

## PROGRAMME

### **IOSOT INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT**

(24TH CONGRESS) 8–12 AUGUST 2022

### **IOMS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MASORETIC STUDIES**

(29TH CONGRESS) 12 AUGUST 2022

### **IOQS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR QUMRAN STUDIES**

(11TH CONGRESS) 8–11 AUGUST 2022

### **IOSCS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR SEPTUAGINT AND COGNATE STUDIES**

(18TH CONGRESS) 5–7 AUGUST 2022

### **IOVS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR VULGATE STUDIES**

(1ST CONGRESS) 9–11 AUGUST 2022

### **ISLP INTERNATIONAL SYRIAC LANGUAGE PROJECT**

9–11 AUGUST 2022



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# Programme Book

IOSOT

IOMS

IOQS

IOSCS

IOVS

ISLP

Zurich, 5–12 August 2022





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# IOSOT Programme Overview

For the sister congresses, see pages 19–21.

## Monday, 8 August 2022

- 14:15–18:20 Welcome Addresses, IOSOT Main Papers
- 18:20–18:50 Refreshments in the Atrium (University of Zurich)
- 18:50–20:00 Welcome Addresses, Presidential Address
- 20:00–21:30 Reception in the Atrium (University of Zurich), supported by the City and Canton of Zurich

## Tuesday, 9 August 2022

- 09:00–12:50 IOSOT Main Papers
- 12:50–14:30 Lunch break
- 14:30–18:00 IOSOT Short Paper Sessions
- 18:30–21:00 Reception in the Atrium (University of Zurich), supported by the European Research Council

## Wednesday, 10 August 2022

- 09:00–12:00 IOSOT Main Papers
- 12:30–17:30 Boat Tour, Lake of Zurich; registration required (fee: CHF 30 per person)
- 18:30–21:00 Reception in the courtyard of the Faculty of Theology (Kirchgasse 9); registration required (fee: CHF 30 per person)

## Thursday, 11 August 2022

- 09:00–12:50 IOSOT Main Papers
- 12:50–14:30 Lunch break
- 14:30–18:00 IOSOT Short Paper Sessions
- 18:30–21:30 Congress Dinner at ETH Dozentenfoyer (Rämistrasse 101) and at Mensa of the University of Zurich; registration required (fee: CHF 80 per person)

## Friday, 12 August 2022

- 09:00–12:00 IOSOT Main Papers
- 12:00–12:50 IOSOT Business Meeting
- 12:50–14:30 Lunch break
- 14:30–18:00 IOSOT Short Paper Sessions

# Welcome to Zurich

The Faculty of Theology at the University of Zurich is honored to host the 24th congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT) in Zurich, which is scheduled for August 8–12, 2022. In conjunction with this meeting, Zurich will also be hosting the congresses of the International Organization for Masoretic Studies (IOMS), the International Organization for Qumran Studies (IOQS), the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS), the International Organization for Vulgate Studies (IOVS), and the International Syriac Language Project (ISLP).

IOSOT is dedicated to academic excellence and intellectual diversity. The congress is open to all who are interested in the scientific study of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament and adjacent fields. Papers can and will be held in English, German, or French.

The history of the IOSOT has been aptly described by Rudolf Smend, “Fifty Years International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament and *Vetus Testamentum*”, *Vetus Testamentum* 50 (2000): 14–26. The text is available here: <https://www.iosot2022.uzh.ch/en/About-History-of-IOSOT.html>.

The congress is organized by the local committee in Zurich, and the program has been discussed by the IOSOT board, which is identical to the *Vetus Testamentum* editorial board. Annette Schellenberg from the University of Vienna is *Vetus Testamentum*’s general editor and the current secretary general of IOSOT. A special thanks goes to Samuel Arnet, who is serving as the Secretary of the Congress and who prepared this book.

We wish you a pleasant, insightful and interesting congress!

On behalf of the organizers:  
Konrad Schmid (University of Zurich)

# Willkommen in Zürich

Die Theologische Fakultät der Universität Zürich freut sich, Gastgeberin für den 24. Kongress der International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT) zu sein, der vom 8. bis 12. August 2022 stattfinden wird. Im Zusammenhang damit finden auch die Kongresse der International Organization for Masoretic Studies (IOMS), der International Organization for Qumran Studies (IOQS), der International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS), der International Organization for Vulgate Studies (IOVS) und des International Syriac Language Project (ISLP) in Zürich statt.

Der Kongress der IOSOT steht allen Interessierten offen, die an den neuesten Entwicklungen in der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft teilhaben und einige ihrer internationalen Exponentinnen und Exponenten persönlich kennenlernen möchten.

Die Geschichte des IOSOT ist von Rudolf Smend, „Fifty Years International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament and *Vetus Testamentum*“, *Vetus Testamentum* 50 (2000), 14–26, dargestellt worden. Der Text ist hier abrufbar: <https://www.iosot2022.uzh.ch/en/About-History-of-IOSOT.html>.

Der Kongress wird vom Komitee vor Ort in Zürich organisiert, und das Hauptprogramm ist mit dem IOSOT-Board abgesprochen worden, das mit dem Editorial Board von *Vetus Testamentum* identisch ist. Annette Schellenberg ist derzeit Generalsekretärin der IOSOT. Die IOSOT versteht sich als internationale wissenschaftliche Vereinigung, die akademischer Exzellenz und intellektueller Diversität verpflichtet ist. Die Vorträge können und werden auf Englisch, Deutsch und Französisch gehalten werden. Ein besonderer Dank geht an Samuel Arnet, den Sekretär des Kongresses, der dieses Buch erstellt hat.

Wir wünschen Ihnen einen angenehmen, interessanten und inhaltlich weiterführenden Kongress!

Für die Organisatorinnen und Organisatoren:  
Konrad Schmid (Universität Zürich)

## Bienvenue à Zurich

La Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Zurich a le plaisir d'accueillir le 24<sup>e</sup> congrès de l'International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT), qui se tiendra du 8 au 12 août 2022. Dans ce contexte, les congrès de l'International Organization for Masoretic Studies (IOMS), de l'International Organization for Qumran Studies (IOQS), de l'International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS), de l'International Organization for Vulgate Studies (IOVS) et de l'International Syriac Language Project (ISLP) auront également lieu à Zurich.

Le congrès de l'IOSOT est ouvert à toutes les personnes intéressées qui souhaitent participer aux derniers développements de la science de l'Ancien Testament et rencontrer personnellement quelques-uns de ses exposants internationaux.

L'histoire de l'IOSOT a été présentée par Rudolf Smend, « Fifty Years International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament and Vetus Testamentum », *Vetus Testamentum* 50 (2000), 14–26, le texte peut être consulté ici : <https://www.iosot2022.uzh.ch/en/About-History-of-IOSOT.html>.

Le congrès est organisé par le comité local à Zurich et le programme principal a été convenu avec le conseil de l'IOSOT, qui est le même que le conseil éditorial de *Vetus Testamentum*. Annette Schellenberg est actuellement secrétaire générale de l'IOSOT. L'IOSOT se définit comme une association scientifique internationale engagée dans l'excellence académique et la diversité intellectuelle. Les conférences peuvent et seront données en anglais, en allemand et en français. Nous tenons à remercier tout spécialement Samuel Arnet, le secrétaire du Congrès, qui a préparé ce livre.

Nous vous souhaitons un congrès agréable, intéressant et riche en contenu !

Pour le comité d'organisation :  
Konrad Schmid (Zurich)

## Practical Information

IOSOT, IOMS, IOQS, IOVS and ISLP will take place at the main building of the University of Zurich (UZH), Rämistrasse 71, 8001 Zürich. Several trams run close to the congress venue (see page 12). IOSCS will take place at Kirchgasse 9.

People with mobility issues should use the accessible entrance located to the right of the main entrance.

### **Congress Office**

The congress office is located in the main building of the University of Zurich, at Rämistrasse 71 in room KOL-E-21, which you can find just behind the main entrance on the right.

Contact: [iosot2022@theol.uzh.ch](mailto:iosot2022@theol.uzh.ch)

### *Opening hours*

|                      |             |
|----------------------|-------------|
| Monday, 8 August     | 10:30–19:00 |
| Tuesday, 9 August    | 08:30–18:30 |
| Wednesday, 10 August | 08:30–11:45 |
| Thursday, 11 August  | 08:30–18:30 |
| Friday, 12 August    | 08:30–15:30 |

### **Languages**

In Zurich, German is the official language. English, French and Italian are widely spoken.

### **Local time**

Central European Summer Time (CEST), UTC+02:00

### **Currency**

Swiss Francs (CHF). In some stores and restaurants it is possible to pay with Euro. As a rule, however, only banknotes are accepted; change is given out in Swiss Francs.

## Praktische Informationen

IOSOT, IOMS, IOQS, IOVS und ISLP finden im Hauptgebäude der Universität Zürich (UZH), Rämistrasse 71, 8001 Zürich, statt. In der Nähe des Kongressortes verkehren mehrere Trams (siehe Seite 12). IOSCS findet an der Kirchgasse 9 statt.

Personen mit eingeschränkter Mobilität werden gebeten, den barrierefreien Eingang rechts vom Haupteingang zu benutzen.

### Kongressbüro

Das Kongressbüro befindet sich im Hauptgebäude der Universität Zürich, Rämistrasse 71, gleich rechts hinter dem Haupteingang in Raum KOL-E-21. Kontakt: [iosot2022@theol.uzh.ch](mailto:iosot2022@theol.uzh.ch)

### *Öffnungszeiten*

|                        |                 |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| Montag, 8. August      | 10:30–19:00 Uhr |
| Dienstag, 9. August    | 08:30–18:30 Uhr |
| Mittwoch, 10. August   | 08:30–11:45 Uhr |
| Donnerstag, 11. August | 08:30–18:30 Uhr |
| Freitag, 12. August    | 08:30–15:30 Uhr |

### Sprachen

In Zürich ist Deutsch die offizielle Sprache. Englisch, Französisch und Italienisch sind weit verbreitet.

### Ortszeit

Mitteleuropäische Sommerzeit (MESZ), UTC+2

### Währung

Schweizer Franken (CHF). In einigen Geschäften und Restaurants ist es möglich, mit Euro zu bezahlen. In der Regel werden jedoch nur Banknoten akzeptiert; das Wechselgeld wird in Schweizer Franken herausgegeben.

**General emergency number**

112 (also accessible with foreign SIM card and prepaid)

**Shop Opening Hours**

Monday to Saturday 10:00–19:00/20:00

**Museums**

Mondays closed, Tuesdays to Sundays 10:00–18:00

**Access to the Internet**

The University of Zurich provides several options for our guests to connect to the internet.

*eduroam Wi-Fi:* Most universities and research institutions use eduroam. Members of these institutions have internet access in the public areas of UZH via the eduroam Wi-Fi network. We recommend testing eduroam access at your home university in advance to ensure that the configuration is correct.

*Internet Access for Guests via UZH Wi-Fi:* As a guest at UZH, you can access the internet everywhere where there is Wi-Fi access: Simply select the uzh-guest Wi-Fi network. After doing so, accept the Terms of Service and fill in the registration form with your mobile phone number. You will subsequently receive an access code by text message, which allows you to unlock internet access. This option is available for all cell phone carriers that allow receiving SMS text messages in Switzerland.

If you have any questions, please contact our congress office team.

**Cafeterias UZH and ETH**

There are several cafeterias in the main building of the UZH and in the main building of the ETH, which is right next to the UZH, where you can eat. However, the summer opening hours were not yet known before this publication went to press. Please inform yourselves at the congress office.

Price per meal for guests: between 5 and 13.50 CHF. Discounts are available for students and PhD students upon presentation of a valid student ID.



**Notrufnummer**

112 (auch mit ausländischer SIM-Karte und Prepaid erreichbar)

**Ladenöffnungszeiten**

Montag bis Samstag, 10:00–19:00/20:00

**Museen**

Montags geschlossen, Dienstags bis Sonntags 10:00–18:00

**Zugang zum Internet**

Die Universität Zürich bietet ihren Gästen mehrere Möglichkeiten, sich mit dem Internet zu verbinden.

*eduroam Wi-Fi:* Die meisten Universitäten und Forschungseinrichtungen nutzen eduroam. Angehörige dieser Institutionen haben in den öffentlichen Bereichen der UZH über das eduroam-Wi-Fi-Netzwerk Zugang zum Internet. Wir empfehlen, den eduroam-Zugang an Ihrer Heimuniversität vorgängig zu testen, um sicherzustellen, dass die Konfiguration korrekt ist.

*Internetzugang für Gäste über UZH Wi-Fi:* Als Gast der UZH können Sie überall dort ins Internet gehen, wo es einen Wi-Fi-Zugang gibt: Wählen Sie einfach das Wi-Fi-Netz *uzh-guest*. Akzeptieren Sie anschliessend die Nutzungsbedingungen und füllen Sie das Anmeldeformular mit Ihrer Mobiltelefonnummer aus. Anschließend erhalten Sie per SMS einen Zugangscode, mit dem Sie den Internetzugang freischalten können. Diese Option ist für alle Mobilfunkanbieter verfügbar, die den Empfang von SMS in der Schweiz erlauben.

Wenn Sie Fragen haben, wenden Sie sich bitte an unser Kongressbüro-Team.

**Cafeterien UZH und ETH**

Im Hauptgebäude der UZH und im Hauptgebäude der Eidgenössischen Technischen Hochschule Zürich (ETH Zürich), die sich direkt neben der UZH befinden, gibt es mehrere Cafeterien, in denen man essen kann. Die Sommeröffnungszeiten waren zum Zeitpunkt der Drucklegung noch nicht bekannt. Bitte informieren Sie sich beim Kongressbüro.

Preis pro Mahlzeit für Gäste: zwischen 5 und 13.50 CHF. Für Studenten und Doktoranden gibt es bei Vorzeigen eines gültigen Studierendenausweises Ermässigungen.

## **Street Parade, Saturday, 13 August 2022 – the Worlds Largest Techno Party in Zurich**

During the Street Parade, hundreds of thousands of ravers will be dancing in the areas of the town near Lake Zurich. Please be aware that public transport (especially tram and bus services) will be severely restricted on this day. Trains, however, will run normally. Allow enough time if you need to get to Zurich Main Station that day. If possible, avoid the main station and the city center.

## **Outdoor Pools**

Zurich can look back on a bathing culture that is rich in tradition and is still actively lived. In summer, a visit to the “Badi” – as the open-air public baths are affectionately called – is an integral part of daily life.

Tickets: 8.00 CHF per person

Frauenbad Stadthausquai (for women only)

Männerbad Schanzengraben (for men only, free of charge)

Seebad Utoquai

Seebad Enge

Strandbad Tiefenbrunnen

Strandbad Mythenquai

Oberer/Unterer Letten (free of charge)

## **1200 Water Fountains – Fresh Drinking Water**

You never need to go thirsty in Zurich. Fresh drinking water flows out of over 1200 fountains. You can simply keep filling up your bottle – reuse it and help avoid producing plastic waste. Thank you!

## **Street Parade: Samstag, 13. August 2022 – die grösste Techno-Party der Welt in Zürich**

Während der Street Parade werden Hunderttausende von Ravern in den Stadtvierteln am Zürichsee tanzen. Bitte beachten Sie, dass der öffentliche Verkehr (insbesondere Tram und Bus) an diesem Tag stark eingeschränkt sein wird. Die Züge werden jedoch normal verkehren. Planen Sie genügend Zeit ein, wenn Sie an diesem Tag zum Hauptbahnhof Zürich gelangen müssen. Vermeiden Sie nach Möglichkeit den Hauptbahnhof und das Stadtzentrum.

## **Freibäder**

Zürich kann auf eine traditionsreiche und immer noch gelebte Badekultur zurückblicken. Im Sommer ist ein Besuch in der «Badi» – wie die öffentlichen Freibäder liebevoll genannt werden – ein fester Bestandteil des täglichen Lebens.

Eintrittspreise: 8.00 CHF pro Person

Frauenbad Stadthausquai (nur für Frauen)

Männerbad Schanzengraben (nur für Männer, gratis)

Seebad Utoquai

Seebad Enge

Strandbad Tiefenbrunnen

Strandbad Mythenquai

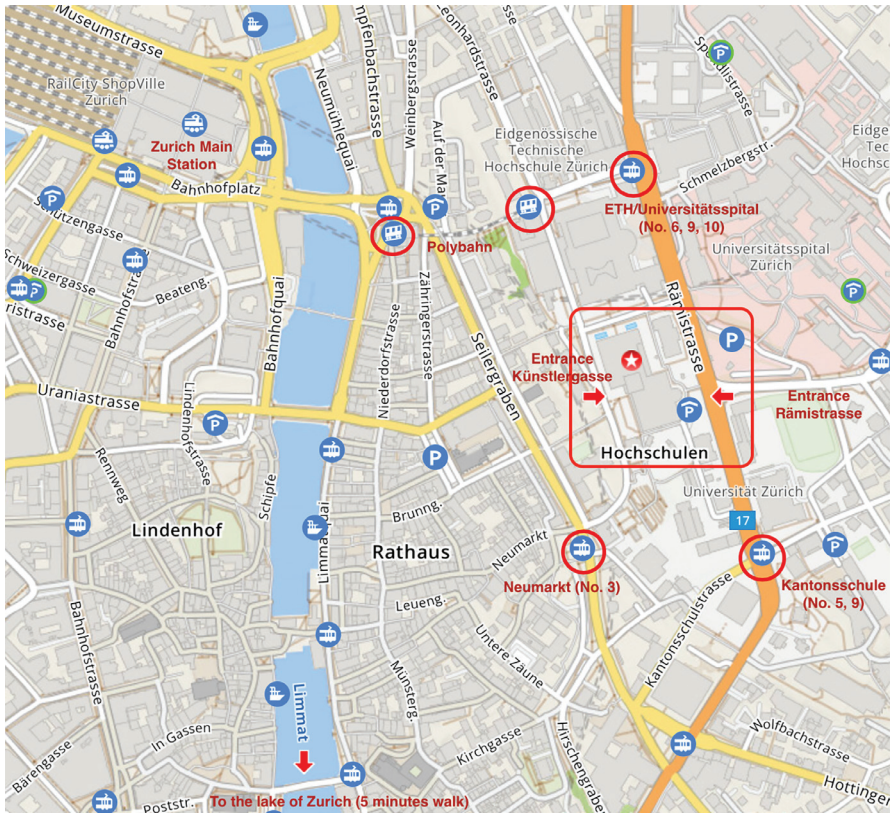
Oberer/Unterer Letten (gratis)

## **1200 Brunnen - frisches Trinkwasser**

In Zürich brauchen Sie nie zu verdursten: aus über 1200 Brunnen fliesst frisches Trinkwasser. Füllen Sie Ihre Flasche einfach immer wieder auf – so können Sie sie wiederverwenden und helfen, Plastikmüll zu vermeiden.

Wir danken Ihnen!

Welcome



**Programme:**  
**Overview of Sessions,  
Addresses, and Keynotes**

## Session Numbers

Each session has a unique pair of numbers joined by a hyphen (for example, “109-60”). In the number preceding the hyphen, the first digit indicates the congress (A) and the next two digits indicate the date (B); the number following the hyphen indicates the session type and when the session takes place (C).

### A: Congress

- |   |       |   |
|---|-------|---|
| 1 | IOSOT | International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament |
| 2 | IOMS  | International Organization for Masoretic Studies              |
| 3 | IOQS  | International Organization for Qumran Studies                 |
| 4 | IOSCS | International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies |
| 5 | IOVS  | International Organization for Vulgate Studies                |
| 6 | ISLP  | International Syriac Language Project                         |

### B: Date

- |    |                           |
|----|---------------------------|
| 05 | Friday, 5 August 2022     |
| 06 | Saturday, 6 August 2022   |
| 07 | Sunday, 7 August 2022     |
| 08 | Monday, 8 August 2022     |
| 09 | Tuesday, 9 August 2022    |
| 10 | Wednesday, 10 August 2022 |
| 11 | Thursday, 11 August 2022  |
| 12 | Friday, 12 August 2022    |

### C: Kind and Time

- |          |  |
|----------|--|
| 10 to 19 | main paper sessions and addresses, morning                   |
| 20 to 29 | main paper sessions and addresses, afternoon                 |
| 30 to 39 | invited short paper sessions and keynotes, morning           |
| 40 to 49 | invited short paper sessions and keynotes, afternoon         |
| 50 to 59 | open short paper sessions, starting first half of afternoon  |
| 60 to 69 | open short paper sessions, starting second half of afternoon |

So “109-60” refers to the IOSOT congress (“1”) and to Tuesday, 9 August (“09”), and further to an open short paper session taking place in the second half of the afternoon (“60”).

---

## IOSOT

Monday, 8 August 2022

- 108-20 **Welcome Address (1)**  
14:15–14:30 Room KOH-B-10
- 108-21 **IOSOT Main Paper (1)**  
14:30–16:10 Room KOH-B-10
- 108-22 **IOSOT Main Paper (2)**  
16:40–18:20 Room KOH-B-10
- 108-23 **Welcome Address (2)**  
18:50–19:10 Room KOH-B-10
- 108-24 **Presidential Address**  
19:10–20:00 Room KOH-B-10

Tuesday, 9 August 2022

- 109-10 **IOSOT Main Paper (3)**  
09:00–10:40 Room KOH-B-10
- 109-11 **IOSOT Main Paper (4)**  
11:10–12:50 Room KOH-B-10
- 109-40 **Between Fiction and Facts: Historicity and Religiosity in the Books of Samuel / Zwischen Fiktion und Fakten. Historizität und Religiosität in den Samuelbüchern (1)**  
14:30–18:00 Room KOL-E-18
- 109-41 **Bible and Women: An International Project of Exegesis, Reception History and Cultural History**  
14:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-217
- 109-42 **Conceptual Thinking in the Ancient Mediterranean World**  
14:30–18:00 Room KOL-F-101
- 109-43 **Intersections of Law, Wisdom, and Justice**  
14:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-204

## Programme

- 109-50 Books of Kings (1)**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-H-320
- 109-51 HB/OT Theology/Hermeneutics/Ethics (1)**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-E-13
- 109-52 Pentateuch (1)**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-G-203
- 109-53 Pentateuch (2)**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-G-210
- 109-54 Prophets (1)**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-H-322
- 109-55 Psalms (1)**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-G-212
- 109-56 Second Temple/Deuterocanonical Literature (1)**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-H-309
- 109-57 Social Anthropology, Disability Studies, and HB/OT**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-F-103
- 109-58 Translation of the Hebrew Bible, Ancient and Modern**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-H-321
- 109-60 Books of Kings (2)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-H-320
- 109-61 HB/OT Reception History (1)**  
16:30–17:30 Room KOL-E-13
- 109-62 Pentateuch (3)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-203
- 109-63 Pentateuch (4)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-210
- 109-64 Prophets (2)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-H-322
- 109-65 Psalms (2)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-212
- 109-66 Second Temple/Deuterocanonical Literature (2)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-H-309
- 109-67 The Religions of Ancient Israel and Judah**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-F-103

Wednesday, 10 August 2022

- 110-10 IOSOT Main Paper (5)**  
09:00–10:40 Room KOH-B-10
- 110-11 IOSOT Main Paper (6)**  
11:10–12:00 Room KOH-B-10



Thursday, 11 August 2022

- 111-10 **IOSOT Main Paper (7)**  
09:00–10:40 Room KOH-B-10
- 111-11 **IOSOT Main Paper (8)**  
11:10–12:50 Room KOH-B-10
- 111-40 **Between Fiction and Facts: Historicity and Religiosity in the Books of Samuel / Zwischen Fiktion und Fakten. Historizität und Religiosität in den Samuelbüchern (2)**  
14:30–18:00 Room KOL-E-18
- 111-41 **Beyond the “Biblical World” Paradigm: New Approaches to Religion, Mediality, and Gender in the Southern Levant**  
14:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-217
- 111-42 **Martin Noth’s Legacy: Seventy-Five Years after *Die Welt des Orients***  
14:30–17:30 Room KOL-G-204
- 111-43 **The BHQ Project: Principles, Progress and Perspective**  
14:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-209
- 111-44 **Book Review Session: Michael P. Steinberg, *The Afterlife of Moses: Exile, Democracy, Renewal* (Stanford University Press, 2022)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KO2-D-54
- 111-50 **Deuteronomistic History (1)**  
14:30–15:30 Room KOL-F-103
- 111-51 **Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles (1)**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-E-13
- 111-52 **HB/OT Theology/Hermeneutics/Ethics (2)**  
14:30–15:30 Room KOL-H-309
- 111-53 **Hebrew Poetry (1)**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-G-212
- 111-54 **Pentateuch (5)**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-H-322
- 111-55 **Postcolonial Studies and HB/OT**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-H-321
- 111-56 **Prophets (3)**  
14:30–15:30 Room KOL-G-203
- 111-57 **Prophets (4)**  
14:30–15:30 Room KOL-G-222
- 111-58 **Wisdom Literature (1)**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-H-320
- 111-60 **Deuteronomistic History (2)**  
16:30–17:30 Room KOL-F-103
- 111-61 **Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles (2)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-E-13

## Programme

- 111-62 Gender Studies and HB/OT**  
16:30–17:30 Room KOL-H-321
- 111-63 HB/OT Theology/Hermeneutics/Ethics (3)**  
16:30–17:30 Room KOL-H-309
- 111-64 Hebrew Poetry (2)**  
16:30–17:30 Room KOL-G-212
- 111-65 Pentateuch (6)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-H-322
- 111-66 Prophets (5)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-203
- 111-67 Prophets (6)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-222
- 111-68 Wisdom Literature (2)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-H-320

## Friday, 12 August 2022

- 112-10 IOSOT Main Paper (9)**  
09:00–12:00 Room KOH-B-10
- 112-40 Violence in the Psalms**  
14:30–17:30 Room KOL-G-201
- 112-50 Apocalyptic Literature**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-G-220
- 112-51 HB/OT Reception History (2)**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-G-212
- 112-52 Hebrew and Other Northwest Semitic Languages (1)**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-F-103
- 112-53 Methodology of HB/OT Study (1)**  
14:30–16:00 Room KOL-G-203
- 112-54 Prophets (7)**  
14:30–15:30 Room KOL-G-222
- 112-60 Hebrew and Other Northwest Semitic Languages (2)**  
16:30–17:30 Room KOL-F-103
- 112-61 Methodology of HB/OT Study (2)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-203
- 112-62 Prophets (8)**  
16:30–17:30 Room KOL-G-222
- 112-63 The Political, Social, and Economic History of Ancient Israel and Judah**  
16:30–17:30 Room KOL-G-220
- 112-64 Wisdom Literature (3)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-212

## **IOMS**

Friday, 12 August 2022

- 212-30 The International Organization for Masoretic Studies (IOMS) Session**  
09:00–11:30 Room KOL-G-203
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## **IOQS**

Monday, 8 August 2022

- 308-40 IOQS Keynote Session**  
16:40–18:20 Room KOL-G-201

Tuesday, 9 August 2022

- 309-40 Ritual Issues in Yaḥad Texts**  
14:00–16:00 Room KOL-G-201  
**309-41 Conceptual Thinking in the Ancient Mediterranean World**  
14:30–18:00 Room KOL-F-101  
**309-42 Materials and Manuscripts**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-201

Wednesday, 10 August 2022

- 310-30 Aramaic Texts**  
09:00–10:30 Room KOL-G-201  
**310-31 Exorcistic and Apotropaic Texts**  
11:00–12:00 Room KOL-G-201

Thursday, 11 August 2022

- 311-30 Tradition and Authority**  
09:10–10:40 Room KOL-G-201  
**311-31 History and Identity**  
11:10–12:40 Room KOL-G-201

## Programme

- 311-42 Ritual and Performance (1)**  
15:00–16:00 Room KOL-G-201
- 311-43 Ritual and Performance (2)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-201

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## IOSCS

Please note that all IOSCS sessions take place at Kirchgasse 9 (= KIR).

### Friday, 5 August 2022

- 405-40 SBL Commentary on the Septuagint**  
14:00–16:00 Room KIR-2-200
- 405-41 Versions and Reception (1)**  
14:00–16:00 Room KIR-2-201
- 405-42 IOSCS Keynote**  
16:30–17:30 Room KIR-2-200

### Saturday, 6 August 2022

- 406-30 Translation Technique (1)**  
09:00–10:30 Room KIR-2-200
- 406-31 Translation Technique and Textual Criticism**  
09:00–10:30 Room KIR-2-201
- 406-32 Thematic Studies (1)**  
11:00–12:30 Room KIR-2-201
- 406-33 Translation Technique (2)**  
11:00–12:30 Room KIR-2-200
- 406-44 Lexicographical and Semantic Studies (1)**  
14:00–16:00 Room KIR-2-200
- 406-45 Versions and Reception (2)**  
14:00–16:00 Room KIR-2-201
- 406-46 Hellenistic World (1)**  
16:30–18:00 Room KIR-2-200
- 406-47 Thematic Studies (2)**  
16:30–17:30 Room KIR-2-201

Sunday, 7 August 2022

**407-30 Lexicographical and Semantic Studies (2)**

09:00–10:30 Room KIR-2-200

**407-31 Thematic Studies (3)**

09:00–10:30 Room KIR-2-201

**407-32 Hellenistic World (2)**

11:00–12:00 Room KIR-2-200

**407-33 Translation Technique (3)**

11:00–12:00 Room KIR-2-201

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## **IOVS**

Tuesday, 9 August 2022

**509-40 The Importance of the Vulgate for Textual Criticism (1)**

14:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-221

**509-41 The Importance of the Vulgate for Textual Criticism (2)**

14:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-220

Thursday, 11 August 2022

**511-40 The Importance of the Vulgate for Textual Criticism (3)**

14:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-221

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## **ISLP**

Tuesday, 9 August 2022

**609-40 The International Syriac Language Project (ISLP) (1)**

14:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-222

Thursday, 11 August 2022

**611-40 The International Syriac Language Project (ISLP) (2)**

14:30–18:00 Room KOL-G-220



# **Programme: Sessions and Papers**

Up-to-date information can be found online:

<https://www.iosot2022.uzh.ch/en/Programme.html>

<https://www.iosot2022.uzh.ch/de/Programm.html>





# International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT)

Monday, 8 August

108-20

## Welcome Address (1)

Room: KOH-B-10

14:15–14:30

*Gabriele Siegert, Vizerektorin der Universität Zürich*

*Sylvie F. Matter, Vizepräsidentin des Zürcher Kantonsrats*

*Dorothea Lüddeckens, Dekanin der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Zürich*

Monday, 8 August

108-21

## IOSOT Main Paper (1)

CHAIR: HINDY NAJMAN (OXFORD)

Room: KOH-B-10

1. 14:30–15:20

*Jutta Jokiranta (Helsinki)*

**The Lure or Relief of Ritualized Behavior: Cognitive and Cultural Readings of Scrolls**

2. 15:20–16:10

*Nathan MacDonald (Cambridge)*

**Turbulent Priests? Rethinking the History of the Israelite Priesthood**

Monday, 8 August

108-22

## IOSOT Main Paper (2)

CHAIR: CHRISTL M. MAIER (PHILIPPS-UNIVERSITÄT MARBURG)

Room: KOH-B-10

1. 16:40–17:30

*Peter Dubovský (Rome)*

**Neo-Assyrian Archival Texts and the Bible**

## Programme

2. 17:30–18:20

*David Vanderhooft (Boston)*

**Travel and Divination Inquiries in the Hebrew Bible and Epigraphic Sources**

Monday, 8 August

**108-23**

### Welcome Address (2)

Room: KOH-B-10

18:50–19:10

*Ralph Lewin, President of the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities*

*Rita Famos, President of the Protestant Church in Switzerland*

*Franziska Driessen-Reding, President of the Catholic Church in the Canton of Zurich*

*Michel Müller, President of the Reformed Church of the Canton of Zurich*

Monday, 8 August

**108-24**

### Presidential Address

CHAIR: ANNETTE SCHELLENBERG (VIENNA)

Room: KOH-B-10

19:10–20:00

*Konrad Schmid (Zürich)*

**The Composition of the Pentateuch as a Historical and a Hermeneutical Problem**

Tuesday, 9 August

**109-10**

### IOSOT Main Paper (3)

CHAIR: DAVID M. CARR (NEW YORK)

Room: KOH-B-10

1. 09:00–09:50

*Steed V. Davidson (Chicago)*

**Imperial Desires: Constructions and Maintenance of Race in Biblical Interpretation**

2. 09:50–10:40

*Benjamin D. Sommer (New York)*

**What Is the Problem in the Cursing Psalms? Scripture, Genre, and the Ethics of Prayer**

Tuesday, 9 August

109-11

### **IOSOT Main Paper (4)**

CHAIR: LOUIS C. JONKER (STELLENBOSCH)

Room: KOH-B-10

1. 11:10–12:00  
*Judith Newman (Toronto)*  
**Time, Text, and Ancestors in the Memories of Israel: A New Perspective**
2. 12:00–12:50  
*Oded Lipschits (Tel Aviv)*  
**Since When and for How Long Has the “Clan of Azekah” Been Part of the Kingdom of Judah?**

Tuesday, 9 August

109-40

### **Between Fiction and Facts: Historicity and Religiosity in the Books of Samuel / Zwischen Fiktion und Fakten. Historizität und Religiosität in den Samuelbüchern (1)**

CHAIRS: JOHANNES KLEIN, WALTER DIETRICH

Room: KOL-E-18

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Ilse Müllner*  
**Ebenen des Erzählens und die Glaubwürdigkeit der Erzählung**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Jeremy Hutton*  
**Split Identities and Fragmented Texts: Text, Source and Materiality in 1 Samuel 17–18 MT and OG**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Yigal Levin*  
**Samuel, Saul, and the Founding of the Monarchy: Between Historical Reality and Literary Ideology**
- BREAK
4. 16:30–17:00  
*Hannes Bezzel*  
**Charismatic Leadership? Concepts of the “Spirit” in the Books of Samuel**

## Programme

5. 17:00–17:30  
*Cha-Yong Ku*  
**Dramatisierung der konsequenten Erfahrungstheologie des Buches  
Kohelet in der Thronfolgegeschichte Davids**
6. 17:30–18:00  
*Stephen Germany*  
**Reconsidering the Religio-historical Background of the “Uncircumcised  
Philistine” Motif in the Book of Samuel**

Tuesday, 9 August

**109-41**

### **Bible and Women: An International Project of Exegesis, Reception History and Cultural History**

CHAIR: IRMTRAUD FISCHER

Room: KOL-G-217

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Irmtraud Fischer (University of Graz, A), Núria Calduch-Benages (Pontifical  
University Gregoriana, I)*  
**Presentation of the Series “Bible and Women” ([www.bibleandwomen.org](http://www.bibleandwomen.org))**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Silvia Schroer (University of Bern, CH)*  
**The Variant Ways Iconography Contributes to a Gender-Oriented Reading  
of Biblical Texts**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Angela Berlis (University of Bern, CH), Irmtraud Fischer (University of Graz, A)*  
**The Role of the Bible in the Women’s Movements of the Nineteenth  
Century**
- BREAK
4. 16:30–17:00  
*L. Juliana M. Claassens (Stellenbosch University, SA)*  
**On Prophecy and Gender in the Hebrew Bible**
5. 17:00–17:30  
*Martti Nissinen (University of Helsinki, FI)*  
**Comparing Women Prophets in the Bible and in Mesopotamia**
6. 17:30–18:00  
*Christl M. Maier (Philipps-Universität Marburg)*  
**Transcultural Biblical Interpretation: Strategies and Challenges**

Tuesday, 9 August

109-42

## Conceptual Thinking in the Ancient Mediterranean World

ORGANIZERS: HINDY NAJMAN, JAN DIETRICH

CHAIR: GEORGE BROOKE

(= Joint Session IOSOT/IOQS, see also session 309-41)

Room: KOL-F-101

1. 14:30–15:00

*Friedhelm Hartenstein (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

**The Countability of the Stars of Heaven: On a Case of Thinking the Infinite in the Hebrew Bible**

2. 15:00–15:30

*Arjen Bakker (University of Groningen)*

**Time as a Cosmic Principle in Jewish Wisdom of the Greco-Roman Period**

3. 15:30–16:00

*Phillip Lasater (University of Oxford)*

**The Orderliness or Disorderliness of Justice: Reflections on Mishpat**

BREAK

4. 16:30–17:00

*Annie Calderbank (University of Oxford)*

**Seeing Sanctification: The Perceptibility of Holiness and its Status as an Interpretive Concept**

5. 17:00–17:30

*Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum (Freie Universität Berlin)*

**ittu “Sign”: Reflections on Conceptual Thinking in Ancient Mesopotamia**

6. 17:30–18:00

*Hindy Najman (University of Oxford), Jan Dietrich (Universität Bonn)*

**Heavenly Paradigms and Earthly Models: A Comparative Study of Conceptual Thinking**

Tuesday, 9 August

109-43

## Intersections of Law, Wisdom, and Justice

CHAIR: PETER ALTMANN

Room: KOL-G-204

1. 14:30–15:00

*Lida Panov (University of Zurich)*

**Die Bedeutung der älteren Weisheit für die Theologisierung des Rechts**

## Programme

2. 15:00–15:30  
*Dylan Johnson (University of Zurich)*  
**Miscarriages of Justice: Widowed, Wronged, and Wise Women in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal History**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Peter Altmann (University of Zurich)*  
**Viewing Persian Authorization of Torah through a Wisdom Lens**  
  
BREAK
4. 16:30–17:00  
*Phillip Lasater (University of Oxford)*  
**Legal Poetics: How the Self Illuminates Law and Law Illuminates the Self**
5. 17:00–17:30  
*Anna Angelini (University of Zurich)*  
**An Unbreakable Order: Cosmic Justice and Natural Law in Jeremiah 31**
6. 17:30–18:00  
*Matthias Hopf (University of Zurich)*  
**The “Legal” Function of Holiness**

Tuesday, 9 August

**109-50**

### **Books of Kings (1)**

CHAIR: WALTER BÜHRER

Room: KOL-H-320

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Martijn Beukenhorst (Université catholique de Louvain)*  
**What is Wisdom? The Development of Solomonic Wisdom in Kings**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Jonathan Robker (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)*  
**The King, Solomon, and King Solomon: Identifiers as Literary-Critical Evidence?**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Alicia R. Hein (University of St Andrews)*  
**Prophet, Remnant, Mother, Child: Four Angles to Elijah's Portrait in 1 Kings 19**

Tuesday, 9 August

109-51

## HB/OT Theology/Hermeneutics/Ethics (1)

CHAIR: JENNA KEMP

Room: KOL-E-13

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Juan Cruz (University of Aberdeen)*  
**Lament and Cultural Memory in Psalm 77**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Andrea Hugill (Independent Scholar)*  
**“One of a City and Two of a Family”: Historical Consciousness, Election  
Theology and the Tale of Two Sisters**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Matan Orian (Tel Aviv University)*  
**A New Perspective on Gentile Impurity in the Bible**

Tuesday, 9 August

109-52

## Pentateuch (1)

CHAIR: NOAM MIZRAHI

Room: KOL-G-203

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Reinhard Achenbach (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)*  
**The Pentateuch as Early Second Temple Literature**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Bill T. Arnold (Asbury Theological Seminary)*  
**Deuteronomy’s Justice Manifesto: The Significance of ‘Correct  
Decision(s)’ in Deuteronomy 16:18**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Phil Reid (University of the Free State)*  
**The Samaritan Pentateuch as an Intra-lingual Translation**

Tuesday, 9 August

**109-53**

### **Pentateuch (2)**

CHAIR: LUDGER SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER

Room: KOL-G-210

1. 14:30–15:00

*Jože Krašovec (University of Ljubljana)*

**The Use of Terms for God's Attributes of Salvation in Jerome's Double Translation of the Psalms**

2. 15:00–15:30

*Jeffrey Stackert (University of Chicago)*

**On the Relation between Textual Criticism and Source Criticism in the Pentateuch**

3. 15:30–16:00

*Christoph Levin (Universität München)*

**Die Niedrigkeits-Bearbeitung in der Urgeschichte**

Tuesday, 9 August

**109-54**

### **Prophets (1)**

CHAIR: MARTIN LEUENBERGER

Room: KOL-H-322

1. 14:30–15:00

*Alphonso Groenewald (University of Pretoria),*

*Liza Esterhuizen (University of Pretoria)*

**A Study of the Tension between Experiences of Nothingness and Hope in the Name-Giving of the Children in Isaiah 7 and 8: A Trauma-Hermeneutical Perspective**

2. 15:00–15:30

*Bob Becking (Utrecht University)*

**Divine Jealousy as an Answer to Trauma: Notes on the Book of Nahum**

3. 15:30–16:00

*Todd Hibbard (University of Detroit Mercy)*

**Scribal List-Making and Isaiah's Early Composition**



Tuesday, 9 August

109-55

## **Psalms (1)**

CHAIR: JORDAN DAVIS

Room: KOL-G-212

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Nina Beerli (Universität Zürich)*  
**Streiten mit Menschen und Gott. Ein Beitrag zur Analyse von Konflikten in den Psalmen**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Gert Prinsloo (University of Pretoria)*  
**Between Mythical Past and Messianic Future: Reimagining Lived Space in Psalm 132**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Edgar Kellenberger (Universität Basel)*  
**Hellenistic Epigraphica as Comprehension Aids for the Psalms of Lamentation and Thanksgiving?**

Tuesday, 9 August

109-56

## **Second Temple/Deuterocanonical Literature (1)**

CHAIR: HANS-PETER MATHYS

Room: KOL-H-309

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Michael Avioz (Bar-Ilan University)*  
**The War between Ahab and Aram (1 Kings 20) According to Josephus**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Veronika Bachmann (Universität Luzern)*  
**The King as God and God as King: On the Theologically Significant Ambiguity of the Term *melek* in the Hebrew Esther Narrative**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Alma Brodersen (Universität Bern)*  
**No Canon in Ben Sira**

Tuesday, 9 August

**109-57**

**Social Anthropology, Disability Studies, and HB/OT**

CHAIR: KATHARINA PYSCHNY

Room: KOL-F-103

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Heather McKay (Edge Hill University)*  
**How Does Mephibosheth's Disability Affect His Life and Death?**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Pieter van der Zwan (Universität Wien; North-West University, South Africa)*  
**Grotesque Bodies in the Book of Job**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Kirsten M. Schäfers (Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität)*  
**Ethnography and the Reciprocity of Perspectives: A Search for Traces of a Social Anthropological Key Concept in the Hebrew Bible**

Tuesday, 9 August

**109-58**

**Translation of the Hebrew Bible, Ancient and Modern**

CHAIR: DOMINIK MARKL

Room: KOL-H-321

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Shlomi Efrati (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)*  
**The Importance of Being Different: Reconsidering the European Textual Tradition of Targum Onqelos**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Arnim Janssen (Universität Wien)*  
**"Remember!": Emotivity in the Transmission of the Book of Lamentations**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*S. C. Daley (SIL International; Triapla Research Institute)*  
**Aspects of Text-Critical Decision Making: Correlating MT Soundness and Variant Strength**

Tuesday, 9 August

109-60

## Books of Kings (2)

CHAIR: CHRISTIAN FREVEL

Room: KOL-H-320

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Mario Tafferner (Tyndale Theological Seminary)*  
**The Divine Warrior Motif in 2 Kings 18:1–8**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Francisco Martins (University of Notre Dame)*  
**“Showing” and “Seeing” the Treasures: Towards a New Understanding of 2 Kings 20:12–19 // Isaiah 39:1–8**
3. 17:30–18:00  
*Itzhak Amar (Bar-Ilan University)*  
**A Reflection of Yehu’s Rise to Power in the Division between Jehoram and Joash in the Book of Chronicles (2 Chronicles 21–24)**

Tuesday, 9 August

109-61

## HB/OT Reception History (1)

CHAIR: JAEYOUNG JEON

Room: KOL-E-13

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Hanne Løland Levinson (University of Minnesota)*  
**God of the Father, God of the Daughter: God in Octavia E. Butler’s Novel *Parable of the Sower***
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Mark Sneed (Lubbock Christian University)*  
**From Chaos Dragon to Hegemonic Monster of Order: Thomas Hobbes’s *Leviathan* in Reception Historical Perspective**

Tuesday, 9 August

**109-62**

### **Pentateuch (3)**

CHAIR: JOACHIM J. KRAUSE

Room: KOL-G-203

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Jonathan Ben-Dov (Tel Aviv University)*  
**Spiritual Aspects of the Tabernacle Materials**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Attila Bodor (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)*  
**Documentary Evidence of the Growth and Change of the Torah:  
Methodological Considerations**
3. 17:30–18:00  
*Angela Roskop Erisman (Brooklyn Institute for Social Research/ARE Editorial)*  
**The Lying Pen of the Scribes: Aaron's Stylus and the Creation of an Idol**

Tuesday, 9 August

**109-63**

### **Pentateuch (4)**

CHAIR: MICHAEL A. LYONS

Room: KOL-G-210

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Domenico Lo Sardo (Pontifical University of Antonianum, Rome)*  
**The Place of the Incense Altar and the End of P: Textual and Literary  
Criticism Study of Exodus 30:1–10; 37:25–28, Leviticus 4, 16; and the Role  
of the Vetus Latina**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Christo Lombaard (University of Pretoria)*  
**Mystic Interpretations of Moses: An Analysis of Interpretative Strategy**
3. 17:30–18:00  
*Esias Meyer (University of Pretoria)*  
**The Restitution/Guilt Offering in Leviticus and Numbers**

Tuesday, 9 August

109-64

## Prophets (2)

CHAIR: MARTIN LEUENBERGER

Room: KOL-H-322

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Hugh Williamson (University of Oxford)*  
**Unravelling Isaiah 17**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*David J. A. Clines (University of Sheffield)*  
**A Dietary Upgrade for Eschatological Animals (Isaiah 30:24)**
3. 17:30–18:00  
*Mirjam Bokhorst (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)*  
**Zweiter Exodus oder Nachfolge Gottes? Beobachtungen zur Rückkehr des Volkes bei Deuterocesaja**

Tuesday, 9 August

109-65

## Psalms (2)

CHAIR: JEAN-DANIEL MACCHI

Room: KOL-G-212

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Christophe Nihan (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)*  
**Sacrificial Metaphors in the Psalms: A Preliminary Report**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Innocent Himbaza (University of Fribourg)*  
**YHWH roi dans le Psaume 68**
3. 17:30–18:00  
*Sophie Ramond (Institut Catholique de Paris)*  
**Esthétique de la résilience dans le psaume 79**

Tuesday, 9 August

109-66

## Second Temple/Deuterocanonical Literature (2)

CHAIR: HANS-PETER MATHYS

Room: KOL-H-309

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Arie van der Kooij (Leiden University)*  
**Who Are “the Many”? On Groups and Parties in Early Judaism**

## Programme

2. 17:00–17:30

*Min-Su Oh (Daeshin University, Daegu)*

**Eine kritische Lektüre der nachexilischen theologischen Strömungen,  
fokussiert auf Prediger 4,17–5,6**

3. 17:30–18:00

*Frank Ueberschaer (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)*

**Literary Adaptations of Conflicts between Jews and Their Rulers in  
Second Temple Period Literature**

Tuesday, 9 August

**109-67**

### The Religions of Ancient Israel and Judah

CHAIR: TIMOTHY H. LIM

Room: KOL-F-103

1. 16:30–17:00

*Florian Oeppling (Universität Osnabrück)*

**Mythos Tempelbibliothek**

2. 17:00–17:30

*Brent Strawn (Duke University)*

**“The Human Being before God” in Southern Levantine Seals**

3. 17:30–18:00

*David Toshio Tsumura (Japan Bible Seminary)*

**Was El Elyon the Canaanite God El?**

Wednesday, 10 August

**110-10**

### IOSOT Main Paper (5)

CHAIR: THOMAS KRÜGER (ZÜRICH)

Room: KOH-B-10

1. 09:00–09:50

*Susanne Gillmayr-Bucher (Linz)*

**„Unsere Väter haben uns erzählt ...“ (Ps 78,3). Geschichtserinnerungen in  
den Psalmen im Spiegel ihrer Rezeptionsgeschichte /**

**“Our Fathers Have Told Us ...” (Psalm 78:3): Remembered History in the  
Psalms Reflected through the Centuries**

2. 09:50–10:40

*William A. Tooman (St Andrews)*

**Rereading**

Wednesday, 10 August

110-11

**IOSOT Main Paper (6)**

CHAIR: THOMAS RÖMER (PARIS)

Room: KOH-B-10

1. 11:10–12:00

*Shuichi Hasegawa (Tokyo)*

**Past, Present and Future: The Redaction History of 2 Kings 17**

Thursday, 11 August

111-10

**IOSOT Main Paper (7)**

CHAIR: JACQUELINE VAYNTRUB (YALE)

Room: KOH-B-10

1. 09:00–09:50

*Bernd U. Schipper (Berlin)*

**From Empirical Knowledge to Critical Wisdom: The Composition and Intention of the Book of Proverbs**

2. 09:50–10:40

*Nili Wazana (Jerusalem)*

**Biblical “Special Traits List”: A Subversive Reaction to Imperial Power**

Thursday, 11 August

111-11

**IOSOT Main Paper (8)**

CHAIR: CHRISTOPH UEHLINGER (ZÜRICH)

Room: KOH-B-10

1. 11:10–12:00

*Manfred Oeming (Heidelberg)*

**Die Bedeutung der Numismatik für das Studium des Alten Testaments /  
The Importance of Numismatics for the Study of the Old Testament**

2. 12:00–12:50

*Matthieu Richelle (Louvain-la-Neuve)*

**Réflexions épistémologiques sur la critique textuelle de la Bible  
hébraïque: Assumer l'incertitude et l'indécidabilité / Uncertainty and  
Undecidability in Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible**

Thursday, 11 August

**111-40**

**Between Fiction and Facts: Historicity and  
Religiosity in the Books of Samuel /  
Zwischen Fiktion und Fakten. Historizität und  
Religiosität in den Samuelbüchern (2)**

CHAIRS: JOHANNES KLEIN, WALTER DIETRICH

Room: KOL-E-18

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Rachelle Gilmour*  
**Saul's Idolatry and the Rhetoric of Prophetic Judgment**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Thomas Naumann*  
**Mit Gott auf der Flucht. Davids Glaube und Frömmigkeit im Kontext  
seiner Flucht vor Saul und vor Absalom /  
With God in Migrations: David's Piety and Faith in the Context of His  
Flight from Saul and from Absalom**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Walter Dietrich*  
**Davids Frömmigkeit. Religiöses Phänomen und historisches Problem /  
David's Piety: Religious Phenomenon and Historical Problem**  
  
BREAK
4. 16:30–17:00  
*David Shepherd*  
**"Deliver Me from 'Bloods'": The Problem of Bloodguilt in 2 Samuel 11–12  
and Psalm 51**
5. 17:00–17:30  
*Mahri Leonard-Fleckman*  
**From a Samson–Saul Complex to the Creation of Judahite History**
6. 17:30–18:00  
*Johannes Klein*  
**Kann Zukunft verändert werden, wenn sie bekannt ist? Gedanken zur  
Relevanz von Gottesbefragungen in den Samuelbüchern /  
Can the Future Be Changed If It Is Known? Thoughts on the Relevance of  
Inquiries of God in the Books of Samuel**



Thursday, 11 August

111-41

## Beyond the “Biblical World” Paradigm: New Approaches to Religion, Mediality, and Gender in the Southern Levant

CHAIR: CHRISTOPH UEHLINGER

Room: KOL-G-217

How does the Hebrew Bible, a very special product of the cultural dynamics of ancient Levantine societies, relate to the objects, practices and imaginaries attested in the material record of the first-millennium BCE southern Levant? This workshop is designed to introduce Hebrew Bible scholars to an international research project entitled *Stamp Seals from the Southern Levant: a multi-faceted prism for studying entangled histories in an interdisciplinary perspective* and generously supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation.

Aiming to complete the pioneering *Corpus of stamp seal amulets from Israel/Palestine* initiated by Othmar Keel, whose published volumes cover sites from A to K (7041 items from 131 sites), the SSSL project will process all available data remaining for sites L to Z (ca. 2500 items from 111 sites) as well as ca. 600 additional items from sites already covered. The material from Jordan will be similarly updated. Moreover, the SSSL project will transfer these data to a WWW database allowing continuous update and expansion of data in the future as well as easy access and search for interested scholars worldwide.

The catalogue project as such is enhanced by a series of topical research modules, three of which will be presented here: The module concerned with issues of mediality and so-called “iconographic exegesis” will perhaps appeal most immediately to Hebrew Bible scholars. Yet a module questioning the premise of ethnicity in the history of religion in the Southern Levant might offer no less a challenge to current mainstream thinking. The third module to be discussed here addresses issues of gender as reflected in material and visual culture and in biblical texts. Three invited colleagues will offer their own thoughts on these topics, addressing different material genres; while three more senior Hebrew Bible scholars will respond to the overall package of presentations, to foster a lively, controversial, and critically constructive debate.

### 1. 14:30–15:00

*Christoph Uehlinger (University of Zurich, SSSL project)*

**Introduction to the Stamp Seals from the Southern Levant Project**

### Panel: Beyond the Image-Text Divide

### 2. 15:00–15:15

*Silas Klein Cardoso (Universities of Bern and Zurich, SSSL project)*

**Beyond the Image-Text Divide: In Search of a Multidimensional Approach to Visual Artifacts and Biblical Texts**

## Programme

3. 15:15–15:30

*Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme (University of Oslo)*

**The Agency of an Altar: A Material Semiotics-Inspired Investigation of the Relationship between Incense Altars and Texts about Incense Altars**

**Panel: Beyond Ethnicity**

4. 15:30–15:45

*Fabio Porzia (University of Zurich, SSSL project)*

**Beyond Ethnicity: Outline of a Renewed Approach to the Levantine Religious Landscape**

5. 15:45–16:00

*Katharina Pyschny (Humboldt-Universität Berlin)*

**Cultural Hybridity Rather Than Ethnicity: The Persian and Early Hellenistic Woman and Child Figurines as a Test Case**

BREAK

**Panel: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches to Gender**

6. 16:30–16:45

*Bruno Biermann (Universities of Bern and Zurich, SSSL project)*

**Beyond Binaries in Biblical Studies and Levantine Archaeology**

7. 16:45–17:00

*Katharina Galor (Brown University)*

**Fashioning and Self-Fashioning Jewish Women's Bodies: Roman and Byzantine Period Visual and Material Identity Markers**

8. 17:00–17:30

*Francesca Stavrakopoulou (University of Exeter), Izaak de Hulster (Universities of Göttingen and Helsinki), Martti Nissinen (University of Helsinki)*

**Responses**

9. 17:30–18:00

**Final Discussion**

Thursday, 11 August

111-42

## Martin Noth's Legacy: Seventy-Five Years after *Die Welt des Orients*

CHAIR: JEFFREY STACKERT

Room: KOL-G-204

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Erhard Blum*  
**Martin Noths kritische Aktualität**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Cynthia Edenburg*  
**Evaluating Noth's Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis as a Popperian Thought Experiment**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Dominik Markl*  
**"Die großen abschließenden Katastrophen": Martin Noth's Interpretation of Deuteronomistic Historiography**
- BREAK
4. 16:30–17:00  
*Lauren Monroe*  
**A Pre-monarchic League in the Song of Deborah**
5. 17:00–17:30  
*David Vanderhooft*  
**Martin Noth, G. E. Wright, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, and the Founding of *Die Welt des Orients* Seventy-Five Years Later**
6. 17:30–18:00  
**Discussion**

Thursday, 11 August

111-43

## The BHQ Project: Principles, Progress and Perspective

CHAIR: MARTIN RÖSEL

Room: KOL-G-209

This session will introduce the recently published edition of Leviticus in the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* series and provide insight into the principles of the edition, with an emphasis on the complex situation in the books of Samuel and Kings.

