression in a number of DOL texts in the Twelve, some of which make use of the same Hebrew verb found in the golden calf narrative (Zeph. 1:18; Nah. 1:8-9), while others make use of a different verb that communicates essentially the same idea (Hosea 1:4).

In contrast to the broader golden calf tradition in Exodus 32-34, the Sinai theophany described in Exodus 19-24 occurs in the context of Yahweh's revelation of his commandments, rather than his judgment *per se*. Nevertheless it is important to recognize that the collective witness of the Sinai traditions in Exodus 19-24/32-34 present a fairly unified depiction of Yahweh in which the revelation of his word through Moses the prototypical prophet-mediator, the revelation of his name, and his coming in judgment cohere together as aspects of single reality, and thus cannot be theologically or hermeneutically isolated from one another. Thus the revelation of Yahweh's word given through Moses in Exodus 20-23 forms the basis for his guidance of Israel in the wilderness, because the divine word given to Moses is consistent with Yahweh's name or character (Exodus 23:21; cf. 20:24). The same holds true for the judgment theophany of Yahweh in Exodus 32. The coming of Yahweh in judgment goes hand-in-hand with Israel's transgression of the divine word given through Moses (cf. Exodus 32:10 with 32:7-8) and rebellion against those appointed to represent his name-character before Israel (Exodus 23:21; cf. 34:7).

In other words, Amos' later application of theophanic imagery in the context of judgment

⁶⁰⁷ Another possible connection between the Sinai traditions and DOL texts in the Twelve may be found in Zephaniah 2:2. Zephaniah's phrase אֶלֶיְכֶם חָרֹן אַף־יְהוָה makes use of vocabulary found in Exodus 32:10 (יִיחַר־אַפִּי בָהֶם) to describe the burning anger of Yahweh against his people on the day of God's wrath.

upon Israel (Amos 5:18-20) finds a conceptual precedent in the theological links established in Exodus 19-24/32-34 between the revelation of Yahweh's name, the transgression of his revealed word through Moses the prophet, and his coming in judgment. Of special interest is the fact that the Sinai traditions preserved in Exodus 32 bear witness to the idea of a day of judgment-visitation *upon Israel*, a judgment which entailed the judgment-slaughter of three thousand Israelites (Exodus 32:28).⁶⁰⁸ On a conceptual level, therefore, the possibility that these events may have functioned as a source for Amos' otherwise novel notion that the DOL would be a day of judgment *upon Israel*, as well as Zephaniah's notion that the DOL will be a day of sacrificial slaughter targeting the Judean royalty and officials in his day,⁶⁰⁹ is certainly plausible. These observations also suggest that the concept of a judgment-slaughter in Zephaniah's DOL recognized by Hoffman may in fact trace back to the judgment-slaughter of the Israelites at Sinai for their worship of "gods of gold" (אֱלֹהֵי זָהָב, Exodus 32:31), rather than the Elijah traditions *per se*.

Although the preceding discussion points up the fact that linguistic links between the Sinai traditions and certain DOL passages in the Twelve are not lacking, in the case of Amos' DOL prophecy the argument thus far has largely relied upon conceptual parallels. Before proceeding further in the hope of strengthening the linguistic argument for linking Amos' usage of the DOL with the Sinai traditions, two points must be borne in mind, both of which have been previously anticipated. First, Amos' use of the concept of the DOL is not limited to the *terminus technicus* יוֹם יְהוָה found in Amos 5:18-20, but also finds expression in the temporal formulas found in

⁶⁰⁸ While Exodus 32:28 also makes use of the language בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא (in/on that day) in connection with Yahweh's judgment upon Israel, DeVries is probably right in classifying this usage as an instance of "the commonly attested genre of 'casualty report'..." See DeVries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 41, esp. note 11. Cf. also the similar usage in Joshua 8:25.

⁶⁰⁹ Most regard the *Sitz im Leben* of Zephaniah's proclamation of the DOL to be the Feast of Ingathering, a deduction based upon the repeated use of the Hebrew root אָסַף (see Zeph. 1:2-3; cf. Exodus 23:16). See for example Arvid S. Kapelrud, *The Message of the Prophet Zephaniah: Morphology and Ideas* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1975) 22; cf. also J.J.M Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah: A Commentary*, 169. Yet as Kapelrud and others have pointed out, this feast would not be what the people expected. Rather, it was Yahweh himself who would be "gathering in" the people for the purpose of judgment. Likewise, the sacrifices offered at this festival would not be what is normally expected. Rather, the people of Judah would be the sacrifice and the consecrated guests invited to witness this event would either be invading foreign armies or birds of prey to feast upon their flesh (Zeph. 1:7; cf. J.J.M. Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, 178).

Amos 3:14, 8:11, 9:11 and 13. Secondly, the linguistic arguments which follow are not aimed at constructing an ‘airtight case’ for the historical origins of Amos’ DOL prophecy. The paucity of linguistic evidence linking Amos 5:18-20 to the Sinai traditions has already been noted, and in any case, constructing such a case is not only impossible, but also misguided. The historical meaning of Amos’ DOL prophecy has now been constrained toward a theological end by the final form of the Twelve and its tradents. Therefore any attempt to penetrate behind the canonical presentation of Amos 5:18-20 necessarily runs counter to the prophetic intentionality which ultimately produced that presentation. On the contrary, Amos 5:18-20 must now be heard, not only in relation to DOL texts in Hosea and Joel, but also in relation to other DOL texts within the book of Amos. Only in this way can the pseudo-problem constructed by Kapelrud be recognized for what it is and the Twelve’s proper role as the broker of Amos’ DOL prophecies *and* their meaning be affirmed.

The Day of Yahweh’s Visitation in Exodus 32:34, the Twelve, and Amos

Stronger linguistic links between the DOL in the Twelve and the Sinai traditions may be established by means of a closer look at Exodus 32:34. The verse describes a day of judgment-visitation in which Yahweh promises to punish apostate Israel for their worship of the golden calf (וּבַיּוֹם פָּקְדֵי וּפְקֻדָּתִי עֲלֵיהֶם חֲטָאתָם), “but *in the day when I visit*, I will visit their sin upon them”). The language of Exodus 32:34 finds significant echoes in a number of DOL texts in the Book of the Twelve, for example, Hosea 9:7 (“the days of visitation have come”),⁶¹⁰ Amos 3:14 (“For in the day that I visit the transgressions of Israel upon him, I will visit the altars of Bethel”),⁶¹¹ Micah 7:4 (“the day of your watchmen, even your visitation, has come”),⁶¹² Zephaniah 1:8 (“And it shall come to pass in the day of the Lord’s sacrifice that I will visit upon the princes”),⁶¹³ and Zephaniah 1:9 (“And in that day I will visit upon all those who leap over the

⁶¹⁰ בָּאוּ יְמֵי הַפְּקֻדָּה.

⁶¹¹ כִּי בַיּוֹם פָּקְדֵי פִשְׁעֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל עָלָיו וּפְקֻדָּתִי עַל־מִזְבְּחוֹת בֵּית־אֵל.

⁶¹² יוֹם מִצְפִּיד פְּקֻדָּתְךָ בָּאָה.

⁶¹³ וְהָיָה בַיּוֹם זָבַח יְהוָה וּפְקֻדָּתִי עַל־הַשָּׂרִים.

threshold”).⁶¹⁴ In Zephaniah 1:8-9, the first person singular form of the qal perfect for the verb “visit” (וּפְקַדְתִּי) is clearly linked with temporal clauses commonly associated with the DOL in the Twelve (וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם and הָהוּא בַּיּוֹם in verses 1:8 and 1:9 respectively), a construction which resembles the language of Exodus 32:34. However, the parallel use of the qal infinitive construct פְּקֹדֵי followed by the first person singular verb וּפְקַדְתִּי in both Exodus 32:34 and Amos 3:14 is especially striking.

To be sure, the possibility exists that the temporal construction וּבַיּוֹם פְּקֹדֵי וּפְקַדְתִּי in Exodus 32:34 represents a later redaction of an earlier tradition, in which case its *diachronic* relationship to Hosea 9:7, Amos 3:14, Micah 7:4, and Zephaniah 1:8-9 remains somewhat unclear. However it should be further noted that in addition to texts which temporalize the use of the verb פִּקַּד in the Twelve, the book of Hosea frequently makes use of פִּקַּד to speak of Yahweh’s decision to “visit” Israel’s sins upon her (Hosea 1:4, 2:15, 4:9, 8:13, 12:3). Given the oft-noted influence of the broader golden calf tradition upon Hosea,⁶¹⁵ as well as the comparative frequency of “visitation texts” in Hosea, the burden of proof would seem to be upon those who grant diachronic priority to Hosea’s visitation texts over the visitation text preserved in Exodus 32:34.⁶¹⁶

Be that as it may, the theological relationship between Yahweh’s name or “ways” (cf. Exodus 33:13 with Exodus 34:5-7) and DOL texts in the Twelve forms the surest basis for arguing that these texts have been heavily influenced by the Sinai traditions found in Exodus 32-34. Indeed, the opening chapters of the Twelve signal the theological presence and hermeneutical

⁶¹⁴ וּפְקַדְתִּי עַל כָּל-הַדּוֹלָג עַל-הַמִּפְתָּן בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא.

⁶¹⁵ See R.C. van Leeuwen, “Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve,” *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott, and W. J. Wiseman; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993) 32 n. 9 and 34 n. 17.

⁶¹⁶ While the relationships between Exodus 19-24/32-34 and DOL texts in Hosea, Amos, Micah and Zephaniah do not require the assumption that the book of Exodus existed in completed form by the eighth century B.C., neither do they require the equally untenable assumption that the Sinai traditions existed only in oral form prior to the exile. In all likelihood some form of these influential traditions existed in written form in the days of the historical prophets Hosea and Amos. Van Leeuwen has rightly noted that “Hosea’s use of the name ‘Not-My-People’ appears to presuppose some form of the golden calf narrative, as do his references to calves (8:4-5; 13:2; cf. 14:4).” See R.C. van Leeuwen, “Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve,” 34 n. 17.

significance of this connection for its reading process from the outset,⁶¹⁷ thereby lending substantial support to the claim that Hosea's tradents interpreted the DOL in light of their knowledge of the day of Yahweh's visitation and the revelation of his name preserved in the Sinai traditions (Exodus 32:34 and 34:5-7). To this may be added the observation that the usage of פָּקַד in Amos 3:2 (אֶפְקֹד עֲלֵיכֶם אֵת כָּל-עֲוֹנוֹתֵיכֶם, "I will visit upon you all your iniquities") appears to be dependent upon 'visitation texts' found in Hosea 4:9 (וּפָקַדְתִּי עָלָיו דְּרָכָיו), "And I will visit upon him all his ways") and 8:13 (יִזְכֵּר עֲוֹנֵם וַיִּפְקֹד חַטָּאוֹתֵם), "He will remember their iniquities and visit their sins").⁶¹⁸ The fact that Amos' editors borrowed language from Hosea (Amos 3:2), as well as Exodus 32:34 (Amos 3:14), strongly suggests that they were following the practice established by Hosea's editors of interpreting the DOL in light of the broader golden calf traditions. Along with Jeremias' argument that Hosea and Amos were edited with an eye toward one another at the initial level of the Twelve's formation, these observations further strengthen the claim that Hosea's opening chapters function as a hermeneutical prologue to the Twelve, especially with respect to the way in which they constrain the interpretation of the DOL for readers of Joel and Amos. In other words, the meaning of Amos' DOL prophecies for readers of the Twelve has been shaped by the hermeneutical impact of a particular theological stance on the DOL established by the editors of Hosea's prologue. In what follows a closer look at the theological relationships between prophecy, Yahweh's name, and the DOL in Hosea's prologue is therefore mandated by their defining significance for the Twelve.

Prophecy, Yahweh's name, and the DOL in Hosea's prologue

The opening chapters of Hosea form a crucial plank in the case buttressing the claim that the redactors of the Twelve interpreted the DOL in light of what they knew of Yahweh's character as revealed in the attribute formula or *Gnadenformel* found in Exodus 34:5-7. In keeping with the

⁶¹⁷ Cf. van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy," 34 n. 17: "...the prominence given the Exodus 34:6 tradition at the very onset of the Twelve has important repercussions for the theological shape and agenda of the Twelve as developed by its redactors." On the defining significance of beginnings and endings for the interpretation of biblical books, see for example Isaac B. Gottlieb, "Sof Davar: Biblical Endings," *Prooftext* 11 (1991) 213-24.