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Innocent Himbaza*  
**The BHQ Leviticus as a Critical-Diplomatic Edition**

## Programme

2. 15:00–15:30  
*Thomas Hieke*  
**The Material Basis of Scholarship and Faith: The “Leviticus” Fascicle of the Biblia Hebraica Quinta Prepared by Innocent Himbaza**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*David Marcus*  
**The Benefits of the BHQ Masorah Notes for Students of the Hebrew Bible**  
  
BREAK
4. 16:30–16:45  
*Craig E. Morrison*  
**The Peshitta and the Targum in the Critical Apparatus of the BHQ in 1 and 2 Samuel**
5. 16:45–17:00  
*Leonardo Pessoa da Silva Pinto*  
**The Formulae of the Ark and Textual Criticism in 1 Samuel**
6. 17:00–17:30  
*Stephen D. Ryan, Łukasz Popko*  
**The Characterization “Literary” in BHQ 1 Kings in Light of Recent Scholarship**
7. 17:30–18:00  
*Martin Rösel, Rolf Schäfer*  
**Questions and Answers: Responding to Reviews of BHQ**

Thursday, 11 August

**111-44**

**Book Review Session: Michael P. Steinberg, *The Afterlife of Moses: Exile, Democracy, Renewal* (Stanford University Press, 2022)**

CHAIR: STEED V. DAVIDSON

Room: KO2-D-54

1. 16:30–16:55  
*Omri Boehm (New York)*  
**Book Review 1**
2. 16:55–17:20  
*Elisabeth Bronfen (Zurich)*  
**Book Review 2**

3. 17:20–17:45  
*Carl S. Ehrlich (York University, Canada)*  
**Book Review 3**
4. 17:45–18:00  
*Michael P. Steinberg (Brown)*  
**Response to Book Reviews**

Thursday, 11 August

111-50

### Deuteronomistic History (1)

CHAIR: BERND U. SCHIPPER

Room: KOL-F-103

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Jack Kawira (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)*  
**The Evaluation of the Nature of the Israelites' Covenant with the Gibeonites**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Daniela De Pañfilis (Pontifical Biblical Institute)*  
**Double Narrative in the Book of Samuel: The Case of Michal (1 Samuel 19:11–17)**

Thursday, 11 August

111-51

### Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles (1)

CHAIR: MICHAEL PIETSCH

Room: KOL-E-13

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Shui Ki Fong (University of Aberdeen)*  
**"Official Letters" in Ezra 4: Memory, Place, and Resistance**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Jean-Daniel Macchi (Université de Genève)*  
**Les mentions de Sukkot dans le livre d'Esdras-Néhémie**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Michael Segal (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*  
**Reconstructing the List of Returnees: A Text-Critical Solution to Ezra 2 // Nehemiah 7 // 1 Esdras 5**

Thursday, 11 August

**111-52**

## **HB/OT Theology/Hermeneutics/Ethics (2)**

CHAIR: NESINA GRÜTTER

Room: KOL-H-309

1. 14:30–15:00  
*L. Juliana M. Claassens (Stellenbosch University)*  
**Entertaining Contradictions: Continuing the Conversation on Irony in the Book of Jonah**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Bernard Levinson (University of Minnesota)*  
**Why Did Gerhard von Rad Co-nominate a Former Nazi (Karl Georg Kuhn) to Admission in the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences? A Conundrum in the History of the Discipline**

Thursday, 11 August

**111-53**

## **Hebrew Poetry (1)**

CHAIR: ANDREAS WAGNER

Room: KOL-G-212

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Martin Leuenberger (Universität Tübingen)*  
**Die nachexilische Zion-Segen-Theologie des Wallfahrtspsalters (Psalm 120–134)**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Kevin Chau (University of the Free State)*  
**Lyric and Allusion in Psalm 118**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Tova Ganzel (Bar-Ilan University)*  
**Language and Gestures in the Book of Ezekiel**

Thursday, 11 August

**111-54**

## **Pentateuch (5)**

CHAIR: CHRISTOPH LEVIN

Room: KOL-H-322

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Hélène Grosjean (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)*  
**Die Komposition von Numeri 19 innerhalb der Priesterschrift. Ein neuer Vorschlag**

2. 15:00–15:30

*Mark W. Hamilton (Abilene Christian University)*

**P's Historical Conceptions in Genesis 1–11**

3. 15:30–16:00

*Kishiya Hidaka (Universität Zürich)*

**The Historical Development of the Political Theology between P and the Book of Ezekiel**

Thursday, 11 August

111-55

### Postcolonial Studies and HB/OT

CHAIR: MELANIE KÖHLMOOS

Room: KOL-H-321

1. 14:30–15:00

*Yan Okhtavianus Kalampung (University of Leeds)*

**The Insidious Trauma of Oppression in the Book of Ecclesiastes**

2. 15:00–15:30

*Joachim J. Krause (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)*

**Das exegetisch-analytische Potential postkolonialer Kritik. Am Beispiel des Buches Josua**

3. 15:30–16:00

*Ludwig Noya (Vanderbilt University)*

**Sabbath Matters? Revisiting the Reform in Nehemiah 13**

Thursday, 11 August

111-56

### Prophets (3)

CHAIR: SONJA AMMANN

Room: KOL-G-203

1. 14:30–15:00

*Allison Hurst (Harvard University)*

**Enslaved in Egypt? Remembering Deliverance from Egypt in the Book of Jeremiah**

2. 15:00–15:30

*Lyndon Drake (Oxford)*

**Jeremiah 32 as a Microcosm of the Book of Jeremiah: Economic Writing and Transcendent Hope**

Thursday, 11 August

111-57

### Prophets (4)

CHAIR: MADHAVI NEVADER

Room: KOL-G-222

1. 14:30–15:00

*Cristiana Conti (Austin Community College)*

**“He Shall Be Buried with the Burial of a Donkey”: On the Dehumanizing Burial of Jehoiakim in Jeremiah 22:18–19 and Its Possible Connection to the Disposal of the Witch in *Maqlû***

2. 15:00–15:30

*Andrea Beyer (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg)*

**Polyvalenz der Zeichenhandlung. Kritik an „Prophetenbiographien“**

Thursday, 11 August

111-58

### Wisdom Literature (1)

CHAIR: PHILLIP LASATER

Room: KOL-H-320

1. 14:30–15:00

*Walter Bührer (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)*

**Citations and Allusions in the Book of Job**

2. 15:00–15:30

*Hikaru Kumon (Organization for the New Japanese Bible Translation)*

**‘alam Epistemology in Qoheleth**

3. 15:30–16:00

*Christian Frevel (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)*

**Heart and Self: Some Afterthoughts on the Building Blocks of a Theory of Individualisation in the Hebrew Bible**

Thursday, 11 August

111-60

### Deuteronomistic History (2)

CHAIR: BERND U. SCHIPPER

Room: KOL-F-103

1. 16:30–17:00

*Shira Golani (Gordon Academic College of Education / Hebrew University Bible Project)*

**The Historiography of the ‘United Monarchy’ in Light of Personal Names**



2. 17:00–17:30

*Benedikt J. Collinet (Universität Innsbruck)*

**Beersheba: A City between Cult and Awakening**

Thursday, 11 August

111-61

## **Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles (2)**

CHAIR: MICHAEL PIETSCH

Room: KOL-E-13

1. 16:30–17:00

*Philip Yoo (University of British Columbia)*

**Revisiting Chronistic Influences in Ezra-Nehemiah**

2. 17:00–17:30

*Louis C. Jonker (University of Stellenbosch)*

**Chronicles and a Levitic Redaction? Re-opening the Diachronic Question**

3. 17:30–18:00

*Charlotte Hempel (University of Birmingham)*

**Ezra's Temple and Dürer's Rhinoceros: The Obscured View from Far Away**

Thursday, 11 August

111-62

## **Gender Studies and HB/OT**

CHAIR: CHRISTL M. MAIER

Room: KOL-H-321

1. 16:30–17:00

*Orit Avnery (Shalem College and Shalom Hartman Institute)*

**The Judgment of Solomon (1 Kings 3) and the Visit of the Queen of Sheba (1 Kings 10): Intertextual and Feminist Reading**

2. 17:00–17:30

*Mathias Winkler (Universität Siegen)*

**Sexual Violence against Men in the HB/OT**

Thursday, 11 August

**111-63**

### **HB/OT Theology/Hermeneutics/Ethics (3)**

CHAIR: NESINA GRÜTTER

Room: KOL-H-309

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Jacqueline Vayntrub (Yale University)*  
**Paths Unseen: Anxieties of Transmission in Biblical Literature**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Moritz F. Adam (Universität Zürich / Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*  
**Hermeneutics and Internal Dialogue: Qoheleth, Bakhtin, and the Rhetoric of Critical Wisdom**

Thursday, 11 August

**111-64**

### **Hebrew Poetry (2)**

CHAIR: ANDREAS WAGNER

Room: KOL-G-212

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Stefan Fischer (Universität Wien)*  
**The Space for Lovemaking in the Song of Songs**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Timothy H. Lim (University of Edinburgh)*  
**The Canonization of the Song of Songs**

Thursday, 11 August

**111-65**

### **Pentateuch (6)**

CHAIR: MARKUS WITTE

Room: KOL-H-322

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Irena Avsenik Nabergoj (University of Ljubljana)*  
**The Force of Love and Hate in the Story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50)**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Jürg Hutzli (Université de Lausanne)*  
**Tracing the Origins of the Figure of Aaron**

3. 17:30–18:00

*Marcel Krusche (Universität Hamburg)*

**The Rite of Imposition of Hands: Some Text-Critical and Philological**

**Remarks**

Thursday, 11 August

111-66

**Prophets (5)**

CHAIR: CHRISTOPHE NIHAN

Room: KOL-G-203

1. 16:30–17:00

*Michael A. Lyons (University of St Andrews)*

**From Punishment to Restoration? The Logic of Ezekiel 14:10–11**

2. 17:00–17:30

*Reettakaisa Sofia Salo (Universität Göttingen)*

**Textentstehung im Alten Testament am Beispiel von Ezechiel 33,23–29**

3. 17:30–18:00

*Avital Cohen (Sorbonne Université / Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

**L'importance de Jér.-LXX pour l'histoire rédactionnelle du texte hébreu**

Thursday, 11 August

111-67

**Prophets (6)**

CHAIR: NÚRIA CALDUCH-BENAGES

Room: KOL-G-222

1. 16:30–17:00

*Bruno Clifton (University of Oxford)*

**A Bad Artisan Blames the Tools: Did the Latter Prophets Use Instrumental Divination?**

2. 17:00–17:30

*Ruth Ebach (Université de Lausanne)*

**«Ich habe geträumt!» Zur Konnotation des Traumes in der Prophetenkritik**

3. 17:30–18:00

*Csaba Balogh (Protestant Theological Institute of Cluj-Napoca)*

**Following the Course of the Sun Backwards: Tracing the Original Significance of the Famous Prophetic Omen in Isaiah 38:8 within Its Context**

Thursday, 11 August

**111-68**

## **Wisdom Literature (2)**

CHAIR: ANNA ANGELINI

Room: KOL-H-320

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Bertrand Rolin (Université de Strasbourg)*  
**Lire le livre de Job du point de vue des animaux. Approche écopoétique des textes bibliques**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Markus Saur (Universität Bonn)*  
**Gelassenheit. Zur Pragmatik des Kohelethbuchs**
3. 17:30–18:00  
*Rebecca Wolfs (Philipps-Universität Marburg)*  
**Die Anthropologie des Traumes in der alttestamentlichen Weisheit**

Friday, 12 August

**112-10**

## **IOSOT Main Paper (9)**

CHAIR: CORINNA KÖRTING (HAMBURG)

Room: KOH-B-10

1. 09:00–09:50  
*Friedhelm Hartenstein (München)*  
**Kosmisierung des Chaos. Neue Erkenntnisse zu einer zentralen Denkfigur alttestamentlicher und frühjüdischer Weisheitstraditionen / Cosmization of Chaos: New Insights into a Central Figure of Thought of Biblical and Early Jewish Wisdom Traditions**
2. 09:50–10:40  
*Dora R. Mbuwayesango (Salisbury, NC)*  
**A Gendered Venture: The Devaluing and Dispossession of Israelite Women in the Book of Numbers**
3. 11:10–12:00  
*Martin Prudký (Prague)*  
**YHWH, a God Who Speaks: Remarks on the Rhetoric of Direct Speeches of God in Biblical Narratives**

Friday, 12 August

112-40

## Violence in the Psalms

CHAIR: LODEWYK SUTTON

Room: KOL-G-201

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Nancy L. deClaissé-Walford (Mercer University McAfee School of Theology; University of Pretoria)*  
**Human on Human Violence against the Marginalized in the Psalms**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Lodewyk Sutton (University of the Free State)*  
**Mouths at War: Reading the Direction of Violence in Psalms 57–59**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Gideon R. Kotzé (North-West University)*  
**Divine Violence and Nature in Psalm 29 and the Niğde Stela**
- BREAK
4. 16:30–17:00  
*Alexandra Grund-Wittenberg (Philipps Universität Marburg)*  
**“Break the Arm of the Wicked!” (Psalm 10:15): Power and Violence in Psalms 9–10**
5. 17:00–17:30  
*David G. Firth (Trinity College Bristol; University of the Free State)*  
**A World Gone Wrong: Structural Violence in Psalms 9–14**

Friday, 12 August

112-50

## Apocalyptic Literature

CHAIR: VERONIKA BACHMANN

Room: KOL-G-220

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Thomas Elms (University of Sydney)*  
**No Power to Save: Daniel 6 and the Failure of the Friendly King**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Uta Schmidt (Augustana Hochschule Neuendettelsau)*  
**The Absence of Women and the Importance of Gender in the Book of Daniel**

Programme

3. 15:30–16:00

*Sarah Wisialowski (University of Oxford)*

**Disrupting Time: A Study of Daniel 9 and History**

Friday, 12 August

**112-51**

**HB/OT Reception History (2)**

CHAIR: MATTHIAS HOPF

Room: KOL-G-212

1. 14:30–15:00

*Florian Neitmann (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)*

**The Torah in Combat Sports and Cosmic Spheres: On the Reception of Deuteronomy 30:15, 19 in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch**

2. 15:00–15:30

*Josef M. Oesch (Universität Innsbruck)*

**Eine Datenbank zur überlieferten Gliederung der Hebräischen Bibel. Ein Werkstättenbericht**

3. 15:30–16:00

*John Shuster (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

**Homiletical Features and Functions of the Targum to the Psalms**

Friday, 12 August

**112-52**

**Hebrew and Other Northwest Semitic Languages (1)**

CHAIR: JÜRG HUTZLI

Room: KOL-F-103

1. 14:30–15:00

*Jan Dušek (Charles University, Prague)*

**Who Were the Gods of Panamuwa I?**

2. 15:00–15:30

*Nesina Grütter (Universität Basel)*

**The Canard of a Loan Translation from Akkadian in Ezekiel 21:26**

3. 15:30–16:00

*Harald Samuel (University of Oxford)*

**Einige Probleme der althebräischen „Orthographie“**

Friday, 12 August

112-53

## Methodology of HB/OT Study (1)

CHAIR: RUTH EBACH

Room: KOL-G-203

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Axel Bühler (University of Geneva)*  
**Faire parler les nombres. Une analyse statistique de l'invention des chiffres dans les textes antiques**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Juliane Eckstein (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)*  
**Everything Is Connected: Introducing Actor Network Theory to Biblical Studies**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Benjamin Kilchör (STH Basel)*  
**Intertextual Observations in the Method of Quoting Long Texts within the Bible**

Friday, 12 August

112-54

## Prophets (7)

CHAIR: HANS ULRICH STEYMANS

Room: KOL-G-222

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Georg Fischer (Universität Innsbruck)*  
**Die Stellung Jeremias innerhalb der Propheten**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Noam Mizrahi (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*  
**The Interpretive Transmission of Isaiah as Witnessed by 4QIsa<sup>a</sup> (4Q61)**

Friday, 12 August

112-60

## Hebrew and Other Northwest Semitic Languages (2)

CHAIR: LIDA PANOV

Room: KOL-F-103

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Jesse Scheumann (University of the Free State)*  
**“Disjunctive *waw*”: Towards a Comprehensive View of Negative Coordination in Biblical Hebrew**

## Programme

2. 17:00–17:30  
*Desiree Zecha (LMU München)*  
**Die Bedeutung eines „und“**

Friday, 12 August

**112-61**

### Methodology of HB/OT Study (2)

CHAIR: DYLAN JOHNSON

Room: KOL-G-203

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Tyler Mowry (Baylor University)*  
**Diachronic Analysis in a Post-“Empirical” Age: Vertical and Horizontal Patterning as Possible Categories of Indeterminate Compositional Phenomena**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Reinhard Müller (Universität Göttingen)*  
**Zwei Interpolationen des Wortes „Tora“ im protomasoretischen Text**
3. 17:30–18:00  
*Anna Elise Zernecke (Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel)*  
**How (Not) to Recognise a Qina**

Friday, 12 August

**112-62**

### Prophets (8)

CHAIR: ANDREW TEETER

Room: KOL-G-222

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Benjamin Ziemer (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)*  
**Wie alt sind die beiden Fassungen des Jeremiabuches? Eine Neueinschätzung nach Qumran**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*James D. Nogalski (Baylor University)*  
**The Significance of Sequence: Reflections on Haggai→Zechariah→Malachi as the Conclusion to the Twelve**



Friday, 12 August

112-63

**The Political, Social, and Economic History of  
Ancient Israel and Judah**

CHAIR: STEPHEN GERMANY

Room: KOL-G-220

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Jacob Deans (University of Cambridge)*  
**Amos the *nōqēd*: A Case Study of the Class Politics of Israel's Countryside**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Sarah Schulz (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg)*  
**Persische Herrschaftsämter und jüdische Identität**

Friday, 12 August

112-64

**Wisdom Literature (3)**

CHAIR: ALMA BRODERSEN

Room: KOL-G-212

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Heli Alamaunu (University of Helsinki)*  
**The Fruit of the Mouth: Intuitive Thinking in Proverbs**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Giorgio Paolo Campi (University of Bologna - École Pratique des Hautes Études)*  
**The Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur between Mesopotamian and Biblical Wisdom**
3. 17:30–18:00  
*Lisa Plantin (Stockholm School of Theology)*  
**A Solution to the Textual Problems in Job 38:10 and 39:3**

# International Organization for Masoretic Studies (IOMS)

Friday, 12 August

**212-30**

## The International Organization for Masoretic Studies (IOMS) Session

CHAIR: YOSEF OFER

Room: KOL-G-203

1. 09:00–09:30

*Pedro Axelsson Gonçalves (Uppsala University)*

**Rare Note on the Occurrence of Kethiv/Qere קט"ב and Its Relation to the Masoretic Text**

2. 09:30–10:00

*Vincent Beiler (University of Cambridge)*

**The Marginal Nun/Zayin: Purpose, Meaning, Localization**

BREAK

3. 10:30–11:00

*Boris Kleiner (Tel Aviv University)*

**The Prosody of the Biblical Recitation and Its Relation to the Masoretic Accents**

4. 11:00–11:30

*Yosef Ofer (Bar-Ilan University)*

**The Presentation of the Song of Moses in Manuscript L2 and in the Aleppo Codex**

# International Organization for Qumran Studies (IOQS)

Monday, 8 August

308-40

## IOQS Keynote Session

CHAIR: JUTTA JOKIRANTA

Room: KOL-G-201

1. 16:40–17:30  
*Mika Pajunen (University of Helsinki)*  
**Thanksgiving as Public Proclamation**
2. 17:30–18:20  
*Vered Noam (Tel Aviv University)*  
**Ritual as a Polemical Arena**

Tuesday, 9 August

309-40

## Ritual Issues in Yahad Texts

CHAIR: VERED NOAM

Room: KOL-G-201

1. 14:00–14:30  
*David J. Larsen (Independent Scholar)*  
**The Psalms, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and “True” Temple Service at Qumran**
2. 14:30–15:00  
*Rebekah J. Haigh (Princeton University)*  
**Ritual Violence and Its Imaginative Praxis at Qumran**
3. 15:00–15:30  
*Michael B. Johnson (The Hebrew University)*  
**Arranged for Performative Effect? An Examination of the Different Sequences of Psalms on the Performative Reading of 1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> and 4QHodayot<sup>a</sup>**
4. 15:30–16:00  
*Jonathan Darby (University of Manchester)*  
**Singing and Meditation in the Dead Sea Scrolls**

Tuesday, 9 August

**309-41**

## **Conceptual Thinking in the Ancient Mediterranean World**

ORGANIZERS: HINDY NAJMAN, JAN DIETRICH

CHAIR: GEORGE BROOKE

(= Joint Session IOSOT/IOQS, see also session 109-42)

Room: KOL-F-101

1. 14:30–15:00

*Friedhelm Hartenstein (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

**The Countability of the Stars of Heaven: On a Case of Thinking the Infinite in the Hebrew Bible**

2. 15:00–15:30

*Arjen Bakker (University of Groningen)*

**Time as a Cosmic Principle in Jewish Wisdom of the Greco-Roman Period**

3. 15:30–16:00

*Phillip Lasater (University of Oxford)*

**The Orderliness or Disorderliness of Justice: Reflections on Mishpat**

BREAK

4. 16:30–17:00

*Annie Calderbank (University of Oxford)*

**Seeing Sanctification: The Perceptibility of Holiness and its Status as an Interpretive Concept**

5. 17:00–17:30

*Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum (Freie Universität Berlin)*

**ittu "Sign": Reflections on Conceptual Thinking in Ancient Mesopotamia**

6. 17:30–18:00

*Hindy Najman (University of Oxford), Jan Dietrich (Universität Bonn)*

**Heavenly Paradigms and Earthly Models: A Comparative Study of Conceptual Thinking**

Tuesday, 9 August

309-42

## Materials and Manuscripts

CHAIR: MIKA PAJUNEN

Room: KOL-G-201

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Bronson Brown-deVost (University of Göttingen), Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Université de recherche Paris Sciences et Lettres), Nachum Dershowitz (Tel Aviv University)*  
**Automatically Linking Dead Sea Scroll Transcriptions to Fragment Images: Towards the Letter Level**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Sophie Taetweiler (Universität Zürich)*  
**The Barkhi Nafshi Texts from Qumran: A Methodological Approach to Material and Textual Reconstruction**
3. 17:30–18:00  
*Jeffrey Cross (University of Minnesota)*  
**Paratextuality, Law, and History in the Cave 1 Rule Scroll**

Wednesday, 10 August

310-30

## Aramaic Texts

CHAIR: ESTI ESHEL

Room: KOL-G-201

1. 09:00–09:30  
*Hugo Antonissen (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)*  
**Looking for Further Information on a Symposium Oriented Worship in Aramaic New Jerusalem**
2. 09:30–10:00  
*Avigail Aravna (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*  
**Ritual Actions in a Sapiential Context in the Prayer of Levi**
3. 10:00–10:30  
*Robert Jones (McMaster University)*  
**Priestly Lineage in the Aramaic Scrolls from Qumran**

Wednesday, 10 August

**310-31**

## **Exorcistic and Apotropaic Texts**

CHAIR: ESTHER CHAZON

Room: KOL-G-201

1. 11:00–11:30  
*Tupá Guerra (Universidade de Brasília)*  
**The Movements of Protection: A Decolonial Perspective for Apotropaic Texts from the DSS**
2. 11:30–12:00  
*Menahem Kister (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*  
**Evil Powers, Exorcism, Exodus, and Deliverance**

Thursday, 11 August

**311-30**

## **Tradition and Authority**

CHAIR: ARJEN BAKKER

Room: KOL-G-201

1. 09:10–09:40  
*John Kampen (Methodist Theological School in Ohio)*  
**The Elusive “Torah” in the Texts of the Second Temple Era**
2. 09:40–10:10  
*Hila Dayfani (University of Oxford)*  
**The Second Tabernacle Account in 4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup>**
3. 10:10–10:40  
*Blake Jurgens (Independent Scholar)*  
**Order, Reorder, Repeat: The Ritual Functionality of Creation in the Dead Sea Scrolls**

Thursday, 11 August

311-31

## History and Identity

CHAIR: CHARLOTTE HEMPEL

Room: KOL-G-201

1. 11:10–11:40  
*Isabell Hoppe (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin)*  
**Gaining Insight through Remembrance: Concepts of History and Concepts of Wisdom in 4Q185**
2. 11:40–12:10  
*James Nati (Santa Clara University - Jesuit School of Theology)*  
**Understanding 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition (4Q371–373a) in Light of Jacob's Vision in Jubilees 32**
3. 12:10–12:40  
*Corrado Martone (University of Turin)*  
**Interpretation as Performance: Qumran Texts That (Try to) Make History Happen**

Thursday, 11 August

## IOQS Business Meeting

Room: KOL-G-201

14:15–15:00

Thursday, 11 August

311-42

## Ritual and Performance (1)

CHAIR: JUTTA JOKIRANTA

Room: KOL-G-201

1. 15:00–15:30  
*Daniel Falk (Pennsylvania State University)*  
**Rituals in Writing: Relationships between Text and Ritual Performance in the Dead Sea Scrolls**
2. 15:30–16:00  
*Ayhan Aksu (University of Groningen)*  
**The Opisthograph as a Liturgical Collection**

Thursday, 11 August

**311-43**

## **Ritual and Performance (2)**

CHAIR: DANIEL FALK

Room: KOL-G-201

1. 16:30–17:00

*Mathias Coeckelbergs (Université libre de Bruxelles / Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)*

**Between Pronoun Patterns and Identity: Using Network Centrality Measures to Detect and Visualize Liturgical Dynamics in the Hodayot**

2. 17:00–17:30

*Noam Mizrahi (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

**The Praising Holy of Holies in the Seventh Song of the Sabbath Sacrifice**

3. 17:30–18:00

*Michael Jost (Universität Zürich)*

**Beyond the Dichotomy of Mystical and Non-mystical Interpretations: On the Purpose of the Liturgical Community of the Yaḥad**



# International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS)

Friday, 5 August

405-40

## SBL Commentary on the Septuagint

CHAIR: ROBERT HIEBERT

Room: KIR-2-200 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 14:00–14:30  
*Felix Albrecht (Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen)*  
**A Commentary on Psalm 71 LXX (Psalm 72 MT)**
2. 14:30–15:00  
*Sarah Yardney (University of Chicago)*  
**Preliminary Results from SBLCS 1 Reigns**
3. 15:00–15:30  
*Johann Cook (Stellenbosch University), Bryan Beeckman (KU Leuven/UC Louvain)*  
**An Exegetical Commentary of LXX Proverbs: Women in LXX Proverbs**
4. 15:30–16:00  
*Michaël N. van der Meer (Independent Scholar)*  
**Achan's Sin according to the Septuagint**

Friday, 5 August

405-41

## Versions and Reception (1)

CHAIR: ALISON SALVESEN

Room: KIR-2-201 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 14:00–14:30  
*Martijn Jaspers (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)*  
***Nimia novitate*: A Polysystemic Approach to Jerome's Latin Bible Translations**

## Programme

2. 14:30–15:00  
*Peter Gentry (Phoenix Seminary)*  
**Mercati's Analysis of the Hexaplaric Colophons**
3. 15:00–15:30  
*Martijn Beukenhorst (Université catholique de Louvain)*  
**The Quedlinburg Itala**
4. 15:30–16:00  
*Anna Kharanauli (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University)*  
**The Old Georgian Translation of Michaeas and the Textual Character of its Greek Vorlage**

Friday, 5 August

**405-42**

### IOSCS Keynote

CHAIR: ALISON SALVESEN

Room: KIR-2-200 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 16:30–17:30  
*Cécile Dogniez (Centre national de la recherche scientifique)*  
**Le « parler » de la Septante dans ses approches culturelles. Retour sur les travaux de Marguerite Harl (1919–2020)**

Saturday, 6 August

**406-30**

### Translation Technique (1)

CHAIR: REINHART CEULEMANS

Room: KIR-2-200 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 09:00–09:30  
*Robert Walker (University of Cambridge)*  
**Dative Alternation within the Septuagint Pentateuch in Light of Post-classical Greek**
2. 09:30–10:00  
*Ellen De Doncker (Université catholique de Louvain)*  
**“È stata la mano di Dio”: God's Hand in the Septuagint**
3. 10:00–10:30  
*Joel Bell (University of Oxford)*  
**Metre in the Septuagint**

Saturday, 6 August

406-31

## Translation Technique and Textual Criticism

CHAIR: ANNA ANGELINI

Room: KIR-2-201 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 09:00–09:30  
*Theo van der Louw (SIL)*  
**Translation Theory and Translation Techniques in the Septuagint and Their Relevance for the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible**
2. 09:30–10:00  
*Jean Muraïs (Faculté de Théologie Évangélique - Acadia University)*  
**Papyrus Fouad inv. 266 (Ra 848) and the Text of Old Greek Deuteronomy: Time to Reassess Their Relationship?**
3. 10:00–10:30  
*S. C. Daley (Triapla Research Institute)*  
**The Common Text Project: Some Essential Features**

Saturday, 6 August

406-32

## Thematic Studies (1)

CHAIR: SARAH YARDNEY

Room: KIR-2-201 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 11:00–11:30  
*Cameron Boyd-Taylor (Trinity Western University)*  
**Identity, Alterity, Ambivalence: The Negotiation of Ethnographic Constructs in Greek Esther and 3 Maccabees**
2. 11:30–12:00  
*Camilla Recalcati (Université catholique de Louvain)*  
**Egyptian “Retro-Corrections” in the LXX Greek of Genesis 37–50**
3. 12:00–12:30  
*Jonathan Robker (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)*  
**A Tale of Two Jeroboams: Jeroboam in 3 Reigns 11–14**

Saturday, 6 August

**406-33**

### Translation Technique (2)

CHAIR: EBERHARD BONS

Room: KIR-2-200 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 11:00–11:30  
*Marieke Dhont (University of Cambridge)*  
**Periphrastic ποιέω in the Septuagint**
2. 11:30–12:00  
*Joshua Alfaro (Universität Salzburg)*  
**The Original Language of the Greek Esther Additions**
3. 12:00–12:30  
*Kristin Klaus (University of Tartu)*  
**Possibilities of Dividing the Speeches of Old Greek Job into Thematic-Formal Units**

Saturday, 6 August

**406-44**

### Lexicographical and Semantic Studies (1)

CHAIR: WILLIAM A. ROSS

Room: KIR-2-200 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 14:00–14:30  
*Eberhard Bons (Université de Strasbourg)*  
**Observations on the Use of ἐλπίζ and ἐλπίζω in the Greek Text of Sirach**
2. 14:30–15:00  
*Nesina Grütter (Universität Basel)*  
**Entstehungs- und Rezeptionskontexte eines LXX-Hapaxlegomenons**
3. 15:00–15:30  
*Lorenzo Cuppi (Sapienza University of Rome)*  
**The Correspondence between מַצֵּיטָה and γηγενεῖς in Proverbs 9:18**
4. 15:30–16:00  
*J. Alberto Paredes (Reformed Theological Seminary)*  
**The Gileadite Password in Greek Judges: Text and Semantics**

Saturday, 6 August

406-45

## Versions and Reception (2)

CHAIR: CAMERON BOYD-TAYLOR

Room: KIR-2-201 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 14:00–14:30  
*Kyle Young (Trinity College Dublin)*  
**Aquila's 'Second Edition': Evaluating the Appropriation and Evolution of a Concept**
2. 14:30–15:00  
*Timothy Lee (University of Cambridge)*  
**Kaige Revision of the Septuagint and Ancient Jewish Education**
3. 15:00–15:30  
*Alison Salvesen (University of Oxford)*  
**The Greek Glosses of 'John Joseph' to LXX Jeremiah**
4. 15:30–16:00  
*Reinhart Ceulemans (KU Leuven)*  
**The Pentateuch Text of the Nomos Mosaikos**

Saturday, 6 August

406-46

## Hellenistic World (1)

CHAIR: NATIA MIROTADZE

Room: KIR-2-200 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Andrew R. Krause (ACTS Seminaries of Trinity Western University)*  
**Flavius Josephus as Cultural Translator and Heir to Eleazar in *Antiquitates judaicae***
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Jonathan Thambyrajah (Australian Institute of Theological Education)*  
**Intertextuality in the Versions of Esther**

Saturday, 6 August

**406-47**

### **Thematic Studies (2)**

CHAIR: NESINA GRÜTTER

Room: KIR-2-201 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 16:30–17:00  
*Robert Hiebert (Trinity Western University)*  
**The 'Israel in Egypt' Motif in Septuagint Genesis**
2. 17:00–17:30  
*Gideon R. Kotzé (North-West University)*  
**What a Drag! The Sun's Cycle in LXX Ecclesiastes 1:5–6 and the Theme of Effort without Accomplishment**

Sunday, 7 August

**407-30**

### **Lexicographical and Semantic Studies (2)**

CHAIR: MARIEKE DHONT

Room: KIR-2-200 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 09:00–09:30  
*Andrew Daniel (African Christian University)*  
**The Coreferential Genitive Absolute as a Parasitic Mirative Structure: Evidence from LXX Greek**
2. 09:30–10:00  
*William A. Ross (Reformed Theological Seminary)*  
**Donkeys and Dating the Greek Pentateuch**
3. 10:00–10:30  
*Travis Wright (University of Cambridge)*  
**Negation and (Non)veridical Contexts in the Greek Pentateuch**

Sunday, 7 August

**407-31**

### **Thematic Studies (3)**

CHAIR: JEAN MAURAIS

Room: KIR-2-201 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 09:00–09:30  
*Beatrice Bonanno (Université catholique de Louvain)*  
**Theological Accents in the Septuagint of the Book of Ruth**

2. 09:30–10:00  
*Daniel Olariu (Adventus University from Cernica)*  
**Thematic Resonance in Septuagint-Daniel**
3. 10:00–10:30  
*Dirk Büchner (Trinity Western University)*  
**Animals in LXX Leviticus 11**

Sunday, 7 August

407-32

## Hellenistic World (2)

CHAIR: MICHAËL N. VAN DER MEER

Room: KIR-2-200 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 11:00–11:30  
*Carson Bay (Universität Bern)*  
**The Language of Exemplarity between the Greek Jewish Scriptures and Other Ancient Mediterranean Literature**
2. 11:30–12:00  
*Raphaëlle Berterottière (Université Paul-Valéry, Montpellier-III)*  
**L'hybridité stylistique du Livre de la Sagesse en fait-elle un OVNI littéraire  
? Une confrontation de Sg aux théories hellénistiques du style**

Sunday, 7 August

407-33

## Translation Technique (3)

CHAIR: FELIX ALBRECHT

Room: KIR-2-201 (Kirchgasse 9)

1. 11:00–11:30  
*Natia Mirotadze (Paris-Lodron-University Salzburg)*  
**LXX Esther as Reflected by the Old Georgian II Translation of Esther**
2. 11:30–12:00  
*Andrew Keenan (University of Cambridge)*  
**Neologisms in LXX Jeremiah**

# International Organization for Vulgate Studies (IOVS)

Tuesday, 9 August

**509-40**

## The Importance of the Vulgate for Textual Criticism (1)

CHAIR: MICHAEL FIEGER

Room: KOL-G-221

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Georg Fischer (University of Innsbruck)*  
**Differences in Jerome's Translations of the Book of Jeremiah**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Bernhard Klinger (University of Passau)*  
**Reading Mal 3:19-24 as Mal 4:1-6 (VUL): Jerome's Vulgate as Approach to a Textual Problem**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*Bernhard Lang (University of Paderborn)*  
**The Vulgate Latin Bible Handbook: A Comprehensive Research Bibliography**  
  
BREAK
4. 16:30–17:00  
*Jutta Krispenz (University of Marburg)*  
**All that Stupidity: The Vocabulary of Intellectual Deficiency in Jerome's Translation of the Book of Proverbs**
5. 17:00–17:30  
*Benedikt J. Collinet (University of Innsbruck)*  
**Atalyah on the Throne: Considerations on the Source Problems in Early Latin History of Interpretation Using the Example of IV Regum 11 (2 Kings 11)**
6. 17:30–18:00  
*Reinhart Ceulemans (University of Leuven)*  
**The Vulgate Version of the Song of Songs and Hexaplaric Readings**



Tuesday, 9 August

509-41

## The Importance of the Vulgate for Textual Criticism (2)

CHAIR: BRIGITTA SCHMID PFÄNDLER

Room: KOL-G-220

1. 14:30–15:00

*Daniel Schmitz (University of Wuppertal)*

***A trifaria varietate ad fontes: Jerome's Translation Project as a Further Development of Sacred Scripture***

2. 15:00–15:30

*Martijn Jaspers (University of Leuven)*

***Bis repetita placent: Jerome's Translation of Psalm Quotations in 1 Chronicles 16***

3. 15:30–16:00

*Anna Kraml (University of Innsbruck)*

***Tu laetitia Israhel (Jdt 16,9 Vg): The Reception of Joy in the Vulgate Translation of the Old Testament***

BREAK

4. 16:30–17:00

*Wilhelm Tauwinkl (University of Bucharest)*

***Alternative Translations of Difficult Original Terms in Parallel Passages of the Vulgate***

5. 17:00–17:30

*Lucas Brum Teixeira (Ruhr University Bochum)*

***Accipies virginem cum timore Domini (Tob 6:22 Vg): Jerome's Translation Technique and Ascetic Ideals in the Vulgate of Tobit***

6. 17:30–18:00

*Brigitta Schmid Pfändler (Faculty of Theology Chur)*

***A Whole Profile in Just One Verse (Isaiah 53:3): The *novissimum virorum****

Thursday, 11 August

**511-40**

## **The Importance of the Vulgate for Textual Criticism (3)**

CHAIR: WILHELM TAUWINKL

Room: KOL-G-221

1. 14:30–15:00

*Matthew Kraus (University of Cincinnati)*

**The Vulgate and Jerome's Biblical Exegesis**

2. 15:00–15:30

*Tobias Häner (Kölner Hochschule für Katholische Theologie)*

**Job, the *vir simplex* (Job 1:1, 8; 2:3): Ambiguities in the Hebrew Book of Job and the Vulgate**

3. 15:30–16:00

*Konrad Kremser (University of Vienna / University of Munich)*

**Der hebräische Text von Psalm 45 [Ps 44 LXX, Vg] im Horizont der Version *iuxta Hebraicum***

BREAK

4. 16:30–17:00

*Michael Fieger (Faculty of Theology Chur)*

**Mother's Curse at the Court of King Samuel (1 Sam 20:30)**

5. 17:00–17:30

*Matthias Ederer (University of Lucerne)*

**Wondrous Things from the Banks of the Arnon River: Numbers 21:10-20 in the Vulgate (and in Rabbinic Traditions)**

6. 17:30–18:00

*Andreas Vonach (University of Innsbruck)*

**Ist die Vergänglichkeit absurd? Zur Wirkungsgeschichte der Wiedergabe von *hæbæl* als *vanitas***

# International Syriac Language Project (ISLP)

Tuesday, 9 August

609-40

## The International Syriac Language Project (ISLP) (1)

CHAIR: RICHARD A. TAYLOR (DALLAS)

Room: KOL-G-222

1. 14:30–15:00  
*Mathias Coeckelbergs (Université Libre de Bruxelles and Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven), Willem van Peursen (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam)*  
**Syriac Lexicography between Information Science and Linguistics**
2. 15:00–15:30  
*Michael Sokoloff (Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel)*  
**New Developments in Christian Palestinian Aramaic**
3. 15:30–16:00  
*James C. Wolfe (Princeton University), Fatima Zohra Boumhaout (Princeton University)*  
**Syriac Terms for Roman Institutions: An Exercise in Syriac Lexicography and the Digital Humanities**
- BREAK
4. 16:30–17:00  
*Jerome Lund (Independent Scholar, Norway)*  
**Peshitta Deuteronomy as a Reader-oriented Translation**
5. 17:00–17:30  
*Logan Copley (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam)*  
**The Peshitta's Rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in Deuteronomy**
6. 17:30–18:00  
*Amir VasheghaniFarahani (University of Tartu, Estonia)*  
**Poetology of the Peshitta Psalm 146: A Poetical Example of Translation**

Thursday, 11 August

**611-40**

## **The International Syriac Language Project (ISLP) (2)**

CHAIR: RICHARD A. TAYLOR (DALLAS)

Room: KOL-G-220

1. 14:30–15:00

*David J. A. Clines (University of Sheffield)*

**Defining Definitions: A Lexicographical Taxonomy**

2. 15:00–15:30

*Mats Eskhult (University of Uppsala, Sweden)*

**Time and Tense in Biblical Hebrew Narration, Description, Admonition, and Prediction**

3. 15:30–16:00

*Carolyn Alsen (University of Divinity, Melbourne, Australia)*

**Some Linguistic and Social Observations on Two Syriac Inscriptions from St Paul's Monastery**

BREAK

4. 16:30–17:00

*Daniel King (SIL and Cardiff University)*

**The Syriac Philosophical Lexicon: An Example of Its Development**

5. 17:00–17:30

*James Nathan Ford (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)*

**Lexical Peculiarities of the Syriac Magic Bowls**

6. 17:30–18:00

*Shlomi Efrati (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium)*

**Bulls and Filth: New Readings in the Aramaic Levi Document**

# **Programme:**

## **Abstracts**



# International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT)

108-21/1

*Jutta Jokiranta (Helsinki)*

## **The Lure or Relief of Ritualized Behavior: Cognitive and Cultural Readings of Scrolls**

When does everyday practice change into ritual practice? Why do we need the category of “ritual”? Using ritual studies, I highlight how ritualized behavior can be approached in different ways, as a strategic way of acting to manage power relations, or as a compulsive reaction to ambiguous threats, for example. Not only are these different perspectives but they function at different levels of analysis.

This paper seeks to offer a preliminary integrative analysis of the relation of ritual life to societal changes, here in light of select Dead Sea Scrolls evidence. Ritual is not something extra to everyday life nor is it a decoration without which societies can live. Rituals and ritualized behavior are set in interaction with both individual (cognitive) and social processes. I take as a model Verkuyten's model of social identity formation and maintenance process where the individual and societal levels are in interaction. Since every look into the past is partial and fragmentary because our sources are partial and fragmentary, I hope to be explicit in where we fill the gaps and bold in using the theoretical constructs available to be in dialogue with our data.

108-21/2

*Nathan MacDonald (Cambridge)*

## **Turbulent Priests? Rethinking the History of the Israelite Priesthood**

Writing the history of any ancient institution is fraught with difficulties, but perhaps none more so than the Israelite Priesthood. Not only is the historical evidence fragmentary, but the later settled hierarchy of high priest, priests, and Levites has often interfered with earlier data. In an attempt to bring order to the material appeal has often been made to the idea of conflicting priestly septs. This lecture will undertake a critical examination of this explanatory principle.

108-22/1

*Peter Dubovský (Rome)*

**Neo-Assyrian Archival Texts and the Bible**

Neo-Assyrian administrative tablets found at Gezer were published in 1904. Since then, other Neo-Assyrian texts have been found in Israel (Tel Hadid, Samaria, etc.). The meaning of these, often fragmentary, documents can be assessed only after other Assyrian archives written in Akkadian and Aramaic have been excavated and fully published (Assur, Kalhu, Nineveh, Burmarina Guzana, Dur-Katlimmu, Sam'al, etc.). This paper will explore how the archival documents illuminate the Assyrian administration of peripheries, Israel included. Based on this study, I will suggest how the Assyrian archives may help rethink interpretations of some biblical passages dealing with the possession of land, slaves, and pledges that are mentioned in the cuneiform texts found in Israel and in the Bible.

108-22/2

*David Vanderhooft (Boston)*

**Travel and Divination Inquiries in  
the Hebrew Bible and Epigraphic Sources**

Travel was a dangerous undertaking in the ancient world. Merchants, spies, warriors, royal officials, migrants, pilgrims, and itinerants of all kinds faced threats in many forms. These included, among others, ambush by brigands or robbers; national enemies; thirst, hunger and exposure; demons; not to mention lions, snakes, and scorpions. What any person required during a period of travel was divine guidance and protection, which could come in different forms. Divination and travel therefore appear together somewhat often in biblical and epigraphic texts.

The present paper will offer new insights about several biblical and epigraphic texts that closely connect travel and divination. It will then highlight how liminal places of divination functioned as loci for travelers to obtain or confirm oracular responses to divination requests for safe conduct. The liminality of these places suggests the possibility that they were positioned to facilitate the safe transit of travelers from a region controlled by one god into that of another.

108-24/1

*Konrad Schmid (Zürich)*

**The Composition of the Pentateuch as a Historical  
and a Hermeneutical Problem**

The Pentateuch dates back to the first millennium BCE, comprising texts that were written down mainly between the 9th and the 4th century BCE. To



reconstruct its literary genesis is a task that has occupied biblical scholarship for more than 250 years. Despite some major divergences, certain contours of its composition have taken shape in the field of Pentateuchal research. However, the question of how a composite text such as the Pentateuch can be read and understood has been less in the focus of scholarship. This question is not only relevant from a hermeneutical perspective, but is crucial for establishing a suitable methodology for reconstructing the composition of the Pentateuch: Only by clarifying the historical hermeneutics of the compositional process of the Pentateuch can a critical framework for a historically informed textual analysis be gained. Of course, both directions of investigation – reconstructing earlier layers in the Pentateuch and determining the hermeneutics of its composition – are mutually interdependent, however a synthesis is not only necessary but also possible.

109-10/1

*Steed V. Davidson (Chicago)*

**Imperial Desires: Constructions and  
Maintenance of Race in Biblical Interpretation**

In the Hebrew Bible, though empires bring disasters they take on a theological utility that make them desirable. Depicted at times through erotic desire, empire functions as a significant solution to the human condition. This paper examines the eroticized construction of empire in the Hebrew Bible and how it promotes the desirability of empire through notions of cultural superiority. These features of empire arguably shape the Bible's role in the production and maintenance of race.

109-10/2

*Benjamin D. Sommer (New York)*

**What Is the Problem in the Cursing Psalms?  
Scripture, Genre, and the Ethics of Prayer**

This essay examines some of the ways Jews and Christians react to troubling texts in the Psalter – the passages that curse enemies or praise violence against them. My purpose in the essay is not to solve this problem but to clarify it, to identify it with greater specificity, to understand precisely why people consider the cursing psalms to be a problem to begin with. This work of clarification reveals that the problem at hand encompasses diverse issues, which bother different people to different extents, or perhaps do not bother them at all. Varied approaches to psalms of imprecation result from varied conceptions of scripture among Jews and Christians, and also varied conceptions of worship and of liturgy. The essay examines the relation of ethical problems raised by biblical theologians to the issue of *Gattung* –

more specifically, to the functions that a text has in particular *Sitze im Leben* in Jewish and Christian worship.

**109-11/1**

*Judith Newman (Toronto)*

**Time, Text, and Ancestors in the Memories of Israel: A New Perspective**

A central premise of historical criticism is that the sources that make up biblical texts can be identified and plotted against a single timeline whether this results in a “history of Israel’s literature,” a “Israelite history” or a “history of Israel’s religion.” In this legacy of nineteenth-century European historicism, history and time are conceived as singular, monolithic, and linear. More recent work by ethnohistorians, cultural memory theorists, and others has challenged this singularity by identifying multiple emic temporalities operative in the world, yet the results have not permeated the work of traditional biblical scholarship. If we take this temporal multiplicity seriously, we can see various pasts and futures embedded in the texts now known as the Pentateuch that reach beyond its framework and the canon itself. This perspective also sheds new light on integrating “later” so-called “reworked Pentateuch” texts from Qumran, as well as “apocrypha” and “pseudepigrapha” into our understanding of the literary world of Israel. Some cultural memories around the figure of Jacob can illustrate this new perspective of chastened historiography that moves beyond a single story of the past, present, and future.

**109-11/2**

*Oded Lipschits (Tel Aviv)*

**Since When and for How Long Has the “Clan of Azekah” Been Part of the Kingdom of Judah?**

In this paper I will claim that the kingdom of Judah ruled the area of the Ellah Valley for only two short periods in the eighth and in the late seventh / early sixth centuries BCE, a period of about 140 to 150 years in total, during which the “clan of Azekah” became attached to and came under the rule of the House of David. In light of this it is interesting to examine the affiliation and connection of this area to the province of Yehud as against the province of Idumea that developed south of Azekah during the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

*Ilse Müllner***Ebenen des Erzählens und die Glaubwürdigkeit der Erzählung**

Sowohl die Wahrnehmung verschiedener kommunikativer Ebenen in Erzähltexten als auch die Unterscheidung zwischen der Erzählstimme als textlichem Konstrukt und dem Autor bzw. der Autorin als realer Person gehören zu den Voraussetzungen der Narratologie. Diese werden auch in der biblischen Narratologie übernommen und umgesetzt.

Es ist von grundlegender Bedeutung, auf welcher Ebene einer Erzählung eine Aussage getroffen wird: Von der Erzählstimme selbst, die auch die Figurenreden koordiniert? Von einer Figur? Oder handelt es sich bei der Aussage um einen sogenannten Erzählerkommentar, der sich distanzierend zu den erzählten Ereignissen verhält.

Auf allen diesen Ebenen spielen auch die Fragen nach der Glaubwürdigkeit eine Rolle. Mit welchen erzählerischen Mitteln wird diese unterstrichen, mit welchen hingegen ein Verdacht an der Zuverlässigkeit der Aussage geschürt? In der Figurenrede etwa ist es wichtig, wer aus welcher Position heraus spricht. Wenn Abischai in 1 Sam 26,8 Sauls Wehrlosigkeit als Zeichen Gottes für einen Angriff deutet und David demgegenüber betont, dass er die Hand nicht gegen den Gesalbten JHWHs erheben wird (1 Sam 26,10f), dann wiegt Davids Deutung der Situation schwerer als die Abischais. Denn David wird von der Erzählung insgesamt positiver bewertet als sein Kontrahent in dieser Situation. Wenn hingegen David gegenüber Joab „die Sache“ (mit Urija und Batseba) als „nicht böse in deinen Augen“ darstellen will (2 Sam 11,25), dann werden die Leser\*innen durch den Kommentar der Erzählstimme eines besseren belehrt: „Doch die Sache, die David getan hatte, war böse in den Augen JHWHs.“ (2 Sam 11,27)

Der Vortrag diskutiert die narratologischen Fragen nach Glaubwürdigkeit und (Un-)Zuverlässigkeit des Erzählens anhand ausgewählter Beispiele aus den Samuelbüchern mit besonderem Augenmerk auf die kommunikative Struktur der Erzähltexte.

*Jeremy Hutton***Split Identities and Fragmented Texts: Text, Source and Materiality  
in 1 Samuel 17–18 MT and OG**

The textual differences between MT and OG (LXXB) of 1 Samuel 17–18 are complex and hotly debated. MT contains a much longer text than does OG, but the reasons for the divergent forms of the narrative remain unclear. Textual critics have frequently attributed the differences to intentional textual

emendation—either the addition of material in the MT or subtraction of material in the OG—subsequent to the divergence of their respective Vorlagen, likely during the Persian Period (see most recently Driesbach 2016). In a 2020 *Vetus Testamentum* article, Simeon Chavel and Jessie DeGrado have argued that the MT pluses constitute a self-contained addition to the text, made during the Persian Period and ending with the betrothal of Saul's daughter Merab to David (rather than to Adriel). Chavel and DeGrado's solution is ingenious with respect to the text at hand (1 Sam 17–18), but does not account for the broader contours of a bifurcated History of David's Rise. The present study follows up on a suggestion I made tentatively in 2009. There, I suggested that the MT pluses in 1 Sam 17–18 were actually much older than the Persian Period, likely dating to the late 10th c. and associated with the remainder of a narrative strand discoverable throughout MT 1 Sam 17–31 (the HDR2). If this is the case, then, how did these portions come to be missing in the OG, if not by intentional omission? I suggested that the materiality of textual transmission in the Iron Age II and later periods might inform our understanding of this source- and text-critical problem: at some point in the transmission history of the OG's Vorlage, one or two sheets of the scroll had been damaged and required replacement. This replacement was somehow achieved through the copying and insertion of a manuscript that contained only the HDR1 narrative (and not both HDR1 and HDR2, as in other contemporary Hebrew manuscripts). In the present paper, I will use data from physical realia—the Dead Sea Scrolls and other early textual corpora—in an attempt to quantify how many sheets of text were lost from Vorlage-OG and how many they were replaced with. My hope is that, although speculative, this study will continue to allow for an early composition of the MT pluses in the relevant chapters.

109-40/3

*Yigal Levin*

**Samuel, Saul, and the Founding of the Monarchy:  
Between Historical Reality and Literary Ideology**

One of the major themes within what is conventionally called “the Deuteronomistic Corpus” is that of the Israelite Monarchy. This theme is first spelled out in Deut. 17:14–20, in which the Israelites are commanded to appoint a king, but not just any king, one chosen by Yahweh, who will observe the Torah as taught by the Levitical priests. And after much of the book of Judges is designed to prove that the days in which “there was no king in Israel” were bad, the book of Samuel comes to remedy that situation. The book begins with the appearance of Samuel, on one hand the last of the Judges, but on the other the prophet through whom Yahweh makes his

choice(s) known, and who is a major political actor in his own right. And beginning with chapter 9, the book focuses on Saul, Israel's first, and failed, God-chosen king.

So much for ideology. But how much of it is also history? This paper will attempt to read the ideological framework of 1 Samuel, against the background of the late Iron Age I, and to explore the historical realities that lie behind the stories of Samuel and Saul.

109-40/4

*Hannes Bezzel*

### **Charismatic Leadership? Concepts of the "Spirit" in the Books of Samuel**

The last word about the "spirit of YHWH" in the books of Samuel is heard in 2Sam 23:2, in David's last words. Before that point, the reader has come across several different concepts of how the "spirit of YHWH" affects the person upon which it comes. The paper wants to analyse these different concepts of the spirit synchronically as well as diachronically. This cannot be done without the intense dialogue with the book of Judges. In so doing, the redaction-critical questions of the connection of Judges and Samuel is brought up automatically.

109-40/5

*Cha-Yong Ku*

### **Dramatisierung der konsequenten Erfahrungstheologie des Buches Kohelet in der Thronfolgegeschichte Davids**

Es ist eine interessante Lektüre, die sich aufgrund der Betrachtung der Thronfolgegeschichte Davids (TFG) als dramatische Ausgestaltung der Weisheit des Buches Kohelet ergibt. Eines der literarischen Ausdrucksmittel des David-Dramas ist nämlich die Ironisierung der Weisheit. Außerdem zeichnet sich die Weisheitslehre insgesamt und besonders diejenige Kohelets durch konsequente Erfahrungstheologie und Diskursivität des Denkens aus. Meines Erachtens sind dies aber auch Schlüsselkategorien der TFG. Wenn man die TFG nicht nur als politische Propaganda, sondern als paradigmatische Lebensgeschichte betrachtet, liest sie sich wie eine subtile Dramatisierung der Weisheit des Buches Kohelet. In diesem Vortrag möchte ich besonders 2 Sam 10,1–5 mit Koh 8,1–8 vergleichen und zeigen, wie die Grenze der Weisheit eines Königs und seiner Ratgeber im Buch Kohelet bildhaft vorgestellt und in der TFG dramatisiert wurde.

**109-40/6**

*Stephen Germany*

**Reconsidering the Religio-historical Background of  
the “Uncircumcised Philistine” Motif in the Book of Samuel**

In his encounter with Goliath, David asks, “Who is this uncircumcised Philistine that he should defy the armies of the living God?” (1 Sam 17:26). As biblical scholars inquiring into the historicity of texts in the book of Samuel, we can likewise ask: Who are the “uncircumcised Philistines” of whom the book of Samuel speaks? Does its depiction of the Philistines as uncircumcised preserve a memory of a historical reality from the time in which the narratives are set (i.e., the tenth century BCE)? Should it be used in reconstructing the cultural practices of the early Iron Age “Philistines” attested in the archaeological evidence? At the same time, given the continued literary development of the book of Samuel into the Persian and Hellenistic periods, might the depiction of the Philistines as uncircumcised tell us more about the religiosity and “culture wars” of authors and readers during the Second Temple period than about the historical circumstances during the tenth century? This paper will address these questions by considering both text-internal and extrabiblical evidence.

**109-41/1**

*Irmtraud Fischer (University of Graz, A),*

*Núria Calduch-Benages (Pontifical University Gregoriana, I)*

**Presentation of the Series “Bible and Women” ([www.bibleandwomen.org](http://www.bibleandwomen.org))**

More than 300 researchers worldwide are working on a 21-volume feminist and gender-aware reception history of the Bible. Edited by international teams in four languages, 16 volumes have been published to date. The project is also important for building feminist networks between disciplines and diverse language context.

**109-41/2**

*Silvia Schroer (University Bern, CH)*

**The Variant Ways Iconography Contributes to  
a Gender-Oriented Reading of Biblical Texts**

Material culture in general and iconography can play an important role in correcting, completing, contradicting, but sometimes also confirming biblical texts and their gender(ed) views of daily life or religious symbols. The paper will give examples for the diversity of connections between texts and pictures, also in order to demonstrate that the methodological approach by iconography is manifold.

109-41/3

*Angela Berlis (University of Bern, CH), Irmtraud Fischer (University of Graz, A)***The Role of the Bible in the Women's Movements  
of the Nineteenth Century**

*Bible and Women* considers the 19th century as crucial for gender-aware and feminist exegesis, both in a pre-critical and critical approach. Therefore, two volumes investigate the engagement of women in the 19th century: volume 8.2, published several years ago in four languages, deals with the reception of the Bible in religious contexts and communities. The recently published volume 8.1 deals with the appropriation of biblical texts in the modern women's rights movement. Several examples from different countries also show the interconnectedness of these movements and their main figures in their struggle against misogynist anthropology, based on traditional biblical exegesis.

109-41/4

*L. Juliana M. Claassens (Stellenbosch University, SA)***On Prophecy and Gender in the Hebrew Bible**

One of the editors of the Bible and Women volume on Prophecy and Gender in the Hebrew Bible, L. Juliana Claassens will give an overview of the range of perspectives on the roles of female prophets in what is known as the Former Prophets (Joshua to 2 Kings) and the Latter Prophets (Isaiah to The Twelve) of the Hebrew Bible. The various essays in this volume on Prophecy and Gender in the Hebrew Bible consider women as subjects and agents of prophecy shaped by various phenomena in the Bible and the ancient Near East, the sociohistorical background of the prophetic narratives, and the complex intersection of prophecy and gender in the prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible. It will also be shown how contributors employ innovative gender-oriented approaches to the exegesis of the texts, ranging from trauma studies to postcolonialism.

109-41/5

*Martti Nissinen (University of Helsinki, FI)***Comparing Women Prophets in the Bible and in Mesopotamia**

Prophecy was one of the very few non-gender-specific roles in the ancient Near East. Female prophets were prominent in Mesopotamia and in Greece, and even the Hebrew Bible mentions a few of them. The biblical prophetic women share some basic divinatory functions with their colleagues in the sources from neighbouring cultures. At the same time, they also distinguish themselves from their ancient counterparts, and even from each other. In the Hebrew Bible, female prophets may assume ritual, magical, political,

and military roles unknown from other ancient sources. This may be due to their literary, rather than historical, character.

**109-41/6**

*Christl M. Maier (Philipps-Universität Marburg)*

**Transcultural Biblical Interpretation: Strategies and Challenges**

Together with Núria Calduch-Benages, I co-edited volume 1.3 on the Writings and Later Wisdom Books (German and Spanish 2013; English and Italian 2014) in the encyclopedia “The Bible and Women.” To volume 1.2 on Prophets (German and Spanish 2020, English 2021) I contributed an article. This paper will reflect upon my experience as editor, contributor, and informed reader of exegetical volumes in this project. What I call “transcultural biblical interpretation” refers to the project’s goal to organize an international, interdenominational, and multi-disciplinary research on gender and the Bible. I will analyze in what way these exegetical volumes contribute to a gender-sensitive history of biblical interpretation.

**109-42/1 & 309-41/1**

*Friedhelm Hartenstein (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

**The Countability of the Stars of Heaven:**

**On a Case of Thinking the Infinite in the Hebrew Bible**

Even if one does not follow an evolutionist scheme of the development of thinking in antiquity, a transformation of the guiding conceptions of the world and humans is clearly evident in the monotheistic tradition formation of the Second Temple period. With Psalm 147:4f. as a reference point, the paper traces how the cosmic transcendence of YHWH, who “counts the stars” he has created (cf. Isa 40:26), indicates his superiority over the limited capacities of humans (the countability of the stars for YHWH corresponds to their uncountability for the human mind, cf. Gen 15:5; Jer 33:22, etc.). A comparison with a hellenistic epithet for the Egyptian god Thot who “calculates the heaven and counts its stars” makes clear how biblical texts had their part in broader cosmological transformations in the second half of the 1st millennium BC. As in other writing cultures of the time they attest to a (conceptual) thinking in metaphorical language but not in functional terms as in Greek philosophy. In the case chosen for the paper the verbal and nominal expressions of counting and ordering hint at a specific concept of the infinite via the practical as well as speculative idea of a comprehensive capture of the celestial phenomena (restricted only to the divine): an example of an epistemology of early Jewish texts uniting “empirical” and reflected mythological ways of expression.



109-42/2 &amp; 309-41/2

*Arjen Bakker (University of Groningen)***Time as a Cosmic Principle in Jewish Wisdom of the Greco-Roman Period**

In this paper I will reflect on the climax of sapiential thinking in the Dead Sea Scrolls which consists of a meditation on light, on time, and on the differentiation of good and evil in the course of history. The goal of wisdom is to understand the deep structures behind the sequence of light and darkness that is considered a dynamic and elongated process, both on a cosmic and historical level. This conglomerate of reflections and insights is held together by the central principle of *rāz nihyeh*, which can be paraphrased as “the secret of time,” and which has significant correspondences in Jewish wisdom writings in Greek.

109-42/3 &amp; 309-41/3

*Phillip Lasater (University of Oxford)***The Orderliness or Disorderliness of Justice: Reflections on Mishpat**

This paper will address the expression *לֹא תִטָּה מִשְׁפָּט*, which appears in a range of legalistic texts regarding mishpat or justice (Exodus 23; Deuteronomy 16; 24; and 27; Temple Scroll 51 and 57). The use of the verb *נִטָּה* (Hif.) indicates a kind of manipulation which, despite being used neutrally or positively of other virtues and abstractions, is routinely prohibited for mishpat. I will suggest that these verbal formulations convey conceptual thinking about the nature of justice as something “fragile.” The fragility of justice could have implications for scholarly theories about justice as a stable order characterizing the world’s makeup.

109-42/4 &amp; 309-41/4

*Annie Calderbank (University of Oxford)***Seeing Sanctification: The Perceptibility of Holiness and its Status as an Interpretive Concept**

How can holiness be perceived? I will investigate this question by examining narratives of sanctification, such as Num 20:1–13, Lev 10:1–3, and Ezek 28.20–26. I will reflect on two key issues. Firstly, I will consider the interpretive character of holiness in these texts, where the language of sanctification serves to communicate the significance of the events described. This will involve exploring the flexible and varied relationship between concrete phenomena and their identification in terms of holiness. Secondly, I will draw attention to our distance as scholars from an intuitive sense of holiness within these biblical contexts. It is difficult to find an interpretive framework by which to move from the details of the events to their rearticulation in terms of sanctification. It is challenging to perceive holiness in

the stories told. There is irony to this scholarly imperception where the texts themselves represent sanctification as occurring “in the sight of” (לְעֵינַי) characters within the narrative. By exploring dynamics of perceptibility and imperceptibility, I seek to deepen our understanding of and approach to the concept of holiness.

**109-42/5 & 309-41/5**

*Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum (Freie Universität Berlin)*

***ittu* “Sign”: Reflections on Conceptual Thinking in Ancient Mesopotamia**

In several learned disciplines practised in ancient Mesopotamia, the “sign” plays an important role as symptom, indicator and symbol. In the context of my short presentation, this figure of thought will be examined more closely with regard to the question of forms of expression of conceptual thinking.

**109-42/6 & 309-41/6**

*Hindy Najman (University of Oxford), Jan Dietrich (Universität Bonn)*

**Heavenly Paradigms and Earthly Models:**

**A Comparative Study of Conceptual Thinking**

Heavenly Paradigms and Earthly Models: A comparative study of conceptual thinking

This paper considers a variety of ways in which heavenly and terrestrial correspondences are articulated in Ancient Jewish and Ancient Israelite texts. Attention will be given to conceptual thinking about archetype, paradigm, tavnit and divine example as exhibited in our textual traditions. We will consider how concepts come to shape notions of perfection, exemplarity, and imitation across a variety of texts, cultures, and concepts in the ancient Mediterranean world

**109-43/1**

*Lida Panov (University of Zurich)*

**Die Bedeutung der älteren Weisheit für die Theologisierung des Rechts**

Die Zerstörung des Nordreichs und die Abwanderung von Flüchtlingen in den Süden löste eine soziale Krise aus und in der Folge wurde deutlich, dass die Ausbildung eines Solidarethos nötig wurde. Die Entwicklung von Schutzbestimmungen für Benachteiligte bildete einen wichtigen Faktor für die Theologisierung des Rechts in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. Der Textbefund der älteren Weisheit im Proverbienbuch zeigt, dass die profanen Rechtssammlungen des Bundesbuches vorausgesetzt werden. Gleichzeitig enthalten die älteren Weisheitstexte des Proverbienbuches einen erheblichen Anteil an sozialem Positionen. Wie in den Rechts-

texten, in denen sich eine Theologisierung erkennen lässt, begegnet im Proverbienbuch die Vermittlung von ethischem Denken als Alternative zur Herstellung von Gerechtigkeit durch die Androhung von Sanktionen. Die weisheitlichen Texte versuchen zum Beispiel durch Aufzeigen des Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhangs zum guten Handeln zu bewegen. Darüber hinaus ist zu beachten, dass die didaktische Orientierung des Proverbienbuches wichtige Auskünfte zu den Schreibergruppen liefern kann, die die Theologisierung des Rechts vorangetrieben haben.

109-43/2

*Dylan Johnson (University of Zurich)*

**Miscarriages of Justice: Widowed, Wronged, and Wise Women  
in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal History**

Through the lens of comparative legal history, this study re-examines the story of the Wise Woman of Tekoa (2 Sam 14:2–24), comparing her self-characterization and persuasive rhetoric based on the socio-legal status of the “wronged (wo)man” (*ḥablu/ḥabiltu*) in Mesopotamian legal tradition. Though written long after the events it purports to describe, this episode reveals some important suppositions about the relationship between local and royal lawgivers, as well as the existence of a supervening moral order—what we may call justice—constraining the decisions of these judicial officials. This brief juridical parable offers a unique account of justice and adjudication largely independent of its ideological depiction in the biblical law codes, making it a critical text in the study of biblical law.

109-43/3

*Peter Altmann (University of Zurich)*

**Viewing Persian Authorization of Torah through a Wisdom Lens**

While the question of the relationship between Persian imperial authority and the rise the Torah's preeminence in conjunction with Ezra 7:12–26 continues to swirl, this discussion often conceives of Pentateuchal law as a positive law code that Ezra or others might call forth and apply as a “rule of law.” This paper instead explores the premise that the value of legal texts like those in the Pentateuch lies in their ability to influence the imaginations of their audiences, more akin to categories of ancestral wisdom or scribal reflection. On this foundation, it considers the implications of viewing the “Persian authorization of Torah” through the lens of judicial wisdom for the Persian-period compilation and the reception of the Pentateuch in line with appropriate notions of “law” and “justice.”

109-43/4

*Phillip Lasater (University of Oxford)*

**Legal Poetics: How the Self Illuminates Law and Law Illuminates the Self**

In ancient Israelite and Jewish literature, law and self are recurring conceptual companions, despite their portrayal in the history of research, which has portrayed wisdom among other things as accomplishing for the self what law cannot. Taking Philo of Alexandria's *De Abrahamo* as a point of departure but moving back into earlier contexts, this paper outlines some aspects of legal poetics—the creative or constructive capacity of law. It is argued that the self illuminates law and law illuminates the self. Stipulations about justice in the Covenant Code (Exod 23:1–9) supply an illustrative case study for how law articulates and forms moral selfhood. These issues carry implications for how law can be understood in studies of the Hebrew Bible and related literature.

109-43/5

*Anna Angelini (University of Zurich)*

**An Unbreakable Order: Cosmic Justice and Natural Law in Jeremiah 31**

Jer 31:35–37 contains an *adynaton*, comparing the (impossible) loss of divine control over nature with the (equally impossible) loss of Israel's offspring: both phenomena are described in legal terms, as a fixed statute or order (*hoq*) which can never be altered. While such imagery does not draw from the traditional prophetic “repertoire,” but is typical of late wisdom traditions, it also occurs elsewhere in the book, in passages belonging to different redactional stages (such as Jer 5:20–29; Jer 33:25–26). This paper explores the origins and the function of this comparison both in light of wisdom traditions (such as Pss 147–148, Job 26 and others) and of its other occurrences within the book of Jeremiah, as well as its significance for the development of a notion of “natural law” in the Hebrew Bible.

109-43/6

*Matthias Hopf (University of Zurich)*

**The “Legal” Function of Holiness**

Holiness is undoubtedly the key element in the theological conception of the “Holiness Code” (H, Lev 17–26), a diverse textual corpus, which comes in the literary guise of a “legal collection”. However, the importance of holiness not only pertains to the theological realm, but also serves a distinct purpose within the stylized “legal” framework of H. The thesis of this paper is that this function needs to be seen in bridging the gap between two “modes of thought”, as is to be demonstrated with reference to several exemplary textual passages: For one thing, the stylization as “law” (together

with the accompanying and sometimes severe sanctions) makes it clear that H partakes in what is commonly described as “guilt culture”. Here, fear of punishment is a major force for social compliance, and it operates with an *absolutum* as highest principle, often called justice. At the same time, there are quite obvious elements of “shame culture”, in which H uses emotionally charged terms (e.g. *tô’ebāh*) to condemn certain types of behavior (sexual, cultic, etc.). In this case, the social relations and the ethos (as e.g. contained in HB wisdom sentences) are the standard, against which human conduct is measured. The concept of holiness, now, is in between these two, in a sense: On the one hand, holiness has a share in the latter emotional “branding” of behavior with its awe-inspiring impetus, and also features a relational component (*vis-à-vis* God). On the other hand, it is also portrayed as the absolute *summum bonum*, which people are supposed to seek, and failing to do so, results in feelings of guilt. Holiness, thus, is the unifying element not only in the theological, but also in the “legal” conception, with which H is trying to shape or create an “ideal” society.

109-50/1

Martijn Beukenhorst (*Université catholique de Louvain*)

### What is Wisdom? The Development of Solomonic Wisdom in Kings

Solomon is known as the wise king par excellence. The story of Solomon, 1 Kings 2–11, refers regularly to the king’s wisdom. Solomon is described with many different aspects of wisdom, which almost results in Solomon as the first *homo universalis*. However, this is an image that the final stage of the text creates, as there are many indications of numerous edits as the legend of Solomon grew. Scott (1955) was the first to suggest different stages of development. This has been taken up by many contemporary scholars, such as Provan (1988), or Torijano (2002). Though recently it has been challenged, notably by Dell (2021).

In this paper I will look at the compositional history of one of the central passages concerning Solomon’s wisdom, found in MT 1 Kings 5:9–14. Using empirical evidence from the Septuagint, I will argue for a new interpretation of this section. In this view verses 11–14 should be seen as late additions to the MT, based on the choices made by the Septuagint translators for the root **חכמ** *hkm*. This root has a complex translation history, most notably because of changes made by the kaige-recension and thus can help us identify additions to the text.

Showing that the extended passage on Solomon’s encyclopaedic wisdom should be considered a very late addition potentially changes our understanding of the diachronical development of Solomon’s story in the MT and its different developmental stages.

109-50/2

*Jonathan Robker (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)*

**The King, Solomon, and King Solomon:  
Identifiers as Literary-Critical Evidence?**

In referring to Solomon, Kings often inconspicuously varies the manner in which it speaks of Solomon. Often, it only uses his name. Other times it describes him as “King Solomon.” Still other passages mention “the king,” relying on context to determine his identity as Solomon. At times this nomenclature varies in the traditions. Still, at other times, it occurs in otherwise literary-critically conspicuous passages. Thus, the question: Do variant styles of address for Solomon evince different scribal or editorial hands in the book of Kings and its transmission? This paper will examine applications of these names to Solomon throughout Kings and suggest how references to Solomon can aid in identifying scribal hands and tendencies behind some texts.

109-50/3

*Alicia R. Hein (University of St Andrews)*

**Prophet, Remnant, Mother, Child:  
Four Angles to Elijah's Portrait in 1 Kings 19**

Interpretations of the Elijah figure in 1 Kgs 19 have varied from heroic Mosaic prophet with a bout of discouragement to erratic imposter with an overinflated ego. Both ends of this interpretive spectrum struggle to reconcile the shift in Elijah's characterisation between 1 Kgs 18 and 19, and resort to harmonising glosses that do justice to neither text. A recognition that the patterns of earlier narratives lie behind the shape of 1 Kgs 19, however, argues that Elijah's character is not monochromatic. Rather, it is directed, both at lexical and plot levels, by the narratives of four earlier figures. The broadest level of plot recalls Moses, which establishes Elijah's prophetic character. His journey through the wilderness alludes to the account of Hagar and Ishmael in Gen 21, casting Elijah simultaneously into the roles of grieving mother and endangered child. Finally, Elijah's lament to YHWH on the mountain parallels the lament of Obadiah in 1 Kgs 18, where both figures speak with the voice of the solitary righteous remnant. I argue that these patterns are intentionally conflated in the singular portrayal of Elijah in 1 Kgs 19, casting him, on the one hand, as a grieving prophetic parent, and on the other, as the voice of the endangered remnant of Israel. If this is the case, the discontinuity with 1 Kgs 18 should not be harmonised away; rather, it should be read as a narrative trigger to the recognition of the conflated narrative analogies contained within the text.

*Juan Cruz (University of Aberdeen)*  
**Lament and Cultural Memory in Psalm 77**

Several scholarly writings from the last two decades have looked at the topic of collective memory in ancient Israel, but to date, there has not been any comprehensive study on this subject. The book of Psalms, in particular, could be a rich source of discussion in this area.

This paper will use insights from the memory theories of Maurice Halbwachs, Jan Assmann, and Pierre Nora as its hermeneutical lens to analyse the relationship between lament and cultural memory in Psalm 77. Previous studies of this psalm have focused on its unity, its use of Exodus 15 and 34, and the function of the hymnic theophany (vv. 17–20). Unlike existing studies, however, this paper will combine the application of theories of memory with exegetical analysis of the text to explain the connection between lament in vv. 1–10 and memory in vv. 11–20, a link which is not given much coverage in other memory studies by biblical scholars like Ehud Ben Zvi, Ronald Hendel, Mark Smith, Joseph Blenkinsopp, or Nathan MacDonald.

The paper will argue that the cultural memory of past divine liberation is an effective response to the psalmist's lament in the present. In this case, lament evokes memory. Finally, it will argue that the psalmist uses the Exodus experience as a paradigm for the present and the future, showing the continuity of divine liberation from ancient times, to the present, and beyond.

*Andrea Hugill (Independent Scholar)*  
**“One of a City and Two of a Family”: Historical Consciousness,  
 Election Theology and the Tale of Two Sisters**

Contemporary scholarship has advanced knowledge of historical context by considering the consequences of historical consciousness for theology, and by assigning hermeneutic priority and exegetical importance to the present context as one that is ripe for imminent critique. The calls to repentance and words of judgment in Jeremiah 2–6 have perhaps never been as weighty and as relevant in world history as they are today. An anagogical comparison of Jeremiah 2–6 in the MT and the LXX highlights nuances worthy of review. The paper argues that the tale of the two sisters in Jeremiah 3:6–4:4 can be considered as summative of the whole passage of Jeremiah 2–6. Both sisters are called by God to repentance yet only one of the two sisters is accepted as righteous. The paper argues that the pronouncements of judgment and the laments of Jeremiah 4–6 contain metaphorical language and descrip-

tions that render them expository of the election theology presented in the preceding two chapters, where rhetorical comparison of a broken marriage with adulterous political and religious relations of an incorrigible nation provides breadth and depth to moral possibility/impossibility for humanity in community.

**109-51/3**

*Matan Orian (Tel Aviv University)*

### **A New Perspective on Gentile Impurity in the Bible**

In *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities*, Christine Hayes (2002) refutes the existence of the concept of gentile impurity outside rabbinic literature, while Gedalyahu Alon's view, expressed in "Gentile Impurity" (Tarbiz, 1937), asserts that gentile impurity appears in the Bible (for example, Psalm 79:1). I concur with Alon, but wish to suggest an alternative source for gentile impurity, other than idolatry.

Jacob Milgrom, in his Anchor Bible commentary on Leviticus (volume 1, 722 and volume 2, 1718), illustrated the Pentateuchal, priestly perception of holiness as three separate spheres: persons, animals and space (territory). Each comprises concentric, inner spheres and an outer sphere, with the core sector representing the holiest hierarchy – namely, the priests, sacrificial animals and the sanctuary, respectively. Israel, pure animals (other than sacrificial animals) and the Promised Land, respectively, occupy the broader, middle sector.

The circumferences of the animal and spatial spheres are characterized by impurity, i.e., impure animals and impure lands – that is, all lands other than God's land (Joshua 22:19, Amos 7:17). It would appear logical for the external circle of the "persons" sphere to be similarly distinguished by impurity.

Further to "Where There Is Dirt, Is There System?" by T. M. Lemos (JSOT, 2013), emphasizing the diversity of rationales guiding biblical impurity concepts, I wish to explore whether this priestly, theological rationale underlies the biblical concept of gentile impurity and, in particular, the associations of impurity with the foreskin (Isaiah 52:1) – and circumcision with physical integrity and purity.

**109-52/1**

*Reinhard Achenbach (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)*

### **The Pentateuch as Early Second Temple Literature**

The paper argues to give up the traditional simplifications in dating layers of the Pentateuch when using simple categories as "pre-exilic", "exilic", "post-exilic", or "priestly" and "late-priestly". As we can observe pre-exilic "Deutero-



nomic" layers in Deuteronomy, and "exilic," "late-exilic" and "early-postexilic" "Deuteronomistic" layers as well as post-exilic and post-dtr texts, we have to make a difference between early periods of scribal compositions in the 5th century, layers after the activities of Nehemiah, and even after the time of Ezra during the 4th century. Scholars have observed traces of pre-chronistic and even post-chronistic Fortschreibung, that means: the development of the Pentateuch reaches into the early Hellenistic time.

109-52/2

*Bill T. Arnold (Asbury Theological Seminary)*

**Deuteronomy's Justice Manifesto: The Significance of 'Correct Decision(s)' in Deuteronomy 16:18**

Since Wellhausen, scholars have understood Deut 16:18–18:22 as an early type of constitutional law, especially for the way it defines the responsibilities for four main human authorities in Israel: judges, kings, priests, and prophets. Its four-part structure seems clear by the way syntax introduces each official in the list. And yet this conventional way of dividing the material is also deceptively simple because it obscures what I have come to believe is a fundamental and overarching interpretive principle that may shed light on all the laws in the passage, which are otherwise quite complex. This investigation reexamines the details of the unit and explores the possibility that a singular and foundational interpretive tenet gets lost in most treatments of the passage, or at least has been neglected in the secondary literature. The proposal offered here is that the directive for the judges to perform their duties with "a judgement of righteousness" in 16:18b introduces the entire unit rather than only the local magistrates in 16:18–17:13. In subsequent verses, the phrase comes to serve as a social ideal, functioning as a literary touchstone for all of 16:18–18:22. In this way, Deuteronomy's constitutional ideal presents a vision for justice that begins with a mandate for justice in the narrower sense of wise court proceedings, but immediately expands to embody justice in the four officials on the way to establishing the prophetic ideal of social justice more broadly.

109-52/3

*Phil Reid (University of the Free State)*

**The Samaritan Pentateuch as an Intra-lingual Translation**

What does translation theory add to our understanding of textual criticism? Can we view scribal activity in translational terms, even within the same language?

This paper presents a translational model for examining the Samaritan Pentateuch: as an intralingual translation to the Samaritan Hebrew dialect.

Many view translation as an exclusively inter-lingual activity, but translation theory can be applied much more broadly. Drawing on the semiotics of Charles Peirce, Marais (2019) describes translation as a trajectory of interpretation and reinterpretation of signs. Translation theory also gives us the idea of *skopos* – the aim or intention behind translational activity (Reiss and Vermeer 2014, Nord 2018).

In simplistic terms, scribes engage in translational activity with the *skopos* of reproducing the original text. However, this is a complex process, as scribes compare different texts and oral traditions and respond to their cultural and religious context.

This paper starts with the assumption that both the SP and MT share a common source. Thus, most differences can be traced to a point where the translational trajectories of either the SP or the MT had a significant shift. Irrespective of their relative dates, there were more such shifts in the translational trajectory of the SP than of the MT. Many of these shifts have particular *skopoi*, some relating to Samaritan theology and culture. Others, such as the harmonisations found the Exodus narrative, are not Samaritan innovations. To discern the *skopoi* behind these shifts we have to look more broadly at scribal practices in the Second Temple era.

109-53/1

*Jože Krašovec (University of Ljubljana)*

### **The Use of Terms for God's Attributes of Salvation in Jerome's Double Translation of the Psalms**

There are different attributes of God in the Bible. Attributes of the semantic field of "salvation" are fundamental in the Bible and in later Jewish and Christian traditions. In the book of Psalms, God's attributes appear in forms of concrete metaphors or of abstract designation of quality of properties or actions. Because some attributes relating to God appear independently and some in conjunction with other synonymous words, the basic form of parallelism is of upmost importance in judging accuracy and consistency in rendering basic theological vocabulary in standard Bible translations.

Jerome's double translation of the book of Psalms – *iuxta LXX* and *iuxta Hebraicum* – is in dealing with issues of Bible translation particularly illustrative. It shows that translators of the Septuagint testify to relative consistency in rendering words by the same equivalents and in keeping the structure of parallelism, but they transformed quite often concrete metaphors into abstract concepts. In his translation of the Psalms *iuxta LXX*,

Jerome followed the LXX in keeping the poetic structure of the text, but he allowed himself greater plurality in rendering basic vocabulary. In his translation *iuxta Hebraicum* he followed the principle of *Hebraica Veritas* and rendered the structure of the text, metaphors and abstract concepts more in accordance with the original. The principle aim of the paper is to show how important and complex is the issue of “literary translation” of the Bible in terms of equally important role of concrete metaphors and of abstract concepts within literary structures of the original text.

109-53/2

*Jeffrey Stackert (University of Chicago)*

**On the Relation between Textual Criticism and  
Source Criticism in the Pentateuch**

This study draws upon small-scale variants in Exodus to show that the non-Masoretic witnesses of the Pentateuch play a significant role in its source-critical evaluation and, importantly, how they do so. It likewise shows how source-critical observations can aid in the evaluation of textual evidence. In each of the examples discussed (Exod 8:3; 9:24–25; 19:18), the ancient witnesses attest variation, and none of them admits of an obviously preferable reading on the basis of conventional text-critical evaluation. Yet in each case, a source-critical delineation does recommend a preferred reading, and the non-Masoretic evidence plays a decisive role in each instance. These examples thus add to our knowledge of pentateuchal textual history while also shedding light on the relationship between source-critical and text-critical investigation. (Could be either in Pentateuch section or Methodology section)

109-53/3

*Christoph Levin (Universität München)*

**Die Niedrigkeits-Bearbeitung in der Urgeschichte**

Es ist eine alte Beobachtung, dass zwischen Genesis 3,22; 6,3 und 11,6–7 eine enge Beziehung besteht. Vor allem Hartmut Gese hat das Verständnis dieser Ebene des Textes gefördert. Es lässt sich zeigen, dass die Urgeschichte eine gezielte Bearbeitung erfahren hat. Man kann sie im Anschluss an Markus Wittes Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Hiobbuchs „Niedrigkeits-Bearbeitung“ nennen. Auch für die Stellung in der Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Theologie gibt Hiob den Rahmen vor: Hiob 42,2 wird in Genesis 11,6 zitiert.

109-54/1

*Alphonso Groenewald (University of Pretoria),*

*Liza Esterhuizen (University of Pretoria)*

**A Study of the Tension between Experiences of Nothingness and Hope  
in the Name-Giving of the Children in Isaiah 7 and 8:  
A Trauma-Hermeneutical Perspective**

‘A rose is a rose is a rose’, is the most widely cited line of the American writer Gertrude Stein, suggesting all roses are the same. However, when the focus shifts from roses to people, and particularly the prophetic roles of individuals, all people cannot be grouped together by saying ‘a prophet is a prophet is a prophet’. The thorn in this analogy surely is the Book of Isaiah, where the prophet Isaiah is not only a prophet, but a beacon of hope, even where nothingness can lead to despair.

Isaiah 7 and 8 presents a research opportunity relevant to the topic of trauma within prophetic studies. A common thread within chapters 7 and 8 is the tension between experiences of nothingness and hope. In the Isaiah prophecy the equilibrium sways between judgment and salvation. Imagery, symbols and specific metaphors underline the trauma that was experienced by Isaiah, King Ahaz and Judah.

Isaiah 7 and 8 are set against the Syro-Ephraimite war and the looming threat of an Assyrian invasion. The historical and social circumstances are laced with tension of the experiences of nothingness and hope. These two chapters are the starting point of Isaiah’s prophetic utterances directed at the king and Judah. The messages of the children’s oracles are to trust Yahweh and not to despair in their faith. The paper will address the issue of nothingness and hope in Isaiah 7 and 8 and, particularly, the role that trauma plays in the name-giving of the children.

109-54/2

*Bob Becking (Utrecht University)*

**Divine Jealousy as an Answer to Trauma: Notes on the Book of Nahum**

In this paper, I will present the concept of  $\text{YHWH}$  in the Book of Nahum as a two-sided deity – being both full of revenge and goodness – as a reaction to the trauma of the yoke of Assur. A hint to that view is present in the concluding question of the prophetic book (Nahum 3:19): “All who hear the news about you clap their hands at your fall, for who has not felt your endless cruelty?”

I will pay attention to two questions: (1) Was the Assyrian age really of heavy yoke for the province of Samerina and the vassal kingdom of Judah or is the *pax Assyriaca*-thesis still valid? (2) Can the Book of Nahum be read as a coherent composition communicating a complex and multidimensional message?

*Todd Hibbard (University of Detroit Mercy)*

### **Scribal List-Making and Isaiah's Early Composition**

The book of Isaiah's complex composition presents well-known interpretive problems. Much of the recent discussion has been focused on explaining the latter stages of that process to better understand the final shape of the book. What is less well understood are the beginning stages of Isaiah's composition. How did the book's formation begin? Are there clues in the text that provide some insight into the earliest stages of the book's composition and formation? This study argues that one possible strategy for Isaiah's earliest composition may come from the scribal practice of list-making. In William Schniedewind's *The Finger of the Scribe*, he examines Israelite list-making as part of his study of the scribal practices discernible in the Kuntillet 'Ajrud materials. He points to the repetition and ordering in lists as a structuring device in biblical texts, specifically noting the "Oracles against the Nations" in Amos 1:3–2:16 as evidence of this (p. 91).

This paper takes this observation one step further and argues that Isaiah contains several such oracular lists that are usually understood as literary structuring devices. These include the "for all this" oracles in Isa 5, 9–10; the "on that day" additions in Isa 7 and 19; the "oracles against the nations" in Isa 13–23; and the "woe oracles" in Isa 5 and 28–31. I argue that some of these "lists" may represent vestiges of how some of Isaiah's early oracles were preserved. If correct, they might provide a window into aspects of Isaiah's early composition.

*Nina Beerli (Universität Zürich)*

### **Streiten mit Menschen und Gott. Ein Beitrag zur Analyse von Konflikten in den Psalmen**

Konflikte sind in den Psalmen allgegenwärtig und werden auf vielfältige Weise zur Sprache gebracht. Sie begegnen sowohl in Form breit ausgestalteter Konfliktverläufe als auch in Form subtiler, manchmal kaum wahrnehmbarer Andeutungen, die auf nicht viel mehr als ein vorhandenes Konfliktpotential schliessen lassen.

An den Konflikten im Psalter sind oft zahlreiche Parteien aktiv oder passiv beteiligt. Nicht nur die Menschen liegen miteinander im Streit, auch zwischen Menschen und Gott kommt es zu heftigen Auseinandersetzungen. Die Auseinandersetzungen weisen eine grosse thematische Bandbreite auf. Gestritten wird über die rechte Gottesverehrung, über ethisch-moralische Fragen, persönliche Schuld und zerbrochene Freundschaften aber auch

über politische Themen oder die Verletzung von Loyalitätsverhältnissen zwischen Menschen und/oder Menschen und Gott. Konflikte können auf unterschiedliche Weise geregelt werden. Die Regelungsstrategien reichen vom blossen Unterbruch über die Auflösung von Konfliktsituationen durch Ausschaltung einer Konfliktpartei bis zur gütlichen Beilegung.

Konflikte lassen sich mit Hilfe von aus der Konfliktforschung stammenden Kategorien analysieren und untereinander vergleichen. So lässt sich zeigen, dass im Hintergrund der individuellen und vielgestaltigen Konfliktschilderungen im Psalter oft wiederkehrende Strukturen stehen. Die Art und Weise, wie Konflikte ausagiert werden, ist demnach nicht zufällig, sondern beruht auf bestimmten Motiven, Handlungs- und Verhaltensmustern.

In diesem Referat wird anhand exemplarischer Textarbeit aufgezeigt, wie Konflikte ablaufen, wer daran beteiligt ist, worüber gestritten wird und welche Motive im Hintergrund der Auseinandersetzungen stehen.

109-55/2

*Gert Prinsloo (University of Pretoria)*

**Between Mythical Past and Messianic Future:  
Reimagining Lived Space in Psalm 132**

Psalm 132 is an “odd” poem in the context of the collection commonly known as the Songs of Ascents. It is by far the longest poem in the collection. The Songs of Ascents refer to David in superscripts (Pss 122:1, 124:1, 131:1, 133:1) and once there is a reference to the “house of David” (Ps 122:5). However, in Psalm 132 (although it lacks any reference to David in its superscript!) there is a pronounced focus on David as YHWH’s anointed (cf. Ps 132:1, 10, 11, 17). The poem itself is a prayer by a supplicant directed at YHWH, pleading that the deity should “remember” what David did on behalf of the deity, his people in general and Zion in particular. In this paper, I will utilize insights from memory studies and critical spatiality to argue that the poet utilizes Israel’s mythical remembered past to reimagine a new lived space and a glorious future for a small, marginalized post-exilic community conceived of by the poet and his in-group as “true Israel”. The analysis will argue that Psalm 132 plays a crucial role in the spatial imagination and ideological predisposition(s) of the late post-exilic authors/editors responsible for the collection of the fifteen poems carrying the superscript למעלות / שיר ה

*Edgar Kellenberger (Universität Basel)*

**Hellenistic Epigraphica as Comprehension Aids  
for the Psalms of Lamentation and Thanksgiving?**

Hellenistic curse tablets made of lead, which were fixed to temple walls, as well as stone inscriptions of reconciliation with the punishing deity after a transgression (so-called “confessional inscriptions”) have hardly been evaluated for the exegesis of the Psalms. The main reason for this is probably the great temporal and geographical distance (Asia Minor from the 2nd century BC to the 3rd century AD), which makes it impossible to assume a direct influence of the cultures.

These Greek texts are to be presented here under the question of how they express the needs of *homo religiosus*, revealing some analogies to the Psalms of Israel. In contrast to the Psalms, whose text could be changed through new updates (becoming a generalised prayer form), the unchangeable Asia Minor inscriptions bring the chance that the original situation can be recognised more undisguised. The following points in the inscriptions are interesting for the understanding of lamentation and thanksgiving psalms: more concrete description of the human offence; illness as divine punishment of a (conscious or unconscious) sin; vow (its redemption sometimes only after divine punishment!); effects of the atonement on the social environment; votive tablet and votive scroll; *στηλογραφία* and *מכתם / מכתב*.

*Michael Avioz (Bar-Ilan University)*

**The War between Ahab and Aram (1 Kings 20) According to Josephus**

1 Kings 20 narrates the war between Aram and Ahab, King of Israel. Flavius Josephus rewrites this story in his *Antiquities* at length (Ant. 8.363–92). The comparison of Josephus’ version to the biblical narrative in the MT gives rise to several questions that will be addressed in this paper: What are the differences between the MT and Josephus’ version? How should these differences be explained? Do they result from a different Vorlage that Josephus may have had at his disposal, or do they result from apologetic or exegetical reasons? The comparison will also take into consideration the LXX and other relevant witnesses.

Earlier studies of 1 Kings 20 in Josephus’ rewriting explained the changes that Josephus entered into his version of the biblical narrative as resulting from apologetic reasons. One cannot deny the presence of apologetic in

Josephus' writings, but it should not be perceived as the main objective of his biblical rewriting. In my view, Josephus has much to offer with regard to biblical exegesis. I will analyze Josephus' additions, omissions, and changes to the biblical text.

Josephus should be defined an exegete and the changes between the MT and his rewriting can be explained as resulting from "pure" exegetical motives. My analysis of this particular narrative will emphasize his exegetical skills when he makes efforts to present a clearer version of the story of Ahab for his readers.

109-56/2

*Veronika Bachmann (Universität Luzern)*

**The King as God and God as King: On the Theologically Significant Ambiguity of the Term *melek* in the Hebrew Esther Narrative**

It is generally supposed that the term "melech" refers all along to the Persian king Achashverosh in the Hebrew Book of Esther. In contrast, it seems to be a characteristic of the Greek Septuagint version not only to mention God explicitly, but also to address God as king (cf. the prayers in addition C). This paper advances the thesis that the Hebrew narrative as well refers explicitly to God. It does so, however, not by using the term God, but by subtly switching to use the term "melech" for God and not for Achashverosh in some crucial passages of its final section. Taking seriously the textual signs in favour of such a reading has implications for determining the theological profile of Hebrew Esther.

109-56/3

*Alma Brodersen (Universität Bern)*

**No Canon in Ben Sira**

The Book of Ben Sira is usually seen as the first evidence for the tripartite canon of the Hebrew Bible. This view is mostly based on the Greek Prologue, Sir 38–39, and the "Praise of the Ancestors" Sir 44–50. This paper argues that none of these passages prove the existence of a biblical canon in the early 2nd century BCE. The Greek Prologue contains explicit references to Israel's ancestral books, but it is not materially attested before the 4th century CE and may be pseudepigraphic. Sir 38–39, rather than referring to any specified writings, stresses the importance of international travel and divine inspiration. Sir 44–50 contains descriptions of figures also found in the Hebrew Bible with significant differences in words and contents, and shows similarities with Dead Sea Scrolls texts against the Hebrew Bible. These findings suggest that the Book of Ben Sira cannot serve as the earliest evidence for the canon of the Hebrew Bible. Instead, for its time within the Second Temple period, the Book of Ben Sira points to a rich oral and written tradition without canonical limits.



*Heather McKay (Edge Hill University)*

### **How Does Mephibosheth's Disability Affect His Life and Death?**

The two aspects of Mephibosheth's life brought to readers' attention by the narrator of the Second Book of Samuel are his disability and his descent from Saul. The name is, however, given to two descendants of Saul with little clarification between them in MT. The disability means that Mephibosheth—or Merib-baal, as Chronicles names him—cannot become king and also leads to his absence from certain key scenes in the David narrative and to his somewhat side-lining in terms of inheritance, probably with the connivance of his servant, Ziba. His descent from Saul leads directly to a risk of execution, portrayed—somewhat unconvincingly—as part of David's expiation of Saul's slaughter of the Gibeonites but he is saved because David keeps his promise to Jonathan. The first Mephibosheth's lonely-sounding life sounds a plangent note in the story of David's highly turbulent and generally successful life. Meanwhile, the other, unblemished Mephibosheth, meets the unpleasant end; to say in the stead of his half-nephew would be wrong because Rizpah's son was a perfectly acceptable other in terms of Saulide descent. Perhaps, then, the narrator, or redactor of MT, is playing with the sensibilities of his readers, leading them to expect a debasing death for the disabled descendant and then, then 'saving' him and finding a way to showcase David's keeping of that particular promise to Jonathan and then going on to recount the horrid end of his half-uncle who made one of the required seven Saulide descendants delivered up to the Gibeonites.

*Pieter van der Zwan (Universität Wien; North-West University, South Africa)*

### **Grotesque Bodies in the Book of Job**

Job is suffering from illness without understanding. His impairment and exclusion renders him disabled in an abled, gloating but threatened society for which he is the laughingstock despite his exceptional piety. His psychic and spiritual breakthrough comes when God makes him reflect on and in the mirror of the wild and disorderly bodies of the two monstrosities, the behemoth and leviathan, elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible exemplifying chaos but now unexpectedly celebrated. Even as possible relief with light-hearted humour these grotesque bodies emancipate the object of body-property from body-politics by subverting the centre of certainty and power. In this study the Bakhtinian critique of the "monologisation" of the human body and experience promises to be fruitfully combined with psychoanalytic insights about imprisoned body-images to enrich the interpretation of the book of Job.

**109-57/3**

*Kirsten M. Schäfers (Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität)*

**Ethnography and the Reciprocity of Perspectives: A Search for Traces of a Social Anthropological Key Concept in the Hebrew Bible**

The “Invention of Ethnography” (Skinner) is commonly ascribed to classical Greek literature, implying that there is no such thing in the Hebrew Bible. One key feature of ethnography is the interest in foreign cultures, their ethics, laws, customs, and cults for the sake of themselves. In addition, social anthropology discusses “reciprocity of perspectives” as the ability to relate to and compare one’s own beliefs, customs, etc. to those of others in a manner that abstracts from the own viewpoint as an absolute point of reference. Are there traces of the “reciprocity of perspectives” to be found in the Hebrew Bible and related scriptural literature? In my paper, I will address this question with regard to peoples and individuals as objects of description and reflection.

**109-58/1**

*Shlomi Efrati (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)*

**The Importance of Being Different:  
Reconsidering the European Textual Tradition of Targum Onqelos**

While the textual study of Targum Onqelos—the “canonical” Jewish Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch—has established early on the importance of its Eastern textual witnesses, the European transmission was at large left overlooked and understudied—both because of its vast number of witnesses and the presumption that they generally represent a later, deteriorated text. As a result, intriguing phenomena which could lead to a better understanding of Onqelos, as well as the Hebrew text underlying it, were all but neglected.

In this paper I will present new findings from a study of a large group of text witnesses of Targum Onqelos—both European and Eastern—undertaken as part of the ERC ‘TEXTEVOLVE’ project which explores new methods and approaches for the textual study of the Targums. Rather than considering the textual instability of the European tradition a reflection of deterioration or revision, I will argue that the European witnesses actually preserve ancient variant readings that are not found in the more unified Eastern textual tradition. A careful examination of these variants will illuminate the exegetical and lexical sensitivity of Targum Onqelos, clarify its relation to other ancient biblical translations, and offer a more accurate reconstruction of the Hebrew text(s) underlying it. Thus I will suggest that the unevenness of the European tradition should no longer be treated as an obstacle, but rather be seen as an opportunity for gaining a more nuanced understanding of both the history of the Targum and the massoretic text.

Arnim Janssen (*Universität Wien*)

**“Remember!”: Emotivity in the Transmission of the Book of Lamentations**

The short-paper focuses on some text-critical problems in the Book of Lamentations. It poses the question if biblical texts gain or lose emotivity over the time of their transmission. The first part discusses the theoretical background of emotivity and linguistic means of describing it. This is followed by the question of how emotive text elements have been translated in the course of textual history. The historical distance to biblical texts does not only challenge contemporary exegetes but is already visible in the textual history. In their transfer from one cultural context to another, emotive text elements have been transformed. Ancient translators struggled with the appropriate rendering of the texts to keep their emotional and performative character understandable for the contextually shifting target audiences. The text-critical findings indicate that some text elements were emotionalized during the transmission whereas others lost their performativity. The paper leads to the concluding question of how early translations contribute to our understanding of emotions in the Hebrew Bible.

S. C. Daley (*SIL International; Triapla Research Institute*)

**Aspects of Text-Critical Decision Making:  
Correlating MT Soundness and Variant Strength**

The decision: it is the first thing that a present-day Bible translator seeks; it is (often enough) the last thing that the modern textual scholar wishes to provide, and between the long adjudication of the scholar and the immediate need of the translation team lie countless pages of scholarly writings, only a small sampling of which ever (typically) reaches the translation desk, where, in the end, the translator(s) might feel compelled to venture an independent, educated guess. Must these things be so?

“The decision” is, of course, the one pertinent to the textual issue that the translator is wanting to resolve, and here the translator is a stand-in for the many, as exegetes of nearly every kind sometimes find themselves “cornered” into making a difficult text-critical decision when available information seems overly complex, ambivalent, or incomplete. In such cases, what do translators and exegetes make of the textual apparatus of their Hebrew Bibles? Perhaps they rely, instead, on a favored translation or a respected set of commentaries. But the translations and the commentaries, like our critical editions, tend to differ one from another.

Aspiring to create new connections between high level textual scholarship and Bible translation field work, this paper will introduce a systematic way of correlating MT soundness and variant strength. Such a correlation

provides a useful, initial framework for analysis and discussion that may help close the gap between scholarship and practical exegesis (including translation) and open the way for progress toward decision-making consensus.

**109-60/1**

*Mario Tafferner (Tyndale Theological Seminary)*

**The Divine Warrior Motif in 2 Kings 18:1–8**

Studies on Moses's bronze serpent in 2 Kings 18:4 typically focus on either the passage's relationship to Numbers 21:4–9 or possible Israelite religious backgrounds reflected in the described artefact. The present paper, however, seeks to illuminate the literary function of the bronze serpent's appearance in the context of Hezekiah's royal summary account (2 Kgs 18:1–8). Building on recent work undertaken on the "Chaoskampf" motif as a hermeneutic for displaying the royal story in different Assyrian media, it argues that Hezekiah's destruction of the bronze serpent represents an Israelite adaptation of the practice of presenting an ideal king as participating in the divine battle. To this end, it will analyze thematic and literary parallels to other Hebrew usages of the same motif (specifically Ps 89:24). At the same time, the paper will emphasize the distinctiveness of the Israelite appropriation of this motif in 2 Kgs 18:1–8 as demonstrating the emulation of David rather than military power to constitute Hezekiah's exemplary kingship. Rather than defeating external enemies in war, Hezekiah's actions of trusting in YHWH and removing cultic items of deviant Yahwism mark the elimination of internal forces of disorder in 2 Kgs 18:1–8.

**109-60/2**

*Francisco Martins (University of Notre Dame)*

**"Showing" and "Seeing" the Treasures: Towards a New Understanding of 2 Kings 20:12–19 // Isaiah 39:1–8**

The books of Kings and Isaiah offer a detailed description of certain events of Hezekiah's reign. Among them is the visit of a Babylonian embassy to whom king Hezekiah shows the treasures of his house. This gesture prompts the prophet Isaiah to announce that all these riches will be carried away to Babylon (2 Kings 20:12–19 // Isaiah 39:1–8). Although the plot of this story is relatively straightforward in its broad contours, scholars have struggled to make sense of the relationship between Hezekiah's gesture and Isaiah's reaction: what is Hezekiah's "crime" or sin? Is there a "crime"/sin? Is Isaiah announcing "punishment" for sin or for something else? What do we make of the king's final reaction to the prophetic words? This paper will address these questions anew and propose a new understanding of the text's inner

logic and meaning. I will argue that a semantic-pragmatic phenomenon observed in Akkadian—and reproduced in at least one other Northwest Semitic language—offers a plausible framework for construing Hezekiah's gesture vis-à-vis the ambassadors of the Babylonian king as a binding "legal symbolic act," whose dire consequences are fully explicated by Isaiah's pronouncement.

109-60/3

*Itzhak Amar (Bar-Ilan University)*

**A Reflection of Yehu's Rise to Power in the Division between Jehoram and Joash in the Book of Chronicles (2 Chronicles 21–24)**

It is doubtful whether one can find in the entire Bible such a violent story in which so much blood is shed as there is in the story of Yehu's rise to power (2 Kgs 9–10). The Chronicler ignores almost completely this story, and it is mentioned only in the context of the scene of the murder of Ahaziah king of Judah and his nephews (2 Chr 22:7–9). In this paper I will try to show that despite this disregard (to be exact: 3 verses vs. 73 verses) the Chronicler was influenced by this violent atmosphere, and applied it in the division between Jehoram and Joash that parallels the House of Ahab (2 Chr 21–24). This division is full of stories of violence that have been processed or alternatively added by the Chronicler himself (*Sondergut*). The reasons for adopting the terminology are related to the Chronicler's exclusive conceptions mainly regarding the undesirable ties between the Kingdom of Israel and the Kingdom of Judah.

109-61/1

*Hanne Løland Levinson (University of Minnesota)*

**God of the Father, God of the Daughter:**

**God in Octavia E. Butler's Novel *Parable of the Sower***

Octavia E. Butler's dystopian novel from 1993, *Parable of the Sower* provides a rich and sophisticated reading of biblical material. Butler (1947–2006) is one of the major voices in American science fiction literature. She is also one of the very few women and even fewer black authors working within this genre. Butler draws heavily on the Bible and on her own religious (Baptist) background in several of her novels. In the *Parable of the Sower* Butler references a wide range of biblical texts, primarily from the Hebrew Bible, while she also constructs the novel as an enactment of the parable of the sower (Luke 8:5–8). Lauren Oya Olamina, a black, teenage girl, and the main character in the novel, is cast in the role of the sower and thus also as a new Christ. Lauren also creates a new vision of God in opposition to her father's God: "At least three years ago, my father's God stopped being my God. His

church stopped being my church. ... I let my father baptize me in all three names of that God who isn't mine anymore. My God has another name." (*Parable of the Sower*, 7.) The novel's different notions of God and how Butler engages with the biblical material in these literary constructions of God is the focus of this paper.

109-61/2

Mark Sneed (*Lubbock Christian University*)

**From Chaos Dragon to Hegemonic Monster of Order:**

**Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* in Reception Historical Perspective**

In what seems like a contradiction, Thomas Hobbes employs the notion of the biblical dragon, Leviathan, usually viewed as representing chaos, disorder, and even evil, to buttress his argument for an absolute ruler, whether king or united assembly, to curtail the anarchic tendencies of humanity, evidenced by the contemporary Thirty Years War (1618–48). This paper will attempt to show that this dissonance is only apparent when a reception historical perspective is employed. First, I will show specifically why Hobbes chose to use Leviathan as a symbol to augment his argument. Second, and unknown to Hobbes and his contemporaries, I will show how Hobbes's seemingly idiosyncratic perspective aligns with a particular reception historical trajectory that goes back to ancient times, where Leviathan functions as the axis mundi. Third, I will show how monster theory can illuminate why all this makes sense. Monsters can serve not only as destroyers of cultural identities and boundaries but also as their constructors and reinforcers. This latter more positive function is often ignored but makes sense in Hobbes's case. As examples, the large cherubim in the Temple served to symbolically drive out any impurity that might encroach upon the Most Holy Place, much as gargoyles are thought to drive out evil from medieval cathedrals. Similarly, Hobbes's Leviathan is a monstrous power whose diabolic forces can be used for good as a constraint against human chaotic tendencies.

109-62/1

Jonathan Ben-Dov (*Tel Aviv University*)

**Spiritual Aspects of the Tabernacle Materials**

Recent research led to new paths in assessing the materiality of the divine agency, as in the title of a recent book in the field of Assyriology. In this paper I would like to shed light on the materials used for constructing the tabernacle. ANE texts pay much attention to the origin of the materials and to the traits that qualify them to constitute a home for the divine presence. The priestly account in Exodus, in contrast, gives little explicit clues regarding this question. I would like to add some points to the handful of studies

– older and recent – who related to this question. The first point is that the enormous emphasis on volunteering the materials to the tabernacle is in fact the necessary condition for their use in the divine abode. This point follows the work by Y. Muffs on volition and emotion in worship. My second point is that the silver – as opposed to gold and copper – is an anomaly in the roster of materials, since no actual vessel in the tabernacle is made of it, and its use is clearly marginal. I aim to explain this anomaly by tracing themes of volition, volunteering and emotions, highlighting their background in both biblical and post-biblical texts.

109-62/2

*Attila Bodor (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)*

**Documentary Evidence of the Growth and Change of the Torah:  
Methodological Considerations**

There is a growing consensus that the literary formation of the Hebrew Bible needs to be supported by empirical evidence, i.e., by texts whose evolution can be documented by extant manuscripts, thus allowing a better understanding of the growth and change of the scriptural text. However, various methodological refinements are still needed in this area. In fact, even when relying on the same or similar documentary evidence, opposing positions often arise due to disagreement over how to evaluate it and how to apply the findings to the reconstruction of the literary prehistory of biblical texts. This paper aims to examine the methodological difficulties and possibilities of the empirical evidence-based criticism, with a focus on the textual and compositional development of the Torah/Pentateuch. The presentation will consist of two main parts: first, it will provide a critical overview of recent research in the field; second, it will outline some basic methodological considerations that may be helpful for future investigations of the relationship between the textual and literary history of the Torah.

109-62/3

*Angela Roskop Erisman (Brooklyn Institute for Social Research/ARE Editorial)*

**The Lying Pen of the Scribes: Aaron's Stylus and the Creation of an Idol**

This paper will offer a new perspective on the the formation of the idol in Exodus 32:4. By focusing on what the idol is instead of how Aaron made it, we will be able to see that Aaron fashions this "calf" with a stylus because the idol in question is a text. We can see the contours of this text in the rhetoric of the Korah episode, and I will highlight examples of how the voice of Moses has been leveraged by the Aaronides in deeply problematic ways. He is made to employ manipulative rhetorical techniques in order to secure obedience to Aaron, while fear of death is leveraged in order to suppress dis-

sent. The result is the same sense of inevitable failure we find in the account of Jeroboam's calves, and this paper will show that Exodus 32–34 is as much a response to Aaronide manipulation of Torah as it is to the story in 1 Kings. Aaron is the villain of the golden calf story because he is the driving force behind and beneficiary of what was perceived as such a profound misuse of Torah that it was judged tantamount to idolatry. And the story was allowed to stand because the Aaronides did not have the last word when it came to the shape of the Torah; the episode is both a trenchant critique of their work and part of an effort to correct for it, one that also made its mark on the Korah episode itself.

**109-63/1**

*Domenico Lo Sardo (Pontifical University of Antonianum, Rome)*

**The Place of the Incense Altar and the End of P:**

**Textual and Literary Criticism Study of Exodus 30:1–10; 37:25–28,  
Leviticus 4, 16; and the Role of the Vetus Latina**

This contribution focuses, from a textual and literary criticism point of view, on incense altar in LXX-MT Exod 30:1–10 (MT Exod 37:25–28; absent in LXX) and Lev 4, 16. From a text critical study carried out in the citations of Exod, the role of the Vetus Latina (Lat. Cod 104: Monacensis) is decisive to demonstrate that:

- (1) for the Hebrew Vorlage behind the Greek, and therefore the Latin of the Monacensis palimpsest, the altar of holocausts is the main altar (Pg) within the literary set of Exod 36–40;
- (2) consequently, only later will the incense altar be introduced (P);
- (3) the short text of MT Exod 37:25–28 is prior to MT Exod 30:1–10, and it is the basis for its subsequent redaction;
- (4) incense altar, originally and with good chance, was inside the Holy of Holies.

The literary critical investigation, on the other hand, shows that:

- (1) up to Lev 4, the writing P sets the incense altar inside the Holy of Holies;
- (2) post-P authors insert Lev 16, thus prohibiting frequent entry into the Holy of Holies, and definitively set the incense altar in the Holy;
- (3) the Writing P ends in Lev 8–9, with the priesthood and cult inauguration.



*Christo Lombaard (University of Pretoria)*

### **Mystic Interpretations of Moses: An Analysis of Interpretative Strategy**

On the continuum of the most common understandings of the Moses accounts in the Pentateuch – which range from naïvely-historical (at times called pre-critical or fundamentalist) readings, to text-immanent (often narrative) analyses, to historical-critical studies of various kinds – mystical interpretations find no comfortable placement. In this contribution, such mystical receptions of the Moses figure and stories are taken into review and categorised. Upon this follows placing these receptions into relation with the three mentioned more common Moses understandings. The mystical interpretation strategies indeed relate to aspects of these more common approaches to the Moses accounts, although differentially so; they also depart from key aspects of these approaches. This is done through interpretations that seek, explicitly, the experiential. The latter search is not absent in the most common understandings of the Moses accounts, though there it is present mostly by implication. With mystical receptions of Moses, the experiential is a more openly present, explicit interpretative criterion. The latter explains some of the phenomenological parallels and divergences of these interpretations.

*Esias Meyer (University of Pretoria)*

### **The Restitution/Guilt Offering in Leviticus and Numbers**

The restitution/guilt offering in the Old Testament is both complex and flexible. The sacrifice is flexible because it is the only one of the five sacrifices in Leviticus 1–7 that can sometimes be exchanged for silver. The sacrifice is complex because the same noun is used for ordinary “guilt”. It shares this feature with the purification/sin offering of describing the problem and the solution using the same word. Apart from this feature, it shares a lot with the purification/sin offering, such as producing the same outcomes of atonement and forgiveness for the person presenting the sacrifice. This paper revisits and further explores the debate around the origins and functioning of this sacrifice, especially within Priestly and post-Priestly texts in the Pentateuch. These texts include the cleansing ritual for a person who recovered from skin disease (Lev 14) and the ritual for the nazirite who accidentally came into contact with the dead (Num 6).

109-64/1

*Hugh Williamson (University of Oxford)*  
**Unravelling Isaiah 17**

Isaiah 17, 'An Oracle concerning Damascus', is made up of five short sections, each being clearly demarcated by a standard introductory formula. There is very strong evidence that some, at least, of this material dates to the eighth century BCE, whereas some seems with almost equal probability to come from a later date. This paper will seek to unravel the composition history of this passage and to explain how it has been put together into a unit. Standard redaction-critical methods will be used. The aim, however, is not to divide and fragment the text we now have but to suggest that appreciation of its literary history has valuable and positive hermeneutical consequences for the final form of the text.

109-64/2

*David J. A. Clines (University of Sheffield)*  
**A Dietary Upgrade for Eschatological Animals (Isaiah 30:24)**

In his vision of the eschaton, the poet of Isaiah 30 offers a glimpse of life on the Israelite farm in the latter days: 'The oxen and the donkeys, who work the soil, will eat *ḥāmîš* for fodder, winnowed with shovel and pitchfork' (v. 24).

It has not usually been recognized that being 'winnowed' (*zārâ*) with the agricultural implements of the 'shovel' (*raḥat*) and the 'pitchfork' (*mizreh*) means the animals' feed will be a food hitherto regarded as intended for human consumption. In the present order, only humans eat winnowed grains; in the latter days animals (at least donkeys and oxen) will enjoy a dietary upgrade to a higher-quality product.

This upgrade carries with it certain implications, far from explicit in our text. Since winnowing is a laborious task, the humans performing it will be hard at work for the sake of their animals' new diet, having become in this respect servants of their animals (unlike the eschaton of Isaiah 11, where the lion eats straw like an ox [v. 7], and the humans benefit from the pacification of the wild animals, and it costs them nothing).

The *ḥāmîš* will be, not silage, nor clean fodder, nor sour or salted food, nor grain, as others have variously argued, but the pulse chickpea. I will show that Isaiah 30:24 has not been well served by the commentators, who generally fail to see that winnowing implies a higher grade of food.

*Mirjam Bokhorst (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)*

**Zweiter Exodus oder Nachfolge Gottes?**

**Beobachtungen zur Rückkehr des Volkes bei Deuterocesaja**

In der Forschung wird Deuterocesaja oftmals als derjenige Prophet angesehen, bei dem es zu einer intensiven Auseinandersetzung mit der Exodustradition gekommen ist. Der neue Auszug aus Babel werde nicht nur mit dem Auszug aus Ägypten verglichen, er überbiete in auch in Herrlichkeit. Wie verbreitet diese Deutung der Rückkehr des Volkes in Deuterocesaja auch ist, so umstritten ist sie auch. So oder so scheint jedoch nicht zur Debatte zu stehen, was genau unter der Exodustradition zu verstehen sei und wie breit diese gefasst werden könne. Darin, dass sich diese nicht nur auf die beiden Exodusformeln beschränkt, mit deren Hilfe das Auszugsgeschehen im Enneateuch häufig kurz rekapituliert wird, sind sich sowohl die Befürworter als auch die Kritiker einig.

Aber was charakterisiert und konstituiert den Exodus bzw. die Exodustradition und was lässt sich davon in Deuterocesaja wiederfinden? Wie lässt sich hierbei das Verhältnis von Deuterocesaja zu Exodus-Numeri und dem Deuteronomium bzw. deren Vorstufen beschreiben? Und wie ist bei einem solchen Vergleich damit umzugehen, dass die Exodustradition im Laufe der Zeit möglicherweise in andere Vorstellungswelten übertragen wurde, wodurch andere Begrifflichkeiten neben die „klassische Exodusterminologie“ getreten sind und das Exodusgeschehen in neuen Kategorien interpretiert wurde?

Ausgehend von diesen Fragen möchte ich in meinem Vortrag kurz auf die wichtigsten Rückkehr-Vorstellungen in Deuterocesaja eingehen und mit Hilfe eines Textbeispiels zeigen, dass sich für die Rückkehr des Volkes vor dem Hintergrund des Gesamtcesajabuches und altorientalischer Traditionen auch eine andere Deutungsmöglichkeit plausibilisieren lässt und die Exodustradition allenfalls im Dienste der Verdeutlichung von Gottes Geschichtsmacht eine Rolle spielt.

*Christophe Nihan (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)*

**Sacrificial Metaphors in the Psalms: A Preliminary Report**

While references to sacrifices are not infrequent in the Psalter, a few Psalms contain references to sacrifices which are clearly metaphorical. This phenomenon is primarily documented in Psalms from the Late Persian and

Early Hellenistic periods (fourth and third centuries BCE), and appears therefore to reflect a relatively late stage in the composition of the Psalter. Apart from the studies by C. Radebach-Huonker (2010) and, more recently, B. Janowski (2019), this phenomenon has not received much attention. However, it is arguably significant for understanding the relationship between Psalms and the cult during the formation and transmission of the Psalter. Through a careful analysis of selected examples, such as Ps 51:18–19; Ps 141:2 and Ps 119:108, the paper will discuss how “sacrificial metaphor” can be defined in these Psalms, in relation with recent metaphor theories, and analyze the meaning and function of such metaphors in their literary context. In particular, the paper will argue that, while it is possible to give a single, coherent definition of sacrificial metaphors in the Psalms, such metaphors illustrate distinct, and sometimes even conflicting, positions vis-à-vis the sacrificial cult of the Second Temple. In Ps 141, for instance, the sacrificial metaphor can be seen as a way to align, or coordinate, private and public piety, whereas in Ps 51 the metaphor is embedded within a much more critical discourse, which highlights the gap between the sacrificial cult and personal piety. The last part of the paper will then discuss the relationship between sacrificial metaphors in the Psalms and in other parts of the Hebrew Bible, such as especially the Latter Prophets and the wisdom traditions (especially Proverbs and Qohelet). It will argue that, while sacrificial metaphors are also present in the Latter Prophets, they are used in a significantly distinct way; on the other hand, sacrificial metaphors in the Psalms can be seen as presenting some parallels with trends observable in the late wisdom traditions. The paper will also briefly comment on the parallels that can be observed in some Greek traditions of the Hellenistic period (e.g., Philodemus of Gadara, *De musica*), which suggest that the development of sacrificial metaphors in the Psalms is part of a broader Mediterranean phenomenon.

109-65/2

*Innocent Himbaza (University of Fribourg)*

#### YHWH roi dans le Psaume 68

Le langage et les motifs du Ps 68 devraient le classer parmi les Psaumes de Sion et surtout du règne de YHWH. En effet, à l'instar d'une divinité cananéenne et d'un grand roi proche-oriental, YHWH conquiert des territoires, s'installe dans sa capitale et reçoit des hommages.

109-65/3

*Sophie Ramond (Institut Catholique de Paris)*  
**Esthétique de la résilience dans le psaume 79**

Il est proposé de revisiter la dramatique du Psaume 79, son écriture de la violence et la trajectoire de résilience qu'il dessine, comme aussi sa fonction dans la collection des psaumes d'Asaf.

109-66/1

*Arie van der Kooij (Leiden University)*  
**Who Are "the Many"? On Groups and Parties in Early Judaism**

One of the main characteristics of Jewish life in the Hellenistic and early Roman times was the presence of different groups or parties. In this paper I would like to focus on a number of passages referring to groups or parties. To give a few examples: "those among the people who are wise shall make many understand" (Daniel 11:33); "a little help and many will join them" (Daniel 11:34); "In those days went there out of Israel wicked men who persuaded many" (1 Macc 1:11). Also passages from the Dead Sea Scrolls are of great interest. E.g., 1QS 5:21–22, which refers to "the sons of Aaron" and "the multitude (rwb) of Israel". Passages like these indicate that groups or parties are composed of leading people and their followers, but they also raise questions: Who are the Many? What about the relationship between the leading people and the Many? It will be argued that passages in writings from the Dead Sea Scrolls are helpful for a better understanding of the passages in Daniel. On the other hand, in light of terminology used in Daniel 11:33 (the maskilim) and the phrase "those who lead many to righteousness" in Daniel 12:3 attention will also be given to the issue of the "Many" in Isaiah 53.

109-66/2

*Min-Su Oh (Daeshin University, Daegu)*  
**Eine kritische Lektüre der nachexilischen theologischen Strömungen,  
 fokussiert auf Prediger 4,17–5,6**

Prediger 4,17–5,6 hat Themen wie Opfer, Gebete und Gelübde – die auch in den Sprüchen und Sirach behandelt werden –, aber mit einem einzigartigen Akzent im Kontext traditioneller Weisheitsthemen. Erstens relativiert es den Wert des Opfers (4,17b, „Besser genau zuhören, als Narren zu opfern“). Diese Relativierung des Opferwertes steht im Einklang mit der prophetischen Tradition und der Tradition des Deuteronomiums und scheint in der Lage

zu sein, die Frömmigkeit zeitgenössischer Tempel und Rituale zu kritisieren. Zweitens ist es auch kritisch gegenüber (langen und formellen?) Gebetspraktiken (5:1a,5). „Öffne deinen Mund nicht leichtsinnig vor Gott und rede nicht mit überstürztem Herzen“ (5,1a). „Denn Gott ist im Himmel, und ihr seid auf der Erde, darum sollt ihr wenig reden“ (5,1b). Drittens kommt das Opferwort „Fehler“ nach dem Gelübde von Pred 5,5 der Tradition des Deuteronomiums entgegen (Dtn 22, 22–24), während es den bestehenden zeremoniellen Brauch – basierend auf der im Jerusalemer Tempel praktizierten Tora – herausfordert. Viertens stehen Träume (heidnische Rituale oder Bräuche oder Bräuche prophetischer Gruppen) Kohelet in einer Position kritischer Prüfung (vgl. Neh 6; Sach 13). „Viel Angst lässt Träume aufkommen, und viel Reden lässt die Stimme eines Narren erscheinen“ (5:6). „Bei vielen Träumen ist viel Eiteles, und bei vielen Worten ist es so; aber fürchtet Gott“ (5,6).

Die zurückgekehrte Gola-Gemeinde versammelte sich um Jerusalem, und Priestertum, Laiengruppen und Prophetengruppen waren aktiv. Während ihres Exils erreichten sie eine einzigartige theologische Entwicklung zur Überwindung der nationalen Krise. Die inklusive und einvernehmliche Ableitung jeder Gruppe liegt im Rahmen der Pentateuch-Theologie. Die Rolle der Weisen in der letzten Zeit des Exils wurde jedoch nur unzureichend erwähnt. – In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich anhand der begrenzten Predigertexte den Aktivitäten, Stimmen und religiös-sozialen Rollen der Weisen in den letzten Tagen des Exils nachspüren.

109-66/3

*Frank Ueberschaer (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)*

### **Literary Adaptations of Conflicts between Jews and Their Rulers in Second Temple Period Literature**

The book of 3 Maccabees contains a story of an anti-Jewish pogrom in Egypt under Ptolemaic rule. The story cannot be related to any known historical events, and it is therefore most likely fictional. Nevertheless, even a fictional story on an anti-Jewish pogrom must have had a historical anchor that makes it plausible for its audience. As such, the story should be understood as a reflection of an ongoing debate in which 3 Maccabees represents the Jewish side of the literary dispute on despising Jews. As such, the book provides a record of anti-Jewish agitation and persecution through the eyes of a Jewish author. Simultaneously, it is also a record of how a Jewish author perceived the anti-Jewish prosecutors and how he portrays them by treating them with contempt. This paper will explore the different mechanisms of despising in both directions as they appear in a text written by one side of a social conflict.

*Florian Oepping (Universität Osnabrück)*  
**Mythos Tempelbibliothek**

In der Forschung wird davon ausgegangen, dass eine Tempelbibliothek in Jerusalem seit der Erbauung des Tempels durch Salomo existierte. Ein archäologischer Nachweis lässt sich für das Vorhandensein nicht erbringen. Die Forschung argumentiert für die Existenz einer solchen Bibliothek einerseits mit Analogien aus Mesopotamien und Ägypten, andererseits stützt sie sich auf Textbelege aus dem Alten Testament, aus der apokryphen und rabbinischen Literatur sowie aus den Werken des Historikers Flavius Josephus.

Eine an den Tempel gekoppelte Bibliothek scheint auf den ersten Blick nur eine marginale Rolle im Verständnis der Welt des Alten Testaments zu spielen. Allerdings beeinflusst sie nicht nur das Bild der Priester, sondern auch die Vorstellung der Literaturproduktion sowie der Religion insgesamt. An ihrer Existenz hängt im Wesentlichen das Bildungsniveau der Priesterschaft und damit zusammenhängend die Frage, wer für die Ausprägung der geistlichen Vorstellungswelt der Religion verantwortlich ist.

Der Vortrag will diesen Punkten nachgehen. Die Fülle an Belegstellen aus verschiedenen Epochen und Kulturkreisen zeigt allerdings bereits eine mangelnde Differenzierung. Der Vortrag will systematischer vorgehen. Aus diesem Grund wird er sich lediglich mit den textlichen Belegstellen für den vorexilischen Tempel beschäftigen und sich ausschließlich auf 2. Könige 22,3–11 berufen. Die Textstelle fungiert als einziger Beweis für eine Tempelbibliothek in vorexilischer Zeit.

Nach einer synchronen und diachronen Analyse von 2. Könige 22,3–11 werden Rückschlüsse in Bezug auf die Tempelbibliothek gezogen. Die Ergebnisse erlauben ebenfalls berechtigte Zweifel an dem Bildungsniveau der Priesterschaft und werfen kritische Fragen bezüglich ihrer Mitwirkung in der Gestaltung der religiösen Literatur in vorexilischer Zeit auf.

*Brent Strawn (Duke University)*  
**“The Human Being before God” in Southern Levantine Seals**

This paper will (re)investigate depictions of “the human being before God” identified by Othmar Keel in his pioneering work, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World*. That study often focuses on monumental art. The present (re)investigation focuses on minor art, particularly the data collected by Keel (and others) in his multi-volume corpus of seals from ancient Israel/Palestine and Jordan. In a prior study, I conducted a similar analysis that focused on seals from Jerusalem. The current paper will review one major

site from each of the volumes of the Corpus – namely, Tell el-‘Ajjul, Beth-Shemesh, Tel el-Far‘ah (South), Tel Gamma, and Jericho, along with the Transjordanian sites catalogued in OBO.SA 25.

**109-67/3**

*David Toshio Tsumura (Japan Bible Seminary)*

**Was El Elyon the Canaanite God El?**

It is usually assumed that the phrase ‘ēl ‘elyôn in Gen 14:18 refers to the Canaanite god El and hence that the phrase “Yahweh, ‘ēl ‘elyôn, Possessor of heaven and earth” in v. 22 is a sign of an amalgamation between Yahweh and the Canaanite god El. According to T. J. Lewis, for example, the “pre-Israelite Canaanite lore (the family religion of El traditions and the storm and warrior themes associated with Baal) was thoroughly and unmistakably woven on to the god Yahweh...”

However, before discussing a “god merger” of El and Yahweh one should clarify the meaning of El “in the pre-Israelite Canaanite lore”. The Ugaritic term IL has been explained either as a generic noun “god(s)” or as a proper noun “El.” However, such an either-or question is too simplistic when we deal with the multifarious character of polytheism in ancient Canaan. In the light of recent studies of the Ugaritic liturgical texts, several “pantheon” lists, a quadrilingual vocabulary as well as theophoric personal names, the alphabetic spelling IL stands not only for a generic noun or the proper noun, but also for the collective godhead Ilum(a). The element “El” of the phrase El Elyon might well be explained as reflecting such a collective godhead in ancient Canaan rather than DN El. Before we discuss the relationship between polytheism and monotheism, one should understand the polytheism from within rather than imposing a monotheistic understanding of the godhead on polytheism.

**110-10/1**

*Susanne Gillmayr-Bucher (Linz)*

**„Unsere Väter haben uns erzählt ...“ (Ps 78,3). Geschichteerinnerungen  
in den Psalmen im Spiegel ihrer Rezeptionsgeschichte /  
“Our Fathers Have Told Us ...” (Psalm 78:3): Remembered History  
in the Psalms Reflected through the Centuries**

A few psalms replace the experiences of the praying persons’ voice with memories of the history of the people of Israel. The psalms use stories known from the narrative texts of the Bible in various selections and present them from different perspectives to unfold the communicative intention of the respective psalm – be it praise and thanksgiving, confession of guilt or instruction. In this way, the addressees are invited to understand their



own time in the context of remembered history; furthermore, the past is reinterpreted in the light of current issues. This mutual process of understanding the past and the present continues beyond the biblical texts in their reception history, whereby the explicit historical memories often present a special challenge for later recipients. Using selected examples of the history of reception, I will show how the memory of Israel's history in the Psalms were taken up in different contexts and which identification or demarcation strategies were developed; in addition, I will also pay attention to how the psalms' perspective on history changed the understanding of the remembered history.

110-10/2

*William A. Tooman (St Andrews)*

### **Rereading**

A great deal of academic concentration has been directed toward the redaction and rewriting of ancient Jewish literature, specifically their implications for the textual and intellectual history of ancient Judaism. Rather less focus has been placed on the repercussions of redaction and rewriting on reading: the degree to which rewriting anticipates that readers will be re-readers. This paper explores evidence that rereading is a requirement of much ancient Jewish literature (Hebrew Bible in particular), and it addresses the implication of this expectation for the dynamics of reading and the construction of meaning.

110-11/1

*Shuichi Hasegawa (Tokyo)*

### **Past, Present and Future: The Redaction History of 2 Kings 17**

2 Kings 17 is a treasure box for biblical theologians. Describing the fall of the kingdom of Israel and its causes, the chapter presents theological reflections derived from the monarchical, the exilic, and the Second Temple periods. By looking back to their past and searching for a better future, authors and editors eventually updated the given text in order to cope with their present issues. The updates reflect among others the theological principle of God's justice in history, possible faults of his people during the time of the monarchy, and finally the conflict with the (Proto-)Samaritans. This paper, in light of other biblical texts and the changes in socio-historical backgrounds, tries to entangle the complicated history of the present text.

**111-10/1**

*Bernd U. Schipper (Berlin)*

**From Empirical Knowledge to Critical Wisdom:  
The Composition and Intention of the Book of Proverbs**

Whereas previous research regarded the so-called “Solomonic proverbs” as a collection of individual proverbs, recent research has shown that Proverbs 10:1–22:16 is masterfully composed, similar to other parts of the book of Proverbs. The unit is shaped by a train of thought in which a concept of wisdom, grounded in life experience, is gradually questioned and contrasted with a theological wisdom.

The presentation demonstrates that the book of Proverbs is more than the sum of its parts. The whole book is guided by a critical perspective leading to a new understanding of sapiential thought. While older wisdom is determined by a knowledge based on life experience, the book of Proverbs unfolds a critical discourse about possibilities and limits of wisdom itself. It is not empirical knowledge and its systematization as “natural theology” that lead to a good life before YHWH but rather the recognition of YHWH and his divine word as the foundations of all wisdom. Thus, the book of Proverbs opens a critical conversation about different concepts of wisdom that is continued in the books of Job and Qoheleth and finds its goal in the combination of wisdom and Torah in the book of Sirach.

**111-10/2**

*Nili Wazana (Jerusalem)*

**Biblical “Special Traits List”: A Subversive Reaction to Imperial Power**

The Bible is well known for parallels and similarities to ancient Near Eastern literature, found within almost all biblical genres. Yet the Bible also includes ideas and literary formats which are unique. These items on what has been termed the “special traits list” have often been discarded as accidental. In contradistinction this paper suggests that the uniqueness of some if not the majority of these items may be explained and better understood as reactions of the vanquished Israelite and Judahite scribes to Assyrian rule and power. These subversive reactions are politically motivated, providing a religious alternative to Assyrian royal power through various revolutionary concepts, such as a vassal treaty with God, various laws of war, or undermining divine authority of kingship. When searching for parallels for them we should look at literature of other peripheral powers, such as Ugarit or Emar at the end of the Bronze Age.

*Manfred Oeming (Heidelberg)*

**Die Bedeutung der Numismatik für das Studium des Alten Testaments /  
The Importance of Numismatics for the Study of the Old Testament**

Obgleich ihre Ikonographie und Epigraphik derjenigen von Siegeln in nichts nachsteht, kommen Münzen und ihre spezifischen Botschaften in der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft relativ wenig zum Einsatz. Das mag mehrere Gründe haben: Die Münzproduktion und die Verwendung von geprägtem Gold-, Silber- und Bronzestücken im Alltag begannen in Juda und Israel erst in der mittleren Perserzeit. Es mag auch an der hermeneutischen Unsicherheit bei der Interpretation von Bildern liegen. Oder auch daran, dass eine umfassende Darbietung des Materials im Sinne eines Lehrbuches (à la Silvia Schroer, *Die Ikonographie Palästinas/Israels und der Alte Orient*, Bd. 1–4) mit Aufarbeitung der religiösen Bedeutung ein Desiderat ist. Aber die allmähliche Einführung von Geld hat eine sehr starke Auswirkung nicht nur auf das gesamte Wirtschaftsleben und das Militär, sondern auch auf die kulturelle Identität und die Religion Israels. Vielleicht veränderte Geld das Leben der Menschen mehr als die Einführung eines neuen Werkstoffes; man könnte daher vom Beginn des „Münzzeitalters“ („Coin Age“) um 450 v.Chr. sprechen. Angesichts der Einsicht, dass die Endredaktion vieler alttestamentlicher Texte in das Münzzeitalter fällt, ist der Beitrag der Numismatik nicht zu gering zu bewerten. An einigen ausgewählten Beispielen (aus Numeri, Nehemia, Hiob, Kohelet und den Makkabäerbüchern) soll aufgezeigt werden, wie sehr die Berücksichtigung der Bild-Welt der Münzen das Verstehen der biblischen Text-Welt fördern kann.

*Matthieu Richelle (Louvain-la-Neuve)*

**Réflexions épistémologiques sur la critique textuelle de la Bible  
hébraïque: Assumer l'incertitude et l'indécidabilité /  
Uncertainty and Undecidability in Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible**

While textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible is a dynamic field, bolstered by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the renewed study of the Septuagint in the last decades, it is less “stable” than it might appear. This paper shows that the very manner in which scholars practice textual criticism hinges on the answers they provide to three epistemological questions, that is, questions that are all related to the limits of our knowledge. First, what model about the origins of the biblical books should we adopt? The

most pervasive model is that of an Urtext, still defended by Emanuel Tov and Eugene Ulrich in *Textual History of the Bible*. Yet many Dead Sea Scrolls specialists prefer the model of early parallel texts, according to which there existed *from the start* parallel forms of the same biblical book, which would explain at least part of the textual plurality. Second, even when we assume that there existed one archetype for a given book, to what extent is it possible to reconstruct it? This question divides scholars and makes the HBCE project, which aims to reconstruct archetypes, controversial. Third, how can hesitations be acknowledged when dealing with variants? Although text critics know very well that the data often do not allow us to decide between readings, they rarely represent this in their critical editions.

These three issues are interrelated and this paper argues that they require more variegated answers than scholars often admit. In the end, text critics should integrate the realities of uncertainty and undecidability into their work.

111-40/1

*Rachelle Gilmour*

### **Saul's Idolatry and the Rhetoric of Prophetic Judgment**

In light of the repeated condemnation of northern and southern kings for worship of other gods, idolatry, and illicit practices in the book of Kings, it is notable that King Saul is not condemned in these terms in 1 Samuel 13–15. Instead, Saul is condemned for disobedience to specific commands: making a sacrifice in the absence of Samuel; and not completing the destruction of the Amalekites. There is one exception where Samuel calls Saul's sin in 1 Sam 15:23 "divination" and "teraphim". Considering the proposal that 1 Sam 15:23a is part of a Deuteronomistic insertion, the literary and political function of these verses in the book of Samuel will be examined. Two dimensions of Saul's idolatry will be highlighted: firstly, the role of Saul's idolatry in establishing proportionality for the punishment of Saul by proleptically accusing Saul of consulting the medium in 1 Sam 28; and secondly, a contribution to the broader theme of Saul's failed attempts to consult God throughout 1 Samuel. The extent to which the formulation of Saul's idolatry aligns with broader patterns of prophetic (and Deuteronomistic) rebuke in Samuel-Kings will also be evaluated.