⁶¹⁸ See Jörg Jeremias, "The Interrelationship between Amos and Hosea," 171-186.

interrelated threefold pattern found in the Sinai traditions in Exodus 19-24/32-34, Hosea's prologue bears witness to the interrelationship between the divine word mediated through Hosea the prophet (prophecy), Yahweh's judgment parousia (the DOL), and his name-character. In order to more readily comprehend this threefold relationship in Hosea 1, the hermeneutical significance of the naming of Hosea's children for the relationship between prophecy and Yahweh's name will be expounded before turning to their mutual relation with the DOL. Van Leeuwen and others have successfully argued that the naming of Hosea's three children reflects the influence of the complex of Sinai traditions found in Exodus 32-34.⁶¹⁹ This influence manifests itself most clearly in the naming of Hosea's second and third children. Hosea's second child is named לֹא רַחֲמָהּ (‘‘No-Mercy’’), a punning negation of the revelation of Yahweh's name as merciful (רַחֲוּם) given in Exodus 34:5-6. Similarly, Hosea's third child is named לֹא עַמִּי (‘‘Not-My-People’’), a name which plays upon the implied argument between Yahweh and Moses in Ex. 32:7-12, in which Yahweh appears to be disowning his people Israel by associating them with Moses (מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם) הָעַלְיָה, ‘‘your people which you brought up from the land of Egypt’’), a move which Moses counters in his reply to Yahweh (Exodus 32:11-12). Thus by means of wordplays and the ‘‘punning negation’’ of the descriptive attribute (רַחֲוּם) given for Yahweh's name in Exodus 34:6, Hosea 1 underscores the interrelationship between Yahweh's name-character and the prophetic mediation of his word to Israel, a relationship which finds its earlier prototype in the theological relationships established in Exodus 32 -34 between Yahweh's name and the prophetic ministry of Moses to Israel.⁶²⁰

This observation is further strengthened by the fact that the naming of Hosea's children is placed within the context of Hosea's call to be Yahweh's prophet. Surely the fact that this occurs at the very outset of the Twelve cannot be hermeneutically insignificant in the larger scheme of

⁶¹⁹ R.C. van Leeuwen, ‘‘Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve,’’ 35. Cf. also Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985). 335-50; Thomas B. Dozeman, ‘‘Inner-Biblical Interpretation of Yahweh's Gracious and Compassionate Character, *JBL* 108 (1989) 207-23.

⁶²⁰ Cf. Hosea 12:14, which references Moses' role as a prophet in bringing Israel out of Egypt, as well as the role of prophets in Israel's providential preservation.

things. Indeed, when compared with other prophetic call narratives (Isaiah 6, Jeremiah 1, Ezekiel 2-3), Hosea's call narrative strikes one as rather odd. Why is Hosea's prophetic call woven together with the naming of his children, of all things? The answer lies, at least in part, in recognizing the hermeneutical impact of the theological relationships embedded in Exodus 32-34 upon Hosea 1, apart from which the contextual union of Hosea's call and the naming of his children remains largely unintelligible. By stating these relationships in the context of Hosea's call to serve the concerns of prophecy on Yahweh's behalf, Hosea 1 also establishes a relationship between the nature of prophecy and Yahweh's name which is foundational for all that follows, and which then becomes decisive for the reading process of the Twelve. In this way the opening chapter of the Book of the Twelve teaches its readers that the revelation of Yahweh's word (prophecy) coheres with the revelation of his name-character, and also prepares them to see that prophecy's task is to unfold and expound the name or "ways of Yahweh" to Israel (cf. Exodus 33:13 with Exodus 34:5-7), a theological truth which the naming of Hosea's children adumbrates and which the wisdom coda in Hosea 14:10 recapitulates in condensed form.⁶²¹

An additional facet of Hosea's call narrative that has not received its proper due concerns the fact that the naming of Hosea's three children also occurs in the context of a series of name-judgments.⁶²² Just as the complex of traditions found in Exodus 32-34 signals the interrelationship between Yahweh's name-character and his acts of judgment, so also Hosea 1 signals the close relationship between Yahweh's name and the DOL. Although the *terminus technicus* יְהוָה יוֹם does not appear in the book of Hosea, verses 1:5 and 2:23 make use of an introductory temporal formula (יְהוָה יוֹם הַהוּא) which functions as a conceptual equivalent for the DOL. A closer look at these verses should aid in the project of further clarifying the relationship between the DOL and Yahweh's name-character in Hosea's prologue.

⁶²¹ See further below on the relation between Hosea 1 and Hosea 14:10.

⁶²² Van Leeuwen notes that the naming of Hosea's three children "sets in motion another central theme in the Twelve," namely the DOL (van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve," 35). While van Leeuwen recognizes the impact of Exodus 32-34 upon Hosea 1-2 in general, he does not develop at length the hermeneutical implications of this relationship for the relationship between prophecy, Yahweh's name, and the DOL, nor does he discuss its possible significance for questions surrounding the origins of the DOL. The present study therefore hopes to build upon his insights, which require further extension.

Hosea 1:4-5

Most scholars regard Hosea 1:5 to be a later interpretation of Hosea 1:4 added sometime after the demise of Jehu's dynasty in the northern kingdom.⁶²³ According to the Deuteronomistic history, that dynasty was terminated with the murder of Zechariah, a fourth generation descendant of Jehu who reigned for only six months following the lengthy forty-one year reign of his father Jeroboam II (2 Kings 14:29; 15:8; 12). On DeVries' reading of the matter, the addition of Hosea 1:5 probably occurred sometime after the short-lived reign of Zechariah (*circa* 746/45 B. C.), the effect of which was to synchronize "the breaking of Israel's bow with the end of Jehu's dynasty."⁶²⁴ Thus he takes Hosea 1:5 as an instance of *vaticinium ex eventu*, that is, a prophecy which couches the demise of Jehu's dynasty in futuristic language, even though it was redactionally inserted *post facto*, that is, sometime after the demise of Jehu's dynasty had already transpired.⁶²⁵ While one may readily agree with DeVries' judgment regarding the synchronizing effect of the temporal phrase in verse 5, his concluding judgment that the redactional addition in Hosea 1:5 was "arbitrary and unmotivated" clearly fails to reckon with the influence of Exodus 32-34 upon Hosea's prologue.⁶²⁶ A similar shortcoming manifests itself in Gale Yee's commentary on Hosea. Yee argues that the insertion of verse 5 to the Hosea's original "call story" was part of a larger redaction

⁶²³ On the redactional character of Hosea 1:5, see DeVries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 51; cf. also van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy," 36 n. 23. Wilhelm Rudolph's commentary on Hosea in the *Kommentar zum Alten Testament* series takes the content of Hosea 1:5 as authentic, yet agrees that the introductory temporal phrase **וְהִסֵּב יִשְׂרָאֵל** is redactional. See W. Rudolph, *Hosea* (KAT 13; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1966) 52, cited in van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom," 36 n. 23.

⁶²⁴ DeVries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 51. Others interpret Hosea 1:5 with more historical specificity, arguing instead that it refers to Assyrian invasions led by Tiglath-Pileser III in 734/33 BC in the valley of Jezreel. The beautiful valley of Jezreel was the site of a palace owned by Ahab and functioned as a royal burgh or residence for the kings of Israel (cf. 1 Kings 21:1). The invasions of Tiglath-Pileser III eventually lead to the fall of Samaria under Shalmaneser V in 722 BC (for which his successor Sargon II took credit). For historical details, see Frank M. Cross, "Samaria and Jerusalem in the Era of the Restoration," *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1998) 173-75.

⁶²⁵ DeVries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 51. Curiously, DeVries does not comment on the fact that the final clause of Hosea 1:4 does not restrict Yahweh's judgment to the dynasty of Jehu, but expands it to include the entire "kingdom of the house of Israel." It seems likely, therefore, that this phrase was also redactionally added to Hosea 1:4, albeit sometime after the fall of Samaria in 722/21 B. C.

⁶²⁶ DeVries, "Futurism in the Preexilic Minor Prophets Compared with That of the Postexilic Minor Prophets," 21. Cf. also DeVries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 186: "It cannot be gainsaid that the expansion in 1:5 is trivial while those of chapter 2 are momentous in their respective reinterpretations of Yahweh's purpose."

aimed at updating Hosea's prophecies in order to render them applicable to the changing historical needs of a later Judean audience. Thus by attaching an interpretive addition which utilizes the futuristic phrase **בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא** ("in/on that day"), the Judean redactor of Hosea 1:5 effectively moderated the threat contained in Hosea 1:4 by pushing it forward into the future.⁶²⁷ Indeed, the "interpretive tensions" found in Hosea 1-2 are the result of editorial activity motivated by mitigating hindsight and the desire to create hope for Judah in the dark days following Samaria's fall.⁶²⁸ While Yee and DeVries clearly disagree in their respective analyses of Hosea 1:5, both fail to come to terms with the *theological* motives underlying the retrospective reading of Hosea 1:4 offered by the DOL prophecy in 1:5, a failure which ultimately traces back to their lack of appreciation for the hermeneutical impact of Exodus 32-34 upon Hosea 1.

The Gnadenformel as a theological basis for the DOL in Hosea 1

As argued above, Yahweh's revealed word to Israel (Exodus 19-24), the revelation of his name as merciful (Exodus 34:6), and the argument between Moses and Yahweh over Israel's identity as Yahweh's people (Exodus 32:7-12) form the linguistic and conceptual background for the theological relationships between prophecy, Yahweh's name, and the naming of Hosea's children in Hosea 1. The opening chapter of the Book of the Twelve reasserts the inner connection between Yahweh's name and his word adumbrated by the Sinai traditions, and also unites Hosea's call to serve prophecy with the naming of his children in order to teach its readers that the nature of prophecy is bound up with the revelation of Yahweh's name or "ways." In addition to these summary observations it should also be noted that the naming of Hosea's children is clearly connected with the coming judgment of Yahweh upon Israel (1:4-5, 6, 9). As such, the name-judgments contained in Hosea 1, and 1:5 in particular, *also* reinforce the theological relationships

⁶²⁷ Gale A. Yee, *The Book of Hosea: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections* (New Interpreter's Bible VII; Nashville; Abingdon Press, 1996) 218. In like fashion, Kapelrud argues that the temporal transition in Zeph. 1:8 (and it shall come to pass on the day of the Lord's sacrifice) was added by early editors of Zephaniah "to reassure the contemporary princes and officials that the prophet's words were not really directed against them, but against a situation in the distant future" (Kapelrud, *The Message of the Prophet Zephaniah*, 19).

⁶²⁸ Gale A. Yee, *The Book of Hosea: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections*, 218-19: "The threats implied in the birth of each child are mitigated by later editors of the tradition, who reinterpret the story for a new situation...Preserved and circulated in Judah after the fall of Israel, the call story is reinterpreted for a new situation. Verses 5, 7, and 10 presuppose a period in which has experienced the traumas of war and now needs a message of hope."

between Yahweh's word, his name, and his judgments foreshadowed by Exodus 32-34. By making use of the redactionally added temporal transition **בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא** ("in/on that day"), Hosea 1:5 effectively synchronizes the name-judgment of Jezreel in 1:4 with the DOL, thereby adding a *third* dimension to the theological relationship between prophecy and Yahweh's name in Hosea 1. While the use of temporal language in 1:5 clearly indicates that this dimension has a temporal or historical aspect, in the paragraphs which follow it will be argued that the hermeneutical move implicit in 1:5 did not arise from a desire to adjust Hosea's prophecies to the changing historical needs of Judah (contra Yee), nor from a redactional move which was "arbitrary and unmotivated" (contra DeVries), but from a theological judgment grounded in Exodus 34. In other words, the DOL as a theological reality in Hosea 1 ultimately finds its *raison d'être* in the continuing theological significance and impact of Exodus 32-34 upon the redactor(s) of Hosea 1.