*Thomas Naumann*

**Mit Gott auf der Flucht. Davids Glaube und Frömmigkeit im Kontext seiner Flucht vor Saul und vor Absalom /  
With God in Migrations: David's Piety and Faith in the Context of His Flight from Saul and from Absalom**

In den Psalmen wird Davids Frömmigkeit und Glaube auf der Flucht von Saul und vor Absalom in poetischen Gebeten nachempfunden. Wie aber sieht es in der David-Überlieferung der Samuelbücher aus? Ist David mit einem Gott unterwegs, der den Flüchtigen begleitet, im fremden Land versorgt, vor seinen Bedrängern schützt und errettet und wieder zurück bringt? Der Vortrag geht phänomenologisch vor und untersucht Davids Gottesbeziehung während seiner Migrationen, wie sie literarisch ausgeformt wurden und versucht diese religionsgeschichtlich einzuordnen.

In the Psalms, David's piety on the run from Saul and from Absalom is echoed in poetic prayers. But how does it look in the Davidic tradition of the Samuel books? Is David travelling with a God who accompanies the fugitive, provides for him in the foreign land, protects and saves him from his oppressors and brings him back from? The lecture takes a phenomenological approach and examines David's relationship with God during his migrations, how they were shaped in literature and attempts to classify them in terms of the history of religion.

*Walter Dietrich*

**Davids Frömmigkeit. Religiöses Phänomen und historisches Problem /  
David's Piety: Religious Phenomenon and Historical Problem**

In der Davidgeschichte der Samuelbücher gibt es neben Erzähleraussagen über Davids besondere Verbundenheit mit Gott auch zahlreiche Stellen, an denen er sich selbst mit der Gottheit eng verbunden zeigt. Belege finden sich in allen Textschichten, von den ältesten bis zu den jüngsten: offenbar mit zunehmender Tendenz. Dies wird an geeigneten Textbeispielen demonstriert. Am Ende steht die Frage, ob Davids Frömmigkeit ein rein literarisches Phänomen oder doch ein historisches Faktum sein könnte.

In the story of David in the books of Samuel, in addition to narrator statements about David's special connection with God, there are also numerous passages in which he himself shows to be closely connected with the deity. Evidence is found in all textual strata, from the oldest to the most recent: apparently with increasing tendency. This is demonstrated by suitable textual examples. At the end the question arises whether David's piety is only a literary phenomenon or a historical fact.

111-40/4

*David Shepherd*

**“Deliver Me from ‘Bloods’”: The Problem of Bloodguilt  
in 2 Samuel 11–12 and Psalm 51**

Psalm 51 has attracted a good deal of attention over the years, thanks in part to the superscription's association of it with perhaps the most infamous episode of David's story in the books of Samuel—his liason with Bathsheba and its aftermath, found in 2 Sam 11–12. While various suggestions have been made regarding the significance of *damim* “bloodguilt” (51:16 [ET: 14]) within the Psalm, this paper revisits this aspect of the Psalm in light of a recent re-appraisal of the problem of “bloodguilt” within the narratives of David (1 Sam 16 – 2 Kings 2).

111-40/5

*Mahri Leonard-Fleckman*

**From a Samson–Saul Complex to the Creation of Judahite History**

Scholars have long recognized literary similarities between Saul and Samson. Both figures are dedicated to YHWH before their birth; both are “rushed upon” by YHWH's spirit; both have antagonistic relationships with the so-called Philistines. Here, I explore a possible deeper connection, proposing that the Saul–Samson tales may have been combined to circulate as an independent complex prior to the creation of proto versions of Judges and Samuel. These stories therefore evince an earlier, sustained Israelite interest in Saul that stretch across the Judges–Samuel boundary (Milstein 2016) and deeper into Judges, existing separately from the creation of the David story. By focusing on the texts' literary history in a broad sense, the Samson and Saul material demonstrate the dynamic process of history writing within an entanglement of scribal perspectives, in which earlier source material can tell its own story, against the grain of later goals and interests, even as it is reshaped and re-presented as part of Judahite history.

111-40/6

*Johannes Klein*

**Kann Zukunft verändert werden, wenn sie bekannt ist? Gedanken zur  
Relevanz von Gottesbefragungen in den Samuelbüchern /  
Can the Future Be Changed If It Is Known? Thoughts on the Relevance of  
Inquiries of God in the Books of Samuel**

Gottesbefragungen erweisen sich als attraktiv, wenn der Befragende annehmen kann, dass die Kenntnis der Zukunft ihm helfen kann, Entscheidungen zu treffen. In diesem Sinn sind beispielsweise Ratschläge einer wohlwollenden Gottheit, wie sie David anscheinend erhalten kann, sehr begrüßenswert.

Bedeutet das aber, dass die Zukunft offen ist, auch gerade dort, wo sie mitgeteilt wird? Wenn ja, wie verträgt sich eine solche Sichtweise mit der Vorstellung einer ewig planenden Gottheit, wie sie beispielsweise Saul durch Samuel erfährt? Anhand von biblischen und außerbiblischen Beispielen soll diesen Fragen kritisch nachgegangen werden.

Inquiries of God prove attractive when the questioner can assume that knowledge of the future can help to make decisions. In this sense, for example, advice from a benevolent deity, such as David appears to be able to receive, is very welcome. But does this mean that the future is open, even just where it is communicated? If so, how does such a view square with the idea of an eternally planning deity, such as Saul experiences through Samuel? On the basis of biblical and extra-biblical examples, these questions will be critically explored.

111-41/1

*Christoph Uehlinger (University of Zurich, SSSL project)*

#### **Introduction to the Stamp Seals from the Southern Levant Project**

This paper will introduce the SSSL project, its core aims, modular structure and multi-disciplinary agenda, and point to some critical issues where the combination of new data combined with contemporary critical theory might open up new vistas on the history of religion in the southern Levant and on the Hebrew Bible's place within that history.

111-41/2

*Silas Klein Cardoso (Universities of Bern and Zurich, SSSL project)*

#### **Beyond the Image-Text Divide: In Search of a Multidimensional Approach to Visual Artifacts and Biblical Texts**

As an interartistic effort, the comparison between visual artifacts and biblical texts is necessarily founded on tenets set by researchers. The task has therefore been driven by theological, historical, anthropological, and textual concerns operating within different frameworks. The last fifty years have seen remarkable advancements in pairing evidence within closer chronological and geographical frames, understanding the use, function, and meaning of southern Levantine media, and applying contemporary theories to the ancient evidence. However, while the verbal and non-verbal *codes* are well-addressed by the modern approaches, the challenge of considering *artifacts* as such in their entirety remains, whether these artifacts are seals, figurines, or inscriptions and (biblical) manuscripts. From a hybrid communicological/social-semiotic approach and using southern Levantine material as examples, this paper discusses how to compare verbal and non-verbal

artifacts considering their codes together with their “vessels” and communicative contexts. The aim is to propose a critical framework that considers the artifacts as a whole, from their selection to their juxtaposition.

**111-41/3**

*Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme (University of Oslo)*

**The Agency of an Altar: A Material Semiotics-Inspired Investigation of the Relationship between Incense Altars and Texts about Incense Altars**

This paper is an investigation of how we can use the agency of objects to move beyond the image-text divide. An incense altar is a tangible object that has a multi-sensorial impact as it engages the sense of smell, sight, and touch. It is also an object that indexes a certain place, a sanctuary, a certain ritual practice, an offering, and a certain “presence,” a divine recipient.

By using the two incense altars from Arad as an example, I shall test how a multi-modal and material-semiotics inspired analysis of these altars may impact our exegesis of Hebrew Bible texts that describe the manufacture, design, and use of incense altars.

**111-41/4**

*Fabio Porzia (University of Zurich, SSSL project)*

**Beyond Ethnicity:**

**Outline of a Renewed Approach to the Levantine Religious Landscape**

In the present-day Levant (Israel and Palestinian territories, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria), religion is regarded as a main catalyser of conflicts and divisions among people, nations, and states. Religion certainly contributed to configure the region as a mosaic of distinct and at times strongly opposing groups. A similar image is often projected onto the region's ancient history as well. Consequently, the religious history of the ancient Levant has been described as a juxtaposition of ethnic pantheons, each one dominated by the major deity of a “nation” or “tribe.” Focussing on the Iron Age, this paper will plead for a shift in emphasis from religious differences based on presumed ethnic identities and postulated cultural borders to the overall similarity across the Levantine religious landscape. The complexity of several Levantine pantheons, backed by epigraphic and archaeological data, can be understood in the context of a region characterised by a high degree of commonality and cross-cultural connectivity. In such a context, gods were conceived as “patchworks” made up of shared, variously configured features, and they were therefore understandable and translatable for each social group according to its own specific needs.



*Katharina Pyschny (Humboldt-Universität Berlin)*

**Cultural Hybridity Rather Than Ethnicity: The Persian and Early Hellenistic Woman and Child Figurines as a Test Case**

When it comes to the material culture of ancient Israel/Palestine, ethnicity and ethnic markers or labels still play a crucial role in studying and interpreting iconographic objects. This holds true for every object class, be it, for instance, stamp seals or terracotta figurines. Almost every study of such objects identifies or labels specific iconographic elements as “Egyptian,” “Phoenician,” “Persian,” “Greek/Hellenistic,” etc. At the same time, these identifications or labels remain rather unclear with regard to their actual point of reference (provenance, type, style, etc.) and meaning for interpretation. In the case of the Persian period terracotta figurines, even the scholarly assessment of their typology is more or less explicitly influenced by ethnic labels. The so-called East-West-paradigm developed by Ephraim Stern divides Persian period figurines into two groups based not only on their techniques of manufacture but predominantly based on their “ethnic” style. While the figurines of the “Western” group are rather uniform in style and predominantly characterized by a Greek dress or style, the “Eastern” group is marked by numerous stylistic influences—Phoenician, Egyptian, Persian, or Babylonian. This basic distinction has been adopted by many scholars in the field although it bears problematic assumptions and implications on different levels – ethnicity being one of them. Using the woman and child figurines from Persian and early Hellenistic times as an example, this paper will reevaluate the typology and iconography of these objects opting for an interpretation beyond ethnicity and ethnic labels. It will be shown that the woman and child figurines present an excellent example for the mixture of “Western” motif and “Eastern” style and attest to typological continuities to both *dea gravis* and Isis-Horus iconography (the latter transitioning into Aphrodite-Eros iconography in Hellenistic times). Thus, the typology, style, and iconography of these figurines attest to cultural hybridity rather than clear-cut ethnic identities and hint at the fact that these objects were open for different receptions and interpretations by different social or local groups.

*Bruno Biermann (Universities of Bern and Zurich, SSSL project)*

**Beyond Binaries in Biblical Studies and Levantine Archaeology**

Binary thinking is deeply rooted in scientific thinking and writing, rendering the messy and chaotic tangible and workable to researchers and readers

alike. But binaries come at a price, reducing subjects, people, or identities to either one or another. Binary categories are particularly evident in issues related to sex, sexuality, and gender—in the present or past alike. Widespread binaries such as male/female, nature/culture, or sex/gender often predetermine researcher's questions, methodologies, and results. In the last decade, Queer Theory has been increasingly present in Biblical Studies and archaeology, questioning the epistemological foundations of black-and-white typologies. Furthermore, Queer Theory has been highlighting non-binary identities by promoting a performative understanding of identity, gender, and sexuality. Yet these concerns are underrepresented in the study of Levantine material and visual culture. In this paper, I argue for the relevance of Queer Theory for Levantine Studies. Therefore, I discuss several predominant binaries, such as the conflation of sex and gender categories, the engendering of artifacts, and categorizing names from epigraphic material into male and female categories. Such "binary binds" are deconstructed to highlight the historical records' complexity and highlighting the limitations of research itself. This can lead to new methodologies, amplifying "noise" in the historical and archaeological research, thus deconstructing our assumptions. Based upon this, novel understandings of sex and gender might render archaeological sources in a new light.

111-41/7

*Katharina Galor (Brown University)*

**Fashioning and Self-Fashioning Jewish Women's Bodies: Roman and Byzantine Period Visual and Material Identity Markers**

This paper examines Jewish women's roles in shaping their naked and dressed bodies and the inherent tension between the patriarchal legacy of biblical and Talmudic texts and the chronologically corresponding visual and material culture. Other than the biological and gendered distinctions, this essay explores the similarities and differences between Jewish and non-Jewish dress codes. I argue that Jewish women's agency, just like that of her gentile neighbors, was largely defined by the complicated mission of navigating the elusive quality of overlapping social boundaries defined by sexuality, attractiveness, and modesty.

111-42/1

*Erhard Blum*

**Martin Noths kritische Aktualität**

Historische Hypothesen werden häufig durch selbstverständlich gewordene Annahmen geleitet, deren kontinuierliche Prüfung von besonderer Bedeutung ist. Einige grundlegende Einsichten von Martin Noth verdienen es, in

dieser Perspektive als kritische Herausforderungen für die gegenwärtige Forschung wahrgenommen zu werden. Der Beitrag wird diese Einschätzung an methodischen Fragen der Rekonstruktion der Geschichte Israels und seiner Überlieferungen darlegen und zur Diskussion stellen.

111-42/2

*Cynthia Edenburg*

**Evaluating Noth's Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis  
as a Popperian Thought Experiment**

Is Noth's conception of a Deuteronomistic History misguided, and does it lead scholarship to a dead-end? These seem to be the conclusions of those who characterize Noth's hypothesis as an "Irrweg der Forschung". This paper examines whether the severe criticism and fundamental rejection of the DtrH hypothesis is justified, and considers the merit of Noth's contribution to the understanding of Biblical historiography in the light of Popper's approach to conjectures and refutations. A key point of dispute is whether the Book of Joshua was composed as the natural conclusion to the Pentateuchal narrative, or whether it is the first main chapter of the history of Israel and Judah following from the programmatic introduction in Deuteronomy, or alternatively, just one part of the vast narrative comprising the Pentateuch and Former Prophets. The different arguments are reconsidered in order to better appreciate the main innovations in Noth's way of thought.

111-42/3

*Dominik Markl*

**"Die großen abschließenden Katastrophen":  
Martin Noth's Interpretation of Deuteronomistic Historiography**

"Catastrophe" is a key term in Noth's reconstruction of deuteronomistic historiography. This paper starts from an analysis of Noth's application of this concept to the military defeats of Israel and Judah by the Assyrians and Babylonians and its implications. I shall then reflect on the meaning of Noth's reconstruction of deuteronomistic historiography as shaped by its catastrophic end in 2 Kings 25 in two ways: in terms of Noth's own historical context, and in terms of its lasting influence and reception since the end of World War II.

111-42/4

*Lauren Monroe*

**A Pre-monarchic League in the Song of Deborah**

In the Song of Deborah, Judges 5:13–23 features a fighting force comprised of named groups who did and did not appear to fight against a common

enemy, Sisera. Treating the array of names in the poem as signifiers of political identity within the bounded environment of the text reveals a set of political interactions that differs considerably from what we come to expect from later biblical texts. I suggest that the Song envisions these groups as mutually committed by a military alliance that was transgressed by those who refused to participate. Commemoration of this socio-political breakdown is central to the Song, and helps to explain its preservation and transformation in the hands of the scribes who produced the Book of Judges. With the Song as its focus, this paper takes up subjects that lie at the heart of Martin Noth's scholarly *oeuvre*. These include: the relationship between biblical representation and the historical question of a pre-monarchic league; the composition of texts that comprise the "Deuteronomistic History" and their relationship to the Pentateuch; the relationship between lived and literary tradition; and the methodological problem of how to account for what the Bible shows but does not tell.

111-42/5

David Vanderhooft

Martin Noth, G. E. Wright, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, and the Founding of *Die Welt des Orients* Seventy-Five Years Later

G. E. Wright began a correspondence with Martin Noth in March 1947, in response to an initiative launched by American scholars to assist their German colleagues. The moment was fraught, coming less than two years after the end of the Second World War and during ongoing disruptions in Germany. Wright's first letter mentions, briefly, the publication of Noth's *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* in 1943 and its as yet very limited reception in America. Noth responded to Wright in May of 1947, the same month that Noth joined Ernst Michel and Walter Andrae to publish the first fascicle of the journal, *Die Welt des Orients*, subtitled *Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes*.

The events are unrelated, but the present discussion investigates Noth's influence in the changing international landscape of Near Eastern studies at this particular time. It focuses on his engagement with American scholars, their reception of the foundational hypotheses of *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, and also the initiative behind the founding of *Die Welt des Orients* and, shortly after, *Vetus Testamentum*. It thus offers modest updates on the key insights of Rudolf Smend concerning these developments.

111-43/1

*Innocent Himbaza***The BHQ Leviticus as a Critical-Diplomatic Edition**

The Book of Leviticus was published as the eighth volume in the BHQ edition. This short paper presents some of its results and challenges. It answers to questions such as: What is new in BHQ Leviticus compared to BHS? How are textual criticism principles applied in it? How does it contribute to the textual history of Leviticus?

111-43/2

*Thomas Hieke***The Material Basis of Scholarship and Faith: The “Leviticus” Fascicle of the Biblia Hebraica Quinta Prepared by Innocent Himbaza**

After some general remarks on the fundamental work on a new critical edition of the Hebrew Bible, the contribution briefly presents the major features of the volume (Innocent Himbaza, *Leviticus* [BHQ 3], Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2020). As the Masoretic text of Leviticus is well preserved (see p. 5\*), one may expect no big surprises regarding the substance of the critically reconstructed text. However, Himbaza’s volume is the new point of departure for scholarly work on the book of Leviticus: the material basis for text-critical analyses, translations into modern languages, commentaries, and deeper exegetical studies.

111-43/3

*David Marcus***The Benefits of the BHQ Masorah Notes for Students of the Hebrew Bible**

This paper will discuss the benefits for students of the Hebrew Bible who would like to explore utilizing the Masorah notes. These benefits are in the areas of grammar, textual criticism, literary criticism, exegesis; and esthetic appreciation. The new BHQ editions, with their full publication of the Masorah and their detailed commentaries on both the Masorah parva and the Masorah magna notes, are now available to the wider public and thus are extremely helpful for students to utilize the Masorah.

111-43/4

*Craig E. Morrison***The Peshitta and the Targum in the Critical Apparatus of the BHQ in 1 and 2 Samuel**

The *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* constantly cites the variant readings in the Targums and the Peshitta. Some of their variant readings support the MT when the MT offers the *lectio difficilior* that Targum Jonathan and the Peshitta

have clarified or explained. Examples will be presented to illustrate how readings in these two later versions trace the trajectory of interpretation of the Hebrew text and this trajectory can sometimes explain the variant readings in the LXX and 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. The unique nature of the Targum's reception of the protoMasoretic text, in contrast with the Peshitta and the Vulgate, will also become evident in this presentation.

**111-43/5**

*Leonardo Pessoa da Silva Pinto*

#### **The Formulae of the Ark and Textual Criticism in 1 Samuel**

The formulaic expressions for the ark show significant variation in MT of 1 Samuel. The same is true for the ancient versions, which might sometimes witness to different Hebrew *Vorlagen* for some variants, occasionally preferable to the reading of MT. However, the ancient versions also display translational tendencies bearing impact on the ark formulae, and discriminating between the latter kind of variants and those attesting to different *Vorlagen* is one of the most delicate and challenging tasks faced by the editors of the BHQ *1–2 Samuel*. This paper presents examples to illustrate these difficulties.

**111-43/6**

*Stephen D. Ryan, Łukasz Popko*

#### **The Characterization “Literary” in BHQ 1 Kings in Light of Recent Scholarship**

Emmanuel Tov (“The Philosophy of the Biblia Hebraica Quinta Edition,” 2019) has recently called attention to the significance of the characterization “literary” (lit) in the philosophy of BHQ and analyzed the use of this characterization in the published BHQ editions. This paper explores both the significance of the frequent use of this characterization in the edition of 1 Kings and the difficulties encountered in deciding between the characterizations “harmonization,” “assimilation,” and “literary.” The underlying philosophy of textual criticism in BHQ is demonstrated by two examples comparing the textual characterizations found in this edition and the text-critical analysis of these passages in two recent commentaries on 1 Kings (Thiel 2019; McKenzie 2019).

**111-43/7**

*Martin Rösel, Rolf Schäfer*

#### **Questions and Answers: Responding to Reviews of BHQ**

The paper will introduce the specifics of the BHQ project by reacting to some of the reviews published in recent years. With the help of some exam-

ples from volumes already published or still in preparation, the principles of the edition are explained, e.g. the characterization of variants or the divergent use of witnesses. Finally, an outlook on the publication plan is given.

111-50/1

*Jack Kawira (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)*

**The Evaluation of the Nature of the Israelites' Covenant  
with the Gibeonites**

Although the Israelites' covenant with the Gibeonites in Joshua 9 shows a remarkable example of God's mercy toward the Canaanites, the nature of the treaty still becomes the subject of debate. The ambiguity of the participant reference regarding who is responsible for the covenant-making with the Gibeonites (Joshua or the Elders of the Israelites or both) may pose a challenge to evaluate the nature of the covenant. Furthermore, some textual variants (e.g., LXX, Peshitta, and Targum) provide different evaluations of the treaty and how God and the Israelites relate to the Gibeonites and their enemies. Especially on how they describe the actors of the covenant narratives and its consequences that may be increasing or decreasing the role of Joshua and the Gibeonites' position as an exception to the Israelites' military campaign to annihilate all the Canaanites. Therefore, I will first analyze the participant reference and the text-hierarchical structure of the covenant narrative to determine the participant's role in the covenant. Afterward, I will investigate the discrepancies between textual variants regarding: the participants of the narratives to evaluate how the participants sets differ between MT and LXX; the cities and kings that have been destroyed (in) completely whether by the Lord (MT) or the people of Israel (LXX, Peshitta, and Targum) in Josh. 10:10; and the Evaluation of the Gibeonites' trickery act.

111-50/2

*Daniela De Panfilis (Pontifical Biblical Institute)*

**Double Narrative in the Book of Samuel:  
The Case of Michal (1 Samuel 19:11–17)**

If we read the Book of Samuel without pauses and without asking questions, it looks like a unified and well-constructed narrative. But already on a second reading, we perceive that the story does not flow smoothly and that there are contradictions, digressions, and duplications of small details or whole stories. Diachronic approaches have focused on its origin; synchronic approaches have shifted attention to its communicative function.

This paper will develop a specific aspect of the communicative function. The double narrative, as a literary device, plays a key role in structuring the

Book of Samuel on two distinct levels, that is, the narration of events (the primary narratives) and the ideological reflection on the events themselves (the secondary narratives).

1 Sam 19:11–17 will be the case study; this account will be read as a double narrative that combines two different stories: Michal helps David to escape from Saul (19:11–12); Michal deceives Saul's messengers (19:13–16). Michal's help connects to previous events (the threats to David's life) and emphasizes the beginning of a new narrative arc: David far from the court. The deception offers the interpretative key of the escape's help. Family loyalty, especially in the case of a royal family, is not an apolitical matter. Saul, in fact, interprets as "deception", the failure of the expected loyalty (v. 17), not the actions of vv. 13–16, but Michal's help to David, "my enemy" (cf. 1 Sam 18:29).

**111-51/1**

*Shui Ki Fong (University of Aberdeen)*

**"Official Letters" in Ezra 4: Memory, Place, and Resistance**

"Official letters" in Aramaic recorded in Ezra 4 present a narrative incongruity since the disoriented timeline and different concerns disrupt the presentation of a seamless narrative. Rather than reconstructing the "correct" sequence of the historical events behind the narrative, this paper draws inspiration from Jacques Derrida's *Archive Fever*, treating these letters as a psychic archive inherited from the memory perceived, preserved, interpreted, and transmitted by the author. This paper argues that the letters are replete with the notion of rebellion, which connects with the cyclical rebellion of Judah and the catastrophic experience of exile, and invests Jerusalem with the memory of the catastrophic past; Jerusalem is a rebellious land and a place suffused with exile memory. It also suggests that the weaving together of Hebrew and Aramaic languages in Ezra reflects the colonial situation, and remembering Jerusalem's rebellious and exilic experience acts as a colonial resistance.

**111-51/2**

*Jean-Daniel Macchi (Université de Genève)*

**Les mentions de Sukkot dans le livre d'Esdras-Néhémie**

Ce Short Paper étudiera principalement les deux épisodes, figurant dans le livre d'Esdras-Néhémie, qui rapportent la célébration du festival de Sukkot: celui situé au moment du rétablissement du culte à Jérusalem en Esdras 3,4 et celui qui se déroule après la lecture de la Torah par Esdras en Néhémie 8,13-18. Il s'agira de montrer que ces deux mentions de Sukkot émanent d'un des derniers rédacteurs intervenant au cours du processus de rédaction



d'Esdras-Néhémie. On observera notamment que des techniques d'exégèse intrabiblique y sont utilisées. Le but étant de présenter un récit compatible avec la législation biblique sur Sukkot.

111-51/3

*Michael Segal (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

**Reconstructing the List of Returnees:**

**A Text-Critical Solution to Ezra 2 // Nehemiah 7 // 1 Esdras 5**

One of the classic puzzles in the textual history of the Hebrew Bible is the parallel lists and count of returnees in the Restoration period that appear in Ezra 2, Neh 7 and 1 Esd 5, to which both traditional and critical commentators have turned their attention. These passages raise multiple interpretive cruxes, including variants between the different versions of the list and the internal inconsistency between the individual entries and the total sum.

This lecture will attempt to offer a solution for both of these issues, based upon two independent investigations, each of which is necessary for the overall claim. In the first section, I will offer a methodology for determining the original numerical details in the list(s), applying a maximalist function for the evaluation of the variants, according to which the highest value is assumed to be the original reading, unless demonstrated otherwise. This will allow for the reconstruction of the numerical data in the list in a putative original form.

The second half of the study will be text-critical and focus on the verses in which the total of the returnees is summarized (Ezr 2:64–65; Neh 7:66–67; 1 Esd 5:41). When the list is interpreted according to this text-critical insight, and when combined with the reconstructed details of the list, then we arrive at a coherent version. This consistency, in my opinion, serves as a control for the arguments put forth here for the reconstruction, and confirms its validity.

111-52/1

*L. Juliana M. Claassens (Stellenbosch University)*

**Entertaining Contradictions:**

**Continuing the Conversation on Irony in the Book of Jonah**

It is ironic that many of the readings that highlight irony in the book of Jonah often end up arguing vigorously for a particular, incontrovertible, truth, so overlooking the fact that one of the central characteristics of irony is to consider two incongruous positions at the same time. This paper would like to continue the conversation on irony and ideology in the book of Jonah by highlighting a number of creative contradictions or incongruous truths in this multifaceted narrative that adhere to Arnold Band's definition of irony

as “entertain[ing] two contradictory positions simultaneously” (“Swallowing Jonah,” 179).

I propose that to embrace ambiguity as an integral part of any ironic reading of the book of Jonah, as well as be aware of the inevitable connection between irony and ideology, has important theological and ethical implications for the various interpretative contexts in which this book is explicated, as well as also for the task of biblical interpretation in general.

Specifically postcolonial, feminist, and queer interpreters have a vested interest in readings that embrace ambiguity and celebrate paradox. Entertaining contradictions is an ongoing act of resistance, undoing fixed interpretative structures an act of liberation as interpreters seek to undo monopoly and hegemony in the biblical texts that mirror and impact their reality.

111-52/2

*Bernard Levinson (University of Minnesota)*

**Why Did Gerhard von Rad Co-nominate a Former Nazi (Karl Georg Kuhn)  
to Admission in the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences?  
A Conundrum in the History of the Discipline**

After World War II, Gerhard von Rad never received a Ruf (call) to be reappointed to the University of Jena, where he had taught since 1934, one of the few in the Faculty of Theology to avoid complicity with National Socialism. He taught at Göttingen from 1945–1949 before receiving a call to Heidelberg, where he remained until his death in 1971. His stature and influence as a theologian cannot be understated, not least because of his integrity and commitment to the Old Testament and Church teaching during the dark period of Nazi rule. A neglected question in the history of scholarship, therefore, is how and why von Rad successfully co-nominated (with G. Bornkamm) Karl Georg Kuhn in 1956 to admission in the prestigious Heidelberg Academy of Sciences. Kuhn, an impeccably trained Semiticist who played a major role in German Dead Sea Scrolls research, was nevertheless a very early avowed Nazi party member and anti-Semite who disavowed only one—but not most—of his anti-Semitic “scholarship.” This conundrum points to an intersection of several areas of the history of scholarship that have not yet been addressed: (1) For Dead Sea Scrolls research, the role of Kuhn’s Nazi and anti-Semitic past in important role in helping put Germany on the map for emerging Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship; (2) for biblical studies, this personal dimension of von Rad’s career at Heidelberg has received scant attention and (3) for university history, to understand how such academic networks operate to erase and whitewash the past.

*Martin Leuenberger (Universität Tübingen)*  
**Die nachexilische Zion-Segen-Theologie des  
 Wallfahrtspsalters (Psalm 120–134)**

Der kompositionell anerkannte Wallfahrtspsalter in Psalm 120–134 entfaltet eine markante nachexilische Zion-Segen-Theologie; sie besitzt eine eigenständige Gesamtkontur, die sich konzeptionell, theologiegeschichtlich sowie psalterredaktionell (unter Einschluss von Ps 135f) profilieren lässt.

Namentlich die kosmologischen, zionstheologischen und anthropologischen Perspektiven führen dem Psalmen- und Psalterbeter plastisch vor Augen, dass und wie der in/auf dem Zion wohnende Königsgott den aus der (gar weltweiten) Ferne sich dorthin bewegendenden „Wallfahrern“ seinen Schutz und Segen spendet. Er versorgt sie, die ihrerseits als brüderliche Gemeinschaft JHWH in Zion „segnen“, in ihrem unpolitischen, agrarisch bestimmten Alltag (auch fern von Zion) mit allen Lebensgütern und gelingenden Lebensverhältnissen.

*Kevin Chau (University of the Free State)*  
**Lyric and Allusion in Psalm 118**

Psalm 118 (a thanksgiving hymn) has been viewed frequently as being composed for liturgical usage on account of its references to the cult and its seemingly antiphonal character. This liturgical focus along with the psalmist as recounting a personal deliverance has been a popular means for understanding the psalm's abundance of interpretive difficulties (e.g., identity of shifting voices and audiences, the identity of the stone in v. 22, text-critical difficulties [e.g., vv. 12b, 13a], v. 27's opaque cultic references, etc.). However, more recent scholars would argue how the psalm may be better conceptualized as an "imagined liturgy" (cf. Mark Meinze), which was later adopted for liturgical purposes. Curiously although the psalm's rich allusions to Exod 15's Song of the Sea (and to a lesser extent Exod 14 and the Priestly Blessing [Num 6:24–6]) have been long recognized, little energy has been spent investigating how these allusions are critical to the psalm's message other than generalization as to how the Red Sea deliverance has been re-contextualized. This paper builds upon this concept of the imaginary by examining the poem's lyric properties and how its allusions are specifically expressed through lyric elements. Instead of focusing upon the psalmist as recounting a deliverance experience, it focuses on the psalmist as a poet imagining a lyric experience for his readers in order to move the psalm's readers/speakers into a new mode of thinking and feeling through both the poetry's structural and aesthetic use of rhythm and sounds.

**111-53/3**

*Tova Ganzel (Bar-Ilan University)*

### **Language and Gestures in the Book of Ezekiel**

The book of Ezekiel includes verbal messages and symbolic acts. Much has been written about the symbolic acts and their centrality in the transmission of the prophetic messages in Ezekiel. However, the prophetic messages are also conveyed through nonverbal language, which does not easily classify as "symbolic acts." In this paper, I suggest that varied responses of the prophet including exclamation words, sighs, shouts, and body gestures should be read as a supplementary feature through which the prophetic message is conveyed.

**111-54/1**

*Hélène Grosjean (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)*

### **Die Komposition von Numeri 19 innerhalb der Priesterschrift.**

#### **Ein neuer Vorschlag**

Der Text von Numeri 19 beschreibt die Vorbereitung des Reinigungswassers und ihre Verwendung im Fall des Kontakts mit einer Leiche. Dieser Text weist bis heute mehrere Interpretationsprobleme auf, besonders in Bezug auf seine Diachronie. Obwohl einige Autor\*Innen für einen einheitlichen Text plädieren (vgl. J. Milgrom und R. Schmitt), zeigen mehrere Wiederholungen, insbesondere in den V. 10b-13 und den V. 14–22, dass der Text nicht homogen ist (vgl. z.B. V. 10b und 21a oder V. 12 und 19). Heute schlagen die meisten Autoren\*Innen eine Rekonstruktion in drei Teilen vor: die V. 1–10a und die V. 14–22 wären mit der Hinzufügung von V. 10b-13 verbunden worden (vgl. z.B. L. Schmidt, M. Noth oder B. Levine). Ich werde argumentieren, dass der Text in zwei Hauptphasen in der nach-exilischen Zeit verfasst wurde: zunächst wird in den V. 1–13\* die Zubereitung von Reinigungswasser für eine Person, die einen Leichnam berührt hat, beschrieben; dann werden die V. 14–21a hinzugefügt, um die Todesfälle zu präzisieren. Dieses Redaktionsmodell hebt die Besonderheit der verschiedenen hebräischen Begriffe hervor, die in Num 19 für die Toten verwendet werden. Das zweite Problem dieses Textes ist seine Stellung innerhalb des Numeri Buches. Num 19 ergänzt die rituellen Gesetze des Heiligkeitgesetzes, indem es die Regeln zur Reinigung nach dem Kontakt mit einer Leiche auf alle Menschen und nicht nur auf Priester ausdehnte. Die heutige Stellung dieses Textes innerhalb der priesterlichen Redaktionen muss daher hinterfragt werden.

Der vorliegende Vortrag soll die Besonderheiten von Num 19 hervorheben und die beiden Redaktionsschichten in die priesterlichen Schriften einordnen.

*Mark W. Hamilton (Abilene Christian University)*

**P's Historical Conceptions in Genesis 1–11**

Research on the priestly texts of the Pentateuch has often focused either on ritual or on the relationship between P and non-P narratives, rarely bringing the two concerns together. One part of any effort to do so should account for how P understood the period prior to the revelation of “correct” ritual at Sinai. This paper explores the P narratives of Genesis 1–11 in terms of their historiographic conceptions and techniques, which involve both dialogue with other texts, whether Israelite or not, and revisions of those texts in light of those views. Among other items, P offers its own notions of human diffusion of populations, gendered relationships, the nature of pre-Sinai/Horeb religion, and the origins of political structures. These views can by turns overlap with, correct, or oppose those of other parts of the so-called Primeval Narrative. P's stories reveal a priestly conception of the remote past not necessarily as a dark age or age of ignorance, but as one significantly different from the present.

*Kishiya Hidaka (Universität Zürich)*

**The Historical Development of the Political Theology  
between P and the Book of Ezekiel**

The literary relationship between the Priestly literature in the Pentateuch and the book of Ezekiel is a hotly debated topic. My paper will contribute to this discussion by the analysis that reflects the compositional historical developments of both literary corpora, which leads us to the recognition that the identity formation in the Persian period was one of the main stimuli for this literary development.

The pro-Babylonian Golah redaction in Ezek shows the exclusive orientation toward the first Babylonian-Golah deported with king Jehoiachin at 597 BCE. The political theology of Pg is inclusive so that diverse Diaspora can participate in the common identity of the people of Israel. Even though there are several similar terms and concepts between contemporary Pg and the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction, not only the direct literary dependency is unable to demonstrate but also the political theology is almost opposite between them.

The situation is different in Pg and the later pro-Diaspora redaction. We can observe the direct literary dependency of the pro-Diaspora redaction on Pg. The pro-Diaspora redaction in Ezek takes a more inclusive identity concept of the people of YHWH than the pro-Babylonian Golah redaction.

This change of exclusivity to inclusivity in the realm of political theology seems to be inspired by Pg.

My research will be the necessary key to understanding the historical development of the literary relationship between Pg and Ezek that evolved around the political theology between the two opposite poles; the exclusivity oriented to Babylonian-Golah and the inclusivity opened to divergent Diaspora communities.

**111-55/1**

*Yan Okhtavianus Kalampung (University of Leeds)*

### **The Insidious Trauma of Oppression in the Book of Ecclesiastes**

This presentation will explore how we can understand the representation of political oppression in the Book of Ecclesiastes. The previous notions of Ecclesiastes are mostly about the concept of Wisdom according to that book but not many have spoken about the representation of the political trauma. Using the theory of postcolonial trauma, I argue that the Book of Ecclesiastes in some of its sayings also represents political trauma. Because there are some verses in the Book of Ecclesiastes which implies a traumatized writer by the foreign political oppressor. In doing this presentation, I wish to reframe how we read the Book of Ecclesiastes not merely as a wisdom book but as a testimony of postcolonial trauma as well.

**111-55/2**

*Joachim J. Krause (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)*

### **Das exegetisch-analytische Potential postkolonialer Kritik. Am Beispiel des Buches Josua**

Josua ist das Buch der gewaltsamen Einnahme und systematischen Besiedelung eines bewohnten Landes; und es ist ein kanonisches biblisches Buch, das als solches in Geltung steht und wirkt. Wenn irgendein Buch der Bibel, dann muss das Josuabuch postkolonial gelesen werden. Postkolonial lesen, das kann recht Unterschiedliches bedeuten. In diesem Vortrag, der ein zu entwickelndes Arbeitsprogramm projektieren und exemplarisch operationalisieren wird, geht es darum, mit Hilfe des bislang weithin ungenutzten exegetisch-analytischen Potentials, das postkoloniale Theorieansätze für die historische Untersuchung biblischer Überlieferungen bieten, zu einem vertieften Verständnis einschlägiger Texte des Josuabuchs zu gelangen. Diese Aufgabe ist bislang noch kaum in Angriff genommen worden, weder in der Breite, d.h. bezogen auf das Buch insgesamt, noch (erst recht nicht) unter Bezugnahme auf die Fragehinsichten und Ergebnisse der historisch-exegetischen Forschung. Im Vortrag nicht geboten wird eine produktive postkoloniale Relecture des Josuabuches nach Art kontextueller Theologien.

Unbeschadet der schon in rezeptionsgeschichtlicher Hinsicht evidenten Bedeutung dieser Aufgabe soll der Fokus hier einmal darauf liegen, postkoloniale Theorieansätze für die im engeren Sinne exegetische Kritik fruchtbar zu machen. Dazu werden Leitfragen und Analyseketegorien, die im Rahmen der postkolonialen Kritik erarbeitet worden sind, konsequent historisch (re) formuliert und in ein exegetisches Arbeitsprogramm integriert. Im Rahmen einer ersten Bestandsaufnahme wird der Vortrag schließlich eine erste Auswahl auf diese Weise zu analysierender Texte und Themen des Josuabuches umreißen.

111-55/3

*Ludwig Noya (Vanderbilt University)*

### **Sabbath Matters? Revisiting the Reform in Nehemiah 13**

The recent interpretations on the Sabbath rest concept in the Hebrew Bible tend to highlight its humanitarian aspect. However, in this paper, I aim to nuance this claim by attending a rarely discussed Sabbath text in Nehemiah 13. I will argue that the Sabbath rest motif in Nehemiah is less concerned about the humanitarian aspect than the temple's maintenance while at the same time fulfilling the imperial tax obligation. Sabbath rest motif endorses Nehemiah's demand for the temple's communal funding through tithes and offerings. To support this argument, I will divide this paper as follows. Firstly, I will discuss the privileges entailed in the rest concept, both in the modern colonization and ancient Near East contexts. The rest concept has been used as a tool to appropriate the free time of the lower groups for the benefits of the ruling class through different forms. Then, I will examine the Sabbath motif in Neh 13:15–22. I start by reviewing the discussion about the Achaemenid imperial rule over the Jerusalem temple and its tax obligation. Scholars differ on how significant the Jerusalem temple was for the imperial administration, but some sort of obligation expected by the empire is generally accepted. After that, I analyze how the Sabbath concept is manifested in Neh 13:15–22 in relation to its literary contexts. Along with the concern of clearing the temple storeroom, fulfilling the temple resources, and restricting exogamy, the Sabbath concept sustains the temple's maintenance and the imperial tax obligation.

111-56/1

*Allison Hurst (Harvard University)*

### **Enslaved in Egypt? Remembering Deliverance from Egypt in the Book of Jeremiah**

Given the long-acknowledged relationship between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy and the antagonism toward the Egyptian golah found in the book, it

might surprise readers to realize that there is only one explicit reference to enslavement in Egypt in the entirety of Jeremiah. What might account for this? To answer this question, I begin by explaining why we expect to find numerous references to enslavement in Egypt, focusing on the well-established relationship between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy and highlighting the function of references to enslavement in Egypt in the latter. Next, I provide an analysis of rhetoric about the exodus from Egypt found throughout the book of Jeremiah. In order to keep the focus narrow, I include only references to Egypt that describe what I call “pre-conditions” for the exodus event. We find that, throughout the book, one of the key pre-conditions for exodus is not enslavement but apostasy, which is especially prevalent in the narratives about the Judahite refugees in Egypt in chs. 42–44. Finally, I consider one possible answer to the question that frames the paper. Close attention to the theological framework of the book reveals that an emphasis on enslavement would pose a contradiction to the message of submission to the Babylonian empire found throughout. Steed Vernyl Davidson has argued that exodus and exile prompt different responses, and it is the inherent contradiction in how one responds to each that, I argue, may explain the absence of Egyptian enslavement rhetoric in Jeremiah.

111-56/2

*Lyndon Drake (Oxford)*

**Jeremiah 32 as a Microcosm of the Book of Jeremiah:  
Economic Writing and Transcendent Hope**

In this paper, I propose that economic writing in Jeremiah 32 functions as a new covenant sign. The hope which is held out in the latter part of the chapter has an economic dimension in verses 43–44, and the deed of purchase is transformed into a material sign of covenant hope in verse 40. Earlier in the chapter, Jeremiah's deed is placed in a jar to survive for a long time (verse 14), and the promise is that similar deeds will be “signed and sealed and witnessed” in a post-disaster future. The deed is more than a singular sign: verse 44 uses the device of divine speech to give warrant to the writing of deeds as an ongoing practice symbolising an idealised future. Hence, Jeremiah's purchase deed becomes a generative symbol of hope for the future.



*Cristiana Conti (Austin Community College)*

**“He Shall Be Buried with the Burial of a Donkey”:**

**On the Dehumanizing Burial of Jehoiakim in Jeremiah 22:18–19 and Its Possible Connection to the Disposal of the Witch in *Maqlû***

In her recent comprehensive study of the motif of non-burial in the HB in its ANE contexts entitled *The Unremembered Dead*, Mansen interprets the bizarre burial of the Israelite king Jehoiakim in Jer 22:18–19, “buried with the burial of a donkey,” as a type of post-mortem abuse. Mansen’s interpretation lays the groundwork for further discussion, owing to unresolved inconsistencies between past and recent scholarly opinions. I believe that the most intriguing clues to this strange incident are found in *Maqlû*, Mesopotamia’s most popular anti-witchcraft ritual of the first millennium BCE, in which guilty witches would be executed, and their bodies left unburied in the wilderness. I argue that the author of Jer 22:18–19 repurposed this literary motif to portray Jehoiakim as a social enemy and underline his everlasting banishment from the Israelite community. The reappraisal of Jer 22:18–19 enables us to read this episode in a fresh light while also contributing to the growing scholarly debate over the relationship between biblical prophecy and Mesopotamian anti-witchcraft literature.

*Andrea Beyer (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg)*

**Polyvalenz der Zeichenhandlung. Kritik an „Prophetenbiographien“**

Dieser Beitrag vertritt die These, dass sich die prophetischen Zeichenhandlungen am Besten vor dem Hintergrund eines Handlungsmodells verstehen lassen, das der Polyvalenz von Handlungen Rechnung trägt.

Zum Verständnis der prophetischen Zeichenhandlungen der Hebräischen Bibel gibt es viele Ansätze: ihre Abgrenzung von magischen Handlungen, Anleihen an drama und Performancekunst, ein Verständnis der Handlungen als Bausteine einer Prophetenbiographie.

Mehrheitlich fehlt den Ansätzen jedoch ein Handlungsmodell, das die Vieldeutigkeit der Zeichenhandlungen als ihren Kern berücksichtigt. Ein solches bietet der Kulturpsychologe Ernst E. Boesch. Handlungen erscheinen stets polyvalent und dynamisch. Sie stiften und ändern Ordnungen. Als Probehandeln antizipieren sie Zukünftiges und bieten Potential zur Identifikation und Imitation. Wie diese Aspekte des Boeschschen Handlungsmod-

ells alttestamentliche Zeichenhandlungen erschließen, zeigt der Vortrag am konkreten Beispiel in Jer.

Prophetische Zeichenhandlungen erweisen sich vor diesem Hintergrund und als rein literarisches Phänomen. Sie erhalten ihre Bedeutsamkeit und Vielschichtigkeit wesentlich innerhalb ihres literarischen Kontextes. Als körperbezogene Handlungen tragen sie maßgeblich zum Prophetenbild bei. Sie unterstreichen dessen Autorisierung ebenso wie die Gültigkeit seiner Prophetie und verleihen der jeweiligen Prophetenfigur ein eigens Profil. Für ein Verständnis der Zeichenhandlungen als biographisches Zeugnis fehlen hingegen belastbare Anhaltspunkte: Zeichenhandlungen sind Taten in Texten.

**111-58/1**

*Walter Bühner (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)*  
**Citations and Allusions in the Book of Job**

The Book of Job is dialogic in its present form as well as in its formation. The paper begins with methodological issues, arguing that the analysis of citations, allusions, and related phenomena is diachronic in nature and has to take into account also the formation and textual history of the texts being compared. To illustrate this, the second part of the paper examines several examples of intratextual and intertextual allusions in the Book of Job and asks whether different forms of allusion can be evaluated in respect to the formation of the book. Special attention is given to the relationship between the Book of Job and the Torah.

**111-58/2**

*Hikaru Kumon (Organization for the New Japanese Bible Translation)*  
**ʿālam Epistemology in Qoheleth**

The epistemology of Qoheleth has most typically been characterized as empirical, that is, “knowledge derived from experience.” While this captures characteristics of Qoheleth, it has the shortcomings of being an unspecific generalization. Is it possible to craft a more precise description of Qoheleth’s epistemology, which captures Qoheleth’s thought process? I argue that the verb *ne’lām* in Eccl 12:14, typically translated “secret things,” verbalizes the book’s epistemological assumptions. The nifal of *\*lām* does not mean “to be concealed” but means something similar to English “to be hazy.” It refers to a state of awareness in which things are known but not clearly seen. Biblical examples include the state of drunkenness (Nah 3:11) and the man who knows he has touched an unclean thing and yet cannot acknowledge it (Lev 5:3). Qoheleth’s epistemology is characterized by its starting point. People begin with a hazy awareness of the realities of life, as depicted by *ne’lām* in

Eccl 12:14, and only with various forms of persuasion will people's vague understanding of life come into sharp focus, so that the reality of life can be seen clearly. For instance, everybody knows they will die, and yet the terrifying consequences of death are typically hazy in people's eyes until the last moments. I call this epistemology "*ālam* epistemology." I aim to demonstrate that Qoheleth's thinking corresponds to *ālam* epistemology. By doing so, I show how Qoheleth's thought process differs much from our Western thinking, while at the same time it is perfectly intelligible to us.

111-58/3

*Christian Frevel (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)*

**Heart and Self: Some Afterthoughts on the Building Blocks  
of a Theory of Individualisation in the Hebrew Bible**

Among anthropological notions of the Hebrew Bible related to self-reflection and self-constitution, the "heart" plays a key role. As far as the constitution of the self is concerned, the fact that cognitive, voluntative and emotive aspects are intimately intertwined and interrelated within the "heart" is especially important. The central position of the heart is expressed not least in a large number and variety of metaphors and metaphorized metaphors. No other organ displays such a richness of metaphorical usage and is as metaphorically charged as the "heart", e.g. in a melting heart, a heart of stone, the tablets of the heart, and the circumcision of the heart. It is especially the inner-outer-boundary of the inner human being that comes into play here. The paper takes a closer look at some of these marked metaphors that give an idea of individualization and self-thematization in the Hebrew Bible. The paper will unfold the building blocks for a theory of personal individualization using the example of the heart.

111-60/1

*Shira Golani*

*(Gordon Academic College of Education / Hebrew University Bible Project)*

**The Historiography of the 'United Monarchy' in Light of Personal Names**

Personal names shed light on our understanding of biblical texts. This paper will present how personal names included in the 'United Monarchy' narratives in the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles illuminate these texts' chronological relation to each other. Some personal names relating to the 'United Monarchy' in the Hebrew Bible occur either in Samuel-Kings or in Chronicles but not in both, and some come in texts that are common to Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. The possible origin of the unique material in either Samuel-Kings or Chronicles, and how the depiction(s) of the 'United Monarchy' in Samuel, Kings and Chronicles came to be, have been

widely discussed in scholarship (by, e.g., Graeme Auld; Sara Japhet; Thomas Römer). Through this study's new onomastic perspective, the following questions will be discussed: Are the characteristics of the two groups of names that are unique to Samuel-Kings or to Chronicles similar or different from each other? How do they compare to the characteristics of the names shared by both books? Finally, the paper will discuss how might personal names in excavated Iron Age II epigraphic finds contribute to the evaluation of the biblical names, and the texts in which they occur. (This paper presents a joint research of Dr. Mitka Golub and Dr. Shira Golani.)

**111-60/2**

*Benedikt J. Collinet (Universität Innsbruck)*

### **Beersheba: A City between Cult and Awakening**

The city of Beersheba plays a special role in the books of Josh to 2 Kgs, be it as a place marker "Dan to Beersheba", as a place of worship or as the place of departure of Elijah to Mount Horeb. The aim of the paper is to learn a little more about the city and its spatial-theoretical function within the HB/OT.

**111-61/1**

*Philip Yoo (University of British Columbia)*

### **Revisiting Chronistic Influences in Ezra-Nehemiah**

Both Ezra-Nehemiah and 1–2 Chronicles are generally accepted as products of post-exilic Yehud, yet the literary relationship between these two collections remains a debated issue. The view that both 1–2 Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah are from a single hand ('the Chronicler') or school ('Chronistic') no longer enjoys wide scholarly acceptance. In recent years, there has been an ascendant view that 1–2 Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah are products of a complex compositional history, and that the same literary tradent is not primarily responsible for both works. With an interest in the strategies of reusing and revising authoritative texts in antiquity, this paper examines selections from 1–2 Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, with a focus on the Edict of Cyrus (Ezr 1:1–4 // 2 Chr 36:22–23); the depictions of cultic personnel including the Levites and high priest; and references to 'the Torah of Moses'. Following the generally accepted premise that Ezra-Nehemiah was shaped by multiple editorial hands, this paper proposes that an editor, influenced by Chronistic thought, had a hand in the formation of Ezra-Nehemiah by reshaping the presentations of the returnees, Ezra, and Nehemiah in order to remove any discrepancies from the depictions of the reconstructed Jerusalem cult that appear in 1–2 Chronicles. Although absolute dates of composition may allude us, this paper aims to offer a relative dating of some portions of Ezra-Nehemiah with respect to 1–2 Chronicles.

111-61/2

*Louis C. Jonker (University of Stellenbosch)***Chronicles and a Levitic Redaction? Re-opening the Diachronic Question**

At present, a strong consensus exists that Chronicles consists mainly of quoted material from other biblical writings (particularly Samuel-Kings) plus *Sondergut* (almost) all from the Chronicler's hand. Lately, some challenges have been made to this consensus position. Following a paper that I have delivered at the SBL Annual Meeting in 2021, I would like to ask whether some diachronic perspectives should be considered again in Chronicles studies. Whereas my previous paper asked the question generally, this paper will focus particularly on whether one should assume some post-chronistic levitic redactions (along the lines suggested by von Rad and Rudolph). The paper will also investigate which historical context would have prompted such redactions.

111-61/3

*Charlotte Hempel (University of Birmingham)***Ezra's Temple and Dürer's Rhinoceros: The Obscured View from Far Away**

According to the book Ezra-Nehemiah Ezra's priestly lineage is traced back to Aaron. However, a close look at his activities as they emerge from the Ezra narrative reveals that he is never credited with performing an active role in the Temple cult. In fact, we do not hear of Ezra entering the Temple which one might imagine would have been a priority. Moreover, none of those who were fit enough to return with Ezra in the 5th century BCE would have any experience of blood sacrifice but rather lived at a distance from cultic practice. As a result, the Ezra narrative reflects a level of alienation from cultic realities that I would ascribe to the experience of long-term cult-lessness. This paper will investigate the deficit of cultic experience and practice that emerges from the Ezra narrative alongside evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls that offers priestly and scribal perspectives that draw on cultic practice and experience in the land.

111-62/1

*Orit Avnery (Shalem College and Shalom Hartman Institute)***The Judgment of Solomon (1 Kings 3) and the Visit of the Queen of Sheba (1 Kings 10): Intertextual and Feminist Reading**

The question of the Other's representation in Scripture has been raised primarily and significantly in feminist literary research, which sees the depiction of the Other in general, and in the gender order in particular, as a central component in politics and ideology of the existing order. Moreover, the balance of power between women and men, as well as topics of family,

identity and community, are embedded in the two stories I want to discuss; thus thinking in terms of gender and making use of feminist theory can illuminate the stories embodied within.

The description of the reign of Solomon in the Book of Kings is divided into two parts. The first section is flattering—celebrating Solomon's successes and setting a positive and much-appreciated figure before the reader. The second is critical—condemning Solomon and enumerating his failures. Scholars have debated whether the tenth chapter, the story of the Queen of Sheba, is part of the praise of Solomon or his decline.

This paper argues that the story of the Queen of Sheba, mirrors the opening framing story of Solomon's reign—his judgment of the two prostitutes. This parallelism shows how the story of the Queen of Sheba acts as both the closing narrative of Solomon's glory—highlighting his decline—and an intermediate point between the two halves of his reign. I wish to discuss why the character of Solomon is illuminated through stories of female characters. One story revolves around the weakest, most vulnerable women in society, while the other is about an exceptionally powerful woman, the queen of a fabulously rich, faraway land.

111-62/2

*Mathias Winkler (Universität Siegen)*  
**Sexual Violence against Men in the HB/OT**

There are many articles and books about sexual violence and rape in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. However, there is a blind spot within this huge field of research: sexual violence against men. It is hardly addressed and if it is, it is mostly done in a problematic way which deflects from the actual topic of sexual violence. Interestingly, sexual violence against men is also a blind spot within Biblical Masculinity Studies.

The paper aims to draw attention to this blind spot. First, it shows in a case study about Lot and his daughters (Genesis 19:30–38) the reluctance of exegetes (male and female) to address the events as sexual violence against men. Second, it criticizes conceptions of sexual violence used to engage in texts about sexual violence against men. The terms and conceptions “reversed rape” and “feminization” are not apt to address the matter at hand properly because they focus on femininity, not masculinity. Third, the paper shows that there are texts in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament that address sexual violence against men in different ways. A fourth step presents historical sources (texts and images) and shows that sexual violence against men and the reluctance to speak about it is nothing new or modern. This opens a cultural-historical approach to sexual violence against men in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testaments and its surrounding cultures. This approach

helps to understand the connection of masculinities, sexuality, and violence in a more nuanced way.

111-63/1

*Jacqueline Vayntrub (Yale University)*

**Paths Unseen: Anxieties of Transmission in Biblical Literature**

Proverbs 30:18 preserves an ancient riddle of paths unseen: "Three things bewilder me, four I cannot even understand: an eagle's way in the sky, a snake's way on a rock, a ship's way through the ocean, and a man's way with a maiden." This epigram is one of many such passages across the biblical literary tradition that express anxieties of transmission—the transmission of objects, status, and words. At the heart of these anxieties are a series of questions: What happens to words when they pass from one party to another? Are they conserved in transmission like durable objects? What happens when these entities cannot be traced? Although the biblical tradition does not attest such explicit inquiries, these metaphysical questions nevertheless preoccupied the biblical authors—so much so that the discourses of instruction and prophecy have been profoundly shaped by them. Working across the Pentateuch, the latter prophets, and Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, I will draw out these questions by addressing the general problem of transmission at stake for the biblical authors.

111-63/2

*Moritz F. Adam (Universität Zürich / Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

**Hermeneutics and Internal Dialogue:**

**Qoheleth, Bakhtin, and the Rhetoric of Critical Wisdom**

The category of "critical wisdom", as used to explain the disagreements between Proverbs as an alleged prototype for biblical wisdom and, *inter alia*, Ecclesiastes has recently been challenged. If one considered the book of Ecclesiastes, however, as an attempt at pursuing criticism, in the neutral sense of the word, without restricting oneself to seeing Proverbs as the sole referent of this critique, fundamental insights in relation to the book's rhetorical dynamics can be gained. This endeavour is twofold, firstly to consider the book's external interlocutors in Jewish intellectual and literary traditions of the time and how they are not only critiqued in Ecclesiastes but brought into conversation with one another, and secondly to understand the internally incoherent rhetoric of the book as being indicative of the mode of thinking that the book portrays.

For both of these efforts, consulting the work of the literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin is beneficial. Bakhtin's model of "dialogical truth" can provide a hermeneutical key not only for the book of Ecclesiastes, but also

for how its engagement with other thought can be characterised. At the core of this model stands the importance of juxtaposition as a feature of both literature and criticism, which bestows upon the reader a greater interpretative responsibility. Considering this in light of wider literary tendencies in the Second Temple Period, and notably Qoheleth's distaste for lasting propositional truths, it can serve to further the understanding of intertextual dynamics of Second Temple Literature, and also the principles guiding Qoheleth's thought and rhetoric.

**111-64/1**

*Stefan Fischer (Universität Wien)*

### **The Space for Lovemaking in the Song of Songs**

This paper explores spatial concepts in the Song of Songs. It starts with a threefold division of space: perceived space, conceived space and lived space. This is accomplished by recording and structuring physical space, to focus on the culture and ideology of conceived space as experienced by the woman and the man. It explores public and private space in its various locations and points to how this shapes the relationship between the protagonists. The liminal spaces between private and public, are of particular importance.

Naturally, in Song of Songs the desire of the lovers in conceived space is culturally bound. At the same time, the lived space experienced by the woman and the man expresses a supra-temporal moment that gives these texts a lasting appeal. This, for example, happens when the man enters the privacy of the woman through boundary crossing and the man loses his freedom through the woman's eroticism. Here, lovemaking is the climax. The culturally conditioned allocation of roles merges into a new perceived unity, which is accompanied by metaphors of loss of control, of happiness, of consummation and drunkenness.

**111-64/2**

*Timothy H. Lim (University of Edinburgh)*

### **The Canonization of the Song of Songs**

How did a book that does not contain any overt religious theme come to be included in the canon of the Hebrew Bible? Was the Song of Songs canonized only after it was allegorized, or was the figurative interpretation of it a way of coping with a human love song, ostensibly devoid of any mention of God, law, covenant, salvation-history, cultic worship and messianic expectations, which had already been included in the canon for a different, unexplained reason?

In this paper, I will explore the canonical process of the Song of Songs. I



will suggest that the Song was most likely included in the canon at the end of the first century or the beginning of the second century CE. Allegorization was the cause and not the effect of canonization. The Song, as a love song, is inherently allegorical, and it was the realization of this figurative poetics that led to its canonization. It was a love song, to be sure, but also now understood to be pointing to something beyond its contextual meaning.

111-65/1

*Irena Avsenik Nabergoj (University of Ljubljana)*

### **The Force of Love and Hate in the Story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50)**

The story of Joseph in Genesis 37–50 is a homogeneous literary narrative, although it consists of various sources (J, E, P). The key to understanding the narrative is the statement at the beginning of the story about the special relationship of Jacob's (Israel's) father to his younger son Joseph and the negative reaction of Joseph's brothers to his advantage over them: "Now Israel loved (*ʾāhab*) Joseph more than any of his other sons [...]. And when his brothers saw that their father loved him (*kî-ʾōtô ʾāhab ʾābîhem*) more than all his brothers they hated him (*wayyîsnēʾû ʾōtô*)" (Gen 37:3–4). Joseph is portrayed as an example of a seer of reality beyond appearance and the one who transcends the danger of his own interests. Nevertheless, he becomes a victim of his brothers' envy, deformed by their desires for self-affirmation and domination.

The paper is based on a semantic and literary analysis of the structure of the narrative, which is characterised by its contrasts. We pay attention to the semantic field and literary forms that express emotions of love and hate, trust and fear, discord and reconciliation. By uncovering the literary ways in which characters are portrayed in their positive or negative roles, we find out how much the characters act under the influence of their own desires, passions, or ideals, and how much their portrayal is under the influence of a higher plan of history in a broader perspective of biblical theology and ethics.

111-65/2

*Jürg Hutzli (Université de Lausanne)*

### **Tracing the Origins of the Figure of Aaron**

Generally, European and American scholars see in the Priestly composition an attempt to legitimize the Aaronide priesthood and to provide the cultic constitution of the Second Temple in Jerusalem. Who were the Aaronides? For Wellhausen, the Aaronides principally comprised the Zadokides. By depicting Aaron as the first high priest, the Priestly composition anchored

the Jerusalemite Zadokite priesthood in Exodus, Israel's founding myth. This became necessary because "Zadok was of no use for the Mosaic period since he first lived under Solomon." According to Otto, the Aaronides constituted a secessionist subgroup of the Zadokite (Deuteronomistic) priesthood after the destruction of the First Temple. Other scholars think that the Aaronides were originally the priesthood of Bethel.

In any case, certain indications raise doubts about the antiquity of the so-called Aaronide priesthood. It is indeed difficult to find traces of a preexilic or exilic Aaronide priesthood in the Hebrew Bible.

The motif of Aaron's assistance to Moses is found in non-Priestly texts in Exod 4–5 and 7–11 which traditionally have been considered pre-Priestly. In the last decades, scholars have developed new views of these texts and date them post-Priestly. According to them, the motif of Aaron's assistance was introduced by the author of the Priestly miracle account (see Exod 6:30–7:2). In other parts of the book of Exodus as well, Aaron is predominantly mentioned in Priestly rather than Non-Priestly texts. This raises the question whether Aaron was first introduced by the Priestly author(s) or whether P took up an existing Non-P tradition about Aaron. Scholars often consider the mention of Aaron in Exod 17:8–13 and 24:14 to stem from an old pre-Priestly tradition. But again, some recent treatments offer good arguments for classifying all these texts as post-Priestly. The proposed paper will scrutinize these arguments. Was Aaron invented by the Priestly author(s)?

Aaron as a fictional figure would match the imaginary tabernacle. If correct, it would be worth considering Hannah Liss's idea that Aaron is an artificial name, built on the Hebrew designation of the ark, by insertion of a Hê (on analogy to Abraham's name).

111-65/3

*Marcel Krusche (Universität Hamburg)*

### **The Rite of Imposition of Hands:**

#### **Some Text-Critical and Philological Remarks**

The grammatical number of nouns with suffixes is frequently affected by textual variants, since the singular form and the plural or dual form are in most cases only differentiated by the letter yod (e.g., סוסך "your horse" versus סוסריך "your horses"), and this yod is often missing due to a defective spelling. In some of these cases, the grammatical number has a major effect on the interpretation of a text or a religion-historical issue. The present paper discusses one of these cases: the number of hands used in the rite of imposition of hands in Exodus to Deuteronomy. In the past decades of research, two forms of imposition of hands were often distinguished, largely based on the grammatical number witnessed by the Masoretic text: the

imposition of one hand and the imposition of two hands, and this includes different contexts (within or outside the sacrificial context) and different functions of the two forms (identification with the sacrificial animal or transfer of a thing to a target object). Thus, the grammatical number has a larger effect on the understanding of sacrifice (esp. Lev 1–4) and atonement (Lev 16) in the Hebrew Bible. However, this theory does not sufficiently consider the text-critical problems. The present paper aims to demonstrate why this clear-cut distinction between two different forms and functions of hand imposition is problematic both for text-critical and philological reasons and why in general exegetes should be more cautious in drawing interpretive conclusions from a certain grammatical number of a suffixed noun.

111-66/1

*Michael A. Lyons (University of St Andrews)*

**From Punishment to Restoration? The Logic of Ezekiel 14:10–11**

Ezekiel 14:1–10 contains oracles against those who would consult YHWH with idols “in their heart” and against prophets who are persuaded to answer them. But v. 11 envisions a faithful people in covenant relationship with YHWH. How then is v. 11 connected with the preceding material? In this paper I will review a variety of attempts to answer this question, and propose a solution in light of other statements about restoration in the book.

111-66/2

*Reettakaisa Sofia Salo (Universität Göttingen)*

**Textentstehung im Alten Testament am Beispiel von Ezechiel 33,23–29**

In der neueren Forschung zum Ezechielbuch wird kontrovers diskutiert, welche Methoden für die Auslegung dieses Buches angemessen sind: Zum einen finden sich Beiträge, die sich holistisch mit der Endgestalt des Codex Leningradensis beschäftigen. In diesem Zusammenhang rücken etwa Fragen der Genderforschung oder der Traumstudien in den Mittelpunkt. Zum anderen gibt es Forschungsansätze, die mit den klassischen Methoden der Text- und Literarkritik immer feinere Differenzierungen und längere Fortschreibungsketten postulieren.

In diesem Vortrag, der sich der zweiten Forschungstradition zuordnet, werden die Grenzen zwischen den klassischen Methoden der Text- und Literarkritik untersucht. Am Beispiel von Ez 33,23–29 kann gezeigt werden, dass text-, literar- und redaktionskritische Fragen nicht in einer starren Reihenfolge an einen Text gestellt werden können, sondern dass die Ergebnisse der einzelnen Methoden einander in hohem Maße beeinflussen. Anstelle von drei getrennten Methodenschritten zu sprechen, müssen ihre Fragestellungen gemeinsam betrachtet werden. Der Vortrag stellt exemplarisch vor,

auf welche Weise die drei Perspektiven so miteinander verknüpft werden können, dass die eine Betrachtungsweise jeweils die andere verfeinert. Beispielhaft kann anhand der Manuskriptevidenz gezeigt werden, welche relative Chronologie der verschiedenen, literarkritisch ausgearbeiteten Fortschreibungen in Ez 33,23–29 am wahrscheinlichsten ist. So können anschließend die theologischen Inhalte und Weiterentwicklungen der verschiedenen Textstufen angemessen gewürdigt werden.

**111-66/3**

*Avital Cohen (Sorbonne Université / Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

**L'importance de Jér.-LXX pour l'histoire rédactionnelle du texte hébreu**

Les études sur l'histoire du texte hébreu de Jérémie ont pris en compte, depuis quelques décennies, le témoignage de la version grecque, en particulier à cause de la découverte du manuscrit 4QJerb attestant l'existence, pour Jérémie 10, d'un texte hébreu allant avec le grec contre la version massorétique (TM).

Beaucoup d'études examinent la valeur de chacun des deux textes et établissent que le TM représente un état secondaire par rapport au grec. Cependant, ces approches comparatistes ne mettent pas en valeur l'apport inédit du témoignage des versions à la réflexion lancée par les premiers critiques modernes du livre sur l'histoire littéraire de Jérémie, autrement dit aux modèles proposés pour reconstruire les étapes de constitution du livre à partir de collections à l'évidence hétérogènes (oracles, sentences, récits, discours).

L'exposé proposera une nouvelle méthode d'étude du texte hébreu qui combine les acquis de la critique des versions de la Bible hébraïque, de la critique des formes et de la critique rédactionnelle. J'essaierai de montrer que la critique textuelle produite par la comparaison des états du texte permet, pour Jérémie, de trouver des points de rupture significatifs pour l'analyse diachronique de la constitution littéraire du livre en collections complétées par des interventions plus ponctuelles unifiant l'ensemble. Pour mieux caractériser les processus de composition des noyaux de texte, leur amplification et leur intégration dans le tissu de Jérémie, je me fonderai sur trois exemples représentant la diversité littéraire du livre: un oracle de jugement (27, 19–22), un récit (34, 8–11) et un discours deutéronomiste (34, 12–17).

*Bruno Clifton (University of Oxford)*

**A Bad Artisan Blames the Tools:**

**Did the Latter Prophets Use Instrumental Divination?**

The Deuteronomists seem to have shared Socrates's disdain for 'sign-based prediction' and may even have shared his preference for prophecy understood as 'madness from a god' (Plato, *Phaedrus* 244d; cf. Deut 13:1–5; 18:9–18). Socrates draws a qualitative distinction between foretelling events through trained use of instruments and 'the more perfect and more admirable practice' of communicating visions received by 'god-inspired prophetic trances' (*Phaedrus* 244b). Such a distinction is noted by Cicero (*De divinatione* 1.34), who goes on to refer to *divinatio artificiosa* and *divinatio naturalis* respectively for these two approaches to mediating the divine (e.g., 1:72).

Without reference to classical thinking, many scholars have understood the biblical texts, under Deuteronomistic influence, to make a comparable distinction and show a similar preference. Authentic prophets of YHWH receive God's word directly, after the manner of Moses (Deut 18:18; Jer 1:9), while other forms of divination are foreign and to be rejected (Deut 18:9–14; Isa 2:6). This is notwithstanding descriptions of divinatory activity indicating the use of tools (e.g., 1 Sam 14:41–42; 2 Kgs 3:15).

Drawing on the classical world's perspective, this paper suggests that the so-called 'prophetic gestures' found in Jeremiah (e.g., Jer 19) and Ezekiel (e.g., Ezek 4:4–8) should be considered *divinatio artificiosa* or instrumental divination that supplement the prophets' divine mediation revealed through *divinatio naturalis*. The literary mode of the biblical texts and a developing concern to eschew instrumental prediction have flattened accounts of diverse prophetic techniques.

*Ruth Ebach (Université de Lausanne)*

**«Ich habe geträumt!» Zur Konnotation des Traumes  
in der Prophetenkritik**

Gerade das deuteronomistische Jeremiabuch übt scharfe Kritik an Propheten und ihrem Umgang mit dem göttlichen Wort. In Jer 23,25–29 wird im Rahmen einer langen, anklagenden Rede gegen Propheten auch das Verkünden von trügenden Träumen scharf kritisiert. Gerade auf Grund dieses Textes wurde und wird in der Auslegung immer wieder eine radikale und grundsätzliche Ablehnung des Traumes in jeremianischer und deuteronomistischer Theologie diagnostiziert. Das wahre Wort wird dem

trügenden Traum gegenübergestellt, wie das in Jer 23,28 verwendete Wort des Strohs und Korns gedeutet wird. Diese Einschätzung hat Folgen für die religionsgeschichtliche Rekonstruktion und die Wahrnehmung israelitischer Divination im altorientalischen Umfeld.

Eine erneute, kritische Untersuchung der einschlägigen Texte des Jeremiabuches (Jer 23; 27; 29) sowie der Nennung dessen, der Träume hat, in Dtn 13 und ein vergleichender Blick auf die Relevanz und die Vorsicht bei der Deutung von Träumen in mesopotamischen und griechischen Texten, führt jedoch dazu, diese verbreitete These in Frage zu stellen. Vielmehr kann gezeigt werden, dass für den Umgang mit Träumen und prophetischen Worten ähnliche Mechanismen der kritischen Überprüfung gelten müssen. Die Traumkritik fügt sich somit in die deuteronomistische Prophetenkritik ein und führt nicht zu einer generellen Distanzierung von Träumen.

**111-67/3**

*Csaba Balogh (Protestant Theological Institute of Cluj-Napoca)*

**Following the Course of the Sun Backwards:  
Tracing the Original Significance of the Famous Prophetic Omen  
in Isaiah 38:8 within Its Context**

According to a well-known study of Stade (1886), from an Isaianic perspective, the narrative complex Isa 36–39 (and its parallel in 2 Kgs 18–20) contains two distinctive accounts, B1 (delimited as Isa 36:1–37:9a) and B2 (delimited as Isa 37:9b–38), with consistent but independent plots. While recent studies (e.g., Young 2012; Panov 2019; Kahn 2020) propose more sophisticated reconstructions of the narrative layers, they tend to follow the general consensus that Isa 36–37 is independent from the story of Hezekiah's healing in Isa 38. On the other hand, scholars engaged with the compositional history of Isa 38 point out that the story on Isaiah's healing shows various signs of inconsistency, partially even empirically evidenced by the extent textual traditions and versions of Isaiah and 2 Kings. Nonetheless, these compositional irregularities are treated independently from the larger narrative context. In my paper, I argue that instead of dealing with distinctive story lines, Isa 36–37 and Isa 38 are intrinsically related, and the former textual unit holds the key to at least one of the major problems signalled within Isa 38, the significance of the prophetic omen.

*Bertrand Rolin (Université de Strasbourg)*

**Lire le livre de Job du point de vue des animaux.  
Approche écopoétique des textes bibliques**

L'exégèse du livre de Job illustre un point de bascule dans la façon d'appréhender les textes bibliques, en particulier les passages et mentions non plus centrés sur l'être humain mais relatifs à l'ensemble de la création. Cette relecture alimente une perspective écologiste qui enrichit la théologie. Elle relaie les efforts contemporains de développer une écopoétique en mesure d'analyser le rapport entre la littérature et l'environnement naturel (Pierre Schoentjes, 2015).

Afin de rompre définitivement avec une approche anthropocentrée du livre de Job, Norman Habel (2014) applique les principes herméneutiques définis au sein du collectif « Earth Bible ». Norman Habel soutient en particulier une « prise de parole de la terre », qui serait ainsi de la responsabilité de l'exégète.

La recherche sur la place des animaux dans la Bible peut aujourd'hui trouver à s'inspirer des travaux des deux philosophes Vinciane Desprez (2019) et Baptiste Morizot (2020). Poursuivant les pistes ouvertes par Derrida, ces deux auteurs contemporains invitent à considérer le territoire et le monde depuis le point de vue et l'expérience sensorielle de l'animal. Les intuitions ouvertes par les deux auteurs peuvent être particulièrement fécondes pour relire la façon dont les territoires sauvages sont décrits dans les textes bibliques.

Le but de cet exposé sera de s'interroger sur la place donnée au sein du livre de Job à ces passages comportant des mentions de la vie sauvage.

*Markus Saur (Universität Bonn)*

**Gelassenheit. Zur Pragmatik des Koheletbuches**

Das Koheletbuch bewegt sich zwischen Einsichten in die Vergänglichkeit des Menschen und die Beständigkeit der Welt, zwischen Erörterungen über die Begrenzung menschlicher Erkenntnismöglichkeiten und die Ordnung des Kosmos. Getragen ist Kohelet, der Verfasser des Buches, von der Überzeugung, dass Gott die Welt schön eingerichtet habe und die Freude am Leben für den Menschen als ein Geschenk Gottes zu verstehen sei.

Wie lassen sich diese unterschiedlichen Themen und Akzente zusammenführen? Gibt es so etwas wie ein Fundament, von dem her die verschiedenen Linien des Koheletbuches zu deuten sind? Oder läuft das

Koheletbuch eher auf eine Haltung zu, in der sich das Denken Kohelets spiegelt und von der her das Buch seine Kohärenz gewinnt?

In diesem Zusammenhang stellt sich die Frage nach der Verortung des Buches: Wer liest das Koheletbuch im antiken Juda wann und unter welchen Voraussetzungen? Gibt es Referenzpunkte, an denen sich Kohelet orientiert und mit denen er in Auseinandersetzung tritt? In der älteren Forschung ist das Koheletbuch gelegentlich als ein Fremdkörper im alttestamentlichen Kanon verstanden worden. Am Buch selber lässt sich aber zeigen, wie sehr Kohelet in den Weisheitstraditionen seiner Zeit verankert ist, wie er diese rezipiert und wie er sie durch seine eigene Profilierung gezielt weiterführt und damit neue Horizonte erschließt. Diesem Prozess soll genauer nachgegangen werden, um vor dem Hintergrund der Verortung des Koheletbuches seine Absicht und Wirkung besser verstehen zu können.

111-68/3

*Rebecca Wolfs (Philipps-Universität Marburg)*

### **Die Anthropologie des Traumes in der alttestamentlichen Weisheit**

Der Traum ist ein Phänomen von zeitloser Faszination. Die bizarre Wirklichkeit auf der anderen Seite des Schlafes bewegte Menschen in der Antike ebenso wie im 21. Jahrhundert, sie beschäftigt Medizin und Psychologie sowie Religion(en) gleichermaßen.

Auch in der Hebräischen Bibel ist der Traum von essenzieller Bedeutung – als narratives Schlüsselement der Josefsnovelle und als Medium prophetischer Visionen. Neben diesen prominenten Schauplätzen spielt der Traum in einem weiteren Textbereich des Ersten Testaments eine nicht zu verkennende Rolle, wenn diese auch in der Forschung bislang wenig erschlossen ist: In der weisheitlichen Literatur tritt das Phänomen des Traumes als anthropologische Universalie in Erscheinung und erfährt eine theoretische Reflexion.

Die Textpassagen Hiob 33,14–18, Kohelet 4,17–5,6 und Sirach 34,1–8 charakterisieren den Traum als eine menschliche Grunderfahrung, die zugleich die Dimensionen des Menschlichen transzendiert. Das Erlebnis des Traumes, das in seiner somatischen Gestalt allen Menschen gemeinsam ist, ermöglicht die Begegnung mit einer außermenschlichen, göttlichen Sphäre.

Die drei genannten Texte präsentieren eine differenzierte Exploration des Traumes. Dabei werden aus meiner Sicht zwei Typen des Traumes greifbar, die ich als theozentrischer und anthropozentrischer Traum bezeichne. Der theozentrische Traum widerfährt einem Menschen als göttliche Heimsuchung (Sir 34,6). Der vom Tiefschlaf (Hi 33,15) befallene Mensch ist ihm in passiv-paralytischer Manier ausgeliefert. Der anthropozentrische Traum



ist das Resultat menschlicher Initiative. Er erscheint in Verbindung mit kultischen Vollzügen (Koh 4,17–5,6) oder magischen Handlungen (Sir 34,5).

In meinem Paper möchte ich die unterschiedlichen Facetten des Traumes in der alttestamentlichen Weisheit beleuchten und das Phänomen des Traumes als bedenkenswertes Element der alttestamentlichen Anthropologie erschließen.

112-10/1

*Friedhelm Hartenstein (München)*

**Kosmisierung des Chaos. Neue Erkenntnisse zu einer zentralen Denkfigur alttestamentlicher und frühjüdischer Weisheitstraditionen /  
Cosmization of Chaos: New Insights into a Central Figure of Thought of Biblical and Early Jewish Wisdom Traditions**

Starting from the book of Job and wisdom Psalms, the talk first gives a theological-historical overview of the cosmology of such texts of the Hebrew Bible and early Judaism that explicitly speak of the “containment” of primeval chaos. The lecture develops a new hypothesis on the religio-historical framework of this symbolism. A second part considers specifically the notion of “horizon” (*ḥūg*), which is pertinent for the same sapiential cosmology (cf. Job 26, Prov 8). With this metaphor the tension between the recognizable and the permanently hidden in the world order of YHWH is thematized particularly clearly. Naming the horizon has thus essential anthropological implications. Psalm 139, with which the talk ends, shows how the destabilized “self” is helped by the figures of thought of “contained chaos” as well as “horizon” to redefine its own place in the world. The lecture thematizes basic elements of the knowledge culture of early Jewish text producers and recipients.

112-10/2

*Dora R. Mburwayesango (Salisbury, NC)*

**A Gendered Venture: The Devaluing and Dispossession of Israelite Women in the Book of Numbers**

The book of Numbers is part of the imperial narrative constructing Israel's travels from Sinai to the promised land of Canaan. The representation and characterization of women in male imperial narratives are strategies used to articulate male interests. The contributions of imperial women in the imperial venture are often hidden and female labor is disavowed in ways that leads to their marginalization and dispossession. This paper applies a postcolonial approach to the portions of the book of Numbers (especially Num 1:1–10:10; 26:1–51; 27:1–11; 36:1–13) to illustrate how the marginalization and dispossession of women is ideologically validated.

**112-10/3**

*Martin Prudký (Prague)*

**YHWH, a God Who Speaks: Remarks on the Rhetoric of Direct Speeches  
of God in Biblical Narratives**

The lecture will deal with communicative functions of direct speech units in biblical narratives (mainly in the book of Genesis), focusing on those in which YHWH/God himself is speaking. The use of direct speech units will be analyzed and shown to be an effective tool which enables the narrator to shape his storytelling and to address his hearers/readers using specific modes of communication. Furthermore, the impact of this strategy of presenting God as speaking figure will be evaluated in respect to biblical theology.

**112-40/1**

*Nancy L. deClaissé-Walford*

*(Mercer University McAfee School of Theology; University of Pretoria)*

**Human on Human Violence against the Marginalized in the Psalms**

Descriptions of and allusions to violence abound in the pages of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible. And the book of Psalms is no exception. In this paper, I will examine the three types of violence that scholars observe in the biblical text – “direct or immediate,” “textual or symbolic,” and “structural and cultural,” in the context of the book of Psalms and from the perspective of marginalized voices. To do so, I will first relate my experience of incorporating the reflections of “marginalized voices” from South Africa in my writing of a feminist commentary on Books 4 and 5 of the Psalter. I will then enter into dialogue with three feminist scholars who have offered insight into the human on human violence portrayed in Psalms 55, 139, and 109, incorporating traditional scholarly understandings of the three psalms and various South African marginalized voices. I will conclude that the poetic and metaphoric nature of the book of Psalms permits a variety of readings that allow an overlap of “the world within the text,” “the world behind the text,” and “the world in front of the text.”

**112-40/2**

*Lodewyk Sutton (University of the Free State)*

**Mouths at War: Reading the Direction of Violence in Psalms 57–59**

Attributed to David, Psalms 57–58 are situated within the larger Davidic collection in Book II of the Psalms. In their superscriptions, all three psalms indicate that they are addressed to the music master, indicating the melody as “Do not destroy,” a “miktam”. The community lament Psalm 58, with its strong imprecatory language, is surrounded by two individual laments that

also portray imagery of violence (and warfare). Within all three of these psalms, body imagery related to the mouth can be noticed. Further, it is interesting that the violence in these psalms change direction from the one praying the psalms to the enemy and then back again to the one praying. In this paper, the body imagery in Psalms 57–59 is evaluated related to the direction of the intended violence. In this regard, the relationship between these psalms can be indicated within their placement in the final redaction of the Psalter.

112-40/3

*Gideon R. Kotzé (North-West University)*

### **Divine Violence and Nature in Psalm 29 and the Niğde Stela**

The idea that divine violence involves nature is a widespread motif that is found in cultural products from all over the ancient Near East. Psalm 29 is one example of a Classical Hebrew poem that appropriates the motif as part of its representation of YHWH. Although much attention has been devoted to the psalm and its interpretation, scholars have so far given short shrift to the motif of divine violence and nature. Therefore, in this paper, I offer a reading of Psalm 29 that focuses on the poem's expression of the motif. To see more clearly the distinctive features of the psalm's appropriation of the motif, I compare it to the image of the storm god, Tarhunza, on the Niğde stela. The image of this monument also incorporates the idea that nature does not remain unaffected by divine violence. For my comparison of the motif in the two artifacts, I examine the stela and the psalm individually and independently and then bring the interpretations of the image and the text together in order to highlight the similarities and differences between them.

112-40/4

*Alexandra Grund-Wittenberg (Philipps Universität Marburg)*

### **"Break the Arm of the Wicked!" (Psalm 10:15):**

### **Power and Violence in Psalms 9–10**

This paper explores how violence is presented in Ps 9–10 and which effects the depiction of violence has. The article defines power ("potentia") and violence ("violentia") according to pertinent sociological and politological studies esp. by M. Weber and H. Arendt: While the latter is considered to be illegitimate coercion, the former is deemed a legitimate form of coercion. Against the background of power legitimizing or delegitimizing discourses and the problem of the representation of violence in the Hebrew Bible, the contribution focuses on Ps 9–10 in order to explore violence in the image of God, in the desire to annihilate enemies and, not but not least, in the oppression of the poor Ps 9–10. It asks what kind of expressions and meta-

phors are used, what effect the representation of violence seeks to achieve and how power or violence is legitimized or criticized. Ps 9–10 advocates to appeal to YHWH in case of violence, to distance oneself from oppression, to take sides with the oppressed and to rejoice in the overcoming of violence. With regards to the violence of the wicked, God's exertion of power appears to be legitimate.

**112-40/5**

*David G. Firth (Trinity College Bristol; University of the Free State)*

**A World Gone Wrong: Structural Violence in Psalms 9–14**

This paper provides a reading of Psalm 9–14 that takes seriously their place within the Psalter while also exploring the theme of structural violence, a dimension of the study of violence that is less well represented in the literature than other forms (e.g., physical or psychological violence). The paper explores how the boundary marking statement of “there is no God” in Psalms 9–10 and 14 provides a context in which to provide a theological reading of structural violence. Since structural violence is less frequently investigated in the Psalms, this paper serves primarily as a test case in order to demonstrate the fruitfulness of exploring this theme.

**112-50/1**

*Thomas Elms (University of Sydney)*

**No Power to Save: Daniel 6 and the Failure of the Friendly King**

Daniel 6 presents readers of Daniel with a dramatically different image of the King. Darius, unlike his Babylonian counterparts, does not desire to enforce his authority upon the servant of the God of the Jews. Instead, the theme of God's sovereignty is completed through the failure of a King who desires to rescue Daniel. This provides an important contribution to the theology of the book as it presents the final piece of the puzzle in the presentation of God's sovereignty. Up until this point, Nebuchadnezzar had been unable to force the servants of God to bend to his will and was demonstrated to have no control over their death. Belshazzar, despite his demonstration of power and opulence, was shown to have neither as he met his demise, instead while King Darius in Daniel 6 is guilty of foolishness and pride, he does not desire the death of Daniel.

This paper will argue that Darius' helplessness is in his inability to save Daniel. It will contend that Daniel 6 is an important finale to the court tales because it ensures that the sovereignty of God is demonstrated in its fullness. In Daniel, God has power not only over the fate of his followers in the face of the oppressor, but also over the king who seeks to protect them. Daniel 6 clarifies this theme and emphasises that God is sovereign regardless of the context.

*Uta Schmidt (Augustana Hochschule Neuendettelsau)*  
**The Absence of Women and the Importance of Gender  
 in the Book of Daniel**

This paper claims that gender roles play an important part in the apocalyptic framework of the book of Daniel, although female figures have almost no part in it. Theories of gender and masculinity studies reveal that male figures fulfil very different male gender roles in these texts. The book of Daniel as apocalyptic literature is also strongly focused on order, in heaven and on earth. Theoretical approaches from queer studies show how the different gender roles in the book stabilize and destabilize the world order described and developed in the book.

In comparison with other Jewish writings of about the same time (2nd to 1st century BCE) – be they apocalyptic like 1Hen or non-apocalyptic like the Book of Maccabees – the role of male gender and the almost total absence of female gender in the Daniel texts becomes more profiled, since this comparison offers a glimpse of what else would have been possible or thinkable at the time of the formation of the texts and of the book as a whole. Thereby it becomes visible how gender roles are used to negotiate matters of power and powerlessness which are central to the book.

*Sarah Wisialowski (University of Oxford)*  
**Disrupting Time: A Study of Daniel 9 and History**

Does prayer disrupt time? This paper will examine how the paradigmatic confession of Daniel 9 became a means to confront the current foreign rule while also acting as a means to recover a past, better time. The book of Daniel is a book of diaspora, in which never loses his identity as one of the Jewish people.

Prayer acts as a means to disrupt the constant progress of time, thus allowing for introspection and renewal. The temporal spaces of the past, the present, and the future become distorted through the performance of prayer. This blurring provides the context for a prayer, or one who prays, to enact change. Thus, performance has an efficacious quality, which allows prayer to be enacted. This paper will examine how Daniel's prayer is able to rewrite, or 'curate', history, because of its impact upon time, and by extension, upon God.

This paper draws upon recent work on prayer and performance in both classics and within biblical studies. Using comparative scholarship and through the blending of history and liturgy, I will show that Daniel 9 is a key text for understanding Second Temple conceptions of temporality.

112-51/1

*Florian Neitmann (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)*

**The Torah in Combat Sports and Cosmic Spheres:**

**On the Reception of Deuteronomy 30:15, 19 in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch**

This paper examines two receptions of Moses' farewell speech (Deut 30) in the apocalyptic writings of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch within their transcultural context.

In 4 Ezra, the prompt to "choose life" instead of death (Deut 30:[15.]19) is categorized as a struggle which every human being must wage (4 Ezra 7:127–129). In the first half of my paper, this reception is first explained within its setting and function in the argumentation of 4 Ezra. The imagery of combat sports is then contextualized with other Jewish and non-Jewish Hellenistic sources that employ the same imagery in ethical discourse.

The second half of the paper concerns the reception of Moses' admonition: "I call heaven and earth as witnesses" (Deut 30:19) in 2 Baruch 19:3, where it is interpreted as referring to astronomical spheres. After clarifying the function of this interpretation within the internal discourse of 2 Baruch, I will elucidate its tradition-historical background and contemporary cultural context by comparison with several ancient Near Eastern and Hellenistic sources which share the idea of astronomical beings as divine witnesses.

Thus, the paper will shed light on two examples of innovative interpretation of Torah in apocalyptic writings and their transcultural entanglement.

112-51/2

*Josef M. Oesch (Universität Innsbruck)*

**Eine Datenbank zur überlieferten Gliederung der Hebräischen Bibel.**

**Ein Werkstättenbericht**

Die Hebräische Bibel ist in den ältesten Handschriften bekanntlich in Bücher (ספרים), offene (פתוחת) und geschlossene (סתומת) Abschnitte und in liedartige Texte eingeteilt. Die Einteilung erfolgt durch Leerzeilen und Spatien am Anfang (Alinea), in der Mitte oder am Ende der Zeile (freies Zeilenende). Im mündlichen Vortrag entsprechen sie Pausen, die, nach dem Midrasch Sifra (Nedaa 1,9 13), Mose Zeit zum Nachdenken über die einzelnen Äußerungen (Gottes) geben sollen. An ihnen darf ebenso wenig wie am Text etwas geändert werden (bSchab 103b). Indes stellte Maimonides in der Überlieferung der Gliederung in der Tora (Pentateuch) im 12. Jahrhundert ein großes Durcheinander (שבויך גדול) fest. Mit Hilfe der hier vorzustellenden Datenbank wird versucht, den Stand der wichtigsten mittelalterlichen Handschriften zu erfassen und wesentliche Fragen der Gliederungsüberlieferung zu klären.

Konkret handelt es sich um zwei Datenbanken, die miteinander über die Handschriften-Nummer verbunden sind. Die eine dient der Aufnahme der wichtigsten Handschriften-Daten. Die zweite enthält die Gliederungsdaten der einzelnen Rollen oder Kodizes und ist entsprechend den Überlieferungsproblemen der Handschriften aufgebaut. Ein professioneller Datenbank-Programmierer hat nach meinen Vorgaben zahlreiche Scripts geschrieben, die Vergleichsdaten (Unterschiede, Gemeinsamkeiten) zu den einzelnen Handschriften liefern, ihr Layout darstellen oder Beobachtungen zu ihren möglichen Abhängigkeiten von anderen Handschriften liefern. Ein Script liefert zu jeder Stelle der Hebräischen Bibel die belegten und in der Datenbank erfassten Gliederungszeichen. Die Arbeitsweise der Datenbank wird anhand einiger Beispiele vorgeführt. – Die Datenbank soll als Instrument der „Gliederungskritik“ dienen, deren Etablierung im Rahmen der Textkritik von mir mehrfach vorgeschlagen wurde.

112-51/3

*John Shuster (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

#### **Homiletical Features and Functions of the Targum to the Psalms**

Current understanding of the *Sitz im Leben* of the targum to the Psalms in its early contexts comes from a sort of triangulation with other targumim, a deduction. Timothy Edwards proposes an educational context. Beyond this, little exploration into its function has been performed. What sort of study did the targum facilitate? The targum's affinity for midrash and its thematic focus on the community of Israel may point to its use as an aid for Jewish preachers in the preparation of homiletics.

112-52/1

*Jan Dušek (Charles University, Prague)*

#### **Who Were the Gods of Panamuwa I?**

The monumental statue of Hadad was discovered at Gerçin near Zincirli (southeastern Turkey) in 1890 by the German expedition of Felix von Luschan, and is now on display in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. The lower part of the statue is inscribed with a large inscription consisting of 34 lines in the Sam'alian dialect of Aramaic (KAI 214). The statue and its inscription were commissioned by Panamuwa I, king of Y'dy/Sam'al, approximately in the second quarter of the eighth century BCE. The king Panamuwa I mentions in his inscription the gods Hadad, El, Rešef, Rākib-El, and Šamaš that supported him and who might receive offerings. These gods are mentioned four times in the inscription: twice in lines 1–3, and also in lines 11 and 18–19. The list of gods in line 11 differs from the other three lists, because it contains a theonym which is not

attested in the other three lists; it is usually read Arqû-Rešef. Many scholars interpreted it as a compound name, where the element Arqû corresponds to the theonym 'ršw attested in the Palmyrene texts. The compound name Arqû-Rešef is usually considered to be an evidence confirming the syncretistic character of the religion of Sam'al.

A collation of the inscription of Panamuwa I on the statue of Hadad indicates that another reading and interpretation of the text in line 11 is possible, which sheds a new light not only on the identity of the enigmatic Arqû-Rešef, but also on the whole list of gods in this line, which differs from those in lines 1–3 and 18–19.

112-52/2

*Nesina Grütter (Universität Basel)*

### **The Canard of a Loan Translation from Akkadian in Ezekiel 21:26**

This contribution reports a correction to the entry כֶּבֶד ("liver") in the Akkadian Lexical Companion for Biblical Hebrew (2009), which is already referenced in light of the ongoing debate about the acculturation of Judeans in the Gola. Contrary to the presentation in the Compendium, the Akkadian sources do not provide phrases for paralleling the Hebrew expression רָאָה בִּכְבֶּד (used in Ezek 21:26 for the inspection of the liver by the Babylonian king) with Akkadian expressions for "to perform an inspection of the entrails". Furthermore, it will be shown that the Biblical-Hebrew evidence too speaks against the assumption of a loan translation from Akkadian: Ezek 21:26 offers a thoroughly Hebrew formulation. Finally, the consequences for exegesis are shown.

112-52/3

*Harald Samuel (University of Oxford)*

### **Einige Probleme der althebräischen „Orthographie“**

In der Beurteilung der althebräischen „Orthographie“ finden sich nach wie vor zwei Extrempositionen: auf der einen Seite die Annahme nahezu kompletter Regellosigkeit, auf der anderen Seite die Grundüberzeugung, die Schreibungen spiegelten in nahezu sämtlichen Einzelheiten konsequent die jeweils gesprochene Sprache wider, bis hin zur Annahme, die im masoretischen Text bezeugten Unterschiede in der „orthographischen“ Praxis einzelner Bücher gäben einigermaßen getreu die Standards der jeweiligen Entstehungszeit wieder.

Anhand aussagekräftiger Beispiele wird der Vortrag die zugrundeliegenden Voraussetzungen beider Positionen kritisch hinterfragen. Bei aller internen Varianz sind dennoch klare Tendenzen zu beobachten, gelegentliche Inkonsistenzen hingegen sind nicht einlinig auf dialektale oder



entstehungsgeschichtliche Umstände zu deuten, sondern haben ebenso mit der je unterschiedlichen Attitüde der Überlieferer zu tun. Ebenso lassen sich anhand der Beispiele Frühformen grammatischer Kategorisierungen erkennen. Nicht zuletzt ist allerdings, etwa im Lichte jüngerer Überlegungen von E. Qimron, immer auch die Ambiguität konsonantischer Schreibungen zu bedenken.

112-53/1

*Axel Bühler (University of Geneva)*

**Faire parler les nombres. Une analyse statistique de l'invention des chiffres dans les textes antiques**

Le Proche-Orient ancien et la Bible nous ont fourni de nombreuses indications numériques sur les contingents militaires, les victimes de guerre, les butins, les tributs... Cependant, les chercheurs mettent régulièrement en doute la fiabilité historique de ces listes numériques. Deux types d'arguments sont habituellement utilisés. Le premier est la cohérence des chiffres proposés avec les données archéologiques. Le deuxième est la cohérence interne des données. Dans cette présentation, je propose un troisième type d'argument qui repose sur des analyses statistiques basées sur la loi de Benford et la psychologie expérimentale. Ces analyses permettent d'identifier la création rédactionnelle de données numériques.

112-53/2

*Juliane Eckstein (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)*

**Everything Is Connected:**

**Introducing Actor Network Theory to Biblical Studies**

Actor Network Theory (ANT) has been around for some decades now, and it has established itself firmly in several areas of research, especially in Science Studies and in Organizational Studies. In recent years, it has made its way into some research fields adjacent to Biblical Studies, for instance into Archaeology. Currently it is being introduced to Theological and Religious Studies. This paper makes a case for introducing Actor Network Theory to Biblical Studies as well. It outlines several features of this methodological approach that should be promising for interpreting biblical texts: the central role of non-human actors, the symmetry among these actors, the acknowledgment of several superseding and interconnected actor networks, the bottom-up approach, and the simultaneous treatment of texts as ANT accounts and as parts of actor networks themselves. The paper discusses in how far Actor Network Theory can help integrating synchronic and diachronic approaches, drawing on the Book of Isaiah to demonstrate the potential in introducing ANT to Biblical Studies.

**112-53/3**

*Benjamin Kilchör (STH Basel)*

**Intertextual Observations in the Method of  
Quoting Long Texts within the Bible**

In biblical times the materials on which was written was extensive and writing space was limited. In this short paper I will discuss a couple of examples where one biblical text refers to another biblical text by quoting just the beginning and the end passages of the quoted text, implying that the audience is aware of the full text.

**112-54/1**

*Georg Fischer (Universität Innsbruck)*

**Die Stellung Jeremias innerhalb der Propheten**

Die Besonderheiten des Jeremiabuches weisen darauf hin, dass ihm eine spezielle Position innerhalb der Prophetie zukommt. Die Vielfalt der Rollen Jeremias bereits im Einleitungskapitel, das Ausmaß „biographischer“ Notizen im Buch, die Intensität der Thematik der falschen Prophetie, der hohe Grad intertextueller Bezüge, auch zu anderen Prophetenschriften, und andere Phänomene lassen annehmen, dass in Jeremia und seinem Buch eine Art „Höhepunkt“ für den zweiten Kanonteil der Hebräischen Bibel erreicht wird. Der Beitrag möchte die Gründe für diese Sonderstellung in den Blick nehmen und auf ihre Tragfähigkeit hin untersuchen.

**112-54/2**

*Noam Mizrahi (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

**The Interpretive Transmission of Isaiah as Witnessed by 4QIsa<sup>a</sup> (4Q61)**

4QIsa<sup>a</sup> (4Q61) designates a group of 8 or 9 fragments that stem from a single column of a scroll, covering Isa 42:14–43:8, 16–24. Material considerations indicate that the scroll was very sizable, probably containing the entire book of Isaiah. Upon first glance, its text seems to be very close to the MT. Closer inspection, however, reveals that one recurring variant, so far interpreted merely as a case of orthographic fluctuation, is better understood as encoding a different lexeme, which affects the entire syntax of the passage. This, in turn, is revealed to be a textual response to an exegetical difficulty inherent in the prophetic text, and the interpretive tradition witnessed by the scroll may have left additional traces in later, rabbinic sources. Investigation of this case study has implications for the broader understanding of the interrelationship between material analysis of scroll fragments, textual and linguistic scrutiny of their content, and the identification of scriptural exegesis (or “biblical interpretation”) embedded therein.

*Jesse Scheumann (University of the Free State)*  
**“Disjunctive *waw*”: Towards a Comprehensive View  
 of Negative Coordination in Biblical Hebrew**

Standard Hebrew grammars report that *waw* can have a disjunctive use (“or”) in negated or conditional clauses (JM §175a, IBHS §39.2.1b, WHS §433, BHRG §40.23.3.1). Steiner (2000:261–263) argues that the disjunctive use of *waw* arises from ellipsis, such that the single-clause statement in (1) is derived from the two-clause statement in (2):

- (1) He did not turn by going to the right or (lit. “and”) to the left.  
(2 Sam 2:19)
- (2) He did not turn by going to the right, and he did not turn by going to the left.

However, the semantic description of “disjunctive *waw*” in the literature is sometimes imprecise, the syntactic analysis unnecessarily complex, the data scope too limited, and the cross-linguistic theory simply underdeveloped.

This paper argues against the ellipsis analysis of deriving disjunctive *waw*. I show how languages express negative coordination (Payne 1985, Szabolcsi and Haddican 2004, Haspelmath 2007, Wurmbrand 2008, Gajić 2019) either in terms of conjunction (“and”) or disjunction (“or”). The conjuncts can take a “neither” reading ([¬P] [¬Q]) or “not both” reading (¬[P Q]). The “neither” reading corresponds to the disjunctive use of *waw*, which is licensed by a scopal operator that creates a downward-entailing environment. Such an environment is created not only by negation or a protasis (noted in the literature), but also by a generic NP or a quantified NP (not noted in the literature), and the “neither” reading can be overridden by a “not both” reading under Topic/Focus fronting.

*Desiree Zecha (LMU München)*  
**Die Bedeutung eines „und“**

Die im Klassischen Althebräischen am häufigsten genutzte Verbform ist *wayyiqtol*. Diese stets mit der Konjunktion *wa-* verbundene Verbform wurde und wird in vielen Grammatiken noch immer als „Konsekutivform“ (bzw. „successive form“ etc.) bezeichnet, wobei vorausgesetzt wird, dass der Verbform durch die Konjunktion eine konsekutive / nachzeitige Bedeutung („und so“, „und dann“) verliehen wird. Diese Annahme folgt einem falschen sprachhistorischen Erklärungsversuch (Hebraisten wie Ewald und Böttcher hatten die *yiqtol*-Kurzform noch nicht zugrunde gelegt, sondern die Form über den Umweg einer konsekutiven bzw. Folge-Bedeutung der Konjunk-

tion Waw in Verbindung mit der angenommenen zugrundeliegenden „Grundform“ *yiqtol* LF erklärt). Mit einer Vielzahl (es handelt sich nicht um Ausnahmen!) der *wayyiqtol*-Formen (und *weqatal*-Formen) im Klassischen Althebräisch kann überhaupt keine chronologische Abfolge verbunden werden, z.B. bei Synonymen (Gen 27,37 u.ö.: ויען ויאמר), Gesamtvorgängen (וּיֵאָכֵל וישת) und Listen (2 Kön 17,7–11).

In Bezugnahme auf den aktuellen sprachwissenschaftlichen Diskurs hinsichtlich der Bedeutung von Satzkonnektoren auch in der Germanistik und Anglistik vertrete ich die These, dass im Althebräischen der Konjunktion *wa-/we-* keine Bedeutung über die der Verbindung zweier (in diesem Fall verbaler) Elemente hinaus und auch keine „Polysemantik“ zukommt. Jegliche zusätzliche Bedeutung wird durch den bzw. die mit Weltwissen ausgestatteten Leser oder Hörerin semantisch hinzugefügt. Einer besonderen Bezeichnung narrativer Chronologie oder einer Einordnung in die Vergangenheit durch vorausgegangenes *qatal* bedarf es bei *wayyiqtol* nicht (eine „Regelkoordination“ *qatal-wayyiqtol* ist am Text entgegen der allgemeinen Annahmen nicht nachzuweisen). Die Konjunktion *wa-/we-* hat auch im Verbund mit Verbformen lediglich die Funktion eines verknüpfenden Elements.

112-61/1

*Tyler Mowry (Baylor University)*

### **Diachronic Analysis in a Post-“Empirical” Age: Vertical and Horizontal Patterning as Possible Categories of Indeterminate Compositional Phenomena**

One of the most significant recent developments in Hebrew Bible scholarship is the increasing focus on so-called “empirical” evidence for the reconstruction of textual composition. Championed primarily by David M. Carr in North America (Carr 2011), and by Juha Pakkala, Reinhard Müller, and others affiliated with the Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions project at the University of Helsinki (Pakkala 2013; Müller, Pakkala, and Romeny 2014; Müller and Pakkala 2017). These studies challenge the methodological principles of prevailing models of textual growth, suggesting that radical editorial techniques like large-scale omission, relocation, and rewriting were much more pervasive—and enduring—than previously assumed. While most scholars remain cautiously optimistic regarding the future of compositional studies (contra Ziemer 2020), there remains a problem of presentation: what might it mean to offer a “methodologically modest” diachronic analysis? How might one do so without recourse to the implied certainty of discrete layers?

In this presentation, I offer one possible way forward in the form of “horizontal” and “vertical” patterning phenomena. By the former, I refer the

coordination of multiple passages or works along similar ideological lines, and by the latter, I refer to a circumstance wherein a passage or work is successively updated in thematically or conceptually similar ways. To demonstrate the viability of these diachronic concepts, I offer a brief analysis of 1 Samuel 7–15, focusing on the manner by which a “horizontal” pattern of Saulide de-legitimization informs a “vertical” pattern of the growth of the figure of Samuel.

112-61/2

*Reinhard Müller (Universität Göttingen)*

### **Zwei Interpolationen des Wortes „Tora“ im protomasoretischen Text**

Angelehnt an Alexander Rofés grundlegenden Aufsatz „The Scribal Concern for the Torah as Evidenced by the Textual Witnesses of the Hebrew Bible“ (in: Nili S. Fox u.a. [Hgg.], *Mishneh Todah*, FS Tigay, Winona Lake 2009) werden zwei weitere Stellen diskutiert, wo das Wort Tora wahrscheinlich in der protomasoretischen Texttradition interpoliert wurde: Dtn 17,19 und Jer 26,4. Beide Male lässt sich dies aus dem Vergleich mit der griechischen Überlieferung und der rekonstruierten Fassung der Old Greek erschließen. Entscheidende Argumente liefern die Übersetzungstechnik und der Gebrauch der fraglichen Wendungen im Kontext der Bücher und im übrigen Alten Testament. In beiden Fällen wurde dieselbe Bearbeitungstechnik angewendet: Ein älterer Ausdruck wurde durch das neue Wort ersetzt („replacement“). Die Interpolation des Wortes „Tora“ hatte im zweiten Fall jedoch andere Folgen als im ersten: Während die Textänderung in Dtn 17,19 eher stilistischer Art ist, da die Tora nach der ältesten gemeinsamen Texttradition schon in 17,18 genannt wird, führte die Interpolation in Jer 26,4 das Konzept der Tora überhaupt erst in das Kapitel ein.

112-61/3

*Anna Elise Zernecke (Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel)*

### **How (Not) to Recognise a Qina**

A Qina (קִינָה) is a lamentation. The Hebrew noun is used for utterances in the context of mourning the dead, but also for other laments mainly in prophetic literature. In formcritical studies, Qina evolved into a technical term for a genre characterised by common elements such as content, form, Sitz im Leben and even the allegedly typical metre. The paper explores the use of the term “Qina” in biblical texts and scholarly literature and challenges the assumption of an identifiable genre “Qina”.

**112-62/1**

*Benjamin Ziemer (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)*

**Wie alt sind die beiden Fassungen des Jeremiabuches?**

**Eine Neueinschätzung nach Qumran**

Vom Jeremiabuch sind seit mehr als 2000 Jahren zwei unterschiedliche Ausgaben nebeneinander tradiert worden, repräsentiert durch die kürzere LXX-Fassung mit den Völkersprüchen in der Mitte und die längere masoretische Fassung mit den anders angeordneten Völkersprüchen kurz vor Ende des Buches. Aber wie alt sind diese beiden Fassungen?

Einerseits gibt es Modelle, nach denen beide Versionen noch im sechsten Jahrhundert entstanden sind (Goldmann, Tov, Hornkohl).

Andererseits ist angesichts der großen Zahl und inhaltlichen Vieltätigkeit der Unterschiede auch vorgeschlagen worden, diese auf mehrere, zu verschiedenen Zeiten tätige Bearbeiter zu verteilen und die kürzere LXX-Version nur als zufälligen Punkt einer mehrstufigen Wachstumsgeschichte des Buches anzusehen, die bis weit in die hellenistische Zeit hineinreichte (Stipp, Pakkala).

Dem steht allerdings der Qumranbefund entgegen: Die sechs in Qumran gefundenen fragmentarischen Jeremiahandschriften (3.–1. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) weisen in den erhaltenen Teilen keinerlei Sondergut auf, sondern lassen sich jeweils einer der beiden bekannten Ausgaben zuordnen. Damit wird für diese Zeit keine Fortschreibung, sondern lediglich der Fakt paralleler Überlieferung bestätigt. Die einfachste Erklärung wäre, dass vom Jeremiabuch in spätpersisch-hellenistischer Zeit nur genau zwei deutlich unterschiedene Ausgaben bekannt waren und kursierten, und dass diese Ausgaben lediglich durch Korrekturversuche oder Kopierfehler weiter verändert, aber nicht mehr bewusst fortgeschrieben oder neu ediert wurden. Dafür spräche auch der Überlieferungsbefund bei anderen Prophetenbüchern.

In meinem Vortrag möchte ich mich mit den Argumenten, die für Früh- oder Spätdatierung in Anschlag gebracht werden, auseinandersetzen und darstellen, wie ich mir die Entstehung des masoretischen Jeremiabuches vorstellen kann.

**112-62/2**

*James D. Nogalski (Baylor University)*

**The Significance of Sequence: Reflections on Haggai→Zechariah→Malachi as the Conclusion to the Twelve**

Given the renewed interest in the Book of the Twelve as an edited/arranged collection of prophetic literature associated with twelve prophetic figures,

the sequence of these three writings deserves consideration. Thematic overlap that reflects changing attitudes toward the cult, the fate of Jerusalem, and political issues related to the Persian period (and perhaps beyond) leave a dynamic impression of change. The dynamic created by these themes begins by treating the present as a transition to a hopeful future, but the relationship of the people to the present becomes increasingly ominous.

112-63/1

*Jacob Deans (University of Cambridge)*

**Amos the *nōqēd*: A Case Study of the Class Politics of Israel's Countryside**

The earlier literary stratum of the Book of Amos presents us with something of the perspective of a non-Jerusalemite scribal elite. Both in its leveraging of peasant interests, and attacks on the political centre, Amos could be a useful case study for any socio-historical reconstruction of Israel and Judah's rural aristocracies.

Following van der Toorn (2009) and Kratz (2015), quests for the "historical" 8th-century prophets have rightly been de-emphasised. However, in shifting the responsibility for these works from idiosyncratic individuals to elite-aligned groups (in this case, scribal "schools"), issues surrounding class and regional conflict and the fragmentary nature of the Israelite and Judahite polities are if anything starker.

This paper will argue that Amos' initial designation as a *nōqēd* aligns the subsequent oracles with the class interests of the *owners* and *managers* of livestock, rather than the rural poor. This translation of *nōqēd* is in line with the usage in 2 Kings 3:4 and the Ugaritic *nqd*. The concern for the poor in chapters 1–3 might still reflect some similarity in class position with rural elites (who were not "non-producers," strictly speaking). However, the key contention of this paper is that it represents an attempt to create *ideological* alignment with the peasantry. The Book of Amos then highlights a class antagonism between elites in the countryside and those in urban political centres, and lends plausibility to rural populations being engaged in ideological production of their own.

112-63/2

*Sarah Schulz (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg)*

**Persische Herrschaftsämter und jüdische Identität**

Die Perserzeit war mit Blick auf die Ausbildung einer kollektiven jüdischen Identität, einem Prozess, der sich in den biblischen Texten spiegelt und vollzieht, eine außerordentlich produktive Phase. In dem Vortrag möchte ich der Frage nachgehen, welchen möglicherweise indirekten Einfluss die Herrschaftsstrukturen des Perserreichs auf den Prozess der kollektiven

Identitätskonstruktion hatten. Der neue universale Herrschaftsanspruch der Perser und das Eingebundensein in das persische Vielvölkerreich forderten die Bewohner der Provinz Jehud heraus, die eigene Lebenswelt im neuen Kontext zu verstehen und zu deuten. Auf welche Weise dies geschah, möchte ich beispielhaft anhand der Reflexion persischer Herrschaftsämter in alttestamentlichen Texten zeigen. Dabei wird der Fokus auf dem Amt des persischen Statthalters der Provinz Jehud in Haggai/Sacharia und Nehemia liegen, das, im Gegensatz zum Amt des persischen Großkönigs, im Zusammenhang der Frage nach der Ausbildung einer jüdischen Identität in der Perserzeit bislang wenig exegetische Beachtung gefunden hat.

**112-64/1**

*Heli Alamaunu (University of Helsinki)*

### **The Fruit of the Mouth: Intuitive Thinking in Proverbs**

The Book of Proverbs contains multiple metaphorical expressions, where the self or subjectivity is presented with the help of body part metaphors (e.g., 8:7, 13:2, 15:31, 16:9). These include phrases with the Hebrew terms *peh* ("mouth"), *lashon* ("tongue"), and *saphah* ("lip"), which in several instances seem to imply communication that is not thoroughly reflected. In their dual process theories, psychologists Jonathan St. B. T. Evans and Keith E. Stanovich distinguish between intuitive and reflective thinking, which they refer to as Type 1 and Type 2 processing. Type 1 processing delivers contents that one is not fully aware of, while Type 2 processing is based on more deliberative reasoning. Using metaphor analysis to examine selected verses in the Book of Proverbs (10:32, 15:2, 15:23), I study in this paper how these verses and the connotations they create reflect features of Type 1 processing. This kind of analysis is needed for gaining a better understanding of the unconscious aspects of the thinking process as it is described in ancient Hebrew literature. I will argue that the Book of Proverbs, for one, helps us to form a more comprehensive insight of how thinking processes are interwoven with the complex network of metaphorical expressions related to selfhood and how the self gains knowledge and understanding.

**112-64/2**

*Giorgio Paolo Campi*

*(University of Bologna - École Pratique des Hautes Études)*

### **The Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur between Mesopotamian and Biblical Wisdom**

Since Gurney's first edition (1956) of the tablets, the tale of the Poor Man of Nippur (likely IX century BC) has often been labeled as an example of an alleged Mesopotamian humorous literary genre. Yet, this position is unten-



able or at least flimsy for several reasons. The Poor Man includes several *tópoi* and stylistic traits which are typical in ANE Wisdom literature, such as the motif of the righteous man suffering and mourning, the absence of God/the gods, the presence of numerical patterns and the almost identical iterations of some scenarios. These features immediately stand out comparing the Poor Man with the Mesopotamian Lamentation genre on one hand and with biblical texts on the other, in particular with the book of Job, which shares a fair amount of structural and thematic analogies with the Poor Man. Furthermore, the Poor Man seems to fall under a literary archetype widespread both chronologically and spatially throughout the ANE (One Thousand and One Nights), the Mediterranean area (Sicily) and some other European regions. Through this cross-analysis two important issues can be acknowledged. Firstly, the Poor Man, far from being a work «unique in character» (as stated by Gurney), seems to partake in a common Ancient Near Eastern cultural backdrop; secondly, it puts to the test the very label of “Wisdom” literature built up by the scholarly debate through the years, framing the possibility that alike and recurring narrative units could be declined into different hues: moral exemplum, light entertainment, theological speculation, theodicy, etc.

112-64/3

*Lisa Plantin (Stockholm School of Theology)*

#### **A Solution to the Textual Problems in Job 38:10 and 39:3**

The textual problems in Job 38:10 and Job 39:3 could be solved if we consider two common metaphors in Mesopotamian birth descriptions: the metaphor of breaking the doors of the womb and the image of untying the cords of the unborn. In Job 38:10 God breaks (שבר) his limit to the Sea. The conventional expression in the HB, which accords with the combat motif, is that “God sets a limit to the sea”. Therefore, שבר has been emended to other words, mainly to שית, “set”. However, if God breaks his limit to the Sea, then he acts like the gods in Mesopotamian texts. In Job 39:3 the verb פלח, “split” or “pierce”, is used in the context of animals giving birth. It has been emended to פתח “open” or פלט, “bring out”. Also, the expression חבל־יהם has been seen as problematic. It has been discussed if it should be understood as חבל “labor pain”, “fetus” or חבל, “cord”. Most interpreters vocalize חבל. I would argue that both פלח and חבל would fit the context of a birth scene. The verb פלח with its meaning “split” may very well be used in a description of how the birth mother makes her child break through the birth canal. The noun חבל would refer to cords that are unleashed. In Mesopotamian birth descriptions the unborn is said to be tied with cords which need to be loosed before birth, since the baby otherwise would be stuck in the womb.

# International Organization for Masoretic Studies (IOMS)

212-30/1

*Pedro Axelsson Gonçalves (Uppsala University)*  
**Rare Note on the Occurrence of Kethiv/Qere קֶרֶה  
and Its Relation to the Masoretic Text**

Rabbinic and Masoretic traditions are quite monolithic in holding that there are eleven exceptional feminine pronouns written *HY* in the Torah. This leaves exactly two-hundred occasions in which the feminine is written with the Kethiv *HW* in the Masoretic Text. The latter total, though, being the majority reading, is usually not expressed in masoretic notes.

A note, though, found in two Cairo Genizah fragments (of the same manuscript?) and in the Damascus Pentateuch, sets the total for the cases of Kethiv/Qere קֶרֶה at 123.

Leaving out all cases with the demonstrative pronoun (הִיא) and the conjunction (וְהִיא) still renders 132 cases of קֶרֶה. How to account for the discrepancy of nine cases?

The masoretic note (not contemplating an error) would seem to assume, in decreasing order of significance, a different consonantal text, vocalization, or accentuation (viz., use of the maqqeph) or some combination of the above.

My attempts to either harmonize the note with the standard Masoretic Text or to show how it assumes a different text have hitherto (May 2022) been unsuccessful.

Welcome to take part of this puzzle.

212-30/2

*Vincent Beiler (University of Cambridge)*  
**The Marginal Nun/Zayin: Purpose, Meaning, Localization**

In some early Masoretic Bible codices, a large letter resembling nun or zayin may occur in the margin, often in conjunction with the marking of qere/ketiv. The Aleppo Codex does not have this marking even once, while

another illustrious codex, the Cairo Codex of the Prophets, has the marking more than 500 times on about as many pages (Martín-Contreras 2015, 81).

Scholars of the past and present have offered their opinions regarding both this signifier and what it might signify. Himbaza suggests that the marginal letter (a nun) serves to alert the reader of a textual problem (2000, 174). Martín-Contreras argues that in the Cairo Codex the letter is a warning marker, alerting the reader that something is happening in the consonantal text without explaining it (2015, 88). Penkower notes that the marginal letter is employed to mark points of dispute (2019).

Looking at a corpus of 38 early Bible MSS (10–12th century), I shall propose that the purpose of the letter, possibly a zayin, was (or became) practical: a means to avoid certain types of copyist mistakes when recording qere/ketiv notes. Because the sign occurs in certain script types more than others, I will also argue that the notation can function as something of a regional identifier, possibly Egypt, although the paucity of colophons prevents full identification.

212-30/3

*Boris Kleiner (Tel Aviv University)*

### **The Prosody of the Biblical Recitation and Its Relation to the Masoretic Accents**

Throughout all Jewish traditions of recitation, the disjunctive accents often receive a peculiar realization that seemingly distorts sense relations. This realization is due to the indirect indication of the superordinate phrasing domains in the chanted recitation. These domains are identical to phrasing formations outlined by the hierarchically ‘peaking’ accents, whose peaking status has been previously unnoticed. Identical idiosyncrasies in non-related recitation traditions indicate universal prosodic principles in chanted recitation. The structural agreement with the accentuation suggests that the same principles operated in Masoretic recitation. The chanting prosody deviates from the assumptions of the previous research. The prosody reflects the sense only through the articulation of subordinate and superordinate phrases; the hierarchical significance of an individual caesura receives no direct expression in sound. The prosodic prominence of a caesura depends on its location within the superordinate phrase rather than on its mental depth. Phrasing domains are formed by the declamation rhythm, supported by the psalmodic melody, whose contour is not indicated by the accent signs. Melodic motifs become the principal indicator of domain borders only in the highest prosodic domains. The chant melody differs from the speech intonation; it merely assists in phrasing segmentation. This enables contrasting melodic realizations of the same accentuation. While all accents

determine the declamation rhythm and energy, some express mental distinctions referring to the sense-related phrasal hierarchy and grouping. Others guide the reciter through the prosodic domains, hinting at their structure and cadences. Different graphemes do not necessarily call for different acoustic shapes.

**212-30/4**

*Yosef Ofer (Bar-Ilan University)*

**The Presentation of the Song of Moses  
in Manuscript L2 and in the Aleppo Codex**

The Song of Moses (Ha'azinu, Deuteronomy 32) is written in the biblical manuscripts in a variety of methods. The lecture will offer an explanation of the way of writing of this Song in MS L2 (MS RNL, St. Petersburg Evr II B 159, written in 943). At first glance it seems that the beginning of the Song is written in an orderly manner but the continuation is written without clear rules; An in-depth examination, however, reveals the writer's method and thought.

Two contradictory principles struggle with each other in writing the Song of Moses. One principle is to end each verse at the end of a line, and it is especially prominent in the writing of Emet books (Psalms, Proverbs and Job) in Babylonian manuscripts. The other principle is to adjust the division of the text into hemistiches to the natural rhythm of the Song. The development of these two principles will be examined in the tradition of seventy lines of Tractate Soferim, in the tradition of Sefer Tagey, in MS L2 and in the Aleppo Codex.

# International Organization for Qumran Studies (IOQS)

308-40/1

*Mika Pajunen (University of Helsinki)*

## Thanksgiving as Public Proclamation

The Qumran Hodayot psalms have been studied for almost seventy years now. Despite considerable scholarly attention, the exact form and function(s) of these psalms remain somewhat of an enigma. They are considered to exhibit some degree of stylistic similarity, but their typical division into teacher psalms and community psalms as well as a focus on thematic, rather than formal, elements has somewhat blurred the discussion of their poetic genre. I will provide a fresh perspective on these matters by discussing the Hodayot alongside other Second Temple Jewish sources. These sources include similar psalms of thanksgiving in psalm collections and embedded in narratives as well as references to the act of thanking God in other sources, like Tobit and the Psalms of Solomon. This comparative reading of the available sources is mutually illuminating. It demonstrates a widely shared purpose behind thanking God, especially in late Second Temple period compositions and translations, that helps in distinguishing the most prominent genre markers of thanksgiving psalms. This purpose likewise provides a plausible explanation for the diverse thematic contents of such psalms. Explicit references are, furthermore, made in many of these sources to a typical setting where such acts of thanksgiving were apparently expected to take place. While the changing functions and diverse uses of poetic texts caution against broad generalizations, these references do provide evidence for one possible setting for thanksgiving psalms, such as the Qumran Hodayot, and show the importance of this practice for at least some Second Temple Jewish communities.

**308-40/2**

*Vered Noam (Tel Aviv University)*  
**Ritual as a Polemical Arena**

The paper reviews the inter-sectarian debate regarding several temple rituals. By defining the bones of contention in these disputes, I seek to identify and outline the principles that shaped the sectarian rituals.

**309-40/1**

*David J. Larsen (Independent Scholar)*  
**The Psalms, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and “True” Temple Service at Qumran**

Several compositions found at Qumran indicate that the Yahad saw their community as a “replacement temple” (Gärtner 1965, Dimant 1986, Schiffman 2015) for the allegedly defiled sanctuary in Jerusalem and that their communal rituals were the “true service” of the temple maintained exclusively by their priests in the wilderness. Texts such as the Rule of the Congregation, the Hodayot, the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, the Songs of the Sage, and others imply that this “true” temple service may have included belief in human access to the divine council in the celestial temple of God and liturgical communion with angelic beings as they participated together in the heavenly worship (as in, e.g., Newsom 1985/1990, Chazon 2000, Schäfer 2006, Ulfsgard 2009, Davila 2010, Alexander 2010, Angel 2012, Dimant 2014, Jost 2021). This paper will argue that these esoteric concepts were apparently informed by the temple service of the Jerusalem Temple itself, as can be understood from numerous Second Temple texts (e.g., Zechariah 3, Jubilees, Ben Sira, Aramaic Levi, etc.) and also the biblical Psalms (e.g., Pss 11, 18, 24, 25, 68, 84, 89, 118), building on the work of Hayward (1996), Steymans (2004), Davila (2010), Elgvin (2010), Bunta (2011), Elior (2014), and others. Following the premise that many of the biblical Psalms were used in or informed by temple worship, this research will demonstrate the importance of the Psalms to the Qumran community and how particular psalms (e.g., Pss 18, 89) seem to have informed the community’s notions concerning “true” temple worship.

**309-40/2**

*Rebekah J. Haigh (Princeton University)*  
**Ritual Violence and Its Imaginative Praxis at Qumran**

This paper approaches the eschatological composition of the War Scroll (1QM) first and foremost as a *textual ritual*. Textual rituals operate on their readers and listeners in much the same way as “real” rituals; they present

the world as it should be but not necessarily the world as it is (Jonathan Z. Smith 1987, 109). Yet, as a textualized ritual script, the War Scroll encodes rhetorical motives that are influenced by ritual practice. Textual rituals can tap into same the cultural and symbolic universe as ritual performance. Applying a multimodal approach to ritual and performance, I will focus on the interplay of ritual agency and violence in selected examples from the War Scroll. I will investigate how its war rituals serve as potent sites for Qumranite self-construction, especially within a context of recitation and communal reading. Ultimately, this paper will consider the ways in which militant identity is fashioned within the imaginative, ritual world of the War Scroll.

309-40/3

*Michael B. Johnson (The Hebrew University)*

**Arranged for Performative Effect? An Examination of the Different Sequences of Psalms on the Performative Reading of 1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> and 4QHodayot<sup>a</sup>**

This paper will explore how the differing selection and sequencing of psalms in 1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> and 4QHodayot<sup>a</sup> might have affected the performance of each arrangement of psalms. In the 1990s Eileen Schuller published the details of the different sequences of psalms in 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4QH<sup>a</sup> (Schuller, DJD 29:1999, with preliminary articles in 1993–94, 1996). Eileen Schuller and Esther Chazon have singled out 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4QH<sup>a</sup> as collections of psalms that were possibly used in performative contexts because they contain Maskil superscriptions, first-person plural forms, plural summons to praise, series of blessings/doxological praises, the “List of Appointed Times” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–14 // 4QH<sup>a</sup> 8 ii 10–16), and the unifying theme of praising God with the angels (Schuller 1999; Chazon 2010). While the liturgical use of these two scrolls has been explored in general terms, there has been less discussion of particularly how the different sequences of psalms in 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4QH<sup>a</sup> might have affected the speaker’s self-presentation or how the ordering of psalms might have engaged audiences in different ways. While acknowledging our lack of a specific historical or idealized performative context for these scrolls and the fragmentary state of the material evidence, I propose to examine how the different sequences of psalms might have shaped their performers and audiences. I will draw on an updated sequence of psalms from my work on the material reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup> cols. 2–8 and engage with Catherine Bell (1988, 2009) and Judith Newman (2018) on ritualization processes, the “ritualization of text,” and the “textualization of ritual.”

**309-40/4**

*Jonathan Darby (University of Manchester)*

**Singing and Meditation in the Dead Sea Scrolls**

The literature preserved in scrolls found at Qumran reflects numerous functions and settings of song. This paper raises the question as to whether the use of certain vocabulary related to singing suggests a link between song as a mode of textual performance and meditation as a liturgical and didactic function. Portions of two specific texts are singled out for discussion: Psalm 154 (found in column 18 of 11Q5) and the Seventh Song of the Sabbath Sacrifice, as attested in 4Q403. I will argue that the combined use of key terms in each of these texts suggests that singing constitutes a performative nexus for multiple liturgical and didactic functions. These include teaching and learning Torah, and reflecting on the wonder, glory and mighty deeds of God. As a mode of performance, singing has a profound impact on the reception, interpretation and transmission of texts. Building on the theories of scholars such as Judith Newman and Jonathan Norton, I argue not only that the musical performance of texts influences their reception and interpretation, but also that this impact may ultimately affect the shape and character of inscribed texts, perhaps contributing in part to the textual diversity evident among Qumran manuscripts.