The analyses of both DeVries and Yee fail to reckon with the fact that the addition of 1:5 to Hosea's call narrative presupposes an understanding of the relationship between prophecy and temporality in the Twelve which is fundamentally theological in character. This claim is both illustrated and strengthened by the way in which the name-judgment of Jezreel in Hosea 1:4 functions as a prophetic sign-act to Israel. As von Rad and others have successfully argued, prophetic sign-acts function as *present* realizations, in symbolic or sign form, of realities yet to come.⁶²⁹ Thus the judgment signified by the naming of Jezreel in Hosea 1:4 is not merely a distant worry, but a present reality which temporally inaugurates the judgment of Jehu's dynasty for the "blood of Jezreel." In other words, the realization of Yahweh's judgment according to his name-character has *already* begun with the "naming" of the Hosea's first child Jezreel. This theological vindication for this judgment finds its basis, as the connections between Exodus 34:5-7 and the naming of Hosea's children suggest, in Yahweh's revelation of himself as a God who is both merciful *and* just. As such, the judgment actualized by the naming of Jezreel is fully consistent with the judgment formula contained in the revelation of Yahweh's name-character at Sinai (Exodus 34:7). Viewed from this perspective, the interpretation of 1:4 provided in 1:5 need not

⁶²⁹ Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.95-8; cf. also Hans W. Wolff, *A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Hosea* (trans. G. Stansell; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974); Brevard Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 375, 378.

rest upon an editorial attempt to moderate or soften Israel's judgment. On the contrary, the judgment inaugurated by Jezreel's naming is fully confirmed in 1:5, albeit in light of a later understanding of its broader significance. Rather, in keeping with the theological relationship between Yahweh's name and his judgments established at Sinai, Hosea 1:5 interprets the DOL in light of Yahweh's revealed name as one who will "by no means clear the guilty," a hermeneutical practice which also finds expression in the closing verses of Joel (Joel 4:18-21).⁶³⁰

That the Twelve's tradents read the DOL in light of what they knew about Yahweh's name-character is also evident from the fact that Hosea 1:7 exempts Judah from the judgment registered upon Israel in 1:6. As Childs and others have noted, the Judean redaction of Hosea 4-14 effectively equates Judah with disobedient Israel. How then does one account for the change in interpretation with respect to Judah's role found in Hosea 1:7?⁶³¹ The answer ultimately lies in the relationship between the redactional additions in Hosea 1 and Exodus 34. Evidently the redactors of Hosea 1:5 and 1:7 interpreted the DOL in light of the *Gnadenformel* in Exodus 34:5-7, which accounts for the reason why that "Day" could refer to acts of mercy as well as judgment. Thus the differing applications of the DOL found in Hosea 1:5 and 1:7 are not ultimately inconsistent with one another, but find their theological justification in Yahweh's revealed name-character as both merciful and just. The theological basis for this differentiation finds further confirmation in the closing verses of Joel noted in the previous paragraph (Joel 4:18-21). As van Leeuwen has noted, these verses suggest that while "Judah ultimately receives God's mercy and compassion, the North, which the prophecy of Amos is about to address, is a nation subject to the contrary dictum, 'He will by no means clear the guilty.'"⁶³² In this way Hosea 1 anticipates the hermeneutical function of the end of Joel, not only by exempting Judah in 1:7 from the judgment registered upon Israel in

⁶³⁰ While van Leeuwen calls attention to the link between Joel 4:21 and the judgment formula found in Exodus 34:7, he does not comment on its relationship to the DOL and the introductory temporal transition found in Joel 4:18. See van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve," 41-42.

⁶³¹ Cf. the discussion in Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 378-82.

⁶³² van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom," 42.

1:6, but also by fully confirming the judgment of Israel in 1:5.⁶³³

Hosea 2:23-25

The relationship between Yahweh's name-character in Exodus 34:5-7 and the opening chapters of the Book of the Twelve finds yet another affirmation in the editorial usage made of the names "Jezreel," "No-Mercy," and "Not-My-People" in Hosea 2:24-25. While these names spell judgment for Israel in chapter 1, Hosea 2:23-25 effectively reverses these name-judgments by applying them to a coming DOL in which the heavens and the earth shall bear witness, along with the grain, wine, and oil, to the return of Yahweh's mercy toward his people. This shift from judgment to mercy is not arbitrary, but again finds its theological justification in Yahweh's revealed character. As noted above, this shift is already evident within Hosea chapter 1 itself, as evidenced by Hosea 1:7. The opening verses of Hosea 2 (2:1-3) also anticipate the movement from judgment to mercy in 2:23-25 by applying the names "My People" and "Mercy" to Yahweh's people, and by identifying the name "Jezreel" with a great day of redemption in which Yahweh will unite Israel and Judah under one head.⁶³⁴ In sum, the opening chapters of the Book of the Twelve bear witness to a series of eschatological reversals which the situation-oriented logic of historicism utterly fails to explain. Such reversals can only be understood, as Hosea 14:10 later suggests, by those who know that the name or "ways of Yahweh" are both merciful and just.

By way of contrast, suppose one were to assume, along with Yee, that historical rather than theological factors motivated the insertion of the redactional connectives associated with the DOL in Hosea's prologue. How then would one account for the fact that these connectives are used to refer to two contrasting theological realities for Israel and Judah in Hosea 1-2? To suggest that the redactors of Hosea 1 and Hosea 2 were seeking to address differing historical needs without

⁶³³ Van Leeuwen's suggestion that the judgment formula in Joel 4:21 implies a judgment without remainder for the northern kingdom of Israel finds further confirmation in the closing chapter of Amos. Commenting on Amos 9:9-11, Childs notes that "the editors of chapter 9 did not soften Amos' message of total judgment against sinful Israel by allowing a remnant to escape. The destruction is fully confirmed (9:9-11)." See Childs, "The Canonical Shape of the Prophetic Literature," *Int* 32 (1978) 49; cf. also idem, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 407: "...the restriction which is introduced in 8b assumes the complete destruction of the kingdom of Israel (9-10)...No segment of Israel escapes the judgment, as Amos had truly prophesied."

⁶³⁴ Nogalski interprets this as "a promise of political restoration...under a single king" (Nogalski, "The Days(s) of YHWH," 623). Although the Hebrew phrase **אֶתְּרָא שֶׁאֶתְּרָא** ("one head") can be interpreted as a political reference, its broader connotations do not require Nogalski's more narrow historical reading of it.

concern for the theological integrity of prophecy fails to do justice to the book's own witness to the relationship between prophecy and temporality, the latter of which clearly finds expression in the redactionally inserted temporal transitions associated with the DOL in the Twelve's opening chapters. In order to make this point more clearly, it will be necessary to return once again to a discussion of Hosea 1:4-5 before proceeding to a discussion of Hosea 14:10.

Excursus on prophecy and temporality in Hosea 1:5

As noted earlier in the discussion of Barton's hermeneutics, historicism typically assigns hermeneutical autonomy to the historical events referenced in prophetic books. The possibility that the temporal medium known as "history" has a theological function or serves a theological purpose in prophecy is usually dismissed from the outset. A further assault on the theological function of temporality in prophecy stems from a particular understanding of the relationship between prophecy and its later editorial expansion.⁶³⁵ While the literary structure of the Twelve bears witness to the fact that earlier prophecies were edited with the benefit of hindsight, thus attesting to the presence of *vaticinium ex eventu* in its various books, the way in which this phenomenon is understood remains a matter of debate. Exegetes trained in the methods of historical criticism often operate on the basis of a historicized understanding of *vaticinium ex eventu* which inevitably breaks down the theological integrity of prophecy. Attempts on the part of historical scholarship to account for the redactional motives underlying Hosea 1:5, a text often taken to be a clear instance of *vaticinium ex eventu*,⁶³⁶ stand as cases in point. A closer look at the theological relationship between prophecy and temporality in Hosea 1:5 is therefore mandated by the need to clarify the motives involved in the phenomenon of *vaticinium ex eventu*.

One possible avenue of approach to the issue of prophecy's relationship to temporality is to return to a discussion of motives undergirding the use of the redactionally added temporal transition **וַיְהִי בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא** in Hosea 1:5, especially since the DOL in Hosea 1:5 receives its theological mandate from the fact that prophecy's task is to unfold and expound the name or "ways

⁶³⁵ Cf. Childs' discussion of the theological function of chronology in the book of Ezekiel in his *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 365-66.

⁶³⁶ DeVries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 51.

of Yahweh” in the temporal context of Israel’s history. While the naming of Hosea’s children in the context of his call to serve prophecy reasserts the inner relation between Yahweh’s word and name adumbrated in Israel’s Sinai traditions, the editorial synchronizing of the DOL prophecy in Hosea 1:5 with the Jezreel prophecy in 1:4 implies a further assertion, namely, that the DOL’s theological function consists in the active enforcement of this relationship in the *temporal* context of Yahweh’s providential dealings with Israel. The use of temporal language in the DOL prophecy in 1:5 not only reinforces this assertion, but also raises the question of the relation that subsists between prophecy, temporality, and the DOL under the larger rubric of *vaticinium ex eventu*.

As the earlier analysis of Clements’ work on the prophets suggests, historical criticism typically seeks to explain the process involved in literary growth of prophetic books by establishing temporal correlations between the editorial expansion of prophecy and historical events. Accordingly, the phenomenon of *vaticinium ex eventu* is rendered intelligible by finding a historical situation or event to align it with. Applied to the redactional logic involved in the addition of 1:5, this approach usually results in the conclusion that the redactional connective in 1:5 was added in order to adjust Hosea’s prophecies to the changing historical needs of a later audience (Yee), or the alternative hypothesis that 1:5 was a redaction performed in the aftermath of Assyrian invasions into the valley of Jezreel (*circa* 734/33 B. C.). Although the latter hypothesis manifests a higher degree of historical specificity than the former, both positions minimize the role occupied by theological pressures in the later interpretation of Hosea 1:4 registered in 1:5.

That the redactor who added 1:5 was in fact influenced by a historical event which occurred sometime after the original delivery of the Jezreel prophecy seems plausible. It is crucial to note, however, that the effect of this event was mediated to later readers of the Twelve as a direct result of the theological impact of Exodus 32-34 upon Hosea 1. The influence of later historical events upon the interpretation of Hosea 1:4, whatever those events may have been, was in the final analysis *indirect* and therefore subordinate to the continuing theological significance of Exodus 32-34 for Hosea 1.⁶³⁷ Thus while the DOL prophecy in Hosea 1:5 has a temporal dimension, it must

⁶³⁷ Cf. also the similar remarks of Childs on the role played by historical referent in the redaction history of Micah: “Rather I would argue the case that the major force lying behind the redaction of Micah appears to have been the influence exerted upon its editors by the larger corpus of other prophetic material, particularly the oracles of Isaiah. *The point is not to deny that later historical events influenced the redactors, but to contest a direct and*

be said that this dimension did not motivate its synchronization with 1:4 in a *direct* sense. To be sure, 1:5 was added after the event of which it speaks, and therefore constitutes an instance of *vaticinium ex eventu*, broadly speaking. Nevertheless it does not follow from this that the Jezreel prophecy in 1:4 was being read in the light of history in a directly referential sense, as though the relationship between prophecy and temporality were based upon a simple temporal mathematics of one-to-one correspondence. Rather, the historical event which served as a temporal trigger for the interpretive addition in 1:5 was understood in light of the Jezreel prophecy. In this way the redactional addition of 1:5 served to confirm the fact that the Jezreel prophecy and its later historical fulfillment (whatever that entailed) share in the same theological reality, and therefore belong together in a larger temporal framework now made manifest by Yahweh's providential ordering of history.

Again, this is not to deny that the interpretation of prophecy is influenced by the temporal medium known as "history." The point to be stressed at this juncture is that this medium is itself subordinate to prophecy, rather than vice versa, and therefore derives its logic, not from a rigid commitment to the chronological concerns found in later modernity, but from the theological link between prophecy and its later interpretation. In the case of Hosea 1, this theological link traces back to Exodus 32-34 and forms the justification for interpreting the Jezreel prophecy and its later temporal realization in terms of a unified reality. No sense of anachronism or chronological discomfort would have prevented the editor of Hosea 1:5 from moving back from a later event to an earlier prophecy, since both were linked by the theology of Exodus 32-34, and therefore regarded as related aspects of a single theological reality.