**309-41 see 109-42**

**309-42/1**

*Bronson Brown-deVost (University of Göttingen), Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Université de recherche Paris Sciences et Lettres), Nachum Dershowitz (Tel Aviv University)*

**Automatically Linking Dead Sea Scroll Transcriptions  
to Fragment Images: Towards the Letter Level**

One of the outcomes of a joint venture of the Scripta Qumranica Electronica\* and the eScriptorium† projects is the future inclusion in the SQE database of the positions of lines, words and letters on the IAA photos of the fragments with a minimal number of complete letters. We used eScriptorium cum kraken's customizable layout segmentation method to locate columns and lines on the photos. Users can define both the layout typology as well as the stack of convolutional and recurrent neural network layers used in the segmentation process via the VGSL language.‡ Our segmentation process was iterative between automatic inference, manual correction of the errors of the automatic segmentation system, retraining a better segmentation model, applying it to a larger group of fragments and less time consuming manual correction. After the final manual correction, we created



a rough automatic transcription and then aligned this rough transcription with the text from the database similar to the procedure described here.<sup>§</sup> We subsequently applied text to image alignment to find the word and approximate letter locations for each line. We have experimented with several methods of refining those approximate positions, such as SIFT-flow, to obtain precise bounding polygons in the image of each transcribed letter. Once this has been accomplished, a searchable PDF can be created with an image layer and a text layer for each fragment.

\* Brown-deVost, Bronson, "Scripta Qumranica Electronica (2016–2021)," *HeBAI* 5 (2017): 307–315.

† Stokes, P.A., B. Kiessling, D. Stökl Ben Ezra, R. Tissot, and H. Gargem. "The eScriptorium VRE for Manuscript Cultures". *Ancient Manuscripts and Virtual Research Environments*, ed. Claire Clivaz and Garrick V. Allen. Special issue of *Classics@* 18 (2021).

‡ Kiessling, B. "A Modular Region and Text Line Layout Analysis System". *17th International Conference on Frontiers in Handwriting Recognition (ICFHR)* (2020).

§ Stökl Ben Ezra, D., B. Brown-DeVost, N. Dershowitz, A. Pechorin, B. Kiessling, "Transcription Alignment for Highly Fragmentary Historical Manuscripts: The Dead Sea Scrolls". *17th International Conference on Frontiers in Handwriting Recognition (ICFHR)* (2020) 361–366.

309-42/2

*Sophie Taetweiler (Universität Zürich)*

### **The Barkhi Nafshi Texts from Qumran:**

#### **A Methodological Approach to Material and Textual Reconstruction**

My work on the Barkhi Nafshi Texts (4Q434–438) has been recently completed (PhD Sup. Jörg Frey) and focuses on a) a minute evaluation of the material aspects of the five extant manuscripts with many digital textual reconstructions and b) the traditio-historical context and main theological themes of this former unknown collection of prayer texts. The paper will highlight the most important results of the study in terms of methodological considerations and shed more light on what material aspects can actually tell us about ancient texts.

309-42/3

*Jeffrey Cross (University of Minnesota)*

### **Paratextuality, Law, and History in the Cave 1 Rule Scroll**

Marginal signs in manuscripts often get short shrift in Qumran studies, yet they can provide helpful clues for determining how texts were used and what they meant in their lived contexts. In this paper I evaluate the paratextual and material evidence of the Cave 1 Rule Scroll (1QSa-1QSa-1QSB) to determine whether the practices of the scribe suggest interpreting the scroll

as one or multiple compositions. First, I argue against the earlier claims of Milik and Metso that the blank spaces left at the end of 1QS 11 and 1QSa 2 indicate a conceptual break to distinguish one composition (1QS) from its two appendices (1QSa and 1QSB). Other arguments are equally valid: for instance, that the blank spaces show an awareness of textual fluidity or of additional traditional material that was never added. They are thus a sign of redactional activity. Second, I argue from the distribution and apparent functions of the scroll's paragraphoi; the preponderance of erasures, corrections, and additions to its text; and the signs present in the scroll's margins that the Qumran Cave 1 Rule Scroll constitutes a unified "scholarly" archive of communal legal practice throughout time. It represents how the Yahad ought to conduct itself according to the different periods of its history, from the time of Belial's dominion (1QS) until the last days (1QSa and 1QSB). In this way the scroll legitimates the office and knowledge of the Maskil, whose role involved discerning the proper legal regime for every period of history.

**310-30/1**

*Hugo Antonissen (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)*

### **Looking for Further Information on a Symposium Oriented Worship in Aramaic New Jerusalem**

The Temple Scroll prescribes worship in the temple while Aramaic New Jerusalem describes it. Besides temple worship the Aramaic text reveals elements of a symposium oriented worship on a vast city scale (Antonissen, 2020: STDJ 131, 52–77). The information provided on symposium oriented worship is extremely scarce. "the rooms of joy" (11Q18 frg. 18, 16) are mentioned in a fragmentary context of cooking and possibly 30 900 participants. No more recognizable information can be found.

Indirectly, a closer look from the perspective of "joy" at the text corpus from Qumran can be helpful. First, the concept of "joy" fits perfectly in respectful worshipping, including praising and thanksgiving. The Scroll stresses the importance of "joy" in connection with calendar festivals. Second, passages in other texts from Qumran refer to the connection of "joy" with the traditional festival muster (Tanakh) as dealt with on the Scroll and in New Jerusalem.

Another element of respectful symposium behaviour is conversation concerned with the Law. The Letter of Aristeas describes temple worship in a very similar way as does the Aramaic text and reports the course of well ordered and disciplined conversation during the symposium. The Wisdom of Ben Sira explicitly stresses the importance of conversation concerned with the Law.

With restraint and reluctantly –some quotations from the entire Qumran

corpus can be connected more closely to a symposium like worship. The Letter and the Wisdom do not exclude (lost) reference in New Jerusalem to conversation concerned with the Law.

310-30/2

*Avigail Aravna (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

### **Ritual Actions in a Sapiential Context in the Prayer of Levi**

The Prayer of Levi in the Aramaic Levi Document contains several ritual actions: immersion in pure water, lifting eyes to the sky and (perhaps) taking a certain posture with the feet. Scholars have found parallels for these actions in Biblical passages and in extra-biblical Second Temple Literature. In this talk I will consider the sapiential characteristics of the prayer through the use of terminology to be ascribed to both the role of the priest and the sage. In light of the participatory aspect of wisdom prominent in the Prayer and Levi's cultic authority and teaching (emphasized in ALD 13:4), I discuss whether the ritual elements preceding the petition are also a dominant portion of this sapiential context, considering his appeal to God to be actively "participant in [God's] words" and "to do true judgment for all" rather than merely symbolic.

310-30/3

*Robert Jones (McMaster University)*

### **Priestly Lineage in the Aramaic Scrolls from Qumran**

Since the mid-2000s, several scholars have viewed the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls (ADSS) as a corpus, representing a relatively cohesive Jewish literary tradition with a shared idiom and socio-historical context (esp. Dimant, Machiela, and Perrin). One of the major themes in this corpus is an interest in the origins of Israel's priesthood (see Jones 2020). In narratives and genealogies, the ADSS imagine a stable line of priestly progenitors beginning with Noah and running through the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to Levi, Qahat, Amram, and Aaron. Within this genealogy, Levi, Aaron, and Aaron's father and grandfather (Qahat and Amram) play particularly prominent roles.

In this paper, I will outline the contours of the conception of priestly lineage reflected in the ADSS, looking at a wide swath of primary sources, including: the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20), the Aramaic Levi Document (1Q21; 4Q213–214b), the Testament of Qahat (4Q542), the Visions of Amram (4Q543–547), Tobit (4Q196–199), Pseudo-Daniel<sup>c</sup> (4Q245), and Biblical Chronology (4Q559). I will show that my analysis problematizes attempts to view these texts as representing a pro-Levite or anti-Aaronide faction within the priesthood, as some scholars have argued. In fact, as I

will show, the ADSS, broadly speaking, hold high esteem for Levi within an Aaronide vision of the priesthood; its conception of the priesthood is quite compatible with the priest-Levite distinction that we see, e.g., in the Chronicler's historiography and other writings from the post-exilic and Second Temple periods.

**310-31/1**

*Tupá Guerra (Universidade de Brasília)*

**The Movements of Protection: A Decolonial Perspective  
for Apotropaic Texts from the DSS**

The movements executed by a person during a ritual are a fundamental aspect of it. Unfortunately, this is one of the elements that are usually lost when we study rituals from ancient texts. As reconstructing the past is impossible, how can scholars understand rituals including in the analyses the angle of bodies and movements? In this paper I propose to look into decolonial perspectives of knowledge building as an exploratory perspective that could be incorporated in the studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls. I will focus on the apotropaic and protective texts such as Apocryphal Psalms-11Q11; 4QExorcism ar-4Q560; Songs of the Sagea-4Q510; Songs of the Sageb-4Q511.

**310-31/2**

*Menahem Kister (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

**Evil Powers, Exorcism, Exodus, and Deliverance**

My lecture will be devoted to meticulous scrutiny of several Dead Sea scroll passages in which (a) Israel's eschatological Deliverance is considered as a second Exodus, and (b) the role played by the powers of Evil is related to the upcoming Deliverance. I will argue that the passages of the Dead Sea scrolls shed light on Jesus's logion "If it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you" (Luke 11:20) as well as on some more general aspects of "the kingdom of God" in Jesus's utterances.

**311-30/1**

*John Kampen (Methodist Theological School in Ohio)*

**The Elusive "Torah" in the Texts of the Second Temple Era**

The evolution of the understanding of the law from the literary production of the immediate post-Exilic period to that of later Rabbinic literature remains an enigma due to the paucity of sources that would inform the intellectual and religious conceptions of the intervening period. This essay compares the use of "Torah" with regard to both concept and content in

4Q525 (Beatitudes) with the composition entitled “Miqṣat Ma’asey HaTorah (MMT),” two works not explicitly identified as sectarian but of distinctly different literary traditions or genres, one within the trajectory of wisdom texts and the other within the legal or halakic tradition. The thesis being tested is to determine whether the use of the term “Torah” in these two bodies of literature as a claim for authenticity or authority is more important than any specific content attached to the term. The results of this investigation have implications for understanding the performative role of these texts within Second Temple Jewish life. This comparative literary study would examine the use of “Torah” within the literary tradition they are a part of and in relation to one another. These claims in both compositions are then placed within the context of the development of the use of the term as reflected in the emerging literature of the Maccabean revolt and the Hasmonean era.

311-30/2

*Hila Dayfani (University of Oxford)*

### **The Second Tabernacle Account in 4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup>**

LXX Exodus, as found in Codex Vaticanus, reflects the second Tabernacle account in the book of Exodus (chapters 35–40) in a literary form that differs from MT and SP in order and length. Nowadays, there is no consensus among scholars whether LXX reflects a different Hebrew *Vorlage* from the Masoretic and Samaritan tradition. The proposed paper brings into this discourse the fragmentary evidence of 4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup>.

The preserved text in 4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup> ends at Exod 37:16. Yet, by material reconstruction of the scroll, it is possible to estimate the amount of the missing text between the extant fragments in the last columns of the scroll (cols. XXXVIII–XLII) and between the last extant fragment of 4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup> and the end of the scroll. Thus, despite the complexity of the textual evidence and the fact that the findings are based on reconstruction, this paper suggests signs for the literary form of the second Tabernacle account in the original scroll. The paper finally discusses the implications of the new findings for the development of the Hebrew Tabernacle accounts and the textual history of the book of Exodus.

311-30/3

*Blake Jurgens (Independent Scholar)*

### **Order, Reorder, Repeat: The Ritual Functionality of Creation in the Dead Sea Scrolls**

Scholars have long recognized the integral and productive role the concept of creation plays within the Dead Sea Scrolls. Surprisingly, one area of this expansive discourse that has evaded full analysis so far is the invocation of

creation within the ritual writings found at Qumran. This study will attempt to partially address this gap by surveying how creation is employed in several different ritual works (e.g., 4QBerakhot, 4Q408, 11QapPs). Engaging in theoretical dialogue with J. Z. Smith, Roy Rappaport, and Catherine Bell, this study shall examine how these writings invoke creation as a means of establishing order, identifying disorder, and empowering the performative act of reordering. In conclusion, this study will briefly reflect upon how the particular ways these ritual texts engage creation potentially intersect with the treatment of creation in early Jewish sapiential and apocalyptic works.

**311-31/1**

*Isabell Hoppe (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin)*

**Gaining Insight through Remembrance:  
Concepts of History and Concepts of Wisdom in 4Q185**

The Qumran wisdom text 4Q185 (Sapiential Admonitions B) poses a wide range questions to modern scholarship, its material and textual reconstruction being merely one of them. Another largely discussed issue is the text's "salient motive:" the concept or entity that is referred to by feminine third person singular suffixes throughout the text, but is never mentioned by name. In recent studies this concept it has been described as wisdom or Torah or a conglomerate of both entities. While there are good arguments to assume either concept to be the one promoted in 4Q185, neither classification fully satisfies when applied to the text. I argue, rather than representing a certain "category" 4Q185 depicts a sapiential-nomistic concept that is in itself discursive. It promotes contemplation and remembrance of narrated history as key acts of wise behaviour. The author of 4Q185 moves swiftly through a wide array of Hebrew Bible traditions by alluding to narrative and eschatological motives while shifting between meditations on the future, instructions the contemporary audience and recollections of explicit stages of Israel's history. For example, 4Q185 takes up the narrative traditions of the Exodus and wandering in the desert as they are portrayed in Pss 78, 105 and 106, as well as the proto-typical structure of the sapiential lectures in Prov 1–9. In my contribution I will offer an intertextual reading of 4Q185 to illustrate the aforementioned dynamic process and to show how the recollection of history becomes a key aspect of late Second Temple wisdom.

*James Nati (Santa Clara University - Jesuit School of Theology)*

**Understanding 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition (4Q371–373a)  
in Light of Jacob's Vision in Jubilees 32**

Jubilees 32:21–26 depicts Jacob having a vision of an angel coming down from heaven with a set of writings which record “what would happen to him and his sons throughout all ages.” Jacob reads these, and is told not to build a temple at Bethel. Upon waking, he writes down what he had read and seen in the vision. Some scholars have noted that there appear to be two traditions intertwined in this episode: one that has the future history of Israel revealed to Jacob and subsequently recorded by him, and another that has to do with (not) building the temple. This combination of a revealed future history and temple-building has been understood as an authorizing device for other similar texts, possibly 4Q537 (4QTestament of Jacob?). This paper suggests that 4Q371–373a (4QNarrative and Poetic Composition a-d) ought to be considered in this light as well. The following connections between the Jacob episode in Jubilees 32 and this composition form the basis of the argument: 1) the focus in both texts on the building of a sanctuary in the North; 2) the reference, rare in the corpus, to a covenant with Jacob (4Q372 3 9); 3) the language, familiar from Jubilees, of *מַעֲדֵיהֶם* and *מַחֲלָקוֹתָם* (4Q372 3 6); 4) the strange combination of material centered on Joseph and David in the same text. While not denying that 4Q371–373a has to do with Samaritans, it is argued that the text is framed as part of a broader set of revealed writings from the past.

*Corrado Martone (University of Turin)*

**Interpretation as Performance:  
Qumran Texts That (Try to) Make History Happen**

Interpretation of the Scriptures is one of the main themes of the Qumran texts and it can be understood as a concrete driving force in the group's formation process. Starting from this fact, I will try to examine some Qumran texts from the perspective of so-called Performance Studies, which, among other things, focus on the “interaction between readers and texts which ... alters the interior and even the exterior lives of audiences through the power of texts” (Wallace Bacon). How have some of the Qumran texts, particularly those devoted to biblical interpretation, altered or attempted to alter the lives of their readers? Which Qumran texts attempt to make history

happen, and in what ways? To attempt to give an answer to these questions, albeit hypothetical and partial, I will analyze two case studies.

1) The Doctrine of the Two Spirits: this treatise on predeterminism found in 1QS is not usually considered a biblical interpretation, however it is certainly based on a particular, if not explicit, reading of some exquisitely biblical concepts and it reworks pre-existing traditions. This kind of interpretation of pre-existing religious traditions, if it did not lead to the victory of the sons of light over the sons of darkness, had the performative effect of contributing to the sectarian self-perception of the community.

2) Pesharim: the pesharim are the Qumran texts in which the distinction between text and commentary is clearest. In them history is interpreted from the point of view of the revelation that the Teacher of Righteousness obtained directly from God. The very fact of interpreting history in a certain way implies the conviction on the part of the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers that they can modify the course of history, thus making history happen.

311-42/1

*Daniel Falk (Pennsylvania State University)*

**Rituals in Writing: Relationships between Text and  
Ritual Performance in the Dead Sea Scrolls**

The Dead Sea Scrolls provide a rich body of evidence for liturgical prayer and ritual practice, but the evidence is almost exclusively textual. The possible relationships between texts and ritual practice are diverse and complex, and they provide different types of evidence. A text may describe, prescribe, or serve as a script for a ritual, and at varying levels of detail. It is also important to distinguish between rituals that were actually performed and fictive accounts that primarily serve literary purposes. In terms of the textual setting, a ritual may be embedded in a text of a different genre, or the whole may be a liturgical work. The materiality of ritual texts is also meaningful: a liturgical text may serve as a ritual object, or the act of writing can be a ritual performance itself. This paper plots an inventory of the various relationships between texts and ritual performance attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In addition to clarifying what type of information can be gleaned from texts, the study is valuable for cross-cultural comparison by highlighting the configuration of evidence attested as well as what is not attested at Qumran.



*Ayhan Aksu (University of Groningen)*

### **The Opisthograph as a Liturgical Collection**

The Dead Sea Scrolls offer rich collections of poetry, hymns, and prayers. An important question is how scholars can conceptualise the different reading events in which these liturgical compositions could have been read, studied, or recited. Of particular interest in this regard is the manuscript 4Q509/4Q496/4Q506. This manuscript concerns a fragmentary opisthograph on which we encounter parts of three different texts: Festival Prayers, War Scroll, and Words of the Luminaries. This unusual circumstance raises the question how to understand this manuscript as a scribal artefact: what could be its potential setting – the socio-religious context in which this opisthograph was produced, used, and circulated?

In this paper I will examine this opisthograph from a number of different perspectives: I will analyse both its material features and the character of the texts it bears. On the basis of these considerations, I will argue that 4Q509, 4Q496, and 4Q506 were brought together intentionally in order to create a liturgical collection on a single manuscript.

The opisthograph can then become a starting point to investigate the very practice of collection and to explore how the act of gathering different texts together can reinforce the interpretative connections between these texts. Finally, this allows us to reflect on the various types of prayers that survived among the scrolls and imagine possible performative contexts.

*Mathias Coeckelbergs*

*(Université libre de Bruxelles / Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)*

### **Between Pronoun Patterns and Identity: Using Network Centrality Measures to Detect and Visualize Liturgical Dynamics in the Hodayot**

The use of personal pronouns is important for understanding the dynamics of liturgical texts, as discussed for example in Newsom 2004 (Self as Symbolic Space). She uses methods from discourse analysis to argue that the discourse of the community reflects its identity as ritualistic performers, as seen for example in the Hodayot. These methods, however, do not allow us to visualize these dynamics, nor to make quantitative assessments regarding the contribution of individual words in this process. Methods from text network analysis allow us to investigate community structures in texts in order to address these two shortcomings. We use three widely used centrality

measures (betweenness, closeness, eigencentrality) to determine structural patterns in the use of the first person singular pronoun. Our research hypothesis is that its use differs greatly between liturgical and non-liturgical texts. In order to be able to compare our results to the insights of Newsom, we limit ourselves to the study of the Hodayot, focussing on three passages she identified as central to the liturgical identification of the community. These are 1QHa VII 28–37 [XV 15–24], V 18–39 [XIII 1–22], and IX 9–36 [I 7–34]. We compare the patterns found in these passages to the other sections of the Hodayot, and the Hebrew Bible, in order to quantify and visualize to what extent they can provide insight into the liturgical use of these aforementioned passages.

**311-43/2**

*Noam Mizrahi (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

### **The Praising Holy of Holies in the Seventh Song of the Sabbath Sacrifice**

The Seventh Song of the Sabbath Sacrifice consists of several poetic units, only the first two of which are sufficiently preserved as more-or-less continuous texts. This paper focuses on the second unit (4Q403 1 i 41–45 // 4Q404 5, 1'–2' // 4Q405 6 2'–5' + 57 [=C 15–18]), attempting to clarify its internal literary structure, which has hitherto remained obscure due to the confusing syntax of the entire passage. I propose that despite its relative brevity this poem exhibits a sophisticated poetic architecture, based on a novel division of the text into poetic 'lines' and 'stanzas,' I will study how the formal design matches the thematic content and its underlying angelological conceptualization of the heavenly temple. Setting the unit within its immediate context in the Seventh Song, I will also explore the possibility that some of its structural features could reflect an aspect of its liturgical performance.

**311-43/3**

*Michael Jost (Universität Zürich)*

### **Beyond the Dichotomy of Mystical and Non-mystical Interpretations: On the Purpose of the Liturgical Community of the Yaḥad**

What is the purpose of the liturgical communion of the Yaḥad? The purpose is neither communion with God nor a vision of God, as Peter Schäfer emphasizes (*The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 2009). The goal of liturgical communion has much more the Yaḥad itself in view, i.e. the self-affirmation as a priestly community. Nevertheless, the purpose of liturgical community should not be limited to a pedagogical function. For Rachel Elior (*The Three Temples*, 2004) and Philip Alexander (*Mystical Texts*, 2006) have otherwise rightly observed that the liturgical reality is, after all, about the heavenly

world of God's presence. Therefore, they argue for a mystical interpretation. One approach to resolve this tension can be seen in the metaphorical self-understanding of the community as a temple, wherein both dimensions are contained and which is emphasized by Elijah, Alexander and Schäfer. The liturgical performance serves first of all the goal that the community understands and experiences itself as priestly community building the foundation of this temple (in which the pedagogical function consists). But if the community recognizes itself as a temple, then the members build at the same time the place where the encounter with God takes place, which is why the perspective points beyond the self-affirmation. Thus, I want to go beyond the dichotomy of mystical and non-mystical interpretations and to refine the specific yahadic self-understanding.

# International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS)

**405-40/1**

*Felix Albrecht (Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen)*

## **A Commentary on Psalm 71 LXX (Psalm 72 MT)**

The author is preparing the commentary on Psalms 41–88 LXX for the SBLCS series. This paper provides a sample commentary on Psalm 72 MT (71 LXX). This Psalm concludes the Psalms of David 51–72 MT (50–71 LXX). The final part of Ps 72 MT (71 LXX), i.e. verses 18–20, explicitly identifies David as the poet of the Psalms and forms the final hymn of the Psalms of David. The title of the psalm indicates that it is to be read in reference to Solomon. Solomon's authorship, however, is not intended. Nevertheless, scholars occasionally take the view that the Lamed in the title should be read as Lamed auctoris. This and all other relevant aspects of Psalm 71 LXX – from textual criticism to reception history – will be discussed.

**405-40/2**

*Sarah Yardney (University of Chicago)*

## **Preliminary Results from SBLCS 1 Reigns**

This paper will present some preliminary results from the preparation of the volume on 1 Reigns (MT 1 Samuel) for the SBL Commentary on the Septuagint. These results will primarily concern the translation technique of 1 Reigns, a topic that deserves sustained inquiry: the Septuagint is key evidence for the textual criticism of Samuel, but that evidence cannot be accurately assessed without a detailed understanding of the translator's handling of his Vorlage. The paper will also discuss some methodological considerations for the commentary series that arise when working with the material of Reigns in particular.

*Johann Cook (Stellenbosch University),  
Bryan Beeckman (KU Leuven/UC Louvain)*

### **An Exegetical Commentary of LXX Proverbs: Women in LXX Proverbs**

In different passages of the Masoretic Text (MT) of Proverbs several references to women are made. Also in the LXX, the theme of women reoccurs. In order to examine whether the LXX text attests a different image of women than the Hebrew text, this paper will analyse the verses wherein women are mentioned. Moreover, by doing so, this investigation aims at examining whether the LXX translator has transformed the theme of women vis-à-vis the Hebrew source text.

Next to a concise introduction to the exegetical commentary on LXX Proverbs, the verses wherein women are mentioned in the LXXPROV will be discussed in relation to their Hebrew counterpart. By offering a systematic analysis of the theme of women in LXX Proverbs, this contribution aims to shed more light on the translation technique of the LXX translator and to examine whether there is an indication of a thematic transformation compared to the Hebrew text.

*Michaël N. van der Meer (Independent Scholar)*

### **Achan's Sin according to the Septuagint**

The Septuagint version of the book of Joshua is an important witness both to the process of redaction-critical formation of the Hebrew text as well as that of its reception history in terms of Greek reformulation of that complex Hebrew text. Recent studies by De Troyer and Makipello stress its redaction-critical value, while others continue to find more evidence of its interpretative character. For a commentary on the Old Greek version of Joshua these issues are of prime importance. Although relatively minor in extent the subtle variations between the Hebrew and Greek versions of the story of Achan's sin (Joshua 7; 22:20) provide an interesting test case for assessing these approaches by bringing in the evidence of Greek natural diction as attested by the Greek documentary papyri from Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt.

405-41/1

*Martijn Jaspers (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)*  
***Nimia novitate: A Polysystemic Approach to***  
**Jerome's Latin Bible Translations**

In this presentation, I will adapt and adopt Itamar Even-Zohar's Polysystem Theory (PST) to the study of the Latin translations of the Old Testament by Saint Jerome (ca. 347–420). This systemic approach was already used successfully for the study the Greek Bible by Leuven-trained scholars as Dhont (2018) and De Crom (2020). After offering a general outline of PST and a systemic overview of the Late Antique Polysystem, I will delve deeper into Jerome's Psalter translations as a case study. His translations of the Psalms are particularly interesting study objects because two versions have come down to us: the *Psalterium iuxta Septuaginta* (Hg, ca. 390), based on a Greek source text, and the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* (Hh, ca. 392), based on a Hebrew one. It appears that his Hebrew-based Hh did not immediately replace the Greek-based Hg, as emerges from Jerome's letters and exegetical writings. This stands in striking contrast with the translations of other books, of which Jerome often underlined the importance of the 'Hebrew Truth' in his versions *iuxta Hebraeos*, against the 'corrupted' nature of Septuagint-based Latin translations. Moreover, Jerome's translations of the Psalter are very literal and often imitate the translation of the (Septuagint-based) Old Latin renderings. I will demonstrate that PST offers an ideal framework for understanding this exceptional position of Jerome's Psalter translations.

405-41/2

*Peter Gentry (Phoenix Seminary)*  
**Mercati's Analysis of the Hexaplaric Colophons**

There were giants in the land in those days. One of them was Mercati. His source-and-redaction method analysis of the hexaplaric colophons is briefly described and evaluated. As he recognised, the function and meaning of the term *παρετέθη* in these texts and their translations in the Syro-Hexapla is central and critical. No one has attempted to deal with his analysis since he wrote eighty years ago.

405-41/3

*Martijn Beukenhorst (Université catholique de Louvain)*  
**The Quedlinburg Itala**

In recent years scholars of the Septuagint have been paying more attention to the texts of the *Vetus Latina*, especially in Samuel-Kings. The *Vetus Latina* is important because it translates a Greek text that was, to a large extent, free from several revisions that affected many Greek witnesses. Recent years

have shown influential studies into witnesses of the *Vetus Latina*. Some of these have shown that the Greek *Vorlage* of the early Latin translations is much more complex than previously thought, most notably by Gesche (2018).

In this paper I want to look at one of the *Vetus Latina* texts briefly discussed by Gesche, namely, the Quedlinburg Itala. The Quedlinburg Itala contains 6 pages of an Italian early 5th century manuscript that contained an old Latin translation of Samuel and Kings. Mostly known for their pictorial tradition, they have been little studied from a text critical point of view and can provide us with a unique view into the pluriformity of the Old Latin text. I will discuss the textual affinities of the fragments of Kings preserved in the Quedlinburg Itala (1 Kings 5:17–6:7), highlighting interesting variants for the study of Kings. The Quedlinburg Itala shows a higher agreement with the Vaticanus manuscript than commonly observed in the *Vetus Latina*. Although not in a Kaige-section, the closeness with the Vaticanus manuscript is interesting and thus this result potentially makes an important contribution to the debate on the origins of the old Latin translation.

405-41/4

*Anna Kharanauli (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University)*

#### **The Old Georgian Translation of Michaeas and the Textual Character of its Greek *Vorlage***

Different versions of the Old Georgian Michaeas are extant in the biblical, liturgical, and exegetical collections. The oldest form of the translation is kept in two Bible codices, dated back to the 10th and 11th centuries. The same translation, more or less changed during the textual transmission, is preserved in pericopes of three 9th- and 10th-century Lectionaries (the Latali, Kala, and Paris Lectionaries). The autographic 12th-century catena manuscript includes a revised version of the scholars of the so-called Gelathi graecophile circles. All these sources allow us to establish the oldest textual layer of Georgian Michaeas.

In the case of old translations, such as an Old Georgian translation of Michaeas, it is impossible to identify the direct relationship with the particular extant manuscripts or manuscript groups (whereas it is quite clear that the revision of the Gelathi Catena was conducted according to the manuscripts close to RA 22 and 48). Instead, it is more appropriate to speak about the textual character of the *Vorlage* of the translation and, subsequently, about its similarities with the texts preserved in the extant Greek manuscripts and daughter versions. The paper explores the different types of readings of the Georgian translation made before the middle of the 5th century and tries to characterize the text of its Greek *Vorlage*.

**405-42/1**

*Cécile Dogniez (Centre national de la recherche scientifique)*  
**Le « parler » de la Septante dans ses approches culturelles.**  
**Retour sur les travaux de Marguerite Harl (1919–2020)**

Qui a vu naître et se développer, depuis maintenant plus de 40 ans, la collection de La Bible d'Alexandrie, sait qu'elle fut, à l'origine, l'œuvre d'une femme, qui en a été l'âme et la garante. Ce projet, initialement conçu par Dominique Barthélemy, a été réalisé et obstinément poursuivi jusqu'à la fin de sa vie par Marguerite Harl. C'est elle qui introduisit au cœur de l'université française laïque, à la Sorbonne, l'étude du texte biblique dans sa version grecque. Marguerite Harl est non seulement parvenue à imposer au monde savant, au fil des ans, la première traduction scientifique commentée en langue française de la Bible grecque traduite à Alexandrie au milieu du 3<sup>ème</sup> siècle avant notre ère, mais elle a également suscité et encouragé tout un mouvement de traductions de cette œuvre juive dans les langues modernes les plus diverses. Helléniste, éprise de culture grecque tant sous ses aspects poétiques et littéraires, qu'historiques et philosophiques, Marguerite Harl a su retrouver dans « le parler » de la Septante l'univers culturel auquel tout philologue est confronté dans toute sa diversité. Cette dimension de la Septante comme langue disposant de possibilités d'expressions culturelles plurielles, telles que les concevait Marguerite Harl, sera l'objet de mon exposé.

**406-30/1**

*Robert Walker (University of Cambridge)*  
**Dative Alternation within the Septuagint Pentateuch**  
**in Light of Post-classical Greek**

This paper offers an alternate orientation from which future scholars may direct their work on the Septuagint. The Septuagint has often been illuminated through the application of post-Classical data in the papyri. Yet, the Septuagint also has much to offer as a source with a vast array of linguistic data for our understanding of post-Classical Greek. Dative alternation with  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  and  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  in the post-Classical period is multidimensional and culminates in the morphological dative's absence from Modern Greek. Joanne Stolk's research of the documentary papyri has demonstrated that this complexity is attributable to various factors related to animacy and the author's conceptualization of the event. Within Greek Exodus, the semantic overlap of the dative with  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  caused J. W. Wevers to suggest that the translator used each "indiscriminately." Such explanations regarding variation not only are



inaccurate but may serve as the impetus for further incomplete explanations within Septuagint scholarship. Rather than looking to internal Greek grammatical standards, some authors go as far to state that various decisions must have been made on a theological basis. By looking first to internal Greek features, removed from notions of indiscrimination or theological promulgation, a clearer understanding of the linguistic nature of the text becomes available. In this paper, I will evaluate dative alternation patterns in the Greek Pentateuch by comparing evidence to those patterns identified by Stolk in the papyri. This comparison may elucidate a nuanced familiarity with standard Greek semantics and syntax on the part of the translators.

406-30/2

*Ellen De Doncker (Université catholique de Louvain)*

**“E’ stata la mano di Dio”: God’s Hand in the Septuagint**

Fritsch (1943) proposed that LXX-Pentateuch, sporadically, spiritualizes anthropomorphic conceptions of God. Harsh replies argued against LXX’s anti-anthropomorphic tendency (Orlinsky 1944; Wittstruck 1967). The recent development of a Septuagint-theology re-opened the debate regarding the so-called anti-anthropomorphisms as element of LXX’s theology.

Against the background of this renewed debate, I intend to explore one particular anthropomorphism: God’s hand in the Pentateuch. Usually, LXX-Pentateuch renders God’s hand literally. However, a divergence appears in those verses presenting God’s “mighty hand”. The Pentateuch contains two types of mighty-hand-phrases: 1) reading only God’s mighty hand; 2) joining God’s mighty hand with His outstretched arm. Three differences with MT appear: a) LXX-Ex 32:11 does not contain God’s hand present in MT; b) LXX-Ex 6:1; 32:11; LXX-Deut 3:24; 6:21; 7:8; 9:26 refer to God’s arm, not present in MT; c) LXX-Ex 14:31, has God’s literal hand, metaphorically present in MT. Do these differences stem from translation technique, different Vorlage or anti-anthropomorphism regarding God’s hand?

While the Biblical reference to God’s mighty hand has been studied regarding the Hebrew formula (esp. Martens 2001, Coetsee 2021), research is lacking for the rendering in LXX. I intend to analyse LXX’s rendering of God’s mighty hand, and show that LXX’s divergence reflects the consolidation of a formula containing both God’s mighty hand and His outstretched arm, all while rendering faithfully the anthropomorphism. To do so, I comply with other textual witnesses (SamP, DSS, Peshitta, Hexapla) and evaluate where the variants stem from.

**406-30/3**

*Joel Bell (University of Oxford)*

**Metre in the Septuagint**

This paper addresses the rare phenomenon of Greek poetic metre in the translated Septuagint corpus. What seems to be a metrical line may in fact be fortuitous. Scholars must phonologically contextualize any potentially metrical lines because significant phonological changes occurred during the Hellenistic period which changed the nature of Greek poetic metre. This study will (1) provide an overview of Ptolemaic Greek phonology especially as it pertains to metre, (2) cover previous claims to the discovery of metre in the translated Septuagint corpus, (3) put forward some instances of metre that have previously escaped notice, and (4) synthesize a way forward for differentiating between intentional and fortuitous metre.

**406-31/1**

*Theo van der Louw (SIL)*

**Translation Theory and Translation Techniques in the Septuagint and Their Relevance for the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible**

In current scholarship the relativity of the classical text-critical rules is often stressed. Moreover, leading textual critics say that textual criticism cannot be bound by rules, and even that there is no method. Scholars have responded to this vacuum by proposing theoretical constructs that facilitate retroversion. However, they build on shaky foundations and give false certainty.

Translation Studies offers useful typologies of translation techniques. Applying them to the Septuagint forces us to (1) terminological precision, (2) asking the right questions and (3) finding systemic relationships. Departing from these elements, a roadmap for the evaluation of source text and target text suggests itself. We will try and develop this roadmap, and explore if and how it could aid textual criticism.

**406-31/2**

*Jean Maurais (Faculté de Théologie Évangélique - Acadia University)*

**Papyrus Fouad inv. 266 (Ra 848) and the Text of Old Greek Deuteronomy: Time to Reassess Their Relationship?**

Papyrus Fouad, Inv. 266b (Ra 848) is an early witness whose substantial fragments reproduce numerous sections of the text of Old Greek Deuteronomy 17–33. Tentatively dated to the first century BCE, it played an important role in John Wevers's work on the critical edition of the text of Old Greek

Deuteronomy. However, some aspects of Wevers's work have been the subject of criticism in recent years because of the methodology he employed to evaluate variant readings and his negative bias concerning some of Ra 848's features. Moreover, a new edition with photographs of this manuscript was published a few years later, providing readings and evaluations of the evidence that differ from that of Wevers. The place of this significant manuscript in the book's textual history is, therefore, a question that should be examined afresh, and an important component of the work on the upcoming SBLCS commentary on Deuteronomy.

This paper will proceed in three stages: 1) After briefly describing Ra 848, I will review Wevers's evaluation and use of this early witness. 2) I will then highlight some of the criticisms that have recently been put forward in light of the re-evaluation of many similar early witnesses to the Greek Penta-teuch, and 3) with the use of some examples, explore the methodological principles that would be best suited to reassess the place of Ra 848 in light of these criticisms.

406-31/3

S. C. Daley (*Triapla Research Institute*)

### **The Common Text Project: Some Essential Features**

With encouragement from SIL International, the Nida Institute, and others, the newly formed Triapla Research Institute is moving forward with the Common Text Project, a project that was first described as a desideratum in chapter 9 of my Hebrew University of Jerusalem dissertation, *The Textual Basis of English Translations of the Hebrew Bible* (Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible 2, Leiden: Brill, 2019).

By its very name, the Common Text Project wears its vision on its sleeve, but not all of its intricacies are visible there. Focusing on Hebrew Bible / Old Testament, the project seeks to recognize all of the textual issues that are pertinent to Bible translators, collate the ancient sources, published evaluations, and a sampling of modern translations at these locations, then describe and analyze each issue before identifying a best practice solution for Bible translators, the project's primary audience.

But there is more. With a foray into the Letter of Aristeas, some discussion of the influence of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the place of the Septuagint, and a look at further examples and illustrations, this paper seeks to elucidate some of the Common Text Project's essential features.

406-32/1

*Cameron Boyd-Taylor (Trinity Western University)*

**Identity, Alterity, Ambivalence: The Negotiation of Ethnographic Constructs in Greek Esther and 3 Maccabees**

George Stirling argued some time ago that the genre of apologetic historiography in Hellenistic literature developed in direct response to Greek ethnography. An analogous argument can be made for certain prose romances. Both genres provided a means by which authors could contest the depiction of ethnic groups in hegemonic discourse, and advance rival identities. This involved the appropriation and redeployment of constructs drawn from the ethnographic literature. The proposed study will examine such strategies at work in 3 Maccabees and the Greek Esther with specific reference to the charge of xenophobia. Taking up a critical term from Bakhtin, we may speak of dialogic discourse. The various constructs of Jewish ethnicity voiced within the fictive world of these prose romances simultaneously address the claims of Greek ethnographers and the reception of their ideas by polemicists.

406-32/2

*Camilla Recalcati (Université catholique de Louvain)*

**Egyptian "Retro-Corrections" in the LXX Greek of Genesis 37–50**

LXX Greek shows several features that can be attributed to Egyptian influences (Pfeiffer: 2016). Against the backdrop of lexical studies on the LXX (Lee: 1983; Leonas: 2005), this paper aims at analysing one specific feature of the LXX's Greek in a portion of the Pentateuch – Gen 37–50 – that shows many Egyptian influences.

This paper's goal is to prove and examine how the LXX translator has rendered some words freely to produce a more accurate meaning than the one of the MT because he understood that an Egyptian feature was concealed in the Hebrew term. These Greek renderings, that aim at being more fitting with the Egyptian context and etymology than their Hebrew counterpart, will be named retro-corrections (interpretations aegyptiacae – Morenz: 1965; Aktualisierungen – Pfeiffer: 2008).

Mainly, the paper focuses on retro-corrections concerning proper names by presenting a comparison between the LXX's renderings and Egyptian papyri. This is done with the intent to spread a new light on their Egyptian derivation in the Greek form. Both names of Potiphar and Potiphera will be examined, and new insight will be given on the name Ασεννεθ (Vergote 1964) and its connections to Egyptian names. Great attention will be given

to the LXX rendering of the name given by the Pharaoh to Joseph, whose meaning and genesis are still debated (Schulman: 1975; Görg: 2003).

Additionally, other retro-corrections will be considered: the translation of פסים with ποικίλον, that of בגדי־שש with στολὴν βυσσίνην, the lack of translation for קדים, and the more precise meaning given by the LXX to הרפאים.

406-32/3

*Jonathan Robker (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)*

### **A Tale of Two Jeroboams: Jeroboam in 3 Reigns 11–14**

The Septuagint's distinct form from the Masoretic version in 3 Reigns 11–14 probably presents one of the more famous distinctions in the Septuagint of Kings. Many attempts have been made, both historically and more recently to explain these distinctions in these chapters and their background(s). Particularly regarding the duplicate material about Jeroboam (3 Reigns 11:26–43\*; 12b–o; 1 Kgs 14:1–18 MT), scholars have often considered which material about Jeroboam served as the Vorlage for the other material—i.e., assuming that one served as the base text for the other. This paper will focus on data about the character Jeroboam transmitted in Greek as part of a source-critical approach: Does the Greek tradition of Kings attest two older, initially independent Jeroboam traditions, one of which has largely, though not entirely been elided from the (proto-)Masoretic tradition of Kings?

406-33/1

*Marieke Dhont (University of Cambridge)*

### **Periphrastic ποιέω in the Septuagint**

Ancient Greek can express a verb using a multi-word construction, or periphrasis, with ποιέω in the active or middle voice – think of, for example, ποιέομαι λήθην for λανθάνω. In the post-classical period, verbal periphrasis became increasingly productive (Bentein 2016). This is reflected in the Septuagint as well. With 2800 occurrences of ποιέω in the Septuagint, this paper will focus on those that appear in a verbal periphrastic construction. The periphrastic construction with ποιέω is often, though by no means exclusively, used to render the Hebrew הָשִׁיב with a noun and thus considered an isomorphic rendering. However, by focusing on the use of ποιέω as a rendering and overlooking the concept of verbal periphrasis in post-Classical Greek, many misinterpretations, and by consequence mistranslations, have arisen regarding the Septuagint's use of ποιέω in these constructions, which has, in turn, affected our understanding of the nature of the language of the Septuagint. While the post-classical nature of Septuagint Greek has

been amply shown in relation to vocabulary, this paper further explores the question of post-classical Greek syntax in the Septuagint. It will clarify the notion of verbal periphrasis in ancient Greek, provide an initial examination of periphrasis with ποιέω in the Septuagint, and present a new angle to illuminate once more how an appreciation of post-classical Greek can help us better to understand the Septuagint.

**406-33/2**

*Joshua Alfaro (Universität Salzburg)*

### **The Original Language of the Greek Esther Additions**

The Greek versions of Esther contain six large Additions, four of which (Add. A, C, D, and F) may be either Greek compositions or translations from Hebrew. Previous arguments for Hebrew as the original language of these Additions employing syntactical criteria (Martin 1974, 1975) were shown to be inadequate (Jobes 1996) since these texts are too short to apply statistical methods validly. In this paper, I argue for the probability of a Hebrew original for these Additions by examining individual syntactical and lexical features of these texts. These features will be analyzed through comparison with (1) the translation tendencies of the OG and Alpha-Text versions of Greek Esther, (2) other Greek translations from Hebrew/Aramaic, (3) Greek usage in documentary papyri, and (4) texts composed in Greek. Finally, I consider the historical and geographical contexts which produced these Additions and their translation and whether they point to an exchange of texts between Palestine and Egypt.

**406-33/3**

*Kristin Klaus (University of Tartu)*

### **Possibilities of Dividing the Speeches of Old Greek Job into Thematic-Formal Units**

Dividing the speeches in the Book of Job into strophes or stanzas has been quite a fruitful area of research for the scholars of the Hebrew Bible poetry (see the historical survey on the matter by Pieter van der Lugt 1988, 1995). Scholars have tried to divide the speeches into thematic-formal or formal-thematic units (e.g., Hartley 1988, Fokkelman 2012, Witte 2021, and Fohrer 1963).

So far, except for Marieke Dhont's work, no attempt has been made to divide the Old Greek Job speeches into literary (or maybe even poetic) units. The most we can see is dividing the text, either in the original or in translation, into paragraphs, with no meaningful explanation (see, e.g., Brenton's 1879 Septuagint with translation or NETS).

As a part of my PhD thesis, I have been trying to do just that. Firstly, I

have identified thematic units in the speeches (Job 4–5, 8, 19, 21, 29–31, 38–39, and 40–41 so far), which are often different from the poetic units in the Hebrew Job due to the minuses, paraphrases, or an entirely new meaning in certain passages. Secondly, I have determined literary features that frame the units and whether the Greek translator has managed to frame these more intensely than present in the Hebrew text. The comparison between thematic-formal units in both languages demonstrates shifts in meaning and poetics and the independence of the Greek translator.

In this paper, I will show exemplary thematic-formal units and their comparison to the Hebrew counterpart.

406-44/1

*Eberhard Bons (Université de Strasbourg)*

#### **Observations on the Use of ἐλπίς and ἐλπίζω in the Greek Text of Sirach**

In non-biblical Greek the words ἐλπίς and ἐλπίζω are used in a wide variety of contexts. In the Septuagint, however, a certain shift of meaning can be observed. Due to the Hebrew source text, in many cases “hope” expressed by the two terms in question means “hope in God”. Hence, ἐλπίς and ἐλπίζω appear to have a positive connotation in general. The situation is slightly different in Greek Sirach. On the one hand, some passages seem to reflect typical Septuagint use of the two terms. On the other hand, the translator does not feel bound by it. The aim of this short paper is to analyze the occurrences of ἐλπίς and ἐλπίζω in Greek Sirach. Special attention will be paid to the remaining texts of the Septuagint as well as to recent debate on “hope” as an emotion.

406-44/2

*Nesina Grütter (Universität Basel)*

#### **Entstehungs- und Rezeptionskontexte eines LXX-Hapaxlegomenons**

Ezechiel 21,26 ist der einzige Bibelvers, der eindeutig von der mesopotamischen Opferschau (*bārûtu*) spricht, und er ist vermutlich der Ausgangspunkt für die Bildung der griechischen Komposita bestehend aus ἥπαρ und σκοπέω. Ihr Fortleben in der Rezeptionsgeschichte bis in spätbyzantinische Zeit fällt äusserst schillernd aus und bietet ausgezeichneten Stoff für eine religionsgeschichtlich interessierte Zeitreise durch die griechische Literatur.

406-44/3

*Lorenzo Cuppi (Sapienza University of Rome)*

#### **The Correspondence between מִצְוָה and γγγενείς in Proverbs 9:18**

The 9th chapter of the Book of Proverbs exhibits in the Septuagint translation numerous additions in comparison with the Masoretic Text. In

particular, we find three additional couplets after v. 12 and four more after v. 18. Immediately before the latter one finds the unusual correspondence, attested only twice in the whole Bible—both of which in Proverbs (2:18; 9:18)—between the problematic Hebrew term רפאים and the Greek γηγενεῖς. The former has interesting cultural parallels in the Ugaritic, Phoenician and Punic inscriptions, in which one can also detect a process of gradual demonisation of the chthonic deities, the latin Manes. The latter literally translates as *children of Gaia*, and is referred, at the time of the classical tragedian, to the Titans of the Greek mythology whose deeds were already narrated in Hesiod's *Theogony*. A stress on their impious nature is witnessed in the Hymn *On the Bath of Pallas* by the Alexandrian librarian Callymachus. It is possible that the Septuagint translator, unlike the later revisers καίτε and Aquila, wished to link in a literary manner the Jewish and Greek representations of the netherworld.

406-44/4

*J. Alberto Paredes (Reformed Theological Seminary)*

#### The Gileadite Password in Greek Judges: Text and Semantics

The complexities of the textual history of Greek Judges have long been acknowledged. It was previously held that the revision of Greek Judges was merely a rigid translation from the *Vorlage*, such that the Greek target text would read as unsophisticated or strange. However, since the implementation of the Greek-priority view as a method to engage post-Classical Greek lexical semantics, it has now been consistently demonstrated that previously undocumented nuances and new meanings of long known words may come into focus for the first time, helping to illumine our understanding of how post-Classical Greek lexicography and translation tendencies operate. Particularly challenging passages bring especial light to this question as the translators are faced with decisions that reveal priorities within translational habits. Judges 12:6 presents such a scenario.

As the Gileadites and the Ephraimites face each other in an inter-tribal battle, the Gileadites present what seems to be a phonetic test to disclose the enemy's identity. Ephraim's failure in pronouncing שְׁבִלֵת as Gileadites do (saying סְבִלֵת instead) leads them close to annihilation as a tribe. The Old Greek translation of Judges renders שְׁבִלֵת as Σύνθημα, whereas the later B-group revision modifies that lexical choice to Στάχυν. In addition to reconstructing the Old Greek and later revised text of this passage, this paper explores the contribution of Στάχυν in the revision of Greek Judges as a development of the Old Greek Σύνθημα in translating שְׁבִלֵת. By examining external evidence for Σύνθημα and Στάχυν between the 2nd century BCE and



50 CE, this paper analyzes why the revisers might have considered Στάχυς as more suitable than Σύνθημα in its narrative context. This approach will shed light on how lexical choice in both the Old Greek translation and its later revision may advance our knowledge of post-Classical Greek lexical semantics and translation tendencies in Judges.

406-45/1

*Kyle Young (Trinity College Dublin)*

**Aquila's 'Second Edition': Evaluating the Appropriation  
and Evolution of a Concept**

Scholars have used the concept of a *secunda editio* ('second edition') of Aquila since the eighteenth century to address numerous cruxes interpretum of reception history and rabbinic tradition, including Aquila's relationship to Onqelos and more. However, Jerome is the sole ancient authority who testifies to Aquila's second edition and he mentions it explicitly only in relation to Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. In this presentation, I endeavour to answer the question, How should we understand Jerome's testimony that Aquila made a 'second edition' of his version? After surveying how scholars have appropriated the notion of a second edition and how the concept has evolved in academic discourse, I discuss more recent arguments for the influence of Aquila in rabbinic Judaism and beyond to contextualise the question of Aquila's second edition. Following a reappraisal of Jerome's comments and their reception, I suggest a tentative answer to the above research question and consider the consequences of this answer, especially for textual criticism of Aquila.

406-45/2

*Timothy Lee (University of Cambridge)*

**Kaige Revision of the Septuagint and Ancient Jewish Education**

Kaige is an elusive revision of the Septuagint which displays rigorous adherence to the proto-Masoretic Text and is marked by 'mechanical' isomorphic translations, such as כִּי with καί γε. Among witnesses to the revision is one Dead Sea scroll (8HevXIIgr) and Samuel-Kings in the Greek Uncial manuscripts. I situate kaige revision of the Septuagint within the educated Hellenistic Jewish elite in Jerusalem. These Jewish schools for teaching Hebrew to the Greek-speaking children provide the ideal environment for kaige revision. I argue kaige revision, began primarily for education needs as a teaching device which adopted standard translation equivalents for each Hebrew word. This goes against common – but less plausible – suggestions such as: (1) kaige fits proto-Rabbinic exegesis (Barthélemy); or (2) kaige was

driven by a developed theological of scripture that attaches significance in each Hebrew word as the word of God (Brock); or (3) was occasioned by the standardisation of the Masoretic Text (Tov).

Structurally, in this lecture, I argue against these three common explanations for kaige revision, before situating kaige revision within the Hellenistic Jewish schools in Jerusalem. I provide background to Jewish pedagogy in the Second Temple period and draw conclusions on bilingualism, education, and sociology in the period. I date kaige revision and the schools to Hasmonean Palestine. This furthers our understanding of Greek pedagogy, the Hasmonean linguistic and social environment, and variety within the complex world of Septuagint manuscripts.

**406-45/3**

*Alison Salvesen (University of Oxford)*

### **The Greek Glosses of 'John Joseph' to LXX Jeremiah**

Scholars have known since the 17th century about the hundred or so short readings or glosses in MS Ra. 86 (Barberinus 549) for the book of Jeremiah, and attributed to '(John) Joseph' (siglum ω'). Frederick Field discussed the possible provenance of this translator and his glosses in the first volume of *Origenis Hexaplorum...* (I.xciii-iv, 1875). The readings are also included in the second apparatus of Josef Ziegler's Göttingen edition of Jeremiah, along with some brief remarks in the Introduction (p. 106).

In 1961, in a very useful series of three articles in Portuguese, the Brazilian scholar Balduino Kipper listed the biblical references where the readings occurred, along with a discussion of their nature and their relationship to other versions (MT, LXX, the 'Three', Vulgate). Kipper covered similar ground in an article in a supplement volume to *Paulys Realencyclopädie* in 1978. Natalio Fernandez Marcos included 'Josephus the Translator' in the chapter 'Other Ancient Versions' in his book *The Septuagint in Context* (English trn. 2000: 169–72). Following the work of Kipper, he notes the freedom of the renderings, the occasional affinities with the Vulgate (perhaps via Sophronius), and the frequent divergences from LXX.

The paper updates Kipper's valuable work, particularly focusing on the evidence from 'Joseph's' readings for signs of the translator's religious affiliation and provenance.

**406-45/4**

*Reinhart Ceulemans (KU Leuven)*

### **The Pentateuch Text of the Nomos Mosaikos**

The Middle Byzantine period witnessed the creation of the Nomos Mosaikos, a legal text that consists solely of excerpts from Pentateuchal books.

This work is thought to have been composed either in the ninth or in the eighth century (in the last case: accompanying the promulgation of another imperial law code whose own ideology and imagery were strongly Septuagintal, the *Ecloga*). It is a curious and understudied form of Greek Christian reception of the Septuagint. In this paper I wish to present the findings of my comparison of the *Nomos Mosaikos* (ed. Burgmann and Troianos 1979) with the Septuagint text (in the Göttingen edition). I will present (a) the selection made by the compilers (for example, some Biblical verses are conspicuously absent), and (b) the Septuagint text that is reflected in the legal document (which throughout is the most popular version as documented in the Göttingen apparatus).

406-46/1

Andrew R. Krause (*ACTS Seminaries of Trinity Western University*)

**Flavius Josephus as Cultural Translator and Heir to Eleazar  
in *Antiquitates judaicae***

Flavius Josephus is (in)famous for his self-presentation as a new Daniel and a new Jeremiah in *Bellum judaicum*. However, Josephus' claim to be a new Eleazar the High Priest in *Antiquitates judaicae* is often ignored, even though it informs his much larger and more important work. In A.J. 1.10–15 and 12.11–120, Josephus presents himself as the successor to the priest who legendarily led the translation of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek. He claims that Eleazar himself anticipated that Josephus would receive the translation for the purpose of 'translating' Jewish culture and religion for his imperial patrons. *Antiquitates judaicae* should thus be read as an attempt to receive and continue the literary culture of the Greek Scriptures and apply them to Jewish history for a Judaism that has just lost both its temple and the previous façade of self-governance. Josephus' rewriting and curation of the Septuagint corpus provides the language and concepts necessary to understand the subsequent history of the Jewish people. In this paper, I will analyze Josephus' specific portrayal of Eleazar, his primary tendenz in rewriting the Greek Scriptures, and how an actualizing retelling of Jewish history utilizes the Septuagint texts in order to reorder a newly centerless Judaism. Josephus' self-conscious claim to be heir to the great cultural translator can thus illuminate both his conception of the Greek Jewish scriptures and the contemporaneous attitudes towards this corpus in Josephus' works and the larger literary culture of which they were a part.

**406-46/2**

*Jonathan Thambyrajah (Australian Institute of Theological Education)*

**Intertextuality in the Versions of Esther**

One of the most notable literary features of the masoretic version of Esther is its proposed intertextual relationships with texts as diverse as Samuel, Exodus, the Joseph novella in Genesis, and Daniel. Some of these intertextual relationships, however, are only partially represented, or not at all, in other versions of Esther (LXX, AT, VL, etc.). Others appear in a stronger form. In addition, some of the versions of Esther contain intertextualities that are absent from MT. Understanding this literary dimension of the versions of Esther casts light on the nature and reception of the Esther story.

**406-47/1**

*Robert Hiebert (Trinity Western University)*

**The 'Israel in Egypt' Motif in Septuagint Genesis**

The book of Genesis serves as an introduction to the biblical canon in general and to the Pentateuch in particular. In the books of Exodus through Deuteronomy, the focus is on the stories of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, the subsequent exodus, and the journey through the wilderness on the way to the promised land. The present paper will explore some of the thematic and philological resonances pertaining to theme of Israel's presence in Egypt that are to be found in the Septuagint version of Genesis.

**406-47/2**

*Gideon R. Kotzé (North-West University)*

**What a Drag! The Sun's Cycle in LXX Ecclesiastes 1:5–6  
and the Theme of Effort without Accomplishment**

The Greek and Hebrew texts of Ecclesiastes 1:3–11 mention events in the divinely ordered world that do not reach a goal. Both versions of the passage therefore convey the idea that effort does not result in accomplishment. This theme exemplifies the vanity of much that transpires on earth and, in doing so, it underscores a Leitmotif in the book. Ecclesiastes 1:5–6 add to the theme in question by describing the daily cycle of the sun. The cycle does not end and it does not reach a natural stopping point; the sun just goes round and round in circles. One of the interesting readings in the description of the sun's journey across the sky is the rendering of שֶׁאֵין by ἔλκει in LXX Ecclesiastes 1:5. The proposed paper will look at this reading in its larger cultural and conceptual context and explore how the Greek translation adapts the imagery of the verse to effectively communicate the theme of the passage.

*Andrew Daniel (African Christian University)*

**The Coreferential Genitive Absolute as a Parasitic Mirative Structure:  
Evidence from LXX Greek**

The genitive absolute (GA) in Classical and Hellenistic Greek is a well-known construction that hardly needs explanation. Occasionally, however, the subject of the GA construction participates as a constituent of the matrix clause. Such aberrations occur as early as Homer and are found in nearly all authors, but especially the LXX and non-literary papyri. Past explanations have attempted to appeal to emphasis as the reason an author might use a coreferential GA, while more recent attempts have looked to discourse analysis for inspiration. LXX scholarship often takes a prescriptive perspective, as if the translators were producing ungrammatical Greek. In contrast, the typologically valid concept of mirativity offers a robust category with which to articulate the coreferential GA's early origins in Homeric Greek, its sustained, yet disciplined use in Attic Greek, and proliferation with the rise of Hellenism. Mirativity refers broadly to information which is new or unexpected (DeLancey 1997). It is the counter-expectedness of the coreferential GA that endows this construction with a mirative implicature. The specific advantage of mirativity is that it has the capacity to explain the "emphasis" grammarians of generations past intuited and its pragmatic extension to articulate "a shift from a more general situation to a specific event" (Buijs 2013: 10).

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*William A. Ross (Reformed Theological Seminary)*

**Donkeys and Dating the Greek Pentateuch**

It has been over fifty years since John A. L. Lee completed his seminal work *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, later published in the SBLSCS series in 1981. Since that time, it has served as a major benchmark for several important topics within the discipline of Septuagint scholarship. Among the most notable accomplishments of this work is Lee's use of postclassical Greek documentary evidence to trace diachronic language change and account for its influence in the production of the Septuagint, which facilitates dating the translation of specific books within the corpus on both absolute and relative terms. Although Lee's dating conclusions have

now come to be taken for granted in the discipline, to date few studies have either checked or expanded upon his work, despite its ongoing relevance and potential for historical, linguistic, and text-critical purposes. This paper will therefore do precisely that with reference to Lee's findings on words for donkey (ὄνος and ὑποζυγίων), specifically to examine whether Lee's conclusions still hold, particularly in light of the ongoing publication of documentary sources—both papyri and inscriptions—and their much greater accessibility on digital platforms fifty years later. If Septuagint scholarship is to continue relying upon Lee's lexical analysis for the dating of the Greek Pentateuch and other books, it is important that they are reassessed, refined, and/or, if necessary, adjusted, as Lee himself has encouraged. Attention will also go to postclassical Greek literary works as well as an important point of comparison in register.

407-30/3

*Travis Wright (University of Cambridge)*

#### **Negation and (Non)veridical Contexts in the Greek Pentateuch**

When recovering meaning, hearers assign interpretations to utterances based on the semantics of the grammatical code and the inferences calculated from speaker intention. In the sentence, “I won’t believe it until I see it”, the code communicates that the event *believe* will not transpire before the event *see*. However, there is additional meaning that arises as an inference, namely, a scalar implicature: the event *believe* will take place *after but not before* the event *see*. This implicature cannot be decoded from the grammar alone, but must be recovered as the speaker’s intended meaning. This paper argues that in order to recover meaning, the translators of the Greek Pentateuch must have performed the same processes on inferred meanings in the L1 and expected their audiences to do the same with inferred meanings in the L2. To demonstrate this, I examine negative and nonveridical contexts (contexts where the truth of proposition *p* is still open, e.g. conditionals and questions). I demonstrate that the translators sometimes (1) allowed inferred meaning to simply shine through in the L2 (e.g. scalar implicatures triggered by οὐ ... ἔως), (2) translate as code what is inferred in the L1 (e.g. Οὐ μὴ for ἄ), or (3) translate as inferred meaning what is coded in the L1 (e.g. implicit illocutionary acts like the rhetorical question in Numbers 22:30). Finally, I compare versional evidence from classical and late antiquity, suggesting the Greek Pentateuch is not unique in this regard but that these processes of meaning recovery are universal features of human communication.

*Beatrice Bonanno (Université catholique de Louvain)*

### **Theological Accents in the Septuagint of the Book of Ruth**

In recent years, the “theology” of the Septuagint (LXX) has been attracting increasing interest. In this regard, however, very little attention has been paid to the theological accents in the LXX of the book of Ruth. This study will, therefore, try to fill this gap, by focusing on the book of Ruth.

After briefly introducing some of the methodological items, this paper will focus on the translation unit of the book of Ruth. The analysis will be conducted by taking into consideration the divergences between the Masoretic text (MT) and LXX, certain lexical choices and several of the theological themes. These will be organised on the basis of the following theological matters: the divine names, the physical representation of God, the absence of God from the first scene and His first appearance, the correlation between the actions of God and humans, and the different nuances given to the “return”. Based on this analysis, the conclusion will summarise the main results in two parts: first, the theological accents which can be identified more clearly in the text, and then those which should be considered with caution, since it remains open to question whether they are related to a conscious choice on the part of the translator/his translation technique, or to a textual criticism issue.

*Daniel Olariu (Adventus University from Cernica)*

### **Thematic Resonance in Septuagint-Daniel**

The Old Greek version of Daniel (OG-Dan) presents ample evidence of techniques used to reinforce, elaborate, or transform the themes of the source text. Conversely, due to its approach to literally representing the source text, the Theodotionic revision of Daniel (Th-Dan) presents fewer cases. This paper discusses four complex examples in which both versions display exegetical manoeuvres to render the source text into the target language. By means of a detailed analysis of translation technique, it will be shown that the thematic resonance is visible in the way the lexemes חָזַה “to see,” דָּבַר “word, thing,” אָדָם “man,” and שָׁנָה “to change” were rendered in OG-Dan and Th-Dan.

407-31/3

*Dirk Büchner (Trinity Western University)*  
**Animals in LXX Leviticus 11**

A large proportion of the Hebrew names of the animals forbidden for food, are unknown or uncertain. The Greek animal names, on the other hand, but for a few, are all well known. Those birds and animals were also familiar to Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Era.

The approach taken in this study (prepared for the SBL Commentary on the Septuagint) is not necessarily to try and bring the Greek names into relation with the Hebrew names but to illustrate them by their occurrence in Classical Literature and their description in Egyptian written and pictorial sources.

Examples of such names are the griffin, little owl, shrew-mouse, snake-fighter and lapwing.

407-32/1

*Carson Bay (Universität Bern)*  
**The Language of Exemplarity between the Greek Jewish Scriptures and Other Ancient Mediterranean Literature**

The Greek Jewish Scriptures participate at both the nominal and the verbal level in the Greek vernacular of ‘exemplarity’ established in the pre-Classical period and increasingly popular into Roman Imperial times. The LXX uses the noun παράδειγμα (and verb παραδείκνυμι), the standard Greek term for “example” from as early as the 6th century BCE, and also the more unusual term ὑπόδειγμα (and the verb ὑποδείκνυμι, once – as a participle – in 2 Chr 15:3) to speak of examples or paradigms or exemplars. In its occasional use of this argot, the LXX provides a tool for scholars to better situate its vocabulary and syntax within the broader literary environs of ancient Mediterranean writing.