The theological link between prophecy and its temporal realization also sheds light upon the rationale driving the phenomenon of *vaticinium ex eventu* and the editorial practice of couching the language of later additions in futuristic or prospective terms. By linking the futuristic temporal transition **וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא** with the Jezreel prophecy in Hosea 1:4, the editor of 1:5 effectively

intentional move on their part to adjust the tradition to each new historical situation. Rather, the editors of Micah sought to understand God's purpose with his people Israel by means of interpreting the growing body of sacred literature. Thus the effect of the changing historical situation was mediated through an interpretation of scripture and was only an indirect influence. The direct force in the shaping process came from one set of traditions upon another." Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 434 (emphasis added).

signals his intent to subordinate chronological distinctions between past and future to the continuing theological significance of prophecy. That is to say, because the editors of prophecy interpret temporality in light of its theological function rather than its chronological unfolding *per se*, temporal distinctions between past and future in prophetic texts have been subordinated to theological concerns. Thus the retrospective reading of Hosea 1:4 registered in 1:5 is stated prospectively, not only because of the theological link between prophecy and its temporal realization, but also because the editor who synchronized Hosea 1:5 with the Jezreel prophecy worked on the basis of a theological intentionality which subordinated temporality to prophecy. Viewed from this perspective and with these distinctions in mind, the phenomenon of *vaticinium ex eventu* is not a deceptive attempt to disguise the past as the future, but a witness to the theological function of temporality in the prophets and the lordship of Yahweh's word over history.

Summary observations on the DOL's theological function in Hosea 1:5

Inasmuch as Hosea 1:5 effectively functions as the first DOL text in the Twelve, its interpretive implications for the DOL's theological function in the Twelve are surely significant. For this reason the preceding exposition of the relationship between prophecy and temporality will now be summarized and related more directly to the theological function of the DOL in Hosea 1:5. As argued earlier, the union of Hosea's call to serve prophecy with the naming of his children effectively establishes a relationship, adumbrated in Exodus 32-34 and restated in Hosea 1, between the nature of prophecy and Yahweh's name. Prophecy's task is thus bound up with exposition of Yahweh's name or "ways" from the outset of the Twelve. To this fundamental theological reality Hosea 1:5 adds a further dimension by making use of the temporal transition **וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא** to retrospectively interpret the Jezreel prophecy in connection with the DOL. In this way readers of the Twelve are thereby instructed that the DOL's theological function consists in the *temporal realization* of prophecy's theological commitments to Yahweh's name. In sum, the theological purpose of the DOL is to enforce the relationship between Yahweh's name and prophecy in the temporal context of Yahweh's providential dealings with Israel.

A second aspect of the DOL's theological function also emerges from a discussion of the theological hermeneutic implied by the editorial addition of Hosea 1:5, especially in connection

with the larger issue of *vaticinium ex eventu* and its role in the editorial expansion of prophecy. As the preceding discussion of prophecy and temporality suggests, the DOL prophecy in Hosea 1:5 functions theologically as a way of stating prophecy's relationship to temporality. Because temporality is subservient to prophecy for the editor of Hosea 1:5, events which properly belong in the editor's past are described in futuristic terms. That is to say, the reading of the DOL offered in Hosea 1:5 implies a hermeneutical stance in which chronological concerns are subordinated to the continuing theological significance of prophecy. As such, the theological motives at work in the later interpretation of Hosea 1:4 bear witness to the prophecy's lordship over history.⁶³⁸

Prophecy, typology, and eschatology in Hosea's prologue

The interpretive relationship between "Jezreel texts" in the Hebrew text of Hosea 2 and the naming of Jezreel in Hosea 1:4 also invites discussion of the role of typology in Hosea 1-2. In Hosea 2:2 the application of the name "Jezreel" to a great future day of reunification for Yahweh's people rests upon a figural extension of the name "Jezreel" in Hosea 1:4. Stated more directly, Hosea 2:2 interprets the day of Jezreel's name-judgment in terms of a greater and more comprehensive DOL (יְרֵעָאֵל יוֹם יְרֵעָאֵל) in which the collective people of Yahweh will be united under one head. In like fashion, Hosea 2:23-25 extends the figural significance of Jezreel's naming to depict a coming DOL (2:23) in which "grain, wine, and oil" witness to the return of Yahweh's mercy. Here the imagery of sowing ("I will sow her to myself") in Hosea 2:25 trades upon the meaning of the name "Jezreel" (God sows) to speak of a coming day in which Yahweh will reverse the judgment loosed by the naming of Jezreel and replant his people in the land. In other words, the interpretive relationships between Hosea 2:2, 2:23-25, and 1:4 rest upon the hermeneutical assumption that Jezreel's naming had representative significance for Israel's future.

The redactional addition of the temporal phrase **בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא וְהָיָה** in Hosea 1:5 also

⁶³⁸ The decision to locate the book of Joel between Hosea and Amos also reflects the subordinationist logic at work in the relationship between prophecy and temporality. The chronological displacement of the book of Joel also makes it clear that the editorial positioning of prophetic books was not governed by historicist logic. Indeed, Joel's position among eighth century prophets in the Twelve entails the conclusion that rigid concerns with chronological order were subordinated to prophecy's theological concerns, not only at the level of individual passages with a given book, but also at the level of the Twelve's overall book sequence. On the hermeneutical significance of undated books in the Twelve, see further the comments in Rolf Rendtorff, "How to Read the Book of the Twelve as a Theological Unity," 76, and idem, *The Canonical Hebrew Bible: A Theology of the Old Testament*, 265.

points up the figural significance of the Jezreel prophecy for its later interpretations. As both Yee and DeVries have noted, the DOL prophecy in 1:5 assigns a symbolic interpretation to the “blood of Jezreel” by reinterpreting it in terms of a location (the *valley* of Jezreel).⁶³⁹ However, the purpose of this interpretation was not to adapt Hosea 1:4 to the ever-changing vagaries of history, nor simply to exchange “a geographical symbol for one that is purely political” (DeVries), but to draw out the representative theological significance of Hosea’s Jezreel prophecy for a later historical event. Viewed from this perspective, the addition of Hosea 1:5 does not denigrate history, but actually confirms its theological significance.⁶⁴⁰ Moreover, because the realization of justice according to Yahweh’s name-character had already begun with the naming of Jezreel, the interpretive move implicit in the addition of the DOL prophecy confirms that the Jezreel prophecy also functioned as a piece of ‘realized eschatology’ foreshadowing what was yet to come.⁶⁴¹ In this way the interpretive relationship of Hosea 1:5 to 1:4 illustrates the mutually explicative character of the relation between typology and eschatology in the editorial expansion of prophecy, as alluded to earlier in the discussion of von Rad’s use of typology.⁶⁴²

By way of contrast, historicist readings of Hosea’s prologue are often at a loss to explain the figural extensions of Jezreel’s name in Hosea 2, especially because it broadens the theological significance of Jezreel’s name-judgment to include Yahweh’s mercy. On historicist premises this broadening stands as a ‘textbook example’ of the interpretive *eisegesis* often found in prophecy’s

⁶³⁹ Yee, *The Book of Hosea: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections*, 218; DeVries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 51.

⁶⁴⁰ Cf. the summary observation on Joel’s use of typology in Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 393: “The canonical shape of Joel also attests to the important role played by the typological relationship between the past and future in God’s purpose with his people. Far from being a denigration of history, it actually confirms its significance by drawing out its representative feature of the life of faith in its struggle for obedience in the world.”

⁶⁴¹ The redactional logic in Hosea 1:5 thus finds a parallel in the redactional expansion of Ezekiel 12:1-11. By interpreting the prophetic sign-act depicted in Ezekiel 12:1-11 in connection with Zedekiah’s later attempt to escape Babylonian judgment, the editor of Ezekiel 12:12ff. effectively construes that Zedekiah’s escape attempt as “an historical instance confirming the prophecy of imminent judgment which the sign-act had already unleashed.” See Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 366; cf. also DeVries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 58-9.

⁶⁴² Von Rad subsumes prophetic eschatology under the larger rubric of typology and thus construes it as a “special form of typological thinking” (von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2.458).

figural extension and routinely indulged in by its later editors. Historicism also weakens the inner relation between prophecy's representative significance and its eschatological extension by tethering its meaning to the historical context of its original deliverance, resulting in a historicized stance on prophecy which is both anti-figural and non-theological in its outlook. As a result, typology and eschatology become "secondary systems" of interpretation which are to be accounted for, either in terms of the alleged misreading of prophecy's historical dimension, or in terms of the hermeneutical impact of written media upon prophecy (Clements).⁶⁴³ Again, such approaches fail to reckon with the theological reading of Yahweh's character at work in the redactional expansion of Hosea's prologue, a reading which finds its hermeneutical ground in the broader golden calf tradition of Exodus 32-34 and which also provides a theological rationale for justifying the interpretive moves involved in the figural extension of Jezreel's name in Hosea 2. In sum, because the tradents of Hosea's prologue worked with an understanding of the DOL shaped by their views of Yahweh's name-character as merciful and just, the interpretive use of Jezreel's name in Hosea 1:4 could be expanded *on theological grounds* to include Yahweh's acts of mercy and restoration.⁶⁴⁴

Concluding observations on Hosea's prologue

By foregrounding the theological relationships between prophecy, Yahweh's name, and the DOL, the opening chapters of Hosea effectively function as a hermeneutical prologue to the Book of the Twelve. In keeping with this function, Hosea's prologue provides a hermeneutical key for understanding the DOL's role in the Twelve by teaching its readers that the DOL's theological function is to enforce the theological significance of Yahweh's name in the context of his

⁶⁴³ Cf. DeVries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 14-15. DeVries both recognizes and endorses Clements' attempt to explain the rise of prophetic eschatology in terms of the impact of written media upon prophecy.

⁶⁴⁴ The fact that the preceding exegetical discussion has been limited to passages found in Hosea 1-2 should not be taken to imply that the prophetic sign-act in Hosea 3 is being isolated from Hosea 1-2, or that its form critical relationship with Hosea 1-2 is somehow being challenged. As Childs has pointed out, the redactor who added Hosea 1-3 to the existing body of Hosea's prophecies clearly intended for the prophetic sign-act in Hosea 3 to be understood symbolically (see Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 377-82, esp. 380). The sign-act in Hosea 3, however, does not invoke the names of Hosea's children, and therefore will not be discussed at length here. At the same time it should be clear that this sign-act and the DOL prophecy which follows it (הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, Hosea 3:5) fully coheres with the revelation of Yahweh's name as merciful in Hosea 1-2, and therefore also bears witness to the theological significance of Exodus 34:5-7 for the DOL in the larger prologue of Hosea 1-3.

providential dealings with Israel. While the Israel of the Exodus generation gained a more comprehensive knowledge of the theological significance of Yahweh's name by witnessing his judgments *upon Egypt*, especially in comparison to the knowledge of that name possessed by Abraham and the patriarchs,⁶⁴⁵ the Israel of Mount Sinai gained yet further knowledge of its significance in the context of Yahweh's judgment *upon Israel*. In this way the providential process involved in educating Israel in the name or "ways" of Yahweh is closely tied to Yahweh's acts of judgment in the Exodus and Sinai traditions,⁶⁴⁶ the latter of which both anticipates and informs the theological function of the DOL in the Book of the Twelve.

Finally, the opening chapters of Hosea also function as a hermeneutical prologue to the Twelve by establishing a theological context for the logic of prophecy, typology, and eschatology from the Twelve's outset. By grounding the logic of typology and eschatology in the theology of Yahweh's name, the prologue of Hosea establishes a theological rationale and justification for the typological and eschatological moves involved in prophecy's interpretive expansion. The role played by "Jezreel typology" in Hosea 1-2, as well as the eschatological redaction of prophecy in Hosea 1:5, function as exegetical cases in point buttressing the claim that typology and eschatology are not 'secondary systems' of interpretation in the Twelve, allegedly made necessary by the need to overcome prophecy's localism, but hermeneutical extensions of the theological significance of prophecy to later contexts.