This paper examines the uses of this terminology in the LXX against the Hebrew MT (e.g., the term תבנית for “pattern”), the later development of Hebrew example language (e.g., דוגמה in Rabbinic literature), and the wider Greek (and Latin) vocabulary of exemplarity as it developed across the later first-millennium BCE and beyond. I argue that the LXX’s example language identifies it as a text emerging from the cultural margins of the Hellenistic world, yet also signals conceptual overlaps and traditional analogies that would lead to the later development of a more refined ‘linguistics of exemplarity’ within Hellenistic Judaism and its heir, early Christianity, yet one not without parallel in the Semitic linguistic environs of rabbinic late antiquity.



*Raphaëlle Berterottière (Université Paul-Valéry, Montpellier-III)*

**L'hybridité stylistique du Livre de la Sagesse en fait-elle un OVNI littéraire? Une confrontation de Sg aux théories hellénistiques du style**

L'objet de cette communication serait de confronter aux théories hellénistiques du style quelques traits stylistiques propres au Livre de la Sagesse (Sg).

Bien qu'il prenne modèle sur la poésie hébraïque, dont il reproduit certains procédés, Sg ne présente pas la structure métrique régulière des poèmes grecs. Si l'on considère – comme cela nous semble nécessaire – que les compositions juives de langue grecque appartiennent pleinement à la littérature hellénistique, Sg ne peut donc être catégorisé que comme un texte en prose. Comment, dès lors, rendre compte de l'inspiration poétique du livre?

Les théories stylistiques de l'époque hellénistique, et notamment le *Peri Hermeneias* du Pseudo-Démétrios, présentent par rapport à la rhétorique aristotélicienne de notables innovations, qui décrivent une forme de prose poétique dont on pourrait rapprocher Sg: elles introduisent entre le « grand style » et le « style simple » des styles intermédiaires, et accordent une plus grande place aux unités rythmiques. Ces styles intermédiaires préfèrent aux périodes et aux clausules de petites unités où le rythme remplace les schémas métriques ; ils intègrent facilement des proverbes, des repentirs, et jouent sur des effets de surprise ou de frayeur. Par l'étude stylistique de quelques passages, nous tâcherons de montrer en quoi Sg peut répondre à ces critères, et donc représenter une prose rythmée qui reflète son modèle tout en ne dérogeant pas aux normes de goût en vigueur. Nous espérons enfin apporter un éclairage sur la visée de cette œuvre où la vivacité du style mêle la séduction à l'intimidation.

*Natia Mirotadze (Paris-Lodron-University Salzburg)*

**LXX Esther as Reflected by the Old Georgian II Translation of Esther**

There exist two old Georgian translations of the Book of Esther. One of them (GeI) is rendered from the Alpha Text (AT), while the other (GeII) is translated from a compiled Greek original. As my study has shown, the base text of compilation is LXX Esther. Numerous portions of various sizes are taken from the other textual forms of Esther (e.g., AT and Latin-Greek III) and are added to the base text, even creating doublets of various characters from time to time.

One more important issue regarding the Greek original of GeII is on

which stage of textual development of the Greek text types of Esther has compilation occurred. The present paper deals with the text form of LXX Esther preserved in GeII. The comparison of the LXX parts of GeII to the Greek sources of LXX Esther has shown that GeII has common readings with the oldest witnesses of the book, such as Papyrus 967, Codex Vaticanus (B), and pre-correctional readings of Codex Sinaiticus (S\*). A more detailed analysis of the shared readings of the Septuagint portions of GeII and LXX Esther will be presented in the paper.

407-33/2

*Andrew Keenan (University of Cambridge)*

### Neologisms in LXX Jeremiah

Neologisms are an area of research that draws interest from a variety of disciplines. While neologisms are an important topic of discussion in Septuagint studies, very few studies devoted to neologisms have materialized. Consequently, little consensus has been drawn as to what they are or how to incorporate them into our lexicons. Clarity on neologisms is particularly significant for books like LXX Jeremiah where approximately 4% of the vocabulary are considered neologisms. This percentage is lower than the whole of the Septuagint, with nearly 10% of LXX vocabulary allegedly neologisms. As Aitken indicates, the post-Classical period is still not as well documented as lexicographers and grammarians need for a fuller picture of the linguistic setting. Therefore, scholars should be skeptical of the implicit claim from our lexica that such a large number of the Septuagint's vocabulary are neologisms. This paper will seek to address two issues, first how many alleged neologisms in our lexica can be identified as newly coined terms? In LXX Jeremiah there are allegedly 86 neologisms. After looking at some select issues, namely intertextual neologisms, preverbs, and compound nouns we will be able to say more specifically to LXX Jeremiah, how many of these neologisms are truly neologisms. Second, the paper will seek to clarify what we mean by neologisms and provide more accurate ways of thinking about neologisms. The benefit of such a study will help determine not only the accuracy of our lexica but also challenge some methodological issues used in our description of neologisms.

# International Organization for Vulgate Studies (IOVS)

509-40/1

*Georg Fischer (University of Innsbruck)*

## Differences in Jerome's Translations of the Book of Jeremiah

Jerome translated the Book of Jeremiah twice. The first time was for what would become the "Vulgate". Having started this huge project around 390 CE with the Books of Samuel and Kings, he continued with the three major prophets. The second time was in connection with the commentary on Jeremiah, in the years 414–416. The distance in time of more than 20 years invites for a comparison between both renderings.

Jerome's intention, in both cases, was to translate accurately the Hebrew original, and at large they agree. However, there are also differences between the earlier and the later version. Many of them are formal and have little bearing on the meaning. Others display changes in the sense of a passage. Most surprisingly, the Vulgate translation of Jeremiah is more often closer to the Hebrew text than the rendering in the Jeremiah commentary, in both instances. How can one explain this?

As the high degree of correspondences indicates, Jerome probably used the earlier translation. On the other hand, the alterations show that he did not stick to it, but dealt with it freely. In a similar way, the Jeremian "doubles" (e.g. Jer 23:19–20 // 30:23–24) often receive different renderings. Sometimes this may occur because of concerns for style, but it is also a sign of "continuous" translation technique, influenced by the immediate context, too.

To make up for the minor literalness of the foregoing rendering in the commentary with regard to the Vulgate version, Jerome takes advantage of the different literary genre: He offers further possible translations later in his commenting, when explaining a word or a verse, thus showing a broader specter of meanings for expressions that may be debated. The Church Father, in his old age, displays so in his commentary a still wider horizon than before and an ongoing creativity.

**509-40/2**

*Bernhard Klinger (University of Passau)*

**Reading Mal 3:19-24 as Mal 4:1-6 (VUL):**

**Jerome's Vulgate as Approach to a Textual Problem**

Some scholars separate between Mal 3:19-21 (MT) and Mal 3:22-24 (MT), whereas Jerome translates these verses and combines them so that the Vulgate version states the section Mal 3:19-14 (MT) to be an unit as Mal 4:1-6 (VUL). The aim of this shortpaper is to outline both the textual problems within these verses and their solutions; furthermore this shortpaper especially wants to consider value and prospects of Jerome's Vulgate version.

**509-40/3**

*Bernhard Lang (University of Paderborn)*

**The Vulgate Latin Bible Handbook:**

**A Comprehensive Research Bibliography**

Especially in the humanities, scholars need – and appreciate – publications that Germans call “Forschungsbericht”, for which there is no adequate English term. Meant is an inventory of past publications relevant to a subject, carefully assessed or presented so that they can be assessed and used (or rejected) in further research. This kind of publication is needed to restart and reinvigorate research on the Vulgate Latin Bible. Bernhard Lang, who has edited the International Review of Biblical Studies (*Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete*) for three decades and acted as its master bibliographer, has compiled a comprehensive Vulgate bibliography, soon to be available in print under the title *The Vulgate Latin Bible Handbook: Annotated Bibliography, Latin Glossary, Textual Notes (VLBH)*. More than 1000 bibliographical items are listed, arranged according to subject and year of publication, and often accompanied by an abstract. There are also three sections for quick reference: Jerome's biblical commentaries, a Latin glossary, and textual notes. The notes are canonically arranged from Genesis through the book of Revelation (and through the appended books, down to the letter to the Laodiceans, the final item of the Weber/Gryson Vulgate). The new VLBH will be a fundamental resource for Vulgate research, supplementing other reference works such as the forthcoming Oxford Handbook to the Latin Bible and *Sprache und Welt der Vulgata*.

*Jutta Krispenz (University of Marburg)*

**All that Stupidity: The Vocabulary of Intellectual Deficiency  
in Jerome's Translation of the Book of Proverbs**

In the last decades collections II–V (Prov 10-29) in the Hebrew Book of Proverbs have again and again turned out to be more than just a min-gle-mangle of sayings. At least parts of it can be seen as consciously arranged compositions. The scribes used catchwords and sound-patterns to this effect.

In many of its sayings the Book of Proverbs features agents, which are characterized as “wise” or, in the contrary, as “stupid”, “ignorant”, or “foolish”. In the Hebrew text the words used in that context are often used to mark the structure of a composition of several sayings - as catchwords or as part of a sound pattern. The paper looks at the translation of the relevant words (e.g., *בסיל, איל*), asking whether or not the Latin translation shows signs of an awareness of the structures detectable in the Hebrew text.

*Benedikt J. Collinet (University of Innsbruck)*

**Atalyah on the Throne: Considerations on the Source  
Problems in Early Latin History of Interpretation Using  
the Example of IV Regum 11 (2 Kings 11)**

The aim of this paper is to examine a little commented text of the Bible and compare it with the Vulgate version. The focus is on Latin Church Fathers, but there are also annotations on four Greek Fathers in order to identify (dis-)continuities in interpretation and translation. This is to test how central Jerome and his full text are to the history of interpretation of I-IV Reges.

*Reinhart Ceulemans (University of Leuven)*

**The Vulgate Version of the Song of Songs and Hexaplaric Readings**

In this paper I wish to show which translational choices made by Jerome in his *iuxta Hebraeos* translation of the Song of Songs are likely to reflect readings of Aquila and (especially:) Symmachus. In arguing this point, I will take into consideration Hexaplaric evidence that was unknown to Frederick Field and that has come to light since 1875. I will also argue which choices in the Vulgate version that have in the past been identified as echoes of Hexaplaric readings might be explained in another way and do not necessarily reflect Aquila or Symmachus. These cases will bring me to reflect, referring to Jerome's Hexaplaric recension of the Song of Songs (ed. Vaccari 1955) and other Latin versions, on the methodological challenges and conceptual value of this kind of comparative research.

Daniel Schmitz (University of Wuppertal)

*A trifaria varietate ad fontes: Jerome's Translation Project as a Further Development of Sacred Scripture*

*totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate conpugnat* – “and the whole world is fighting each other because of the threefold variety”. Using these words in the prologus in libro paralipomenon, Jerome describes the issue with the existing editions of the Septuagint in his day. Following the Hexapla of Origen, up to three editions existed in the various locations: Hesychius in Alexandria and Egypt, Lucian of Antioch from there to Constantinople and the Palestinian codices that Jerome links to the work of Origen and the publication of Eusebius and Pamphilus. Jerome states that he wouldn't have had to initiate his translation project if it wasn't for this threefold variety and the corruption and violation of the original text.

During Jerome's lifetime, his work didn't get much recognition, as we can see in book 18, chapter 43 of Augustine's *de civitate dei*, where Augustine praises Jerome's philological competences and calls him “*homo doctissimus et omnium trium linguarum peritus*”, but also adheres to the legend of the origin of the Septuagint and therefore prefers the work of the 70 (or 72) translators over Jerome's, “*nullus eis unus interpres debuit anteponi*.”

Nowadays Jerome is seen as one of the *doctores ecclesiae* and a Great Church Father of the Western Church, praised for his translation work that resulted in the so-called Vulgate. The ambivalence of his work and its reception raises the question of his original motivation.

In my lecture, I'm investigating Jerome's translation work and trying to examine whether his text works as a new translation of the LXX and the Hebrew Bible or rather as an emendation of Sacred Scripture. For this purpose, I'm looking at the contemplation of Jerome's translation progress, which he shares with us in a few of his letters and prefaces, in order to retrace his way *a trifaria varietate ad fontes* – or as he states it: *ad Hebraeos igitur revertendum est*.

Martijn Jaspers (University of Leuven)

***Bis repetita placent*: Jerome's Translation of Psalm Quotations  
in 1 Chronicles 16**

Saint Jerome (ca. 347-420) has made two translations of the Psalter that have come down to us: (1) the *Psalterium iuxta Septuaginta* (ca. 390), based on a Greek Vorlage, and the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* (ca. 392), based on a Hebrew Vorlage. When he was translating the Hebrew text of 1 Chronicles (ca. 396), however, Jerome was confronted with several lengthy Psalm quotations (from Ps 95, 104 and 105) in this book, so that he had to translate these Psalms for a third time. In this presentation, I will examine Jerome's translations of these Psalm quotations in 1 Chronicles 16, and compare these "late" renderings with the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* he translated earlier. Although Masoretic versions of these passages in the Psalter and 1 Chronicles are throughout very similar, they contain some important differences as well. I will examine to what extent Jerome has taken these differences and similarities into account when translating these texts. Moreover, it will appear that his Latin translations of Psalter verses in 1 Chronicles 16 sometimes differs, without any apparent reason motivated by the Vorlage, from the parallel verses in the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*. I will delve deeper into the mechanisms that caused these deviations, and make some concluding remarks about what these different versions of two similar source texts can tell us about (the evolution of) Jerome's translation technique and its value for textual criticism of the (Hebrew) Bible.

Anna Kraml (University of Innsbruck)

***Tu laetitia Israel* (Jdt 16,9 Vg): The Reception of Joy in the Vulgate  
Translation of the Old Testament**

Das Shortpaper befasst sich mit besonderen Aspekten der Rezeption der hebräischen aber auch der griechischen Rede von Freude im Alten Testament durch die Vulgata. Freude gehört zu den grundlegenden Emotionen des menschlichen Lebens und erfasst nicht nur den einzelnen Menschen, sondern die gesamte Gemeinschaft. Das hebräische Begriffsfeld der Freude ist dementsprechend vielschichtig und plural. Das stellt Übersetzende vor Herausforderungen, so auch Hieronymus, der die hebräischen Begriffe der Freude meist mit *laet*\* oder *gaud*\* wiedergibt. Dabei setzt Hieronymus durch seine Übersetzung klare theologische Akzente im Verständnis und der Interpretation der Freude, die über die zugrunde liegenden Texte

hinausgehen. Insbesondere diese Neuakzentuierungen möchte der Beitrag beleuchten.

Im Fokus stehen jene Stellen, denen Hieronymus durch seine Übersetzung eine Bedeutungsverschiebung zukommen lässt, beispielsweise die Festfreude des Deuteronomiums oder Judit, die in der Vulgata zur Freude eines ganzen Volkes wird. Gleichzeitig begegnen biblische Belegstellen, in denen Hieronymus auf Lexeme der Freude zurückgreift, ohne dass im Originaltext explizit auf Freude verwiesen wird. Diese veränderte Akzentuierung biblischer Texte hat auch Folgen für ihre Rezeption, wie insbesondere anhand des Buches Deuteronomium festgestellt werden kann. Aufgezeigt werden soll, welche Veränderungen, Neuakzentuierungen und Interpretationen durch die Übersetzung der hebräischen bzw. griechischen Texte vorgenommen werden und wie aus theologischer Sicht damit umgegangen werden kann.

509-41/4

*Wilhelm Tauwinkl (University of Bucharest)*  
**Alternative Translations of Difficult Original Terms  
in Parallel Passages of the Vulgate**

The issue of the notable differences between many translation options of the Vulgate and the contemporary way of translating the Bible is well known. Jerome himself was sometimes suspected of having only little knowledge in the field of biblical Hebrew; if this were true, it could have been the cause of several unusual Latin translations.

A look at a number of parallel passages of the Vulgate which contain alternative translations of difficult Hebrew or Greek terms could contribute to clarify the principles of translations Jerome used and to confirm the very good level of knowledge in Hebrew and Greek he actually had.

Examples would be the alternative *supersubstantialis/cotidianum* in the Lord's prayer and also the divergent translations of passages in the Psalter *iuxta Hebraeos* and in the Gallican one, even when the Greek rendering is similar to the original Hebrew.

The biblical commentaries of Jerome explain number of translation difficulties and support the idea that the renowned ancient scholar deliberately translated the same term in diverse ways to illustrate its manifold signification.



509-41/5

Lucas Brum Teixeira (Ruhr University Bochum)

***Accipies virginem cum timore Domini (Tob 6:22 Vg): Jerome's Translation Technique and Ascetic Ideals in the Vulgate of Tobit***

Jerome's *Tobias* represents a rather unique version of the book of Tobit. Translated towards the end of Jerome's translating activity and only at the instance of his patron friends, the Vulgate of Tobit displays unique features that mirror both Jerome's translation techniques and main ascetic ideals. Such features constitute important discerning criteria regarding the use of the Vulgate for textual criticism and may account for the rapid diffusion of and high esteem for Jerome's *Tobias* down the centuries. A case in point in that regard is the 7th century *Responsoria de Tobia* of Pope Gregory the Great.

509-41/6

Brigitta Schmid Pfändler (Faculty of Theology Chur)

***A Whole Profile in Just One Verse (Isaiah 53:3): The novissimum virorum***

The verse Isaiah 53:3 in the middle of the fourth Servant Song (Isa 52:13-53:12) can hardly be surpassed in drama in the Hebrew version. Here the life situation of the maltreated and afflicted subject of the song is described. A look at Jerome's independent translation of the ambiguous Hebrew nif'al forms into a Latin superlative. A precise grammatical analysis makes it clear that these forms represent far more than reflexive or passive meanings and therefore they raise many grammatical and semantical questions, which not least determine how this key verse can be interpreted theologically. These are central motives for taking a closer look at the syntax and word choice of Isaiah 53:3 in the different text versions and thus obtaining a clue to the subject of the entire poem.

511-40/1

Matthew Kraus (University of Cincinnati)

***The Vulgate and Jerome's Biblical Exegesis***

In the recent annotated German translation of the Vulgate produced by the Vulgata Verein, (Hieronymus. Biblia Sacra vulgata: Lateinisch-deutsch, vols. I-V, Andreas Beriger, Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers and Michael Fieger, ed., Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), Manfred Niehoff's and Michael Margoni-Kögler's versions of Isaiah 1-11 and 12-22 respectively incorporate references to Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah. The rarity of such intertextual reading of the Vulgate and Jerome's biblical commentaries in this German translation

correlates with a general inattention to the topic in monographs on the commentaries (e.g., Braverman, Jay, Kamesar, Graves – Hayward is a notable exception) and the Latin translation (Reuschenbach, Kedar-Kopfstein, Cameron, and Weigert). Close comparison of the Vulgate and Jerome's biblical exegesis rarely happens. The lacuna is surprising because Jerome composed his commentaries and exegetical letters before, during and after his work on the biblical translation. Moreover, Hebrew Questions on Genesis, Book of Places, and Book of the Interpretation of Hebrew Names represent preliminary tools for the version according to the Hebrews and broadly outline his translation techniques. Likewise, numerous references to Latin grammatical technical terms in his writings strongly suggest that grammatical categories informed his translation. Through a consideration of select examples, this paper recommends intertextual reading of the biblical translation by demonstrating the value of comparing specific renderings of the Vulgate to Jerome's exegetical comments. Namely, such comparisons clarify noteworthy features of the translation and offer evidence of how readers may have interpreted his renderings.

511-40/2

*Tobias Häner (Kölner Hochschule für Katholische Theologie)*

**Job, the *vir simplex* (Job 1:1, 8; 2:3):**

**Ambiguities in the Hebrew Book of Job and the Vulgate**

Beside the semantic and syntactic difficulties, one of the characteristics of the Hebrew text of the Book of Job are its ambiguities, as e.g. the opening narrative artfully plays with the double (resp. triple) meaning of the verb בָּרַךְ (Job 1:5, 10, 11, 21; 2:5, 9), to cite a well-known example. In the book as a whole, this stylistic feature contributes to the ambiguity of the main characters, namely Job and God (יְהוָה). The ancient versions reveal different strategies how to deal with the ambiguities of the Hebrew Vorlage by maintaining or – more often – reducing them, what mirrors distinguished theological purposes. In my paper, I will show how the Vulgate in some cases preserves the ambiguity that is found in the Hebrew text, whereas in other cases it is eliminated. By some examples from both the narrative frame and the poetic dialogue, I will highlight the theological impact of the translation strategy of the Vulgate regarding ambiguities. As we will see, the Vulgate by reducing ambiguities accentuates Job's exemplary status as innocent sufferer, but upholds the theological bearing of his accusations of God. In this sense, Job in the Vulgate is not a simple (*simplex*), but a highly complex character. As a final step, I will evidence how the translation strategy of the Vulgate is reflected also in the early reception history of the Book of Job in the Latin west.

Konrad Kremser (University of Vienna / University of Munich)

**Der hebräische Text von Psalm 45 [Ps 44 LXX, Vg]  
im Horizont der Version *iuxta Hebraicum***

Der Masoretentext von Psalm 45 (Ps 44 in der Zählung der Septuaginta und der Vulgata) enthält einige schwierige Stellen. Die Septuaginta behebt diese Schwierigkeiten elegant durch geringfügige Änderungen bei Vokalisierung und Verseinteilung, in einem besonders schwierigen Fall auch durch leichte Änderung des Konsonantentextes, was zu der Frage führt, ob aus der Septuaginta ein besserer hebräischer Text rekonstruiert werden kann als derjenige, der uns als Masoretentext vorliegt, oder die Septuaginta den Text nachträglich geglättet hat. In der Vulgata stehen beide Traditionsstränge jeweils in lateinischer Übersetzung nebeneinander. Die lateinische Version *iuxta Hebraicum* bezeugt dabei ein Verständnis des hebräischen Texts, wie es Ende des 4. Jh. n. Chr. gegeben war. Weiters kommentiert Hieronymus den Psalm in Ep. LXV (An Principia) und bespricht für einige Abschnitte auch die Übersetzung. Damit bietet sich die Möglichkeit, die prämasoretische Textvorlage des Hieronymus ansatzweise zu rekonstruieren und mit derjenigen (ebenfalls rekonstruierten) der Septuaginta sowie Textfragmenten aus Qumran zu vergleichen.

Michael Fieger (Faculty of Theology Chur)

**Mother's Curse at the Court of King Samuel (1 Sam 20:30)**

Jerome polarises or polemicises in verse 1 Sam 20:30 in two directions. He has King Saul superficially describe the relationship between his son Jonathan and the shepherd's son David as love using the vocabulary "diligere". A choice of words that is not compelling from the Hebrew or Greek original. At the same time, however, the mother is cursed in strong, unique formulations. Thus set in an inner tension, this verse raises the question: what impression of Jerome's image of man does his formulation leave here? The father curses the mother for the son's behaviour. This astonishing conclusion allows us to draw further conclusions about the Hebrew and Greek texts and thus to interpret these verses as well. An exegetical track is thus laid via the clarification of semantic image fields. The relationship between the two men is interpreted as love and the mother is cursed for it, and both situations remain in unresolved tension.

511-40/5

Matthias Ederer (University of Lucerne)

**Wondrous Things from the Banks of the Arnon River: Numbers 21:10-20  
in the Vulgate (and in Rabbinic Traditions)**

Numbers 21:10-20 provides an itinerary that sketches Israel's journeys through the areas east of the Dead Sea on both sides of the Arnon river. In the course of this journey Israel witnessed a salvation miracle like the one at the Red Sea (cf. Num 21:14-15) and a miraculous well "appeared" (apparuit, cf. Num 21:16), the wider "context" of which is illuminated by the song in Num 21:17-18 – all this according to the text of the Vulgate. In the Hebrew text, the "Vorlage" of Jerome, however, none of this content is to be found, at least not at first sight. The short paper attempts to describe the interesting relationship between the Vulgate and the Hebrew text of Num 21:13-18. It will show that the translation of Jerome – although it might initially seem to be a very free paraphrase of the Hebrew text – is based on a careful perception of syntactical and lexical aspects of its "Vorlage". It is to be assessed as an attempt to gain a deeper (and "reasonable") meaning from a pretty cryptic and "questionable" text by exegetical means.

Furthermore it is observable that the translation and interpretation of Num 21:13-18 in the Vulgate has some striking similarities with "translations" or interpretations of the passage that can be found in rabbinical literature (e.g. in Sifre or in various Targumim). So it is to be investigated to what extent Hieronymus refers to (or even presupposes) Jewish (rabbinical) traditions in his translation of Numbers 21:13-18, and it will be shown that the Text of the Vulgate, both in v. 14-15 and in v. 16, is not understandable without the knowledge of traditions that are tangible for us in ancient Jewish literature (from Eretz Israel).

511-40/6

Andreas Vonach (University of Innsbruck)

**Ist die Vergänglichkeit absurd?**

**Zur Wirkungsgeschichte der Wiedergabe von *hæbæl* als *vanitas***

Das hebräische Lexem *hæbæl*, das in seiner Grundbedeutung Windhauch, Verwehen, Vergänglichkeit, im übertragenen Sinn dann auch Nichts, Leere, Nichtigkeit bedeutet, kommt in der Hebräischen Bibel insgesamt 73 mal vor, wovon 40 Belege auf das Koheletbuch entfallen, wo der Begriff als Leitwort fungiert.

Die Vulgata gibt das Wort konsistent als *vanitas* wieder, das von seiner lateinischen Grundbedeutung her mit dem hebräischen Äquivalent durchaus weitestgehend kongruent ist. Hieronymus gibt über diese Kon-

gruenz in seinem Koheletkommentar auch deutliche Rechenschaft ab. Das aufgezeigte Bedeutungsspektrum von *hæbæl* / *vanitas* wird im Koheletbuch auch in seiner gesamten Breite ausgeschöpft, während alle anderen Vorkommen in der Grundbedeutung Verwehen / Vergänglichkeit verbleiben. In der Septuaginta wird der Begriff – ebenfalls durchgängig – als *mataiôtās* übersetzt, wodurch die hebräisch-lateinische Grundbedeutung in den Hintergrund tritt und das Spektrum Nichts, Leere, Nichtigkeit durch Sinnlosigkeit, Absurdität, Vergeblichkeit, Unnutzen angereichert wird.

In der abendländisch-christlichen Wirkungsgeschichte wurde dann dem lateinischen Begriff der *vanitas* auf diesem Hintergrund zunehmend die griechische „Färbung“ aufgedrückt. Dies führte im Falle der Rezeption des Koheletbuches zu einer eher pessimistisch ausgerichteten Auslegungstradition, im Falle der meisten anderen entsprechenden Bibelstellen zu einer regelrechten Bedeutungsverschiebung. Diese Entwicklung hatte aber nicht nur Auswirkungen auf die Rezeption der betreffenden Bibelperikopen, sondern ganz grundsätzlich auf die Rezeptionsgeschichte des Vanitas-Motivs in Kunst, Kultur, Literatur und Philosophie der europäischen Neuzeit und Moderne.

Leider tradieren auch rezente Übersetzungen und Revisionen der einschlägigen alttestamentlichen Texte sowohl aus dem Hebräischen als auch aus dem Lateinischen diese Bedeutungsverschiebung unreflektiert weiter.

# International Syriac Language Project (ISLP)

609-40/1

*Mathias Coeckelbergs (Université Libre de Bruxelles and Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven), Willem van Peursen (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam)*

## **Syriac Lexicography between Information Science and Linguistics**

Previous research based on the ColibriCore algorithm has allowed us to trace translation patterns between Hebrew Bible and the Peshitta, based on n-gram analysis. For every lexeme, we derived an index of the entire distribution of collocations for both languages. In this paper, we investigate how these patterns, based merely on surface forms, reflect deeper syntactic differences. In order to do that, we discern the twenty largest translation divergences between lexical n-grams, and investigate what syntactic patterns they reflect. This will allow us to determine these lexical divergences in terms of syntactic features such as valency on the one hand, but information theoretic notions such as entropy on the other in order to classify and explain the structures with highest divergence. After this concrete case study, we provide further insights into the possibilities and limits of comparing syntactic and information theoretic metrics for the lexicology of Syriac in particular, and ancient resources in general. Furthermore, we place this discussion in the recent resurgence of information theory in the field of linguistics.

609-40/2

*Michael Sokoloff (Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel)*

## **New Developments in Christian Palestinian Aramaic**

Since the publication of the speaker's *Dictionary of Christian Palestinian Aramaic* in 2014, there has been continued progress in the publication of new texts from the Old Period, some of which have now added new vocabulary to this First Millennium Aramaic dialect. The sources of the new texts come from: (1) new inscriptions on hard material, such as metals and mosaics; (2) republication of texts from St. Catherine's Monastery on the basis of new photographic techniques; (3) discovery of new palimpsests originating with

lower writing in CPA from the Cairo Geniza. The talk will survey the new finds and will deal with the new vocabulary items which have been found in them.

609-40/3

*James C. Wolfe (Princeton University),*

*Fatima Zohra Boumhaout (Princeton University)*

### **Syriac Terms for Roman Institutions:**

#### **An Exercise in Syriac Lexicography and the Digital Humanities**

Although we know that the Syriac language underwent significant lexical and syntactic changes due to contact with Greek in Roman imperial contexts (Butts 2016), there has yet to be a systematic analysis of the ways in which Syriac writers rendered *termini technici* of Roman law and the Roman imperial administration into Syriac. Similar studies on the evolution of post-classical Greek have proven vital to the study of the Roman state in late antiquity and Byzantium (Magie 1905, Mason 1974). There is no such study of Syriac terms for Roman institutions.

Despite the robust tradition of providing Greek and Latin glosses in Syriac lexica (Ferrari 1622, Brockelmann 1895, R. Payne Smith 1901, Köbert 1956, Sokoloff 2009) and the significant amount of scholarship on Syriac translations of Greek texts, few of these resources are readily accessible to non-specialists and many require knowledge of Greek or Latin. Our current project, Syriac Terms for Roman Institutions (STRI), will be an online searchable database of Syriac lexemes for non-specialists, collating pertinent lexical data from Syriac texts and the major Syriac lexica into one open access repository. Of particular interest are calques, idioms, and multiword lexemes that are not discussed in the lexica due to the conventions and restrictions of Syriac lexicography on the printed page.

With the support of a Seed Grant from the Center for Digital Humanities at Princeton University, a limited corpus prototype as a proof of concept will go live in June 2022. In this paper, in addition to outlining the in-scope goals of the prototype, we present our methods and some preliminary findings. We also discuss the future of the project and a roadmap for future collaboration with other projects in Syriac lexicography and the Digital Humanities.

609-40/4

*Jerome Lund (Independent Scholar, Norway)*

### **Peshitta Deuteronomy as a Reader-oriented Translation**

In the introduction to her translation of the Peshitta of Deuteronomy, Carmel McCarthy uses the poorly chosen rubric “Mistranslation” to group together a number of disparate readings found in the Peshitta. She indeed

recognizes this in part, but uses the term anyway. For her, the category “mistranslation” includes what she describes as “renderings where the differences between the Hebrew and the Syriac may be the result of errors, misreadings, mistranslations or approximations on the translator’s part.” She adds to this category some translations where the Peshitta “gives a free or non-literal rendering,” which translations, she confesses, might better fit under the heading “Interpretation” (her Addendum 7). I would like to reconsider a number of her examples and show that they are not mistranslations, but instead point to a reader-oriented translation rooted in the language and exegesis of the second century.

609-40/5

*Logan Copley (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam)*

### **The Peshitta’s Rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in Deuteronomy**

The Hebrew version of Deuteronomy preserved in the Masoretic Text contains many shifts between second person singular and plural. This shift occurs in verbs, suffixes, and personal pronouns. There are many competing theories on the origin of this phenomenon, however, there has been little study devoted to the ancient translators’ understanding of these shifts. In particular, no one has investigated how the translator of the Peshitta version of Deuteronomy translated these shifts.

This paper will explore the various translation techniques the translator employed to make sense of these shifts. Particular attention will be given to instances where the Peshitta version disagrees with the Masoretic Text and instances where the Peshitta agrees with the Septuagint version against the Masoretic Text. Using data compiled for the author’s dissertation, the investigation can look beyond granular, word-level detail to examine if the translator translated according to the number found his Hebrew *Vorlage* in certain linguistic contexts and not others. For example, does the translation differ in certain clause types or if the suffix is part of an object rather than the subject? This study will also explore whether certain lexemes are translated with a different number than their Hebrew counterparts at a higher frequency than other lexemes.

The goal of the paper is to provide an explanation of only one aspect of the translator’s technique and to provide a framework for investigating other examples of number switching that occur in Syriac translations of the Hebrew Bible.



*Amir Vasheghanifarahani (University of Tartu, Estonia)*

### **Poetology of the Peshitta Psalm 146: A Poetical Example of Translation**

The Psalter has been transmitted to us not in its original form but through a variety of manuscripts (Mss) that appear to have been written by the last scribes who brought it to a conclusion. Thus, the Peshitta can be taken as a reliable witness to an Old Testament Hebrew manuscript prior to the Masoretic Text. In light of Peshitta's edition and study, it is evident that the Hebrew model / *Vorlage* followed nearly the same principles as the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible. There is even evidence of a vocalization of the Hebrew text that stands very close to the ancient Masoretic recording made many centuries later. In the present study, which is based upon the Leiden edition of P and the *BHS* edition of MT, we would like to concentrate our attention upon Psalm 146, which displays a number of similarities and differences between the MT and P versions as far as poetology is concerned.

*David J. A. Clines (University of Sheffield)*

### **Defining Definitions: A Lexicographical Taxonomy**

In the last decades it has become quite fashionable in lexicographical circles to extol the merits of "definitions" in dictionaries, especially over against "glosses". But little attention has been given to the fundamental question of what a definition is, or can be. This paper sets out to define "definition" and to analyse the kinds of definitions a lexicon (especially of the ancient Hebrew language) might employ. The taxonomy developed here will, it is hoped, be of significance to lexicographers generally and especially to those working with ancient languages.

I will begin by distinguishing between definition and gloss. A *gloss* is a brief, usually one-word, statement of the meaning of a word. A *definition* is a longer statement of meaning, focusing on the nature or essence of the thing to be defined (that is, of the *definiendum*), showing what the word's senses may be. I argue that a gloss should not be conceived of as an opposite to a definition, but as a type of definition.

Definitions are generally categorized as "intensional" definitions, which state the necessary and sufficient features shared by all the items of a given term, and "extensional" definitions, which state the items that a term describes. But I would add in the case of a poorly attested language (like Classical Hebrew) two further distinctions, namely between "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" definitions. An intrinsic definition states the meaning of the term using the evidence available from the texts surviving in the language. Such

definitions, though evidence-based, can frequently be misleading because of the narrowness of their base. An extrinsic definition consists of data about the term that are derived from outside the textual evidence in the given language. In the case of the Hebrew lexicon, examples of extrinsic definitions include the year dates of persons or the modern location of places or the scientific names of plants and animals.

My paper will also introduce other types of definition, such as encyclopaedic, negational, attestational and exegetical, and give examples of all the types of definition surveyed.

611-40/2

*Mats Eskhult (University of Uppsala, Sweden)*  
**Time and Tense in Biblical Hebrew Narration,  
Description, Admonition, and Prediction**

Metaphors that are connected to the notion of time constitute a coherent system in the conceptualization of human experience. Man exists in time and speaks of situations located in time by means of tenses. Cross linguistically, some metaphors depict time as moving towards man, others depict it as stationary and man as moving through it.

In Biblical Hebrew and cognate Semitic languages the past is expressed as something that lies “in front” of man, while the future is located “behind”. Instead of man facing time, time is so to speak catching up from behind; and when it goes by, the past is visible in front of man, while the future being behind remains unseen.

The biblical author, when translating this inner “landscape” into the linguistic categories of narration, had to chisel out the contrast between foreground and background and the distinction between telling the stream of events and showing ongoing activity.

Dialogue, referring to what is actual and present at the point of speech, makes little use of these distinctions. Catchwords in biblical discourse are to a great extent hortatory, and consequently modal in character involving expressions of wish, obligation, permission, liability, and eventuality.

However, all statements referring to the future are not modal. They are often predictive and thus real rather than potential – an observation that might explain why Biblical Hebrew predictive discourse employs the essentially non-modal *wegatal* as its leading form.

611-40/3

*Carolyn Alsen (University of Divinity, Melbourne, Australia)***Some Linguistic and Social Observations on Two Syriac Inscriptions from St Paul's Monastery**

At the monastery of St Paul, on the Red Sea, two Garshuni inscriptions in West Syriac, one diglot with Arabic, are seen at the conclusion of Arabic hagiographical volumes (Hist. 68 and 70). These inscriptions are selected in this paper for two reasons. One purpose is the provenance and date of the inscriptions, in the eighteenth-century Coptic resurgence, which occasioned the production of liturgy, manuscripts and other cultural practices in Cairene Coptic communities. These texts may be related to the important role of the larger *arakhina* scribal system and the *Archons* in the reestablishment of the previously destroyed monastery, after periods of power vacuums in Ottoman Egypt. The monastery itself has a Syrian historical presence, either in pilgrimage or part of a united St Antony/St Paul *hegoumenos*. A working hypothesis is suggested that these manuscripts and material culture and the multi-cultural history of the monastery reflects some of this history. A second purpose is to examine the similarity of the hand and language of these inscriptions. This paper will use the first purpose to situate the inscriptions and hypothesise authorship within a multicultural and postcolonial Coptic experience. Secondly, the paper then conducts a cognitive linguistic study including descriptive linguistic observations on orthography, idiom and grammatical construction. Far beyond Syriac late antiquity and the Syriac Renaissance, material culture of this kind reflects a respect for former works and the survival of minorities of faith over time.

611-40/4

*Daniel King (SIL and Cardiff University)***The Syriac Philosophical Lexicon: An Example of Its Development**

We will present a short example of how ordinary Syriac terms could be adapted in their usage to function as translation terms for Greek philosophy, and how such terms could shift their usages over time.

611-40/5

*James Nathan Ford (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)***Lexical Peculiarities of the Syriac Magic Bowls**

As is well known, the language of the Syriac magic bowls shows many phonological and grammatical features which distinguish it from Classical Syr-

iac. This paper deals with the elements of the lexicon of these bowls which are not presently attested in Classical Syriac. Many of the terms are shared with the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic and/or Mandaic magic bowls, while a few are unique to the Syriac tradition. They include both native Aramaic lexemes and loan-words from Akkadian and Persian.

611-40/6

*Shlomi Efrati (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium)*

**Bulls and Filth: New Readings in the Aramaic Levi Document**

The Aramaic Levi Document (henceforth ALD) is an Early Jewish composition describing the life and priestly initiation of—not surprisingly—the patriarch Levi. Fragments of ALD were preserved in several manuscripts in Qumran, in a single medieval manuscript from the Cairo genizah, and in a Greek translation. The reconstruction of the early form(s) of ALD is a formidable task, both due to the fragmentary state of the textual witnesses and because they exhibit various textual discrepancies. While many of these discrepancies most likely reflect corrupt textual transmission, they might also attest to ALD's varying textual forms already in Antiquity. In this paper I will offer new textual and lexical interpretations of a couple of passages from the priestly instructions in ALD, carried out as part of the preparation of a new edition of the Aramaic Qumran scrolls, directed by prof. Elisha Qimron. On the basis of a fresh examination of the fragmentary manuscripts, both from Qumran and the genizah, and a new collation of all the textual evidence, I will point to hitherto unnoticed lexical and terminological correlations between ALD, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Rabbinic Hebrew. These interpretations, if correct, contribute new lexemes to the Aramaic lexicon, while the terminological correlations between ALD—in its various versions—and the Rabbinic sources point to the antiquity of certain Rabbinic cultic terms and help affirm the historical-cultic reality behind both the literary fiction of ALD and the exegetical innovations of the Rabbis.

**Biblical Studies in Zurich (1525–2022) /  
Bibelwissenschaft in Zürich (1525–2022)**



## Prophezei, Schola Tigurina and Carolinum / Prophezei, Schola Tigurina und Carolinum

**T**he Theological Faculty of the University of Zurich has been in existence since 1883 and, as such, is as old as the university itself. However, its history is older, because the University of Zurich stands in continuity with – among other things – a higher theological teaching institution that existed at Grossmünster since the Reformation. Even before the Reformation, Grossmünster was home to theological training, essentially in the form of a Latin school. It reached its heyday in the 13th century with Konrad von Mure (i.e., Muri), who is documented as leading the collegiate school (1244–1271), as the canon at Grossmünster (from 1246) and as the cantor (from 1259). The function of this school was limited, however, and so actual higher theological training had to be sought outside of Zurich, such as in Basel, Heidelberg, Vienna, Paris, Milan, Bologna or Pisa.

With the Reformation in Zurich, led by Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), the need arose for Zurich to have its own self-sufficient institution for theological education:

**D**ie Theologische Fakultät der Universität Zürich besteht seit 1833 und ist damit so alt wie die Universität selbst. Doch ihre Geschichte ist älter, denn die Universität Zürich führt – unter anderem – eine höhere theologische Lehranstalt weiter, die am Grossmünster seit der Reformation bestand. Schon vor der Reformation unterhielt das Grossmünster eine Theologenausbildung, die allerdings im Wesentlichen eine Lateinschule war. Sie erreichte eine gewisse Blüte im 13. Jahrhundert mit Konrad von Mure (d.h. Muri), der die Stiftsschule leitete (1244–1271) und als Chorherr am Grossmünster (ab 1246) und als Kantor belegt ist (ab 1259). Die Funktion dieser Schule war allerdings beschränkter Natur, und so musste die eigentliche höhere theologische Bildung ausserhalb von Zürich bezogen werden, etwa in Basel, Heidelberg, Wien, Paris, Mailand, Bologna oder Pisa.

Mit der Reformation in Zürich durch Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) entstand die Notwendigkeit einer eigenen, autarken theologischen Lehranstalt in Zürich: Die

the new teaching required academic self-reflection on site. Therefore, the preexisting Latin school at the canons' monastery had a theological teaching institution – with a Reformation foundation – added to it.

On 29 September 1523, the Zurich Council passed a resolution to establish such a theological center, which was called the “Lectorium” or “*Lectiones publicae*,” and also later became known as the “Prophezei.” The secularization of the Grossmünster institution, which occurred as part of the Reformation in Zurich, allowed the Prophezei to become financed. The funds were primarily used for the employment of professors, who – in keeping with the humanistic orientation of the Zurich Reformation – were oriented toward philology. One of the first teachers was Jakob Ceporin (Wiesendanger) (1499/1500–1525), who had studied in Cologne, Vienna as well as in Ingolstadt with Johannes Reuchlin, before he became professor for Greek and Hebrew at the Prophezei. He authored a Greek Grammar, which received countless new editions and remained in use in Zurich schools until the 18th century. His successor, Konrad Pelikan (1478–1556), came from Alsace and had studied in Heidelberg, Tübingen and also under Reuchlin in Ingolstadt. In Zurich, Pelikan became one of the most important translators of the Zürcher Bibel (Zurich Bible) and authored a seven-volume commentary to accompany it (the first ever Protestant commentary for the entire Bible).

The number of canons at the institute declined from 24 to 18 in the course of its secularization. These became pastors at Grossmünster and its branches, as well as teachers at the new school. On 19 June 1525 the Prophezei was opened. It assumed a middle position between a Latin school and a University, as it was not intended to

neue Lehre bedurfte der akademischen Selbstreflexion vor Ort. Deshalb sollte die bestehende Lateinschule am Chorherrenstift um eine theologische Lehranstalt auf reformatorischer Grundlage ergänzt werden.

Am 29. September 1523 traf der Rat von Zürich den Beschluss über die Errichtung einer solchen theologischen Lehranstalt, die als «Lectorium» oder «*Lectiones publicae*» bezeichnet und später auch als «Prophezei» bekannt wurde. Durch die Säkularisation des Grossmünsterstifts im Laufe der Reformation in Zürich konnte die Prophezei finanziert werden. Die Mittel flossen vor allem in die Anstellung von Professoren, die entsprechend der humanistischen Ausrichtung der Zürcher Reformation philologisch ausgerichtet waren. Einer der ersten Lehrer war Jakob Ceporin (Wiesendanger) (1499/1500–1525), der in Köln, Wien sowie in Ingolstadt bei Johannes Reuchlin studiert hatte, bevor er Professor für Griechisch und Hebräisch an der Prophezei wurde. Er verfasste eine Griechischgrammatik, die zahlreiche Auflagen erlebte und noch bis in das 18. Jahrhundert an Zürcher Schulen in Gebrauch stand. Sein Nachfolger Konrad Pelikan (1478–1556) stammte aus dem Elsass, hatte in Heidelberg und Tübingen sowie ebenfalls unter Reuchlin in Ingolstadt studiert und kam dann nach Zürich, wo er einer der wichtigsten Mitarbeiter an der Übersetzung der Zürcher Bibel wurde und einen siebenbändigen Kommentar zu ihr verfasste – der erste protestantische Kommentar zur gesamten Bibel überhaupt.

Die Anzahl der Chorherren am Stift wurde im Zuge seiner Säkularisation von 24 auf 18 reduziert. Diese wurden nun als Pfarrer am Grossmünster und dessen Filialen sowie als Lehrer an der neuen Schule angestellt. Am 19. Juni 1525 wurde die Prophezei eröffnet. Sie nahm eine Mittelstellung zwischen Lateinschule und Universität ein, da



replace the theological studies in foreign universities. At that time there was no plan to found a university. The Prophezei offered classes that combined elements of a contemporary Old Testament Seminary with those of a church service. Classes were held at 8 am every day (except Fridays and Sundays), initially for theologians – professors and pastors – who devoted themselves to the continuous interpretation of the Old Testament. The text was read, verse by verse, in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and interpreted. At 9 am the public could join in, and the text was translated into German and presented in the form of a sermon. Ceporin and later Pellikan were responsible for the Hebrew, Zwingli for the Septuagint texts, and the sermons in German were mostly performed by Leo Jud. A parallel class for the interpretation of the New Testament took place in the afternoons in Fraumünster, in which Zwingli was often also involved. There were only a few days in the year in which no lessons were conducted.

The classes at the Prophezei demonstrated that Zwingli wished to create a priesthood that was primarily philologically trained. In this Zwingli was influenced by the corresponding demands of Erasmus from Rotterdam, who had founded a similarly structured “Collegium Trilingue” in Leuven (1517–1519).

After Zwingli's death in the Second War of Kappel (11 October 1531), Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575) was promoted to the head of the Prophezei. Bullinger had studied in Cologne and taught at the cloister school in Kappel am Albis (1523–1529), where he formed a close relationship with Zwingli. Subsequently Bullinger was a pastor in Bremgarten, the city of his birth (1529–1531). After Zwingli's death he created a permanent church constitution

sie nicht das Theologiestudium an auswärtigen Universitäten ersetzen sollte. Eine Universitätsgründung war damals nie geplant. Die Prophezei bot einen Unterricht, der Elemente eines heutigen alttestamentlichen Seminars mit denen eines Gottesdienstes kombinierte. Jeden Tag, ausgenommen Sonntag und Freitag, fand der Unterricht um 8 Uhr zunächst unter den Theologen – Professoren und Pfarrern – statt, die sich der fortlaufenden Auslegung des Alten Testaments widmeten. Der Text wurde Vers für Vers auf Hebräisch, Griechisch und Lateinisch vorgelesen und ausgelegt. Um 9 Uhr stiess das Volk hinzu, und nun wurden diese Auslegungen ins Deutsche übertragen und in Form einer Predigt vorgetragen. Für das Hebräische waren Ceporin und dann Pellikan zuständig, die Septuaginta-Auslegung übernahm Zwingli, und die deutsche Predigt wurde meistens von Leo Jud wahrgenommen. Am Fraumünster gab es nachmittags eine Parallelveranstaltung zur Auslegung des Neuen Testaments, an der Zwingli auch oft mitwirkte. Nur an wenigen Tagen des Jahres fand kein Unterricht statt.

Der Unterricht an der Prophezei zeigt, dass Zwingli sich eine Pfarrerschaft wünschte, die vor allem philologisch ausgebildet war. Zwingli war hier von entsprechenden Forderungen Erasmus von Rotterdams beeinflusst, welcher das ähnlich aufgebaute «Collegium Trilingue» in Löwen ins Leben gerufen hatte (1517–1519).

Nach dem Tod Zwinglis in der Schlacht bei Kappel (11. Oktober 1531) rückte Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575) zum leitenden Kopf der Prophezei auf. Bullinger hatte in Köln studiert und wirkte als Lehrer an der Klosterschule in Kappel am Albis (1523–1529), wo sich eine enge Verbindung zu Zwingli ergeben hatte. Anschliessend war er Pfarrer in seiner Geburtsstadt Bremgarten (1529–1531). Nach Zwinglis Tod schuf er eine dauerhafte

and helped the Zurich school attain a high reputation by appointing proven scholars. Bullinger was one of the most important and well-known intellectuals of his time: his correspondence comprises some 12,000 surviving letters and demonstrates that he maintained contacts throughout all of Europe.

Soon new subjects (rhetoric, dialectics and philosophy) joined ancient languages and biblical interpretation at the Zurich school. A chair of natural science was even established in 1541 and granted to Konrad Gessner (1516–1565). The thinking behind this was that the workings of divine providence could be observed in nature and that, accordingly, natural history should also be part of the curriculum of a theological teaching institution. Gessner was one of the most outstanding scholars of his time. He had studied in the universities of Bourges and Paris (1533–1534) and in 1537 became the professor for Greek in the Reformed Academy in Lausanne. Furthermore, he obtained a doctorate in medicine from Basel (1541). In 1555 he published the “Mithridates,” the first draft of a comparative linguistics study. In 1559 this was followed by the *editio princeps* of Marcus Aurelius’ “Meditationes.” His most famous works are the “Bibliotheca universalis” (1545) – the first bibliography available in printed form of every Hebrew, Greek and Latin work known at the time – and the “Historia animalium” (1551–1558) – the foundation of modern descriptive zoology. The “Descriptio montis Fracti” (1555) is considered the first work of plant geography. Gessner succumbed to the plague in 1565, which also raged through Zurich.

For some time, Karlstadt (aka Andreas Bodenstein, 1486–1541) also offered lectures on secular law. Zwingli arranged his

Kirchenverfassung und verhalf der Zürcher Schule durch die Berufung ausgewiesener Gelehrter zu hohem Ansehen. Bullinger gehörte zu den wichtigsten und bekanntesten Intellektuellen seiner Zeit: seine Briefkorrespondenz umfasst etwa 12'000 überlieferte Schreiben und zeigt, dass er Kontakte in ganz Europa pflegte.

Bald traten in der Zürcher Schule Rhetorik, Dialektik und Philosophie als neue Fächer neben die alten Sprachen und die Bibelauslegung. 1541 wurde sogar ein Lehrstuhl für Naturwissenschaften eingerichtet, der Konrad Gessner (1516–1565) übertragen wurde. Der dahinterstehende Gedanke war, dass sich das Walten der göttlichen Vorsehung in der Natur beobachten lasse und entsprechend auch Naturkunde zum Lehrangebot einer theologischen Lehranstalt zu gehören habe. Gessner gehörte zu den herausragendsten Gelehrten seiner Zeit. Er hatte an den Universitäten Bourges und Paris studiert (1533–1534), und er wurde 1537 als Professor für Griechisch an die reformierte Akademie in Lausanne berufen. Er erlangte zudem in Basel ein Doktorat in Medizin (1541). 1555 veröffentlichte er den «Mithridates», der den ersten Entwurf einer vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft darstellt, 1559 folgte die *editio princeps* von Marc Aurels «Meditationes». Am bekanntesten sind seine «Bibliotheca universalis» (1545), die erste in Druckform vorliegende Bibliographie aller damals bekannten hebräischen, griechischen und lateinischen Werke, sowie seine «Historia animalium» (1551–1558), die die moderne beschreibende Zoologie begründete. Die «Descriptio montis Fracti» (1555) gilt als das erste Werk der Pflanzengeografie. Gessner erlag der 1565 auch in Zürich wütenden Pest.

Während einiger Zeit bot auch Karlstadt (Andreas Bodenstein, 1486–1541) Vorlesungen über weltliches Recht an. Er war

move to Zurich in 1530, where he worked as a pastor and legal advisor; from 1534, under the leadership of Heinrich Bullinger, Karlstadt taught as professor of theology at the University of Basel, which had been founded in 1460.

From 1559, the Prophezei was classified as a high school of theology and henceforth bore the name *Schola Tigurina* (Zurich school). In 1601 it became part of the *Carolinum*, which consisted of theological, philological and philosophical departments and whose name refers to Charlemagne (Carolus Magnus, i.e., Karl der Grosse), the legendary founder of Grossmünster, who, however, was probably never in Zurich himself. The name *Schola Tigurina* came to be known with the publication of the “Karlstagsreden” (1662 and 1663) by Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667), in which he presented the history of what he called the *Schola Tigurina Carolina* from Charlemagne, whom he considered to be the founder. Hottinger, one of the most outstanding figures of the Carolinum, attended the schools in Zurich and then travelled to Geneva as well as to France, to the Netherlands and to England for his studies. In Leiden he studied Hebrew, Arabic, Syrian and Aramaic. In 1642 he returned to Zurich and worked as the professor of Church History, Oriental Studies and Rhetoric at the Carolinum. In 1655 he was called by the prince-elector of the Palatinate for the reorganization of the theological faculty in Heidelberg and became the professor of Oriental Studies. From 1661 onwards he returned to the Carolinum in Zurich as the rector. Shortly before his death he accepted a call to the University of Leiden but drowned in the Limmat that same year.

In the 17th century, the influence of Protestant orthodoxy on teaching at the Carolinum became noticeable, such that the biblical *dicta probantia* (“proof pas-

1530 auf Vermittlung Zwinglis nach Zürich gekommen und wirkte dort als Pfarrer und juristischer Berater; ab 1534, nun auf Fürsprache durch Heinrich Bullinger, lehrte er als Professor der Theologie an der Universität Basel, die 1460 gegründet worden war.

Ab 1559 wurde die Prophezei als Hohe Schule für Theologie eingestuft und trug fortan den Namen Schola Tigurina (Zürcher Schule). 1601 wurde sie Teil des Carolinum, das aus einer theologischen, philologischen und philosophischen Abteilung bestand und dessen Name sich auf Karl den Grossen bezieht, den legendären Stifter des Grossmünsters, der allerdings wahrscheinlich nie in Zürich war. Die Bezeichnung bürgerte sich spätestens seit den 1664 publizierten Karlstagsreden (1662 und 1663) von Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667) ein, in denen er die Geschichte der von ihm so genannten Schola Tigurina Carolina seit Karl dem Grossen darstellte, den er für ihren Gründer hielt. Hottinger selbst, eine der herausragenden Figuren des Carolinum, besuchte die Schulen in Zürich, reiste dann studienhalber nach Genf sowie nach Frankreich, in die Niederlande und nach England. In Leiden studierte er Hebräisch, Arabisch, Syrisch und Aramäisch. 1642 kehrte er nach Zürich zurück und wirkte er als Professor für Kirchengeschichte, Orientalistik und Rhetorik am Carolinum. 1655 wurde er vom Kurfürsten der Pfalz zur Neuaufrichtung der Theologischen Fakultät und als Professor für Orientalistik nach Heidelberg berufen. Von 1661 an war er als Rektor wieder am Carolinum in Zürich. Kurz vor seinem Tod nahm er einen Ruf an die Universität Leiden an, ertrank aber noch im selben Jahr in der Limmat.

Im 17. Jahrhundert wurde der Einfluss der protestantischen Orthodoxie auf den Lehrbetrieb am Carolinum spürbar, indem im Lektorium die biblischen *dicta probantia* („Beweis-

sages”) now occupied the central position for theological studies. According to the general state of Protestant Theology at the time, even outside of Zurich, the focus of interest was the teaching: one set out to find biblical passages that could substantiate the corresponding Protestant doctrines. With this approach, the Bible and theology related to each other like implicit foundation and systematic explication. Yet this approach lacked the awareness of the historical distance to the Bible on the one hand and the recognition of multiple voices within the biblical text itself on the other.

The inflexibility of the content was made more problematic since only citizens could become professors at the Carolinum. Thus, although there were still a few outstanding figures at the Carolinum, such as the aforementioned Johann Heinrich Hottinger or his successor Johann Heinrich Heidegger (1633–1698), the former glory of the institution had faded. Heidegger, a son of a chapter dean and born in Bärenswil, studied at the Zurich Carolinum, in Marburg and in Heidelberg (with Johann Heinrich Hottinger) before he worked as a professor in Steinfurt (Westphalia) (1659–1665) and then as the Professor for Exegesis and Dogmatics in Zurich (1667). In addition to the accomplishments of Hottinger and Heidegger, the fully revised edition of the Zwingli Bible should be mentioned as a scholarly achievement of the Carolinum during that time (1665/1667).

Johann Jakob Scheuchzer (1672–1722), who worked from 1710 as a professor of mathematics and later of physics, lent the Carolinum some short-term splendor, even though he had to contend with great resistance from the Zurich orthodoxy regarding his advocacy of the Copernican worldview. Scheuchzer had studied Natural Phi-

stellen“) für das theologische Lehrstudium nun die zentrale Stellung einnehmen. Im Mittelpunkt des Interesses stand – entsprechend der damaligen Verfassung der protestantischen Theologie auch ausserhalb Zürichs – das protestantische Lehrgebäude, von dem ausgehend man sich auf die Suche nach Bibelstellen machte, die die entsprechenden Lehrsätze begründen könnten. Bibel und Theologie verhielten sich in dieser Zugangsweise zueinander wie implizite Grundlage und systematische Explikation. Doch mangelte es dieser Zugangsweise einerseits am Bewusstsein der historischen Distanz zur Bibel und andererseits an der Anerkennung der Vielstimmigkeit der Bibel selbst.

Zur inhaltlichen Unbeweglichkeit trat erschwerend hinzu, dass nur noch Stadtbürger zu Professoren am Carolinum ernannt werden konnten. So fanden sich im Carolinum zwar noch einzelne herausragende Gestalten wie der bereits erwähnte Johann Heinrich Hottinger oder auch dessen Nachfolger Johann Heinrich Heidegger (1633–1698), aber der vormalige Glanz der Institution war verblichen. Heidegger, als Sohn eines Kapiteldekans in Bärenswil geboren, studierte am Zürcher Carolinum, in Marburg und Heidelberg (bei Johann Heinrich Hottinger), bevor er als Professor in Steinfurt (Westfalen) wirkte (1659–1665) und in Zürich die Professur für Exegese und Dogmatik antrat (1667). Neben den Leistungen von Hottinger und Heidegger ist als wissenschaftliche Errungenschaft des Carolinums in jener Zeit die Totalrevision der Zwingli-Bibel zu erwähnen (1665/1667).

Kurzfristigen Glanz verlieh dem Carolinum der ab 1710 dort als Mathematik- und später Physikprofessor wirkende Johann Jakob Scheuchzer (1672–1722), auch wenn er bezüglich der von ihm vertretenen kopernikanischen Weltansicht mit grossen Widerständen in der Zürcher Orthodoxie zu

losophy at the university in Altdorf near Nuremberg where he became familiar with the technique of experimentation. In 1694 he was awarded a doctorate in medicine in Utrecht. In 1695 he returned to Zurich and became the secondary city physician, in 1697 he also became the actuary of the learned “Gesellschaft der Wohlgesinnten” (Society of the Well Minded). In the same year, he became a member of the *Academia naturae curiosorum* (the later Leopoldina) and in 1704 he also became a member of the Royal Society in London. A few months before his death, Scheuchzer returned to Zurich as a Professor of Physics, he also became the primary city physician and the canon.

A chair of Political Science was first established at the Carolinum in 1731. Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698–1783), who had attended the Latin School and the Collegium Carolinum in Zurich, worked as a silk merchant (from 1718) and as a steward of the Carolinum (from 1725), and then became the first to hold the chair of Helvetic History (1731–1775). He was also a member of the Grand Council (from 1747). As early as 1720, he began a long-standing collaboration with Johann Jakob Breitingner (1701–1776), who was a student at the Carolinum and later became the Professor of Hebrew (from 1731) as well as Professor of Logic and Rhetoric (from 1740). In 1745 he became Professor of Greek and the canon of Grossmünster. Johann Jacob Zimmermann (1695–1757) stood his ground as one of the leading figures in contemporary Enlightenment theology, which also succeeded in establishing itself at the Carolinum. He fought against the dominant dogmatics as well as the atheism (or deism) that was breaking in from France and the Netherlands; he adhered to natural theology and philosophical ethics. His festive speech on Karlstag in 1741 led to protests

kämpfen hatte. Scheuchzer hatte an der Universität in Altdorf bei Nürnberg Naturphilosophie studiert und war dort mit der Technik des Experimentierens vertraut geworden. 1694 wurde er in Utrecht zum Dr. med. promoviert. 1695 kehrte er nach Zürich zurück und wurde zweiter Stadtarzt sowie 1697 Aktuar der gelehrten Gesellschaft der Wohlgesinnten. Im selben Jahr nahm ihn die *Academia naturae curiosorum* (die spätere Leopoldina) und 1704 die Royal Society in London als Mitglied auf. Wenige Monate vor seinem Tod rückte Scheuchzer in Zürich zum Physikprofessor, zugleich zum ersten Stadtarzt und Chortherrn auf.

Ein staatswissenschaftlicher Lehrstuhl wurde am Carolinum erstmals 1731 eingerichtet. Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698–1783), der die Lateinschule und das Collegium Carolinum in Zürich besucht hatte, als Kaufmann im Seidenhandel arbeitete (ab 1718) und als Verweser am Carolinum wirkte (ab 1725), bekleidete diesen Lehrstuhl für Helvetische Geschichte als erster (1731–1775). Er war auch Mitglied des Grossen Rates (ab 1747). Bereits um 1720 begann die langjährige Zusammenarbeit mit Johann Jakob Breitingner (1701–1776), der selbst ein Schüler des Carolinums war, später dort Professor des Hebräischen (ab 1731) sowie zudem der Logik und Rhetorik (ab 1740). 1745 wurde er Professor für Griechisch und zugleich Chortherr am Grossmünster. Als einer der führenden Köpfe der zeitgenössischen Aufklärungstheologie, die sich auch am Carolinum etablieren konnte, behauptete sich Johann Jacob Zimmermann (1695–1757). Er bekämpfte sowohl die herrschende Dogmatik als auch den aus Frankreich und den Niederlanden einbrechenden Atheismus bzw. Deismus; er hielt sich an natürliche Theologie und philosophische Ethik. Seine Festrede zum Karlstag 1741 führte zu Protes-

from the clergy and almost cost him his chair.

German was introduced as the teaching language at the Carolinum in 1773. Yet the school remained under the complete control of the clergy, and professorships were still only available to Zurich citizens; thus at the beginning of the 19th century the educational institute no longer enjoyed a prominent reputation.

ten der Pfarrerschaft und kostete ihn fast den Lehrstuhl.

Im Carolinum wurde 1773 Deutsch als Unterrichtssprache eingeführt. Doch da die Schule ganz in der Kontrolle der Geistlichkeit verblieb und ihre Professorenstellen nach wie vor nur mit Zürchern besetzt waren, genoss sie Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts keinen herausragenden Ruf mehr als Bildungsanstalt.

## The Theological Faculty of the University of Zurich / Die Theologische Fakultät der Universität Zürich

**T**he University of Zurich was established in 1833, both in continuity but also in discontinuity with the Carolinum, its most important predecessor institution. The financial prerequisites for the construction of a university were created through the abolition of the Grossmünster seminary; with this decision, the assets of the foundation could be used to finance the new university.

The foundation ceremony of the new university was held in Grossmünster on 29 April 1833. Four faculties were established: Theology, Medicine, Philosophy and Law. The university thus replaced the functions of the preceding institutions – the Carolinum, the Medical-Surgical Institute and the Political Institute – all of which were consequently closed. It was not officially called a “university” until 1912, when the new building at Rämistrasse 71 had been made possible through the referendums of 1908 and 1911; before that it was a “high school.”

As far as the filling of the professor positions was concerned, it was decided that those holding positions in the former institutions would not simply be reap-

**D**ie Universität Zürich entstand 1833, und zwar sowohl in Kontinuität als auch in Diskontinuität zum Carolinum, ihrer wichtigsten Vorgängerinstitution. Die finanziellen Voraussetzungen für den Aufbau einer Hochschule wurden durch die Aufhebung des Grossmünsterstifts geschaffen; mit diesem Beschluss konnte das Vermögen des Stifts für die Finanzierung der neuen Universität verwendet werden.