VIII. Prophecy, "the ways of Yahweh," and Hosea's ending

The exegetical case for the preceding claims finds further support from the way in which the theological stance adopted on prophecy in Hosea's prologue anticipates the relationship between prophecy and "the ways of Yahweh" in Hosea 14:10. Just as the opening chapters of the Book of the Twelve reassert the expositional character of the relationship between prophecy and Yahweh's name or "ways" adumbrated in Exodus 32-34, so also the close of Hosea

⁶⁴⁵ On the theological significance of Yahweh's name for Mosaic Israel in comparison to the pre-Exodus generation of the patriarchs, see the brilliant essay by Christopher R. Seitz, "The Call of Moses and the 'Revelation' of the Divine Name: Source-Critical Logic and Its Legacy," in *Theological Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Brevard S. Childs* (ed. C. Seitz & Kathryn Greene-McCreight; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999) 145-61, esp. 158-60.

⁶⁴⁶ For a concise overview of the *historical* issues involved in the formation of the Exodus and Sinai traditions, see E. W. Nicholson, *Exodus and Sinai in History and Tradition* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973).

“proverbializes” this relationship in order to prepare its readers for Joel. In the paragraphs which follow an overview of the more significant exegetical issues raised by Hosea 14:10 will be offered, after which the theological significance of its relationship to Hosea’s literary growth will be discussed. Following this the theological implications of the wisdom coda’s generalized stance on prophecy for the DOL’s theological function in Joel and Amos will be expounded, as well as its stance on the relationship between prophecy and “the ways of Yahweh.” This chapter will then close with a discussion of the wisdom coda’s relationship to Joel’s prologue (Joel 1:1-4).

Hosea 14:10

Hosea 14:10 forms a “wisdom coda” to Hosea’s prophecies and undoubtedly represents “the last addition to the written form of the book.”⁶⁴⁷ Because the language of Hosea 14:10 bears obvious affinities to late wisdom, many commentators assign it origins to the exilic or postexilic period.⁶⁴⁸ The verse reads in English as follows:

“Who is wise, that he understand these things?
Discerning, that he knows them?
For the ways of Yahweh are right,
and the righteous walk in them,
but rebels stumble in them.”⁶⁴⁹

The interpretation of the various clauses contained in this coda raise a number of exegetical issues, some of which bear more directly upon its meaning than others. The intended referent of the near demonstrative pronoun הַזֶּה in Hosea 14:10, for example, is relatively non-problematic for most commentators, the vast majority of whom understand it in a retrospective sense, that is, as a backward-looking glance over the entire written collection of Hosea’s oracles.⁶⁵⁰ An interesting

⁶⁴⁷ James L. Mays, *Hosea: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1969) 190.

⁶⁴⁸ See for example the comments on Hosea 14:10 and its affinities to Jer. 9:11 and Ps. 107:43 in Hans W. Wolff, *A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Hosea* (trans. G. Stansell; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974); cf. also James L. Mays, *Hosea*, 190.

⁶⁴⁹ Hosea 14:10, author’s translation.

⁶⁵⁰ H.D. Beeby, *Grace Abounding: A Commentary on the Book of Hosea* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989) 185; Brevard Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 382; G. I. Davies, *Hosea* (New Century Bible Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992) 310; William R. Harper, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1905) 416; Jörg Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983) 174; James L. Mays, *Hosea: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1969)

exception to this practice stems from the medieval Jewish commentator Ibn Ezra who argues that הַלְּאֵלֹהִים references the “the ways of Yahweh” in Hosea 14:10 rather than the prophecies of Hosea as a whole.⁶⁵¹ Nevertheless Ezra is still willing to recognize the presence of a retrospective perspective in Hosea 14:10. However on his view such a perspective is to be found, not in the demonstrative use of the pronoun הַלְּאֵלֹהִים , but in the phrase “the ways of Yahweh,” a phrase which does not direct its readers back to the book of Hosea as a whole, but to Hosea 14:2-9 and the divinely given promise that if Ephraim repents (14:2), Yahweh will heal her (14:5-9). Ezra further strengthens this reading by noting that the final clause in Hosea 14:10 *also* looks back to Hosea 14:2, as evidenced by their common use of the Hebrew verb (פָּשַׁל , cf. Hosea 5:5). Hosea 14:10 thus forms an *inclusio* with Hosea 14:2 and should be taken as an instance of the prophet’s own interpretation of “the ways of Yahweh” in terms of the theological lesson taught by 14:2-9, namely, that Yahweh’s healing will follow Israel’s repentance. In other words, on Ezra’s view the meaning of the phrase “ways of Yahweh” is to be found in the literary movement from repentance to restoration in Hosea 14:2-9. The hermeneutical issues raised by Ezra’s reading for the interpretation of Hosea 14:10 and its relationship to the book of Hosea will be returned to in due course.

Because the interpretation one assigns to the phrase “the ways of Yahweh” has a substantial impact upon the interpretation of Hosea 14:10 and its theological function vis-a-vis the entire book of Hosea, the exegetical issues raised by it merit extended discussion before returning to the issues raised by the demonstrative pronoun הַלְּאֵלֹהִים and its relation to the book of Hosea as a whole.

Following a summary observation on the Latter Prophets in John Barton’s book *Oracles of God*, Graham Davies argues that “the ways of Yahweh” in Hosea 14:10 is primarily concerned with demonstrating the ethical relevance of older prophecy for the contemporary needs of its redactor’s

190; Wilhelm. Rudolph, *Hosea* (KAT 13; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1966) 253; Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct: A Study in the Sapientializing of the Old Testament* (BZAW 151; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980) 129-30; Gale A. Yee, *The Book of Hosea: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections* (New Interpreter’s Bible VII; Nashville; Abingdon Press, 1996) 296.

⁶⁵¹ See Abe Lipshitz, ed., *The Commentary of Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra on Hosea* (trans. A. Lipshitz; New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, Inc., 1988) 139 n. 35.

audience. On Davies' view Hosea 14:10 perfectly illustrates the claim advanced by John Barton, albeit in another context, that "There is probably no book in the Latter Prophets that lacks some evidence of this desire of the redactors to show the ethical relevance of older prophecy and history to contemporary ethical needs."⁶⁵² Davies' reasons for this stance are evident from his further remarks in the *New Century Bible Commentary* series. There he argues that phrase "the ways of Yahweh" in Hosea 14:10 refers to "the pattern of life Yahweh requires in his people" rather than "Yahweh's general guidance of history."⁶⁵³ In support of this reading he points to the ethical exhortations given in Deuteronomy to "walk in the ways of Yahweh" (Deuteronomy 8:6; 10:12; 11:22, 28) and then suggests that Hosea 14:10 makes use of similar language in order to exhort its readers to obey Yahweh's commandments. He further buttresses his claim by noting that the predicate adjective (נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה) used to describe Yahweh's "ways" in Hosea 14:10 is also used in Psalm 19:9, 119:37, and Nehemiah 9:13 "to affirm that God's commands...deserve to be obeyed because they can be seen to be right."⁶⁵⁴

Davies' ethical reading of "the ways of Yahweh" is reflective of a fairly large consensus among commentators who trace the origins of this phrase back to the language of Deuteronomy.⁶⁵⁵ Since the proper interpretation of Hosea 14:10 turns in large part upon the meaning of this phrase, the strength of his reading will now be assessed before turning later to a discussion of the phrase's larger theological significance. Was the redactor who added the wisdom coda in Hos. 14:10

⁶⁵² See G.I. Davies, *Hosea* (Old Testament Guides; ed. R. N. Whybray; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) 107. Cf. also John Barton, *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1986) 154-61, quote from 158.

⁶⁵³ G. I. Davies, *Hosea*, 311.

⁶⁵⁴ G. I. Davies, *Hosea*, 311.

⁶⁵⁵ See Gale A. Yee, *The Book of Hosea: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections*, 296. Yee takes the phrase "the ways of Yahweh" spoken of in Hosea 14:10 as "a typically deuteronomistic expression referring to obedience to God's commandments (Deut 8:6; 11:22, 28; 19:9). Here Yee appears to be following the judgment of Wolff's commentary on Hosea. See his comments on Hosea 14:10 in Hans W. Wolff, *A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Hosea*, where a more exhaustive list of passages from the Deuteronomy is provided. Wolff's view also finds support in James L. Mays, *Hosea: A Commentary*, 190: "'The ways of Yahweh' are the commandments of his covenant law; the phrase is a favourite of the Deuteronomistic writers (Deut. 8.6; 10.12; 11:22, etc...)." Finally, Gerald Sheppard notes that the phrase "the ways of Yahweh" contains "language reminiscent of Deuteronomy," but does not develop the point in detail. See Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 129-36, esp. 131.

merely concerned to show the ethical relevance of older prophecy, or was he reflecting upon prophecy in light of the revelation of Yahweh's name or "ways" in history? To be sure, Psalm 19:9 and Psalm 33:4 make use of the predicate adjective *יָשָׁר* to describe, not the providential dealings of Yahweh with Israel according to his name, but his commandments or precepts. Be that as it may, in Hosea 14:10 the phrase "the ways of Yahweh are right" clearly functions more broadly, lacking the specificity found in Psalm 19:9 ("the *precepts* of the Lord are right") or Psalm 33:4 ("for the *word* of the Lord is right"). Moreover, as a number of commentators have noted, the redactor who added Hosea 14:10 has been influenced by the language of Psalm 107:43 (*יְהוָה יִתְבוֹנֵנוּ חֲסִדֵי מִי־חָכְם וַיִּשְׁמַר־אֱלֹהֵי יִתְבוֹנֵנוּ חֲסִדֵי*, "Who is wise, that he will heed these things, so that they will understand Yahweh's steadfast love?"). That such was most probably the case is not only clear from the close linguistic and structural parallels between Hosea 14:10 and Psalm 107:43, but also from the observation that, apart from Hosea 14:10, the book of Hosea generally lacks a specialized wisdom vocabulary. The fact that the wisdom coda in Hosea 14:10 forms the sole exception to this rule strongly suggests that its wisdom vocabulary derives from elsewhere.⁶⁵⁶ Thus the possibility that Hosea 14:10 may have influenced the language of Psalm 107:43, rather than vice versa, may be ruled out.

Given the close affinities between Hosea 14:10 and Psalm 107:43, the possibility that Psalm 107 forms the literary and theological context for Hosea 14:10 bears further consideration.⁶⁵⁷ In a manner closely paralleling Hosea 14:10, Psalm 107:43 functions as a concluding "wisdom summons" or *Lehreröffnungsruf* for its readers. The crucial point to note, however, is that the literary context preceding this summons consists in a rehearsal of Yahweh's providential dealings

⁶⁵⁶ Cf. the remarks of Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 129: "The language of the book is suited to the prophet's confrontation with the Canaanite fertility cults and lacks any specialized wisdom vocabulary. Consequently, the last verse is a remarkable exception to this lack of wisdom orientation within the book as a whole...the traditional recognition that the second half of the verse summarizes the content of the book of Hosea heightens the question of how and for what purpose the contents of a fundamentally prophetic book, which offers virtually no internal evidence of wisdom influence, can be summarized by a didactic proverb, which is typical of biblical wisdom literature."

⁶⁵⁷ Although the interrogative question in Jeremiah 9:11 also manifests linguistic similarities with Hosea 14:10, as Sheppard has rightly noted, the interrogative question in Psalm 107:43 "comes much closer" to the question found in Hosea's wisdom coda. See Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 131.

with Israel and “the children of men.” These rehearsals form the basis for repeated calls on the part of the psalmist to give thanks to Yahweh for his steadfast love (Psalm 107:8, 15, 21, 31), a call which does not terminate upon Israel, but reaches out to enclose “the children of men.” Indeed, the references to Yahweh’s steadfast love (חֶסֶד) at the psalm’s beginning (107:1) and its end (107:43) form an *inclusio* around the entire psalm, a literary move which further underscores the relationship in Psalm 107 between Yahweh’s steadfast love and his providential dealings with both Israel and “the children of men.”

To these considerations one may add the further observation that the broader golden calf tradition in Exodus 32-34 bears witness to a similar relationship between Yahweh’s steadfast love and his “ways” or dealings with his people. In Exodus 33:13, Moses prays that Yahweh will cause him to know his “ways” (הוֹדִיעֵנִי נָא אֶת־דְּרָכֶיךָ), a prayer which Yahweh later answers by proclaiming his steadfast love (חֶסֶד) and mercy (רַחֲמִים) to Moses (Exodus 34:5-6). In other words, Exodus 33-34 establishes a parallelism between Yahweh’s “ways,” his “name,” and his attributes which effectively renders them theological equivalents for one another.⁶⁵⁸ Given the fact that the interrogative question in Hosea 14:10 also picks up on the Hebrew terms יָדַע and דְּרָךְ found in Moses’ prayer,⁶⁵⁹ the burden of proof would seem to lie upon those who, like Davies, argue that “the ways of Yahweh” in Hos. 14:10 refer to his ethical requirements. On the contrary, the literary and theological relationships between Psalm 107:43, Exodus 33-34, and Hosea 14:10 present a fairly strong case for taking “the ways of Yahweh” as a reference to Yahweh’s providential dealings with Israel in terms of his name-character, rather than his commandments or precepts *per se*.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁸ Van Leeuwen, “Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy,” 37.

⁶⁵⁹ Van Leeuwen, “Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy,” 36-39. The general importance of knowing Yahweh in the book of Hosea, as well as its close relation to Yahweh’s name/identity as the Lord God who brought Israel from the land of Egypt (Exodus 20:2), may be seen by a comparison of Hosea 5:4 and 6:3 with 13:4. Cf. also van Leeuwen, “Scribal Wisdom,” 35 n. 20.

⁶⁶⁰ William R. Harper rightly ascertains that “ways of Yahweh” refer to his providential dealings with Israel in the temporal context of her history. Commenting on Hosea 14:10, Harper writes: “The reader’s advice is this: Notice how things work out in history, as in the case of Israel, and acquiesce therein; for to do this is a mark of

A final interpretive crux in the exegesis of Hosea 14:10 concerns the exegetical significance of the conjunctive preposition ׀ which links the interrogative question in the wisdom summons with that which follows. Following Wolff's arguments in his commentary on Hosea, Sheppard takes ׀ as a "deictic particle" which grammatically construes the relationship between "the ways of Yahweh" and the question "Who is wise?" in terms of a "summons-example" formula. On this reading, the statement that "the ways of Yahweh are right" functions as an example of "the type of interpretation which the summons calls for."⁶⁶¹ Since Wolff has already made a good case for the claim that the conjunctive preposition ׀ frequently functions in this manner throughout the book of Hosea,⁶⁶² this reading of the literary relationship between the opening summons and "the ways of Yahweh" will not be challenged on grammatical grounds, but will be taken as an established point of departure for the theological reading of Hosea 14:10 which follows. With these prefatory clarifications in place, the relationship between the wisdom coda and the redactional growth of Hosea as a whole may now be pursued.

Hosea 14:10 and theological movement in the book of Hosea

The theological relationships between Hosea 14:10 and the opening chapters of Hosea shed light, not only upon the movement from judgment to mercy inaugurated by Hosea's prologue, but also upon the motives driving the literary growth of Hosea as a whole. As noted earlier, Ibn Ezra argues that the demonstrative pronoun אֵלֶּיךָ in Hosea 14:10 directs readers back to Hosea 14:2-9 rather than the prophecies of Hosea as a whole. While Ezra's reading rightly recognizes the wisdom coda's relationship with Hosea 14:2-9, his observations need not entail the conclusion that its relationship to the book of Hosea terminates in Hosea 14. On the contrary, the preceding analysis of "the ways of Yahweh" strongly suggests that the wisdom coda's relationship with the

'wisdom.'" Harper then goes on to suggest that "The word *Providence* would, perhaps, suitably represent the frequently recurring phrase, *Yahweh's ways*, which includes the ways in which he acts, as well as those in which men, under his guidance, move. The reference is to Hosea's interpretation of these ways." William R. Harper, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea*, 416.

⁶⁶¹ Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 132.

⁶⁶² Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 132; cf. Hans W. Wolff, *A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Hosea*, 135.

book of Hosea actually traces back to its opening chapters, and to the theological rationale implicit in the movement from judgment to mercy found therein. This movement derives its logic from the theological character of the intentionality at work in the redactional expansion of Hosea's prologue, an intentionality which extends the theological significance of Yahweh's name in an ever-broadening and more inclusive direction, addressing Israel first, then moving from Israel to Judah, and finally to a "great day of Jezreel" in which both Israel and Judah will be reunited under one head.⁶⁶³ In this way the redactional expansion of Hosea's prologue bears witness to the presence of a 'canonical intentionality' which lays claim upon future readers of the Twelve by extending the theological significance of Hosea's prophecies to Judah *and beyond*.

One way of relating the wisdom coda to this redactional process lies in recognizing the way in which Hosea 14:10 consummates this generalizing trend. In keeping with the Twelve's canonical intent to address future readers *as readers*, Hosea 14:10 extends the application of Hosea's prophecies "to the righteous and the rebellious of every generation who venture upon the paths of Yahweh."⁶⁶⁴ In other words, the distinction between Israel and Judah presupposed by the Judean redaction of Hosea's prophecies has now been transcended and replaced by the more inclusive categories of "the righteous" and "the rebellious." This reading of Hosea 14:10 is also suggested by the general character of its wisdom summons. The wisdom coda's "call to the wise" is not limited to Israel or Judah, but simply aimed at 'whoever' has an interest in attaining wisdom. In this way the wisdom coda in Hosea 14:10 both embraces and extends the redactional trend in Hosea toward further comprehensiveness, while at the same time anticipating the 'missionary movement' from Israel to the nations in subsequent books of the Twelve, for example, Joel, Amos, and Jonah.

The DOL and 'missionary movement' in the Twelve

Rolf Rendtorff has noted that the Hebrew text of Joel 3 speaks of a coming DOL which deals, not with Judah (Joel 1-2), nor with its enemies (Joel 4), but with "all flesh" (Joel 3:1). The

⁶⁶³ For a general overview of the relationship between Hosea's literary growth and redactional trends aimed at broadening the original application of his prophecies, see Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 378-82.

⁶⁶⁴ Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 134.

call to repentance in Joel 3:5 is thus directed toward “all flesh” without ethnic differentiation (כָּל אֲשֶׁר-יִקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה יִמְלֹט), “all who call upon the *name* of Yahweh will be saved”). Contra Rendtorff, however, the comprehensive concern with “all flesh” in Joel 3:1 was not merely one of three competing options available for interpreting the DOL in Joel’s day,⁶⁶⁵ but a theological extension of the ‘missionary movement’ from Israel to the nations which Hosea 14:10 anticipates, and which the books of Joel (3:1-5) and Amos (9:11-12) then continue. The fact that these passages interpret this ‘missionary movement’ in connection with the DOL and its concern to enforce prophecy’s theological commitments to Yahweh’s *name* also demonstrates the way in which Hosea’s prologue continues to constrain the interpretation of the DOL for readers of Joel and Amos. Just as prophecy *expounds* the theological significance of Yahweh’s *name* in Hosea’s prologue, so also the DOL in book of the Twelve *enforces* that significance in the context of his providential dealings with Israel. However, the movement from Israel to the nations found in Joel 3:1-5 and Amos 9:11-12 clearly presupposes that Yahweh’s name is merciful and just, not only toward Israel and Judah, but also toward the nations, a ‘missionary movement’ which both the redaction history and wisdom coda of Hosea anticipate, and which the books of Joel, Amos, and Jonah further expound. Indeed, because Hosea 14:10 exhorts “whoever” is wise to acknowledge that “the ways of Yahweh are right,” it is not merely Israel that is invited to heed Yahweh’s merciful call to repentance (14:2) and make the “confession of words” called for in 14:3-4, but “all flesh” (כָּל-בָּשָׂר), as Joel 3:1-5 and Jonah 3:5-9 also attest. In this way Hosea 14:10 links the theological function established for the DOL in Hosea’s prologue with the ‘missionary movement’ from Israel to the nations in the Twelve. While this suggests that the DOL in the Twelve is closely bound up with a move toward ethnic universalism, it is crucial to note that this is not a simple

⁶⁶⁵ According to Rendtorff, Joel is an anthology of three different and even contradictory views on the DOL, all of which were present in Israel at one time or another. See for example the remarks in his essay “How to Read the Book of the Twelve as a Theological Unity,” 80, 86: “...we have to read Joel not as one consistent message of one prophet but as a collection of different and in certain respects divergent views of what could be meant by the phrase ‘the Day of the Lord’ (80)...the outcome is far from unified; on the contrary, in the Book of the Twelve we find a number of controversies, and even contradictions, that are characteristic of the Hebrew Bible in general (86).” Cf. also his summary remarks on Joel in *The Canonical Hebrew Bible*, 278: “All three perspectives were present in Israel and have been brought together here in Joel. This is clearly the real function of this writing: to present the Day of YHWH from its various sides.”

universalism which moves in unmediated fashion from Yahweh's mercy and justice directly to the nations. Rather, the theological significance of Yahweh's name-character as merciful and just is mediated *through* Israel's prophetic witness to the nations, as the book of Jonah later underscores.⁶⁶⁶ Such a movement admits of no final conflict, inasmuch as the collective witness of the Twelve makes it clear that Yahweh's revealed character is the basis for his providential dealings with both Israel *and* the nations.

Prophecy and providence in Hosea 14:10

A second way in which Hosea 14:10 relates to the larger collection of Hosea's prophecies derives from the relationship between prophecy and "the ways of Yahweh" implied therein. To clarify this relation it will first be necessary to establish the literary referent of the near demonstrative pronoun in the wisdom coda. Most commentators assign a retrospective sense to the demonstrative pronoun אֵלֶּה in Hosea 14:10 and thus take the phrase "these things" as a reference to the entire written collection of Hosea's prophecies. Although Ibn Ezra departs from this practice, there are no compelling reasons for doing so, and in any case, his arguments are not ultimately incompatible with the reading of Hosea 14:10 on offer here. In point of fact, the literary structure implied by the grammatical relationship between "these things" and "the ways of Yahweh" in Hosea 14:10 points up the bi-directional function of the demonstrative pronoun אֵלֶּה. As argued earlier, the conjunctive preposition וְ functions as a deictic particle which grammatically unites the interrogative question "Who is wise?" with "the ways of Yahweh" in terms of a "summons-example" formula. Thus the demonstrative pronoun אֵלֶּה not only references the prophecies of Hosea, but also "the ways of Yahweh." In sum, the semantics of Hosea's prophecies *and* "the ways of Yahweh" are exegetically linked in the wisdom coda.

By way of review, three further exegetical considerations should also be kept in mind. That the phrase "the ways of Yahweh" does not refer to Yahweh's commandments *per se*, but to his

⁶⁶⁶ While the book of Jonah lacks the standardized DOL terminology found elsewhere in the Twelve, the concept of a coming day of judgment is clearly present in the book (cf. Jonah 3:4: "Yet forty days and Ninevah shall be overthrown"). Moreover, the use of the *Gnadenformel* in Jonah makes it clear that, just as Joel 2:13 instructs readers of the Twelve that Yahweh's revealed character is the basis for his dealings with *Israel*, so also Jonah 4:2 teaches that his revealed character is the basis for his dealings with the *nations*.

providential stance toward Israel *and* the nations, should now be clear from the preceding discussion of Psalm 107, Exodus 33-34, and the ‘missionary movement’ anticipated by the wisdom coda’s generalized stance on prophecy. It should also be clear that the relationship of theological equivalence established in Exodus 33-34 between Yahweh’s “ways” and his “name” is fundamental to the exegetical logic at work in Hosea 14:10. Finally, it must be remembered that because the wisdom coda’s teaching presupposes a generalized stance on prophecy, the hermeneutical stance it adopts on Hosea’s prophecies may be taken to apply to prophecy in general. With these prefatory observations in place, the theological relationship between prophecy and providence in the wisdom coda now begins to emerge.

Hosea 14:10 links the judgment that “the ways of Yahweh are right” with the proper interpretation of “these things” by means of a “summons-example” formula. On this reading, the judgment that “the ways of Yahweh are right” functions as an *example* of the type of wisdom called for by the proper assessment of prophecy (“these things”). Moreover, the relationship between Yahweh’s “ways” and his “name” established in Exodus 33-34 adds a further dimension. The interpretation of Hosea 14:10 which emerges from these exegetical considerations may therefore be stated in summary fashion as follows: To affirm that “the ways of Yahweh are right” is to affirm that Yahweh’s providential dealings with the righteous and rebellious of every generation and nation are congruent with his name-character and therefore fully justified. The wise assessment of prophecy called for by the wisdom coda therefore entails a theological judgment on the part of the Twelve’s readers, namely, that Yahweh’s providential acts of judgment and mercy toward Israel and the nations are fully congruent with the theological significance of his name. Thus in response to the interrogative question “Who is wise?” Hosea 14:10 answers: those who affirm a reading of prophecy which *vindicates* Yahweh’s providential dealings according to his revealed character or “ways.”

“The ways of Yahweh” and ethical posture in Hosea 14:10

In order to facilitate discussion of the wisdom coda’s ethical dimension, the preceding discussion may be restated in more general terms as follows: The “wise” are those who know that a proper hermeneutical stance toward prophecy entails the affirmation that “the ways of Yahweh” unfolded by prophecy in the temporal context of Israel’s history are fully congruent with his earlier

revelation of himself and his character to Israel.. By way of implicative contrast, the “unwise” are those who have adopted a hostile hermeneutical stance toward prophecy. They do not understand prophecy (“these things”) because they fail to recognize that Yahweh’s providential stance toward Israel is consistent with his revealed character. As a result, “the ways of Yahweh” in providence become a stumbling block reflecting the fact that they do not know Yahweh and therefore refuse to acquiesce in his “ways.”⁶⁶⁷ Faithful acceptance of the ‘rightness’ of Yahweh’s dealings with Israel and the nations thus generates a certain posture which the wisdom coda ‘proverbializes’ by means of a metaphorical application of the Hebrew verb for *walking* (הִלְךְ).

This posture may be styled an “ethical” posture if by that adjective one is referring to a humble acquiescence in “the ways of Yahweh” as they have been administered through prophecy and the DOL. This reading of Hosea 14:10 is not only suggested by the summons to repentance in Hosea 14:2, but also by the governing hermeneutical significance of the wisdom coda for the Twelve as a whole. Thus the “wise” in the Twelve are “the righteous” who trust that “the ways of Yahweh” in his providential dealings with Israel and the nations are “right,” even when this means patiently bearing the indignation of Yahweh and receiving correction from his hand (Micah 7:7-10). On the other hand, “rebels” are the “Not-Wise” (לֹא חֲכָמִים, Hosea 13:13), that is, unwise sons who stumble over “the ways of Yahweh” by arrogantly refusing to allow themselves to be corrected by his disciplinary providence (Hosea 7:9-10; Amos 4:6-12). On the contrary, the “unwise” draw cynical deductions from “the ways of Yahweh” which contradict the teaching of both the wisdom coda and Hosea’s prologue by insinuating that Yahweh will not intervene in history according to his name-character.⁶⁶⁸ The Book of the Twelve directly counters these cynical readings of Yahweh’s providence by its proclamation of the DOL. The coming of the DOL in the Twelve demonstrates that Yahweh *does* care, and that he *will* intervene in history on the basis of his name-character, *contra* the cynicism and complacency expressed in Amos 9:10, Micah 3:11, Zeph. 1:12, and Mal. 3:14-15. In sum, while the acceptance of “the ways of Yahweh” admits of

⁶⁶⁷ In Hosea 5:4-5, ‘stumbling’ (כָּשַׁל) is linked with not knowing Yahweh (וְאֵת־יְהוָה לֹא יָדָעוּ).

⁶⁶⁸ See Amos 9:10; Micah 3:11; Zeph. 1:11-12; and Mal. 3:14-15.

ethical extension, the latter does not reduce to the former, nor does that extension involve the keeping of Yahweh's commandments *per se*, contra the ethical reading of "the ways of Yahweh" offered by Davies *et al.* Rather, walking in "the ways of Yahweh" calls for the adoption of a posture of repentance and humility (Hosea 14:2) before the mystery of Yahweh's larger purpose for Israel and the nations which has been expounded and enforced through prophecy, divine providence, and the DOL in the Twelve.

Concluding summary on Hosea 14:10

On the basis of these reflections, it now remains to summarize the way in which Hosea's wisdom coda relates to Hosea's prologue, as well as the Book of the Twelve. In Hosea 14:10 the theologically pregnant phrase "the ways of Yahweh" effectively functions as an abbreviated way of summarizing the relationships between prophecy, Yahweh's providential dealings with Israel, and the theological significance of his name, thereby recapitulating in summary form the theological relationships established in Hosea's prologue and adumbrated by Exodus 32-34. In this way Hosea 14:10 adds a seconding voice to Hosea's prologue and its theological agenda to constrain the interpretation of prophecy, Yahweh's name, and the DOL in the Twelve. Because Hosea 14:10 exhorts "whoever" is wise to acknowledge that "the ways of Yahweh are right," it is not merely Israel that is invited to heed Yahweh's merciful call to repentance (14:2), but "the rebellious" of every generation. In this way Hosea 14:10 links the theological movement in Hosea 'from Israel to the righteous and rebellious of every generation' with a missionary movement 'from Israel to the nations' in the Twelve. The fact that Joel 3:1-5 and Amos 9:11-12 both interpret this 'missionary movement' in connection with the DOL and Yahweh's *name* further underscores the constraining roles of Hosea's prologue and Hosea 14:10 in the Twelve. Moreover, Joel and Amos second the wisdom coda's teaching that the name or "ways" of Yahweh form the basis for his providential acts of judgment and mercy toward Israel *and* the nations. Finally, Hosea's wisdom coda anticipates two possible stances toward Yahweh's providential dealings with Israel and the nations in the Twelve, one "wise" and the other "unwise," the latter of which the Twelve subsequently tracks via a series of passages which illustrate this stance (Amos 9:10, Micah 3:11, Zephaniah 1:12, and Malachi 3:14-15). Here walking in "the ways of Yahweh" does not directly translate into the keeping of Yahweh's commandments *per se*, but into the adoption of a posture of repentance

and humility before the mystery of Yahweh's larger purpose for Israel and the nations.

Hosea 14:10 suggests a generalized stance on prophecy for readers who are about to embark on a journey through the books which follow. As such, the first book of the Twelve establishes a stance on prophecy which instructs readers of Joel through Malachi in the proper understanding of prophecy. Stated differently, the wisdom coda's generalized stance on prophecy is reflective of a 'canonical intentionality' which provides assistance to the Twelve's readers by establishing hermeneutical guidelines for the wise interpretation of prophecy. Readers now make their way through the rest of the Twelve having been theologically armed with a proper stance on prophecy. Moreover, this stance rests upon a decisively non-historicist reading of prophecy.⁶⁶⁹ In Hosea 14:10, wisdom *also* lies in the recognition that prophecy's theological significance has spilled over into broader circles, encompassing not merely Israel and Judah, but "the righteous and rebellious of every generation."⁶⁷⁰ Thus "the wise" are those of *every* generation who know and accept that "the ways of Yahweh are right," because they are fully consistent with his revealed character. In other words, Hosea 14:10 directly counters historicized readings of prophecy which effectively identify prophecy with the historical circumstances of its birth, opting instead for a theological reading of prophecy which continues to inform the present through the Twelve's final form.

Hosea 14:10 and Joel 1:1-4

Already at the outset of the Twelve, then, the way is cleared for a 'canonical intentionality' which seeks to lay hold of future readers by adopting a non-historicist stance toward prophecy. The adoption of this 'non-historicist' stance on prophecy in the book of Hosea thus clears the way for a canonical-historical stance on prophecy which the wisdom summons in Joel's prologue (Joel 1:1-4) then continues. This may be illustrated from the thematic link which the wisdom summons

⁶⁶⁹ Cf. Bruce Vawter, *Amos, Hosea, Micah, with an Introduction to Classical Prophecy* (Old Testament Message 7; Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1981) 126-27: "...the final verse of the Book of Hosea...is, as everyone acknowledges, a 'wisdom' codicil to the finished work as it finally emerged from the hands of its editors and redactors. The best commentary we can give it is to note how it testifies that from the beginning prophetic words were recognized to have perennial validity, by no means to be restricted to the original historical setting that had called them into being."

⁶⁷⁰ Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 134. Cf. also the remarks of Childs on the Judean redaction of Hosea's prophecies in his *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 379: "Prophetic authority was not tied to an office, nor to a particular mode of delivery, but lay in the prophetic word itself."

in Hosea 14:10 forms with the wisdom summons in Joel's prologue, especially verses 2-3:

“Hear this you elders, and give ear all you inhabitants of the land!
Has this happened in your days,
Or in the days of your fathers?
Tell your children about it,
Let your children tell their children,
And their children another generation.”⁶⁷¹

The question put to the elders in Joel 1:2 is clearly sapiential in character,⁶⁷² illustrating along with Hosea 14:10 that in the end stages of canon formation, “wisdom” had become literary in character, functioning as a hermeneutical construct closely associated with the theological reading of Hebrew Scripture.⁶⁷³ The hermeneutical impact of late wisdom upon Joel's prologue is manifest, for example, in its parallel usage of the Hebrew imperatives שְׁמַעוּ (“hear”) and הִאָזְינוּ (“give ear”), parallel collocations which are often found in wisdom literature and which commonly function as a “summons” by which wisdom teachers introduce their sayings.⁶⁷⁴ These parallel cola also serve a similar function elsewhere in the prophets,⁶⁷⁵ as well as the books of the law,⁶⁷⁶ thereby illustrating “Israel's ability to sapientialize not only the law, but the whole of her tradition.”⁶⁷⁷

The summons to “hear” and “give ear” in Joel's prologue reflects the language and structure of a formulaic “call to receive instruction” frequently invoked in wisdom circles as a means of arousing attentiveness (*Lehreröffnungsruf*).⁶⁷⁸ A close parallel to the language of Joel

⁶⁷¹ Joel 1:2-4, my translation.

⁶⁷² Hans W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos*, 9, 20; cf. also idem, *A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Hosea*, 96-7.

⁶⁷³ Van Leeuwen, “Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy,” 31. Cf. also the introductory remarks in Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*.

⁶⁷⁴ Cf. Ps. 49:2, Job 13:6, 33:1, 34:2, 16; cf. also Prov. 4:1 and 7:24, which substitute the hiphil imperative of קָשַׁב for the hiphil imperative of הִאָזַן, as do Hos. 5:1 and Micah 1:2 in the Book of the Twelve.

⁶⁷⁵ Is. 1:2, 10; 32:9, Jer. 13:15, Hos. 5:1, Micah 1:2.

⁶⁷⁶ Gen. 4:23, Dt. 32:1.

⁶⁷⁷ Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments*, 190; cf. also Steve Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets*, esp. 288-89.

⁶⁷⁸ See Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 20.

1:2, for example, occurs in the invocation to hear wisdom's voice found in Psalm 49:1: חָלֵד כָּל־יֹשְׁבֵי־אֶרֶץ (‘‘Hear this all peoples! Give ear all you who dwell in the world’’).⁶⁷⁹ The verses which follow this summons clarify the fact that its function in Psalm 49 is to prepare its readers for instruction in wisdom (פִּי יִדְבֹר חֲכָמוֹת וְהַגִּיתָ לְבִי תְבוּנוֹת), ‘‘my mouth will speak wisdom and the meditation of my heart will be understanding’’.⁶⁸⁰ As Wolff has noted, Joel 1:3 also reflects a sapiential concern to transmit instruction to future generations by means of ‘‘an unbroken chain of tradents,’’⁶⁸¹ thus going beyond the Deuteronomistic concern to transmit instruction to the third and fourth generations.⁶⁸² In sum, the use of sapiential language and the presence of sapiential concerns in Joel 1:2-3 clearly points to a continuing concern with ‘‘wisdom’’ in the prologue of Joel. The ‘‘wisdom summons’’ in Joel’s prologue should not be read, therefore, as though it were an independent summons to attention, but rather as a continuation of the summons to wisdom found in Hosea 14:10. In this way Joel’s prologue signals the Twelve’s readers that the wise reading of prophecy inaugurated in Hosea’s prologue and later summarized in Hosea 14:10 is about to find further theological extension in the book of Joel.

Nogalski revisited

This reading of Joel’s prologue offers an alternative to Nogalski’s argument that the literary antecedent to the rhetorical question in Joel 1:2 ‘‘Has this happened in your days or the days of your fathers?’’ is found in Hosea’s call to repentance in Hosea 14:2.⁶⁸³ For Nogalski, the practice of reading Joel 1:2 as a summons to receive instruction (*Lehreröffnungsruf*) derives from the mistaken presupposition that the book had an independent existence and circulation prior to its incorporation into the Twelve. This would not only contradict Nogalski’s claim that Joel was

⁶⁷⁹ Cf. Joel 1:2, שְׁמַעוּ־זֹאת הַזְקֵנִים וְהָאֲזִינוּ כָּל יוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ, ‘‘Hear this, elders, and give ear all you who dwell in the land.’’

⁶⁸⁰ Psalm 49:3.

⁶⁸¹ Cf. Psalm 78:1-8.

⁶⁸² Cf. for example Deut. 4:9 with Joel 1:3. See also Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 26.

⁶⁸³ See J. Nogalski, ‘‘Joel as a Literary Anchor in the Book of the Twelve,’’ 98 n. 15.

specifically composed for the place it now occupies in the Twelve, but would also leave the rhetorical question in Joel 1:2 without a literary referent. The rhetorical question in Joel 1:2 “Has this happened in your days?” clearly calls for a negative answer, yet the answer cannot be “no” if one follows the majority of Joel’s interpreters and takes the question as a reference to the locust plagues in Joel 1:4. Israel and Judah had obviously witnessed many locust plagues over the years. This is precisely the reason why the would-be translators of Joel 1:2 have been forced to introduce a comparative element in the verse in order to render it intelligible (“Has *anything like* this happened in our days or the days of your fathers?”). This translation allows Joel’s interpreters to save their prospective reading of Joel’s rhetorical question by suggesting that it refers to a ‘maximum strength’ locust plague hitherto unknown in Judah’s history, and therefore incapable of comparison with previous locust plagues. On Nogalski’s view this harmonizing move would not be necessary were one to simply acknowledge that Joel’s rhetorical question retrospectively references Hosea’s call to repentance (Hosea 14:2), rather than the coming locust plagues in Joel 1:4. He therefore argues that the more literal translation of Joel 1:2 should be preserved.

The fact that Hosea’s end and Joel’s beginning are united by means of a common wisdom perspective makes it unnecessary to resort to Nogalski’s somewhat strained reading of Joel’s prologue. Both the wisdom coda and Joel’s prologue issue a call to “wise” readers of the Twelve. Moreover, in Joel’s prologue the locust plagues of Joel 1:4 are clearly linked with prophecy’s call to repentance and humility before the coming DOL in Joel 1-2. Thus while the literary form and structure of the ‘summons to wisdom’ in Joel 1:2-3 differs from that of the ‘summons to wisdom’ in Hosea 14:10, both summons are aimed at generating a proper response to prophecy. In other words, Hosea’s wisdom coda and Joel’s prologue are linked together in terms of both perspective and purpose. Such a reading does not require one to deny that Joel 1:2 looks forward to Joel 1:4. In point of fact, the summons to wisdom in Joel’s prologue performs a dual function by retrospectively referencing Hosea’s wisdom coda, while at the same time pointing forward to Joel 1:4 and beyond.

This reading also does not require one to rule out the possibility that Joel once circulated as an independent summons to hear and receive prophetic wisdom. In all likelihood, Hosea 14:10 was added to Hosea’s prophecies sometime *after* the book of Hosea had already been joined to Joel

in the Twelve's formation history. While this supposition is more or less impossible to prove on historical grounds, it would help to account for the wisdom vocabulary in Hosea 14:10, as well as its generalized stance on prophecy. As both Sheppard and van Leeuwen have suggested, the 'sapiential reading' of prophecy offered by Hosea 14:10 suggests that it was added to Hosea's prophecies during the end stages of canon formation. By this time prophecy had clearly become an object for study and interpretation, while 'wisdom' itself had become literary in character, functioning as a hermeneutical construct for 'sapientializing' prophecy. The likelihood that Hosea 14:10 was added to Hosea's prophecies with an eye toward the wisdom summons in Joel's prologue is certainly strengthened by these considerations, albeit not conclusively established.

Summary reflections on Hosea 14:10 and Joel 1-2

The wise in the Twelve are those who have come to know that "the ways of Yahweh are right" through a proper understanding of prophecy's theological commitments to the continuing significance of Yahweh's name for Israel and the nations. The exhortation to the wise in Hosea 14:10 urges readers of the Twelve to lay hold of this knowledge at the outset of their journey through the Twelve, an exhortation which the wisdom summons in Joel's prologue continues. The book of Joel then provides a further demonstration of prophecy's expositional relationship to Yahweh's name by actualizing the repentance called for in Hosea 14:2, thereby modeling for readers of the Twelve the humility and proper posture called for by the coming DOL in Joel 1-2. Indeed, Joel 2:17-18 virtually recapitulates Exodus 32:11-14, with the priests of Joel's day occupying the role of Moses the intercessor. This observation, along with the appeal to the *Gnadenformel* in Joel 2:13, demonstrates the constraining influence of Hosea's prologue upon the DOL's interpretation in Joel. In a manner already anticipated by the naming of Hosea's children, Joel 1-2 interprets the DOL in connection with prophecy's theological commitments to Yahweh's name-character. Because Yahweh's name is merciful, there remains hope that he will extend forgiveness to those strike a posture of humility and repent before the coming DOL: "Who knows whether he will not turn and repent, and leave a blessing behind him?" (Joel 2:14).

Summary observations on chapters 7-8

This study concludes that Hosea's prologue establishes a theological context for the logic of prophecy, eschatology, and typology in the Twelve which finds its hermeneutical ground in

Exodus 32-34 and the continuing theological significance of Yahweh's name for his providential dealings with Israel. In this way the opening chapters of Hosea constrain the interpretation of prophecy and the DOL in the Twelve by linking their theological function to the significance of Yahweh's name for Israel, thus underscoring Hosea's function as a hermeneutical prologue to the Twelve. The wisdom coda in Hosea 14:10 both embraces and extends the theological agenda of Hosea's prologue by instructing readers of Joel through Malachi in the proper stance toward prophecy and Yahweh's providential dealings with Israel *and* the nations vis-a-vis his revealed character in Exodus 34:5-7. In this way Hosea's 'wisdom coda' enables its readers to make their way through the rest of the Twelve having been theologically armed with a "wise" interpretation of prophecy which recognizes that "the ways of Yahweh" in his providential dealings with Israel are "right" (רָצוֹן), because they are fully consistent with his name-character. The book of Hosea thus ends by establishing hermeneutical guidelines for the "wise" interpretation of prophecy, a stance which is then further facilitated by the summons to wisdom in Joel's prologue (1:1-4) and Joel's own deployment of the DOL in Joel 1-2.

Conclusion

As suggested in chapter two of this study, it is impossible to understand the 'hermeneutical crisis' fostered by the rise of historical consciousness in the late 18th century apart from the influence of Gabler's retooling of the discipline of biblical theology. In the wake of the attempt to redefine biblical theology as a *primarily* historical enterprise, theological and historical approaches to biblical interpretation began to come apart, resulting in the creation of hermeneutical gap between "what the prophets meant" and "what the prophets now mean." Negotiating this gap required recourse to most, if not all of the historical tools at modernity's disposal. At the end of the day, however, the historical critical deployment of these tools were simply not able to surmount the disparity between prophecy's past and its future.

By way of contrast, the strength of precritical exegesis lay in the fact that their view of the prophets kept historical and theological concerns *together* under the larger rubric of canon. Viewed from this perspective, a canonical approach to the prophets agrees with precritical approaches insofar as they both seek to hold the theological and historical dimensions of Scripture together, rather than allowing them to be pulled apart in the name of historicized versions of

Wissenschaft, falsely so-called. But to say this still leaves unresolved the question of just what sort of history is appropriate for a theological and canonical approach to the prophets. Is it the history brokered by the canon's own presentation of prophecy and the way it disposes time,⁶⁸⁴ or is it to be found in the narrowly conceived approaches on offer in Enlightenment modernity?

The preceding study of Hosea's prologue suggests that the way forward lies in a fresh reckoning with the theological pressures generated by Israel's confession of God's character for her understanding of her history. Failure to reckon with this confession has all too often facilitated the dismemberment of prophetic books. To take but one example for the purposes of illustration, modern historical critics are often at a loss to explain the seemingly abrupt shifts in the prophetic oracles from judgment to salvation. One thinks especially of Wellhausen's famous remark that the prophet who predicted 'roses and lavender instead of blood and iron' for Israel in Amos 9:11-15 could not have been the same prophet who envisaged judgment without remainder for Israel in the preceding verses. Although recent approaches to prophetic interpretation have largely moved away from Wellhausen's preoccupation with diachronic concerns, the failure to come to terms with the theological reading of God's character at work in the Twelve nevertheless lives on. One thinks especially of a recent comment made by Herbert Marks with reference to the abrupt transition from judgment to salvation at the end of Micah 3 and the beginning of Micah 4:

“...Micah's oracle against Jerusalem, which ends by reducing the Temple mountain to a wooded height, is followed immediately by the prophecy of Zion's exaltation when the Temple mountain 'shall be established in the top of the mountains...and people shall flow to it' (4:1)...Theologically, the unmotivated reversals suggest the absolute freedom of YHWH.”⁶⁸⁵

As Marks' comments suggest, such reversals often appear 'unmotivated,' especially when one approaches the Twelve in terms of the assumption that historical logic drives its formation and literary expansion on a fundamental level. Although Marks' himself suggests that this passage can be understood theologically in terms of God's absolute freedom, the redactional threads connecting Exodus 34:6-7 with Hosea through Micah and beyond suggest otherwise. Because the tradents

⁶⁸⁴ Cf. the excursus on prophecy and temporality in chapter 8

⁶⁸⁵ Herbert Marks, "The Twelve Prophets," in *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (ed. R. Alter & F. Kermode; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977) 207-32.

who shaped the Twelve were clearly aware of the theological confession offered by Exodus 34:6-7, God's freedom toward Israel was not understood in terms of the arbitrary freedom suggested by Marks, but in terms of his character as both just and merciful toward Israel and the nations. Exodus 34:6-7 portrays the God of Israel in terms of *one* being in whom *both* justice and mercy cohere, and this *Gnadenformel* not only constrained Israel's understanding of the character of God, but also his providential dealings with Israel, as the theological stance inherent in both the prologue and the wisdom coda of Hosea demonstrates. In sum, when one reckons with the impact of Exodus 34:6-7 upon the Twelve, these reversals are not "unmotivated," but actually underscore the fact that Israel's confession of God's character was decisive, both for the retrospective reading of the prophets at work in the Twelve's literary development, *as well as* the Twelve's distinctive understanding of God's providential dealings with Israel *and* the nations.

On the other hand, the preceding discussion also demonstrates that historicist logic is simply unable to explicate the theological basis for the typological and eschatological extensions found in Hosea's prologue and scattered throughout the Twelve as a whole. Here one is confronted with the loss of the figural linkages and affiliations supplied by prophecy's own inner logic, especially with respect to the question surrounding prophecy's relationship to both the law and the New Testament. On this score modern approaches appear to have fallen into deep sleep after the manner of the errant prophet Jonah (Jonah 1:5). Is the DOL a move away from the law or a component part of the 'two-way bridge' between the law and what is yet to come in Christ? The present study strongly suggests the latter, but such a move is possible only upon the basis of the figural and eschatological linkages generated by the canon itself. The fact that such linkages are already up and running in the opening chapters of the Hosea not only suggests their significance for the Twelve, but also points to the larger role played by figural and eschatological realities in the Bible's own approach to negotiating the historical relationship between the law, the prophets, and the New Testament. Thus Hosea's prologue looks back to a DOL at Sinai *while at the same time* proclaiming a DOL in which Yahweh will 'visit' justice and mercy upon Israel and the nations. As such, the DOL in the Book of the Twelve forms an *indestructible* two-way bridge between the law and 'He who cometh.'

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