Die Stiftungsfeier der neuen Universität fand am 29. April 1833 im Grossmünster statt. Es wurden vier Fakultäten eingerichtet: je eine für Theologie, Medizin, Philosophie und Jurisprudenz. Die Hochschule übernahm somit die Funktionen der Vorgängerinstitutionen – des Carolinums, des Medizinisch-chirurgischen und des Politischen Instituts –, die allesamt mit der Eröffnung der Hochschule geschlossen wurden. Sie hiess erst ab 1912 amtlich «Universität», nachdem der Neubau an der Rämistrasse 71 durch die Volksentscheide von 1908 und 1911 möglich geworden worden war; zuvor sprach man von «Hochschule».

Was die Besetzung der Professorenstellen an der neuen Universität betraf, so



pointed but that full professorships would be granted to scholars of impeccable scientific reputation from Germany, who were easy to recruit thanks to the reactionary political climate in the early 1830s. The Zurich scholars could be appointed as extraordinaries if they were sufficiently qualified.

The first semester at the University of Zurich began on 1 May 1833. Eighteen professors and twenty-eight private lecturers gave lectures – 11 in theology, 16 in political science, 24 in medicine and 54 in philosophy – before one hundred and fifty-nine enrolled students. Sixteen of these studied theology, twenty-five studied law, ninety-seven studied medicine and twenty-one studied philosophy. Thirty-five percent of the students came from Zurich, forty-three percent came from other Swiss Cantons and twenty-two percent were foreigners.

The Faculty of Theology initially consisted of two full and three associate professors. Corresponding to the maxim of the new high school, the full professors were appointed from abroad, while the local scholars could be employed as extraordinaries. One full professor was Heinrich Christian Michael Rettig from Giessen. He was appointed as Professor of Dogmatics, Church History and the clarification of the New Testament. He published works on Xenophon, Ctesias, the Apocalypse of John and the Epistle to the Philippians. His writing on “The Free Protestant Church or the Ecclesiastical Constitutional Principles of the Gospel” (1832) caused a sensation as it promoted the separation of church and state. He was regarded as an inspiring teacher beyond faculty borders and was elected as rector in 1835. At the age of 37, only three weeks after being granted citizenship by the city

wurde beschlossen, nicht einfach die Stelleninhaber der Vorgängerinstitutionen zu berufen, sondern jedenfalls für die ordentlichen Professuren Gelehrte von einwandfreier wissenschaftlicher Reputation aus Deutschland vorzusehen, die dank des reaktionären politischen Klimas im Deutschland der frühen 1830er Jahre auch leicht zu gewinnen waren. Die Zürcher Gelehrten konnten bei hinreichender Eignung als Extraordinarien angestellt werden.

Am 1. Mai 1833 begann das erste Semester an der Universität Zürich. 18 Professoren und 28 Privatdozenten hielten Vorlesungen – 11 theologische, 16 staatswissenschaftliche, 24 medizinische und 54 philosophische – vor 159 immatrikulierten Studierenden. Von ihnen studierten 16 Theologie, 25 Jurisprudenz, 97 Medizin und 21 Philosophie. 35 Prozent der Studierenden waren Zürcher, 43 Prozent kamen aus anderen Kantonen, 22 Prozent waren Ausländer.

Die Theologische Fakultät bestand anfänglich aus 2 ordentlichen und 3 ausserordentlichen Professoren. Der Maxime der neuen Hochschule entsprechend wurden die Ordinarien aus dem Ausland berufen, während die lokalen Gelehrten als Extraordinarien angestellt werden konnten. Der eine Ordinarius war Heinrich Christian Michael Rettig aus Giessen. Er wurde zum Professor für Dogmatik, Kirchengeschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testaments bestellt und publizierte über Xenophon, Ktesias, die Johannesapokalypse und den Philipperbrief. Aufsehen erregte seine Schrift über «Die freie protestantische Kirche oder die kirchlichen Verfassungsgrundsätze des Evangeliums» (1832), in der er die Trennung von Kirche und Staat empfahl. Er galt als anregender Lehrer über die Fakultätsgrenzen hinaus und wurde 1835 zum Rektor gewählt. Nur drei Wochen nachdem ihm die Stadt Zürich das Bürgerrecht verliehen hatte, ver-

of Zurich, he died unexpectedly on 24 March 1836.

Ferdinand Hitzig from Hauingen (part of present-day Lörrach) was appointed as the second full professor for Old Testament exegesis and related subjects. Son of a pastor, he was born in 1807 and, following his appointment, served the university for 27 years before transferring to Heidelberg, where he died in 1875. He was one of the most influential figures, not only during the early phase of the Zurich faculty but for the university's entire history. In 1858 he presided over the university as rector. Hitzig was influenced by Wilhelm Gesenius and Heinrich Ewald, with whom he had studied in Halle and Göttingen, respectively. He was regarded as a professed rationalist, who pursued biblical exegesis strictly from philology. He developed the first historical-critical commentary series (the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*) for which he wrote commentaries for numerous biblical books. In his commentary on the Psalms (1836 and 1863) he revealed a great confidence regarding the possible dating of the Psalms and caused a sensation through his locating around half of the Psalms to the Maccabean period. The hypothesis of contact between Moses and the Iranian religion continued to be his own personal scholarly opinion.

The most significant occurrence in the early history of the Faculty of Theology, and the University of Zurich in general, was the uproar surrounding the appointment of David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874) – it became known as the “Strauss Affair” – which led to the overthrow of government and nearly to the closure of the university that had just been founded. The turmoil during that time eventually came to be referred to as the “Züriputsch” (Zurich coup).

After Rettig's early and unexpected

starb er am 24. März 1836 überraschend im 37. Altersjahr.

Zum zweiten Ordinarius, für alttestamentliche Exegese und die verwandten Fächer, wurde Ferdinand Hitzig aus Hauingen, einem Ortsteil des heutigen Lörrach, gewählt. Er wurde 1807 als Pfarrerssohn geboren und gehörte der Universität nach seiner Berufung für 27 Jahre an, bevor er nach Heidelberg wechselte, wo er 1875 verstarb. Er gehörte zu den prägendsten Gestalten nicht nur der frühen Zürcher Fakultäts-, sondern auch der Universitätsgeschichte. 1858 stand er der Universität als Rektor vor. Hitzig war von Wilhelm Gesenius und Heinrich Ewald geprägt, bei denen er in Halle bzw. Göttingen studiert hatte. Er galt als erklärter Rationalist, der die biblische Exegese streng von der Philologie her betrieb. Er kommentierte zahlreiche biblische Bücher in der von ihm eröffneten, ersten historisch-kritisch ausgerichteten Kommentarreihe «Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament». In seinen Psalmenkommentaren (1836 und 1863) verriet er viel Zuversicht über die Datierungsmöglichkeit von Psalmen und erregte einiges Aufsehen durch seine Ansetzung etwa der Hälfte der Psalmen in der Makkabäerzeit. Seine wissenschaftliche Privatmeinung blieb die Hypothese eines Kontakts zwischen Mose und der iranischen Religion.

Der bedeutendste Vorgang in der frühen Geschichte der Theologischen Fakultät, wie auch der Universität Zürich überhaupt, sind die Wirren um die Berufung von David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874), die später als „Straussenhandel“ bezeichnet wurden, zum Sturz der Regierung und beinahe zur Auflösung der eben erst gegründeten Universität führten. Der Aufruhr der damaligen Zeit wird als sogenannter «Züriputsch» bezeichnet.

Nach dem unerwarteten und frühen Tod



death Ferdinand Hitzig proposed David Friedrich Strauss as his successor. Strauss was born on 27 January 1808 in Ludwigsburg. After attending a Latin school, he initially studied at a seminary in Blaubeuren before transferring to the institute in Tübingen in 1825. He concluded his theological studies in 1830 with a brilliant examination, after which he taught in Maulbronn for a short time. But he was soon drawn to Berlin to hear Hegel and – after his death – Vatke. In 1835 he published his groundbreaking book on the “Life of Jesus, Critically Edited,” which determined the course of his academic future. Strauss described the Gospels not as reports of historical facts but rather as mythological arrangements. According to Strauss, Jesus grew up in Nazareth and later wandered around the land of Israel teaching; finally, due to his conflict with the authorities, he was executed. The Gospels expanded on this historical framework with pious ideas and religious interpretations. It was not until early Christianity that Jesus was made into the Son of God, who was able to perform numerous miracles and who rose again after his death upon the cross. Christology was thus a special case of general anthropology: the divine idea was incarnate in Jesus himself but was to be realized in all of humanity. The fact that the New Testament only sees the divine spirit poured out on an individual is related to the ideas of the time. The assumption of a mythical overlay upon the Jesus tradition has become commonplace within current New Testament scholarship, while Strauss’s speculative anthropology remains an episode within the history of scholarship.

After some contention – a very close vote by the Faculty as well as a con-

Rettigs schlug Ferdinand Hitzig als Nachfolger David Friedrich Strauss vor. Strauss, geboren am 27. Januar 1808 in Ludwigsburg, besuchte nach einer Lateinschule zunächst das Seminar in Blaubeuren, um 1825 ins Tübinger Stift zu wechseln. Das Theologiestudium schloss er 1830 mit einem glänzenden Examen ab, dann wurde er für kurze Zeit Lehrer in Maulbronn. Doch zog es ihn bald nach Berlin, um Hegel und – nach dessen Tod – Vatke zu hören. 1835 publizierte er sein bahnbrechendes Buch zum «Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet», das sein weiteres akademisches Schicksal bestimmen sollte. Strauss beschrieb darin die Evangelien nicht als Berichte über historische Tatsachen, sondern als deren mythologische Ausgestaltungen. Zwar sei, so Strauss, Jesus in Nazareth aufgewachsen, lehrend im Land Israel herumgezogen und schliesslich aufgrund seiner Konflikte mit der Obrigkeit hingerichtet worden; doch dieses historische Gerüst sei in den Evangelien nachträglich breit mit frommen Ideen und religiösen Interpretationen ausgestaltet worden. Erst das Urchristentum habe Jesus zum Sohn Gottes gemacht, der mannigfache Wunder gewirkt haben soll und nach seinem Tod am Kreuz auch auferstanden sei. Die Christologie sei dabei nur ein Spezialfall der allgemeinen Anthropologie: Die göttliche Idee habe sich nicht nur in Jesus inkarniert, sondern sie realisiere sich in der gesamten Menschheit. Dass das Neue Testament den göttlichen Geist nur auf ein Individuum ausgeschüttet sieht, hänge mit den damaligen Zeitvorstellungen zusammen. – Die Annahme einer mythologischen Überformung der Jesusüberlieferung ist mittlerweile zum Allgemeingut der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft geworden, während Strauss’ spekulative Anthropologie wissenschaftsgeschichtlich eine Episode blieb.

Nach einigen Wirren gelang es, durch ein sehr knappes Votum der Fakultät, aber auch

troversial decision of government – Strauss was appointed. However, this process triggered a storm of outrage from the people of Zurich. After a referendum with 39,000 votes against the appointment of Strauss, the government decided to retire the 32-year-old with a pension of 1000 francs prior to his inauguration.

But even with Strauss's enforced retirement, peace did not return. Based on the rumor that there were 30,000 men from the rest of Switzerland marching on Zurich in support of the liberal government there, Bernhard Hirzel, the pastor of Pfäffikon, rang the storm bell for four hours in the evening of the 5th of September. Other communities followed the example. Finally, on the 6th of September, a militia marched to Zurich where they clashed with local military units. In the city there were shootings and other scenes of violence – the so-called *Züriputsch* (Zurich coup) – which resulted in 14 revolutionaries and councilman Johannes Hegetschweiler (who was about to order a ceasefire) being killed.

Following the uproar surrounding the appointment of David Friedrich Strauss, the early retiree still indirectly determined the destiny of the faculty: throughout the 1840s the faculty initially aligned its new appointees so that they were objectively opposed to Strauss; this gave it a thoroughly pluralistic orientation. In the aftermath of the affair, the faculty emphasized its freedom in teaching and research, and insisted on academic standards, even if it was naturally disputed what that should mean in practice.

Strauss's premature retirement demanded that a replacement be found for the now-vacant chair. The new conservative government following the "*Züriputsch*"

durch einen umstrittenen Entscheid der Regierung, Strauss zu berufen. Dieser Vorgang löste aber einen Sturm der Entrüstung im Zürcher Volk aus. Nachdem sich in einer Volksbefragung im Kanton Zürich 39'000 Stimmen gegen die Berufung von Strauss ausgesprochen hatten, beschloss die Regierung (4. März 1839), den 32-jährigen Strauss noch vor seinem Amtsantritt bei einer Rente von 1000 Franken zu pensionieren.

Doch auch mit der Pensionierung von Strauss kehrte noch keine Ruhe ein. Auf ein Gerücht hin, dass 30'000 Mann aus der übrigen Schweiz zur Unterstützung der liberalen Regierung in Zürich im Anmarsch auf Zürich seien, liess Bernhard Hirzel, Pfarrer in Pfäffikon, abends vier Stunden lang Sturm läuten (5. September). Andere Gemeinden folgten dem Beispiel. Schliesslich marschierte ein Zug von Freischärlern nach Zürich, wo er mit militärischen Einheiten zusammenstiess (6. September). In der Stadt kam es zu tumultuarischen Szenen und Schiessereien – dem sogenannten «*Züriputsch*» –, bei denen 14 Putschisten sowie Regierungsrat Johannes Hegetschweiler, der den Befehl zum Einstellen des Feuers überbringen wollte, umkamen.

Nach den Wirren um die Berufung von David Friedrich Strauss bestimmte der Frühpensionierte indirekt auch als Absender noch die Geschicke der Fakultät: Sie erhielt durch die Neuberufungen der vierziger Jahre zunächst eine Ausrichtung, die sachlich zwar gegen Strauss gerichtet war, ihr aber durchaus eine pluralistische Ausrichtung gab. Sie betonte im Nachgang der Affäre ihre Freiheit in Lehre und Forschung und pochte auf akademische Standards, auch wenn natürlich umstritten war, was das in praxi nun bedeuten sollte.

Die frühzeitige Pensionierung von David Friedrich Strauss zog die Notwendigkeit nach sich, den vakanten Lehrstuhl wieder zu besetzen. Die nach dem «*Züriputsch*» neu kon-

elected Peter Lange, a reformed pastor from Duisburg, to the professorship, which he took up in 1841. Born in 1802, he had studied under Karl Immanuel Nitzsch and Friedrich Lücke in Bonn, and was, accordingly, influenced by the theology of mediation. Lange's publications on the New Testament were directed against Strauss: The orientation of his works "Über den geschichtlichen Charakter der Evangelien" (1836) and "Das Leben Jesu nach den Evangelien dargestellt" (1844–1847) were conservative in historical terms. Nevertheless, Lange's work reflects a speculative character, insofar as he understood the history of paganism and Judaism as a prelude to the appearance of Christ and thus advocated an idealistic philosophy of history. Lange also published a three-volume "Christliche Dogmatik" (Christian Dogmatics) (1849–1852), which revolved around the central idea of the realization of the divine-humanity, which is said to result in the course of history – from the initial juxtaposition of God and Man to the eschatological union of God and Man via Christology. In 1854 Lange heeded a call to his home university in Bonn, where he died on the 8 July 1884.

Alongside Lange, August Ebrard, who was born into a reformed Huguenot family in Erlangen in 1818, became Professor for Old and New Testament Exegesis in 1844. Ebrard had studied in Erlangen and Berlin, and completed his habilitation in Erlangen in 1842. As with Lange, Ebrard's most important early publication was positioned against Strauss: the 1100-page volume was published when he was 23 and was called, "Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte" (A Scientific Critique of the Gospel History). After working only three years in Zurich he accepted a position in Erlangen (1847), but he was relocated to Speyer six years

servativ geprägte Regierung wählte Johann Peter Lange, einen reformierten Pastor aus Duisburg, auf die Professur, die er 1841 antrat. Er war 1802 geboren worden und hatte bei Karl Immanuel Nitzsch und bei Friedrich Lücke in Bonn studiert und war entsprechend vermittlungstheologisch geprägt. Langes Publikationen im Neuen Testament waren gegen Strauss gerichtet: Die Ausrichtung seiner Werke «Über den geschichtlichen Charakter der Evangelien» (1836) und «Das Leben Jesu nach den Evangelien dargestellt» (1844–1847) war in historischer Hinsicht konservativ. Gleichwohl spiegelt sich bei Lange eine spekulative Prägung, insofern er die Geschichte des Heidentums und Judentums als Präludium der Erscheinung Christi verstand und so eine idealistische Geschichtsphilosophie vertrat. Weiterpublizierte Lange eine dreibändige «Christliche Dogmatik» (1849–1852), die um den zentralen Gedanken der Verwirklichung der Gottmenschheit kreiste, die sich im Verlauf der Geschichte ergeben soll – von der anfänglichen Gegenüberstellung von Gott und Mensch über die Christologie bis hin zur endzeitlichen Vereinigung von Gott und Mensch. 1854 folgte Lange einem Ruf an seine Heimatuniversität Bonn, wo er am 8. Juli 1884 verstarb.

Neben Lange wurde August Ebrard, der 1818 in Erlangen in eine reformierte Hugenottenfamilie hineingeboren worden war, 1844 zum Professor für alt- und neutestamentliche Exegese berufen. Ebrard hatte in Erlangen und Berlin studiert und sich in Erlangen 1842 habilitiert. Wie bei Lange bezog auch Ebrards wichtigste frühe Publikation, seine 1100-seitige «Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte», die er als 23-Jähriger publiziert hatte, gegen Strauss Stellung. Nach nur dreijähriger Tätigkeit in Zürich folgte er einem Ruf nach Erlangen (1847), wurde aber sechs Jahre später von dort – offenbar aufgrund von fakultätsinter-

later (apparently due to internal faculty disputes), where he then worked as a consistorial councilor and main preacher.

In the course of the 1840s, the reputation of the Faculty of Theology expanded through the appointment of Lange and Ebrard as well as via the habilitation of the Privatdozenten August Koch and David Fries (both New Testament), uniting numerous theological orientations. Fries worked as a Privatdozent for only one year (1848–1849), still he was significant for the history of theology due to his return to liberal thought after the Strauss Affair.

After Johann Peter Lange was called back to Bonn in 1854, the New Testament chair was taken over by Konstantin Schlottmann in 1855. Schlottmann was born on 7 March 1819 in Minden (Westphalia) and had a broad education in philology; he belonged to the positive school of thought. In 1856 he clashed with Alexander Schweizer when Schlottmann attacked speculative theology during an appearance at the synod. He had further misfortune when the Moabite pottery he purchased was actually a forgery, produced in Moses Shapira's pottery workshop in Jerusalem. Schlottmann left Zurich after only four years and moved to Bonn. From 1866 he worked in Halle, where he died on 8 November 1887.

After Hitzig was called to Heidelberg (1861), Eberhard Schrader was called to Zurich and was appointed a full professor after only one year. Schrader, born in Braunschweig on 5 January 1836, studied theology and Semitic languages in Göttingen (1856–1859), notably as a student of Heinrich Ewalds. His dissertation on the Ethiopian language was a prize work. After his habilitation (1862) he was appointed to the chair for Old Testament in Zurich (1863). During his time in Zurich he pub-

nen Querelen – nach Speyer versetzt, wo er dann als Konsistorialrat und Hauptprediger wirkte.

Im Verlauf der vierziger Jahre des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde das Profil der Theologischen Fakultät durch die Ernennungen Langes und Ebrards und die Habilitationen der Privatdozenten August Koch und David Fries (beide Neues Testament) relativ breit, indem sie sehr viele theologische Richtungen in sich vereinte. Fries wirkte zwar nur ein Jahr als Privatdozent (1848–1849), doch war er theologisch bedeutsam für die Wiederkehr liberalen Denkens nach dem Straussenhandel.

Nachdem Johann Peter Lange 1854 nach Bonn berufen worden war, wurde der neutestamentliche Lehrstuhl 1855 an Konstantin Schlottmann übertragen. Schlottmann, geboren am 7. März 1819 in Minden (Westfalen), war ein philologisch breit gebildeter Gelehrter und gehörte der positiven Richtung an. 1856 geriet er mit Alexander Schweizer aneinander, als Schlottmann im Rahmen eines Auftritts in der Synode die spekulative Theologie angriff. Glücklos agierte er auch im Ankauf von gefälschten Tonwaren aus Moab, die in Wahrheit aus Moses Shapiras Töpferwerkstatt in Jerusalem kamen. Schlottmann verliess Zürich bereits nach vier Jahren, um nach Bonn zu gehen, und wirkte dann seit 1866 in Halle, wo er am 8. November 1887 starb.

Nach der Wegberufung Hitzigs nach Heidelberg (1861) wurde Eberhard Schrader nach Zürich berufen und schon nach einem Jahr zum Ordinarius ernannt. Schrader, am 5. Januar 1836 in Braunschweig geboren, studierte in Göttingen, vor allem als Schüler Heinrich Ewalds, Theologie und semitische Sprachen (1856–1859). Eine Preisarbeit über die äthiopische Sprache konnte er als Dissertation einreichen. Nach der Habilitation (1862) wurde er auf den Lehrstuhl für Altes Testament an der Universität Zürich berufen (1863). In seiner Zürcher Zeit gab er die von ihm neu

lished a newly edited, 8th edition of de Wette's "Einleitung in das Alte Testament" – a completely new work that, however, quickly became outdated in light of the "New" Documentary Hypothesis implemented by Julius Wellhausen.

By chance Schrader came into contact with cuneiform research in Zurich. Julius Weber, a Zurich merchant in Baghdad, had donated a series of Assyrian reliefs – bearing 14 inscriptions – to the Zurich Antiquarian Society (1863/1864). The chairman of the society, Dr. Ferdinand Keller, commissioned Schrader to decipher and catalogue them, thus kick-starting Schrader's dedication to the still young discipline of cuneiform research. With his subsequent works, Schrader laid the foundations for Assyriology in the German-speaking world and helped it to become institutionally established.

In 1870 Schrader was appointed to Giessen, and then to Jena in 1873. In 1875 the Berlin Academy of Sciences brought him to Berlin. It was there that Schrader's success met with opposition: Alfred von Gutschmid accused him of postulating new insights from the finds too lightly, to which Schrader answered in kind. Schrader suffered a stroke in 1895, forcing him to resign in 1898. He died in 1908.

The New Testament scholar, Gustav Volkmar, who primarily worked on apocalypticism and the Apocrypha, came to Zurich on a circuitous route. Born in Hersfeld in 1809, he studied theology in Marburg with a particular focus on philology, and held teaching positions at various secondary schools. He stood up for the persecuted German Catholics and quarreled with the prince-electors of the Palatinate, Friedrich Wilhelm I, in favor of the Hessian constitution, which led to his arrest on 26 November 1852 and to a

bearbeitete, 8. Auflage von de Wettes «Einleitung in das Alte Testament» heraus – ein völlig neues Werk, das allerdings aufgrund der in den Folgejahren von Julius Wellhausen durchgesetzten Sicht der Neueren Urkundenhypothese alsbald veraltet war.

Durch Zufall kam Schrader in Zürich mit der Keilschriftforschung in Kontakt. Julius Weber, ein Zürcher Kaufmann in Bagdad, hatte der Zürcher Antiquarischen Gesellschaft eine Reihe assyrischer Reliefs geschenkt (1863/1864), wovon 14 Inschriften trugen. Der Vorsitzende der Gesellschaft, Dr. Ferdinand Keller, gab Schrader den Auftrag, sie zu entziffern und zu katalogisieren, und damit den Anstoss, dass sich Schrader der noch jungen Disziplin der Keilschriftforschung zuwandte. Mit seinen darauffolgenden Werken legte Schrader die Grundlagen für die Assyriologie im deutschsprachigen Raum und verhalf ihr zur institutionellen Etablierung.

1870 wurde Schrader nach Giessen berufen, 1873 nach Jena. 1875 holte ihn die Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften nach Berlin. Dort gesellte sich zum Erfolg Schraders alsbald die Opposition: Alfred von Gutschmid warf ihm vor, allzu leichtfertig neue Erkenntnisse aus den Funden zu postulieren, worauf Schrader ihm in einer Erwiderung antwortete (1878). Ein Schlaganfall, den Schrader 1895 erlitt, nötigte ihn 1898 zum Rücktritt. 1908 verstarb er.

Auf verschlungenem Weg kam der Neutestamentler Gustav Volkmar, der schwerpunktmässig zur Apokalyptik und den Apokryphen arbeitete, nach Zürich. Geboren 1809 in Hersfeld, studierte er in Marburg Theologie, vor allem mit philologischem Schwerpunkt, und nahm dann Lehrerstellen an verschiedenen Gymnasien wahr. Er trat für die verfolgten Deutsch-Katholiken ein und legte sich mit Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm I. zugunsten der hessischen Verfassung an, was ihm seine Verhaftung am 26. November 1852 eintrug und eine gerichtliche Amts-

judicial removal from office. In his seemingly hopeless situation, Volkmar applied to the Faculty of Theology in Zurich to undertake a habilitation there. A trial lecture was held on 28 April 1853, and on 9 of June he was granted the *venia legendi*. Volkmar was thus one of the many political persecutees in those days who found refuge in Zurich's educational institutions.

In order to make a living for himself and his family, he accepted a role as an assistant preacher. He also gave lessons in the history of religions at the teaching seminary in Küsnacht and worked as a lecturer for cultural history at ETH.

Despite his many publications, Volkmar remained largely unnoticed within the guild. However, William Wrede – who wrote the theological history “Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelium” (Messianic Secret in the Gospel) (1901) – remembered him and owed much to Volkmar's research. He, and above all Adolf Jülicher (in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*), acknowledged Volkmar's research. Volkmar died at the age of 84 on 9 January 1893. His successor was Paul Schmiedel.

After Schlottmann's departure, the positive school was no longer represented among the professors at the Faculty of Theology in Zurich. The Evangelical Society of Zurich therefore arranged for Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Held (1830–1870), who was working in Göttingen as a Privatdozent, to undertake his habilitation in Zurich. He moved to Zurich and began teaching in 1860, and attracted many listeners. He was later appointed to Breslau (1864) and Bonn. Yet he became mentally ill and died in an insane asylum in Illenau.

Following Held's departure, Karl Theodor Keim succeeded to Schlottmann's chair (1860) – he was intended to represent

enthebung nach sich zog. In seiner scheinbar aussichtslosen Situation stellte Volkmar ein Gesuch an die Theologische Fakultät der Universität Zürich, ob er sich hier habilitieren könne. Am 28. April 1853 fand der Probevortrag statt und am 9. Juni wurde ihm die *venia legendi* erteilt. Damit zählte Volkmar zu den zahlreichen politischen Verfolgten der damaligen Zeit, die in Zürichs Hochschule eine Zufluchtsstätte fanden.

Um sich und seiner Familie ein Auskommen leisten zu können, nahm er eine Hilfspredigerstelle an. Daneben erteilte er auch Unterricht in Religionsgeschichte am Lehrerseminar in Küsnacht und wirkte als Dozent für Kulturgeschichte an der ETH.

Trotz seiner vielfältigen Publikationstätigkeit blieb Volkmar innerhalb seiner Zunft weitgehend unbeachtet. Allerdings hat sich besonders William Wrede, dessen «Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien» (1901) Theologiegeschichte schrieb und der selber den Forschungen Volkmars viel verdankte, seiner erinnert. Er und vor allem Adolf Jülicher (in der *Allgemeinen Deutschen Biographie*) haben Volkmars Forschungen gewürdigt. Am 9. Januar 1893 verstarb Volkmar im Alter von 84 Jahren. Sein Nachfolger wurde Paul Schmiedel.

Nach Schlottmanns Weggang war die positive Richtung unter der Professorenschaft an der Theologischen Fakultät in Zürich nicht mehr vertreten. Die evangelische Gesellschaft Zürich veranlasste deshalb den in Göttingen wirkenden Privatdozenten Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Held (1830–1870), dass er sich in Zürich habilitieren möge. Dieser zog nach Zürich, nahm seine Lehrtätigkeit auf (1860) und zog dabei viele Hörer an. Später wurde er nach Breslau (1864) und nach Bonn berufen. Doch er wurde geisteskrank und starb in einer Irrenanstalt in Illenau.

Nach dem Weggang Helds wurde Karl Theodor Keim Nachfolger auf dem Lehrstuhl Schlottmanns (1860) – er sollte ein



a conservative counterweight to Volkmar. Keim was born in 1825 in Stuttgart and studied in Tübingen, and soon he turned toward the historical tradition of the New Testament. Regarding the question of miracles, he emphasized that Jesus himself was the actual miracle. On the resurrection, he did not wish to settle on its historical background being reduced to visions of the disciples. The opposition to Volkmar was palpable. Volkmar was one of the first New Testament scholars to advocate for Markan priority, while Keim (along with mainstream scholarship at the time) maintained that Matthew was the oldest Gospel. For Volkmar, the Gospels were essentially poetry, for Keim history. Volkmar had a great appeal among students, Keim did not. In 1873 Keim was appointed in Giessen. After his death in 1878 the faculty refrained from hiring a formal successor due to the small number of students at the time.

A notable personality that worked in the Faculty of Theology near the end of the 19th century was the Privatdozent Moritz Heidenheim. Born in 1824 in Worms, he was the eldest son of the cantor of the Jewish community. After high school he dedicated himself exclusively to rabbinical studies – among others with Rabbi Jakob Koppel Bamberger – for some time. Having been given authority from Bamberger, Heidenheim worked as a shochet and teacher, at times also a preacher and cantor in the synagogue. Because he wanted to become a Rabbi, he attended the university in Giessen (1850–1851), where – as a rabbinic candidate – he received the designation “stud.theol.jud” at his enrolment. He was taught Old Testament primarily by August Knobel. After only one year, he was awarded a doctorate in philosophy; apparently he had submitted several, albeit not very extensive, disserta-

konervatives Gegengewicht zu Volkmar bilden. Keim, geboren 1825 in Stuttgart, studierte in Tübingen und wandte sich bald der geschichtlichen Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments zu. In der Wunderfrage betonte er, Jesus selbst sei das eigentliche Wunder. In der Auferstehungsfrage wollte er sich nicht mit der Reduktion ihres historischen Hintergrunds auf Visionen der Jünger begnügen. Die Opposition zu Volkmar war mit Händen zu greifen. Vertrat Volkmar – als einer der ersten Neutestamentler – die Markuspriorität, so hielt Keim (mit dem Mainstream seiner Wissenschaft) Matthäus für das älteste Evangelium. Für Volkmar waren die Evangelien im Wesentlichen Poesie, für Keim Geschichte. Bei den Studenten fand Volkmar viel Anklang, Keim nicht. 1873 wurde Keim nach Giessen berufen. Nach seinem Tod im Jahr 1878 verzichtete die Fakultät angesichts der damals geringen Anzahl von Studierenden auf einen förmlichen Nachfolger.

Eine besondere Persönlichkeit, die im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert an der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Zürich wirkte, war der Privatdozent Moritz Heidenheim. Er war 1824 als ältester Sohn des Kantors der jüdischen Gemeinde Worms geboren worden. Nach dem Abitur widmete er sich einige Zeit ausschliesslich rabbinischen Studien, unter andern beim Wormser Rabbiner Jakob Koppel Bamberger. Von diesem autorisiert wirkte Heidenheim als Schächter und Lehrer, zeitweise auch als Prediger und Kantor in der Synagoge. Da er Rabbiner werden wollte, besuchte er die Universität Giessen (1850–1851), wo er als Rabbinskandidat bei der Immatrikulation die Bezeichnung «stud. theol.jud.» erhielt. Altes Testament hörte er vor allem bei August Knobel. Er wurde nach nur einem Jahr in Philosophie promoviert; offenbar hatte er mehrere, allerdings wenig umfangreiche Dissertationen

tions on the subject, one of which he later published.

Around this time, Heidenheim converted to Christianity. After his conversion he settled in England (1852). He resumed his studies at King's College in London (1856) and after three years was ordained as an Anglican priest (1859). Besides his community work in London, he researched Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts in various European libraries. In 1864 he arrived as an Anglican chaplain in Zurich, where he would work for 25 years for the Anglican parish. His long-term goal remained a professorship at a German-speaking university, something he never achieved – rather he died in 1898 as the “oldest Privatdozent in Europe.” He applied to become the successor to Eberhard Schrader, but was not considered. Despite this, there were no doubts about Heidenheim's scholarship and activity. He published no less than three periodicals: The “Vierteljahresschrift für deutsch- und englisch-theologische Forschung” (1861–1873), the “Bibliotheca Samaritana” (1884–1896) and the “Anglican Church Leaves” (1887–1898). The first two served primarily to publish Samaritan texts, for which Heidenheim was one of the first biblical scholars to emphasize their religious-historical importance.

After Schrader was called to Giessen, Heinrich Steiner – not Moritz Heidenheim – was elected as the Professor for Old Testament and Semitic Languages in 1870. Born in Zurich in 1841, he began his studies at the Faculty of Theology in 1859 and was taught above all by Hitzig, whom he followed to Heidelberg in 1861. After a residency in Leipzig with Heinrich Fleischer, with whom he deepened his knowledge of oriental languages, he returned to Heidelberg in 1865 and undertook a habilitation

dazu eingereicht, wovon er eine später publizierte.

Um diese Zeit trat Heidenheim zum Christentum über. Nach seiner Konversion siedelte er nach England über (1852). Er setzte seine Studien am King's College in London fort (1856) und wurde nach drei Jahren zum anglikanischen Priester ordiniert (1859). Neben seiner Gemeindegarbeit in London erforschte er hebräische und samaritanische Manuskripte in verschiedenen europäischen Bibliotheken. 1864 gelangte er als anglikanischer Kaplan nach Zürich, wo er 25 Jahre lang für die anglikanische Gemeinde arbeiten sollte. Seit Fernziel war jedoch eine Professur an einer deutschsprachigen Universität, aber das erreichte er nie. Vielmehr starb er 1898 als «ältester Privatdozent Europas». 1869 bewarb er sich auf die Nachfolge von Eberhard Schrader, wurde aber nicht berücksichtigt. An der Gelehrsamkeit und auch Umtriebigkeit Heidenheims bestand indes kein Zweifel. Er gab nicht weniger als drei Periodica heraus: Die «Vierteljahresschrift für deutsch- und englisch-theologische Forschung» (1861–1873), die «Bibliotheca Samaritana» (1884–1896) und die «Anglican Church Leaves» (1887–1898). Die ersten beiden dienten vorwiegend der Publikation samaritanischer Texte, deren religionsgeschichtliche Tragweite Heidenheim als einer der ersten Bibelwissenschaftler seiner Zeit hervorhob.

Nachdem Schrader nach Giessen berufen worden war, wurde – eben nicht Moritz Heidenheim, sondern – Heinrich Steiner 1870 zum Professor für Altes Testament und semitische Sprachen gewählt. Geboren 1841 in Zürich, begann er sein Studium 1859 an der Theologischen Fakultät und hörte vor allem bei Hitzig, dem er 1861 nach Heidelberg folgte. Nach einem Aufenthalt in Leipzig bei Heinrich Fleischer, bei dem er seine Kenntnisse der orientalischen Sprachen vertiefte, kehrte er 1865 nach Heidelberg zurück und



in the Faculty of Philosophy and after that in the Faculty of Theology, where he earned the title of Associate Professor of Theology (1868). He rejected Wellhausen's new view on the history and literature of the Old Testament, as did his predecessor Schrader, his colleague Konrad Furrer and his successor Viktor Ryssel. This, strangely, resulted in the Faculty of Theology in Zurich, which was otherwise considered to be one of the most critical and progressive, becoming one of the most conservative in Old Testament scholarship. In 1876 Steiner received the title Dr. theol. H.C. from the University of Bern. In the year of the 50th anniversary of the University of Zurich he officiated as rector. He died at the age of 48 on 19 April 1889.

Following Steiner's early death, Viktor Ryssel was appointed to the chair of Old Testament in Zurich. Born in Reinsberg (Sachsen) in 1849, he studied theology and philosophy in Leipzig. Importantly, he was taught Old Testament and Semitic Languages by Franz Delitzsch and Heinrich Fleischer; from Delitzsch, he attained a conservative tendency in textual and literary criticism. Ryssel was initially employed at the Nikolaigymnasium in Leipzig, he then attained his habilitation at the University of Leipzig in 1878 and became Associate Professor in 1885. His exegetical work was characterized by philological accuracy and restraint in historical judgment, which may have been related to a certain caution toward the new convictions of the Wellhausen school. Ryssel made a name for himself in the area of Syrian-Christian literature. He died on 1 March 1905, after he – as a lifelong passionate mountain climber – suffered from altitude sickness atop the Lenzerheide. His grave at the Enzenbühl cemetery remains one of Zurich's "historic graves."

habilitierte sich an der philosophischen und danach auch an der theologischen Fakultät, wo er den Titel eines ausserordentlichen Professors der Theologie erhielt (1868). Die neue Sicht Wellhausens auf die Geschichte und Literatur des Alten Testaments lehnte er ab, genau wie sein Vorgänger Schrader, sein Fachkollege Konrad Furrer und sein Nachfolger Viktor Ryssel. So ergab sich das Seltsame, dass die theologische Fakultät Zürich, die sonst als besonders kritisch und fortschrittlich gerichtet galt, in der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft eine der konservativsten war. 1876 erhielt Steiner den Titel eines Dr. theol. h.c. durch die Universität Bern. Im Jahr des 50. Jubiläums der Zürcher Hochschule (1883) amtierte er als Rektor. Am 19. April 1889 verstarb er im Alter von nur 48 Jahren.

Nach Steiners frühem Tod wurde Viktor Ryssel auf den alttestamentlichen Lehrstuhl in Zürich berufen. Geboren 1849 in Reinsberg (Sachsen), studierte er in Leipzig Theologie und Philosophie. Besonders Franz Delitzsch und Heinrich Fleischer führten ihn in das Alte Testament und die semitischen Sprachen ein, von Delitzsch her brachte er auch eine konservative Tendenz in der Text- und Literarkritik mit. Ryssel war zunächst am Nikolaigymnasium in Leipzig tätig, habilitierte sich dann 1878 an der Universität Leipzig und bekleidete ab 1885 eine ausserordentliche Professur. Seine exegetischen Arbeiten zeichneten sich durch philologische Genauigkeit und Zurückhaltung im historischen Urteil aus, was mit einer gewissen Vorsicht gegenüber den neuen Überzeugungen der Wellhausen-Schule zusammenhängen dürfte. Ryssel machte sich zudem einen Namen im Bereich der syrisch-christlichen Literatur. Er verstarb am 1. März 1905, nachdem er, der zeit lebens ein passionierter Berggänger gewesen war, sich auf der Lenzerheide eine Rippenbauchfellentzündung zugezogen hatte. Sein Grab auf dem Friedhof Enzenbühl gehört bis heute zu den „historischen Gräbern“ Zürichs.

Almost simultaneously with Ryssel, Konrad Furrer was elected as an extraordinary professor for Old Testament at the Faculty. Born in 1838, the son of a peasant in Fluntern (now part of the city of Zurich), he studied theology in Zurich and was ordained in 1862. Furrer undertook a journey to Palestine in 1863, which he documented in a book: accompanied by an Arab servant, he wandered through the Holy Land for six weeks from south to north. This journey had a formative influence on his later life. After his return, still in 1863, he became a pastor in Baar and then in Schlieren in 1864. It was there that he completed his habilitation in Palestine Studies at the Faculty of Theology in 1869. However, the Faculty used this event to record in the minutes of their meeting on 21 May 1869 “that the faculty in general does not find the increase in the already disproportionately large number of theological lecturers desirable.” He became a pastor in Uster in 1879 and then succeeded Heinrich Lang at St. Peter's Church in Zurich in 1876. In 1877 he temporarily resigned from the university. He returned in 1885 before becoming an Associate Professor for Old Testament and General History of Religions. In 1879 Furrer received an honorary doctorate in theology from the University of Bern. He was an “emotional person” and cultivated intense personal contacts, even among the Jewish community; Rabbi Martin Littmann described Furrer in the *Israelitischen Wochenblatt* as “Ohew Israel” (“one who loves Israel”). Furrer died on 14 April 1908 and was succeeded by Ludwig Köhler.

Paul Schmiedel (1851–1935) succeeded Volkmar. Schmiedel's father was a mining director in Zaukeroda near Dresden, his mother was a pastor's daughter. It was due to her influence that all three of their sons

Beinahe gleichzeitig mit Ryssel wurde Konrad Furrer als Extraordinarius für Altes Testament an die Fakultät gewählt. Er war 1838 als Sohn eines Landwirts in Fluntern (heute ein Quartier der Stadt Zürich) geboren worden. Er studierte Theologie in Zürich und wurde 1862 ordiniert. 1863 unternahm Furrer eine Palästina-reise, die er auch in Buchform dokumentierte: Von einem arabischen Diener begleitet, durchwanderte er das Heilige Land in sechs Wochen von Süden nach Norden. Diese Reise hatte einen prägenden Einfluss auf sein späteres Leben. Nach seiner Heimkehr, noch im Jahr 1863, wurde er Pfarrverweser in Baar und 1864 Pfarrer in Schlieren. Von hier aus habilitierte er sich 1869 für Palästinakunde an der Theologischen Fakultät. Die Fakultät nutzt allerdings diesen Vorgang, um im Protokoll ihrer Sitzung vom 21. Mai 1869 festzuhalten, «dass die Facultät im Allgemeinen die Vermehrung der ohnehin schon unverhältnismässig grossen Zahl theologischer Docenten nicht wünschenswerth finde.» 1870 wurde er Pfarrer in Uster und 1876, als Nachfolger von Heinrich Lang, an der Kirche St. Peter in Zürich. 1877 trat er vorübergehend von der Hochschule zurück, lehrte aber dann ab 1885 wieder, bevor er 1889 zum ausserordentlichen Professor für Altes Testament und Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte gewählt wurde. Im Jahr 1879 erhielt Furrer die theologische Ehrendoktorwürde der Universität Bern. Er war ein «Gefühlsmensch», der intensive persönliche Kontakte pflegte, auch in der jüdischen Gemeinde; Rabbiner Martin Littmann bezeichnete Furrer im *Israelitischen Wochenblatt* als «Ohew Israel». Furrer starb am 14. April 1908, sein Nachfolger wurde Ludwig Köhler.

Auf den 1893 verstorbenen Volkmar folgte Paul Schmiedel (1851–1935). Schmiedel's Vater war ein Bergwerksdirektor in Zaukeroda bei Dresden, seine Mutter eine Pfarrerstochter. Auf ihren Einfluss geht

studied theology. His theological orientation was initially shaped in Leipzig and then in Jena by the liberals Otto Pfleiderer and Richard Lipsius. At the same time, he acquired significant Semitic language skills as a student, he also learned Akkadian under Eberhard Schrader, who had worked in Jena since 1873. Besides this, he also attended lectures in mathematics. His habilitation was completed in Jena in 1879, in which he wrote a paper in Latin on the differences between the Pauline corpus and the letter to the Hebrews. In 1890 he was appointed extraordinarius in Jena, where Leonhard Ragaz also studied and with whom he formed a lifelong friendship. Three years later he was called to Zurich based on the recommendation of Zurich students studying in Leipzig, who were very impressed with his teaching success there. He remained in Zurich until becoming emeritus in 1923. His most significant student was the later Old Testament scholar Ludwig Köhler. In 1892 Schmiedel received an honorary doctorate in theology from the University of Strasbourg, and one in philosophy from the University of Zurich.

In 1904, Arnold Meyer became the Professor for New Testament and Practical Theology. Born in 1861 in Rhineland, he was the son of a high school teacher and studied theology in Erlangen and Marburg, where he turned to liberalism. He became a pastor in Oberkassel (1888), an inspector of the Protestant seminary in Bonn (1889) and completed his habilitation in New Testament in Bonn (1892). He primarily researched the historical Jesus and apocalypticism. Between 1910 and 1920 he was the rector of the University of Zurich. Meyer died in 1934.

One significant figure in the history of the Faculty of Theology was Jakob Hausheer, who worked as the Professor for Old Testa-

zurück, dass alle drei Söhne Theologie studierten. Seine theologische Position wurde zunächst in Leipzig und dann in Jena bei den Liberalen Otto Pfleiderer und Richard Lipsius geprägt. Gleichzeitig eignete er sich schon als Student weitgehende semitische Sprachkenntnisse an, darunter – bei Eberhard Schrader, der seit 1873 in Jena wirkte – auch des Akkadischen. Zudem belegte er Vorlesungen in Mathematik. 1879 wurde er in Jena mit einer lateinischen Schrift zu den Unterschieden zwischen dem Hebräerbrief und den Paulusbriefen habilitiert. 1890 erfolgte die Ernennung zum Extraordinarius in Jena, wo auch Leonhard Ragaz bei ihm studierte, mit dem er zeitlebens freundschaftlich verbunden blieb. Drei Jahre später wurde er nach Zürich berufen – auf Empfehlung von Schweizer Studenten in Leipzig, die von seinem dortigen Lehrerfolg sehr beeindruckt waren. Hier wirkte er bis zu seiner Emeritierung im Jahr 1923. Sein bedeutendster Schüler war der Alttestamentler Ludwig Köhler. 1892 erhielt Schmiedel die theologische Ehrendoktorwürde der Universität Strassburg, 1921 die philosophische von der Universität Zürich.

1904 wurde Arnold Meyer Professor für Neues Testament und Praktische Theologie. Geboren 1861 im Rheinland als Sohn eines Gymnasialprofessors, studierte er Theologie in Erlangen und Marburg, wo er sich zum Liberalismus hinwandte. Er wurde Pfarrer in Oberkassel (1888), Inspektor des evangelischen Stifts in Bonn (1889) und habilitierte sich für Neues Testament ebenfalls in Bonn (1892). Er forschte vornehmlich zum historischen Jesus sowie zur Apokalyptik. Von 1910–1912 bekleidete er das Rektorat der Universität Zürich. Meyer verstarb 1934.

Eine besondere Gestalt der Zürcher Fakultätsgeschichte ist Jakob Hausheer, der als Professor für das Alte Testament und

ment and Oriental Languages (1905–1935, with an official resolution stating he could continue until his death) as well as for the History of Religions (from 1908). After his dissertation he no longer published; he allowed his legacy to be destroyed. His most important scholarly achievement was the translation of the Old Testament for the Zürcher Bibel, which he produced mainly between 1907 and 1931, and which for many decades was not overtaken in terms of linguistic clarity and translational accuracy.

Hausheer was born in Wollishofen on 11 October 1865, he was the son of a farmer and learned Hebrew in high school under Heinrich Steiner. He studied theology and oriental languages in Zurich (1884–1888). After completing his studies, he spent one year in Halle on Steiner's advice, where he studied with Friedrich Baethgen, Emil Kautzsch and August Thorbecke – who was a student of Heinrich Fleischer and with whom Steiner himself had received his training. From 1889 he worked as a teacher in Religion and Hebrew in various schools across Zurich. He gave up religious education with his appointment to the university in 1905, but continued to teach Hebrew well into retirement, until 1936.

Hausheer had submitted a dissertation on Arabic, which, however, was not initially printed. He then applied for habilitation but withdrew the proposal in 1890; apparently he had not been informed that he could not submit the dissertation as a habilitation at the same time. While a successor for Steiner was being sought, Hausheer was briefly considered – besides names such as Wellhausen, Budde, Guthe, von Orelli, Marti and Arndt. The professorship eventually went to Viktor Ryssel. Following Ryssel's surprising and early death (1905),

orientalische Sprachen (1905–1935, mit amtlichem Beschluss darüber hinaus bis zu seinem Tod) sowie auch für Religionsgeschichte (ab 1908) an der Fakultät wirkte. Nach seiner Dissertation publizierte er nichts mehr; seinen Nachlass liess er vernichten. Seine bedeutendste wissenschaftliche Leistung war die Übersetzung des Alten Testaments für die Zürcher Bibel, die er massgeblich von 1907 bis 1931 anfertigte und die bezüglich sprachlicher Klarheit und übersetzerischer Genauigkeit für viele Jahrzehnte nicht überholt wurde.

Hausheer, am 11. Oktober 1865 in Wollishofen als Sohn eines Landwirts geboren, erlernte schon im Gymnasium, bei Heinrich Steiner, Hebräisch. Er studierte in Zürich Theologie und orientalische Sprachen (1884–1888). Auf Anraten Steiners verbrachte er nach dem Abschluss seiner Studien ein Jahr in Halle und studierte dort bei Friedrich Baethgen, Emil Kautzsch sowie August Thorbecke, der ein Schüler Heinrich Fleischers war und bei dem Steiner selbst seine Ausbildung genossen hatte. Ab 1889 arbeitete er als Religions- und Hebräischlehrer an verschiedenen Zürcher Schulen. Den Religionsunterricht gab er mit seiner Berufung an die Universität im Jahr 1905 ab, den Hebräischunterricht führte er bis nach seiner Emeritierung fort und beendete ihn erst 1936.

Hausheer hatte 1889 in Halle eine arabischesche Arbeit als Dissertation eingereicht, die allerdings zunächst nicht gedruckt wurde. Er stellte dann einen Antrag auf Habilitation, zog ihn allerdings 1890 wieder zurück, da man ihm offenbar nicht mitgeteilt hatte, dass die Dissertation nicht gleichzeitig als Habilitationsschrift eingereicht werden könne. Bei der Besetzung der Nachfolge Steiner wurde Hausheer kurz diskutiert – neben Namen wie Wellhausen, Budde, Guthe, von Orelli, Marti und Arndt. Die Professur ging dann schliesslich an Viktor Ryssel. Nach dessen überraschenden und frühen Tod (1905) rückte Haus-

Hausheer quickly returned as a potential successor. The faculty finally gave him preference over Alfred Bertholet from Basel with four votes to two. However, Hausheer had to quickly print his dissertation as he was not allowed to use the title of doctor without a publication. With that, his doctoral certificate from 1889 became legally binding; his doctoral certificate from Halle is thus dated 20th September 1905. Hausheer, who understood himself primarily to be a teacher, was not considered a stirring orator, although he was extremely competent in his field. The students nicknamed him *Choschech* (Hebrew for “darkness”), not because of his nature but because of his appearance: he sported a long, dark beard and had bushy eyebrows.

Work on the Zürcher Bibel began in 1907. Hausheer initially estimated it to be a three-year project, but this proved to be a 21-year misjudgment. Initially Konrad Furrer officiated as president of the plenary committee for the bible revision but following his death this office fell to Hausheer in 1908. The new translation of the bible faced many adversities; for the Old Testament there was, above all, the question regarding the value of the Masoretic text, which Hausheer saw in a differentiated manner and correspondingly corrected according to the Septuagint. In 1927 the University of Basel awarded him an honorary doctorate.

After the Zürcher Bibel was published in 1931, Hausheer slowly withdrew from his offices. In 1934 he submitted his resignation as professor and retired in 1935. With regard to his succession, he advocated for Walter Baumgartner, but the faculty gave preference to the much younger Walther Zimmerli. Hausheer died in Zurich on 7 May 1943.

heer dann sehr bald als dessen Nachfolger in den Vordergrund. Die Fakultät gab ihm schliesslich mit vier zu zwei Stimmen gegenüber dem Basler Alfred Bertholet den Vorzug. Allerdings musste Hausheer nun in aller Eile seine Dissertation drucken lassen – zunächst in einer Kurz- und dann in einer Langfassung –, da er ohne die Veröffentlichung den Dokortitel nicht führen durfte. Damit wurde nun auch erst seine Promotion aus dem Jahr 1889 rechtskräftig: seine Hallenser Promotionsurkunde datiert vom 20. September 1905. Hausheer, der sich vor allem als Lehrer verstand, galt zwar nicht als mitreissender Redner, wohl aber als in seinem Gebiet äusserst kompetent. Die Studenten nannten ihn Choschech (hebräisch für «Finsternis») – nicht wegen seiner Wesensart, sondern aufgrund seines Aussehens: Er trug einen langen dunklen Bart und hatte buschige Augenbrauen.

1907 begann die Arbeit an der Zürcher Bibel. Hausheer hielt es zunächst für ein dreijähriges Projekt, aber damit überschätzte er sich um ganze 21 Jahre. Zunächst amtierte Konrad Furrer als Präsident der Plenarkommission der Bibelrevision, nach dessen Tod ging dieses Amt an Hausheer über (1908). Die Neuübersetzung der Bibel hatte mit vielen Widrigkeiten zu kämpfen; im Bereich des Alten Testaments stellte sich vor allem die Frage nach dem Wert der masoretischen Textgrundlage, die Jakob Hausheer differenziert ansah und entsprechend häufig auch nach der Septuaginta korrigierte. 1927 verlieh ihm die Universität Basel die Ehrendoktorwürde.

Nachdem die Zürcher Bibel 1931 erschienen war, zog sich Hausheer nach und nach von seinen Ämtern zurück. 1934 reichte er sein Rücktrittsgesuch als Professor ein, 1935 trat er in den Ruhestand. Im Blick auf seine Nachfolge hatte er sich für Walter Baumgartner ausgesprochen, doch die Fakultät gab dem viel jüngeren Walther Zimmerli den Vorzug. Hausheer starb am 7. Mai 1943 in Zürich.

Following Konrad Furrer's death, Ludwig Köhler (1880–1956) was elected as successor. His autobiography is available under the title "Ein Schweizer wird Schweizer" (A Swiss becomes Swiss); it follows his German and Swiss origins and his journey in Switzerland. After finishing high school, he completed one year of military service in Freiburg im Breisgau. He then moved with his mother to Zurich, where he became a citizen in 1903. In Zurich he studied theology and oriental languages, under Viktor Ryssel he learned Syrian and Arabic. The teacher who left the greatest impression and with whom he was most closely associated was the New Testament scholar Paul Schmiedel; his scholarly interest had initially been in New Testament. He completed his studies with a dissertation written under Viktor Ryssel, "Beobachtungen am hebräischen und griechischen Text von Jeremias 1–9" (Observations on the Hebrew and Greek Text of Jeremiah 1–9), which was examined by Jakob Hausheer. He received his first post as a pastor in 1904 in Aeugst am Albis. He then moved to Langnau im Sihltal in 1910, which was closer to Zurich, because in 1908 he had already been appointed as an extraordinarius for Old Testament at the University of Zurich. Köhler was named a full professor in 1923 and had to take on the responsibility for teaching Practical Theology in addition to Old Testament. Under the pseudonym Hugo Ratmich he published various books on pastoral care. He served as rector of the University of Zurich from 1930 to 1932.

In the context of this office he was promoted from personal to full professor. The government council minutes state that "Professor Köhler's personal professorship should be expanded to full professor with the allocation of Practical Theology" (3.3.1932).

Nach dem Tod Konrad Furrers wurde Ludwig Köhler (1880–1956) zu dessen Nachfolger gewählt. Von ihm liegt eine Autobiographie vor, die er mit «Ein Schweizer wird Schweizer» übertitelte; sie nahm seine deutsche und schweizerische Herkunft und seinen Weg in die Schweiz zum Leitfaden. Er hatte nach dem Abitur ein Jahr lang Militärdienst in Freiburg im Breisgau geleistet. Darauf übersiedelte er mit seiner Mutter nach Zürich, wo er 1903 das Bürgerrecht erwarb. Dort studierte er Theologie und orientalische Sprachen; bei Viktor Ryssel erlernte er Syrisch und Arabisch. Der Lehrer, der ihn am meisten prägte und mit dem er aufs engste verbunden blieb, war der Neutestamentler Paul Schmiedel; sein wissenschaftliches Interesse hatte zunächst in erster Linie dem Neuen Testament gegolten. Seine Studien schloss er ab mit der bei Viktor Ryssel erarbeiteten und von Jakob Hausheer begutachteten Dissertation «Beobachtungen am hebräischen und griechischen Text von Jeremias 1–9». 1904 trat er sein erstes Pfarramt in Aeugst am Albis an. 1910 wechselte er seinen Wohnsitz nach Langnau im Sihltal, das noch näher bei Zürich liegt, denn schon 1908 war er zum Extraordinarius für Altes Testament an die Universität Zürich berufen worden. Im Jahr 1923 wurde Köhler zum Ordinarius ernannt, wobei er neben seiner alttestamentlichen Lehrtätigkeit auch Verpflichtungen für das Gebiet der Praktischen Theologie zu übernehmen hatte. Unter dem Pseudonym Hugo Ratmich publizierte er verschiedene Bücher zur Seelsorge. Von 1930 bis 1932 war er Rektor der Zürcher Universität.

Im Zusammenhang mit diesem Amt wurde er vom persönlichen zum vollen Ordinarius befördert. Das Protokoll des Regierungsrates hält fest, dass «das persönliche Ordinariat Prof. Köhler's durch Zuweisung der praktischen Theologie zum vollen Ordinariat» erweitert werden solle (3.3.1932).



In addition to his scholarly work, Köhler was richly engaged with the general public. He was a brilliant public speaker, preached regularly, gave classes in religious education at the Zurich teaching college, worked at the public high school, held courses and lectures for educated lay people, was a popular writer in the feuilleton of the "Neuen Zürcher Zeitung" and was also regularly sought for pastoral care. He can be considered a bedrock of liberal theology, who often spoke out on the topic and did not shy away from controversy with faculty colleagues. He described the abandonment of the obligation of Confession, the enabling of natural science and the development of biblical criticism as basic achievements of theological liberalism.

Köhler interfered with his own succession: a letter to the Directorate of Education from the Faculty of Theology maintained that Old Testament and Practical Theology should no longer be separated (19 May 1947). Köhler and the faculty were united in the choice of Walter Baumgartner as the desired candidate for the Old Testament chair. In the case that Baumgartner declined, Köhler recommended Victor Maag. But the faculty only wished to secure Baumgartner so that they could compete with Basel in filling the Old Testament chair. The position for Practical Theology was granted to the pastor and later church council president Ernst Frick (1894–1963), who was made an *extraordinarius*, while the Old Testament chair was granted to Victor Maag.

The retirement of New Testament professor Paul Schmiedel at the end of the Winter semester 1922/1923 was a major turning point. He advocated (unreasonably by today's standards) that a successor in his spirit (i.e., with a decidedly historical-critical orientation) be found, but pastors of

Neben seiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeit entfaltete Köhler eine reiche Tätigkeit in der Öffentlichkeit: Er war ein glänzender Redner, predigte regelmässig, erteilte Religionsunterricht am Zürcher Lehrerseminar, wirkte an der Volkshochschule, hielt Kurse und Vorträge für gebildete Laien, war beliebter Feuilletonist in der «Neuen Zürcher Zeitung» und daneben ein viel gefragter Seelsorger. Er kann als ein Urgestein liberaler Theologie gelten, ergriff häufig dazu das Wort und scheute auch vor Kontroversen mit Fakultätskollegen nicht zurück. Als grundlegende Errungenschaften des theologischen Freisinns bezeichnete er die Aufgabe des Bekenntniszwangs, die Freigabe der Naturwissenschaft und die Entwicklung der Bibelkritik.

Köhler mischte sich in seine eigene Nachfolge ein: Ein Brief der Theologischen Fakultät an die Erziehungsdirektion hielt fest, dass Altes Testament und Praktische Theologie nunmehr getrennt sein sollen (19. Mai 1947). Die Fakultät und Köhler waren sich einig, dass für den alttestamentlichen Lehrstuhl Walter Baumgartner aus Basel der Wunschkandidat sei. Für den Fall, dass Baumgartner absagen sollte, empfahl Köhler Victor Maag. Die Fakultät aber wollte sich nur auf Baumgartner festlegen, damit man sich in der Besetzung des Alten Testaments mit Basel messen könne. Für die Praktische Theologie wurde ein Extraordinariat für den Pfarrer und späteren Kirchenratspräsidenten Ernst Frick (1894–1963) geschaffen, die Nachfolge des Alttestamentlers Köhler trat dann in der Tat Victor Maag an.

Einen grossen Einschnitt bedeutete die Emeritierung des Neutestamentlers Paul Schmiedel auf Ende des Wintersemesters 1922/1923. Er selbst setzte sich (nach heutigem Verständnis über Gebühr) für eine Nachfolge in seinem Sinn – dezidiert historisch-kritisch ausgerichtet – ein, doch die

the positive school in the canton collected signatures for a “believing” professor in the field of New Testament. They complained that the majority of the Zurich faculty was liberal-minded and demanded that the successors of Schmiedel and von Orellis come from the positive school.

Gottlob Schrenk (b. 1879), the son of the famous revival preacher Elias Schrenk, was appointed as Schmiedel’s successor in 1923, even though the faculty had explicitly spoken out against appointing professors based on their theological orientation. The significantly more prestigious Julius Schniewind was also discussed, but he fell out of consideration due to being overly “nit-picky.” Schrenk had initially worked as a missionary inspector and lecturer in the Bethel Institute (Bodelschwingschen Anstalten) near Bielefeld and the nearby theological school (the later Kirchliche Hochschule Bethel) and then as a pastor in various prison camps in Germany, Scandinavia and Switzerland, before coming to Zurich, where he worked until 1949. His publications clearly document his positive orientation, but he also authored numerous articles for the “Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.” During his later years he became visually impaired. He died in Arosa in 1965, where he owned a small house.

Walther Zimmerli, a pastor from Aarburg who had not habilitated, was appointed as Hausheer’s successor in 1935. The eighth of eleven children, he was born in Schiers in 1907; his father was the director of the evangelical teaching institute there. After studying theology in Zurich, Berlin, and Göttingen he worked as an assistant at the Göttingen Faculty of Theology. Following the change of power under the National Socialists he returned to Switzerland. In 1951 he accepted the call

positiven Pfarrer im Kanton sammelten Unterschrift für einen «gläubigen» Professor für das Gebiet des Neuen Testaments. Sie beklagten, dass die Zürcher Fakultät mehrheitlich freisinnig besetzt sei, und forderten für die Nachfolge Schmiedels und von Orellis zwei positive Personen.

In der Tat wurde dann Gottlob Schrenk (geboren 1879), der Sohn des bekannten Erweckungspredigers Elias Schrenk, 1923 auf die Nachfolge von Paul Schmiedel berufen, obwohl sich die Fakultät explizit gegen Besetzungen von Professuren aufgrund von theologischen Richtungsüberlegungen ausgesprochen hatte. Diskutiert wurde auch der wesentlich renommierte Julius Schniewind, aber er wurde wegen zu viel «Spitzfindigkeit» nicht weiter in Betracht gezogen. Schrenk hatte zunächst als Missionsinspektor und Dozent in den Bodelschwingschen Anstalten in Bethel bei Bielefeld und der dortigen Theologischen Schule (später Kirchliche Hochschule Bethel) gewirkt und war dann Pfarrer in verschiedenen Gefangenlagern in Deutschland, Skandinavien und in der Schweiz, bevor er nach Zürich kam, wo er bis 1949 wirkte. Seine Publikationen dokumentieren deutlich seine positive Ausrichtung, doch verfasste er auch zahlreiche Artikel für das «Theologische Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament». In seinen letzten Lebensjahren erblindete er beinahe vollständig. Er starb 1965 in Arosa, wo er ein Häuschen besass.

Walther Zimmerli, der nicht habilitierte Pfarrer von Aarburg, wurde 1935 als Nachfolger Hausheers berufen. Er war 1907 in Schiers als achtens von elf Kindern geboren worden; sein Vater war Direktor der dortigen Evangelischen Lehranstalt. Nach dem Studium der Theologie in Zürich, Berlin und Göttingen arbeitete er als Assistent an der Göttinger Theologischen Fakultät. Nach der Machtübernahme durch die Nationalsozialisten



to become a full professor of Old Testament at the University of Göttingen, where he remained until his retirement. Zimmerli died in Oberdiessbach (in the canton of Bern) in 1983.

Zimmerli's two major works, which were written in Göttingen and published several times, were his Ezekiel commentary – which analyzed and described the phenomenon of *Fortschreibung* in an exemplary sense – and his textbook “Grundriß der alttestamentlichen Theologie” (Foundation of Old Testament Theology). His academic achievements were recognized by honorary doctorates from the universities of Strasbourg and Edinburgh as well as by the award of the Burkitt Medal from the British Academy in 1972. Zimmerli officiated as rector of the University of Göttingen (1964–1966) and as president of the Göttingen Academy of Science (1970–1978).

In 1947 Victor Maag was appointed as the successor to Ludwig Köhler. He was born into a positive Christian house in 1910, attended the school in Birmensdorf and graduated from the “Minerva.” He enrolled in the Faculty of Medicine in 1929 but soon became fascinated by theology; he therefore prepared for the supplementary examinations in Greek and Hebrew and began studying theology in 1930. He was most influenced by Jakob Hausheer and Ludwig Köhler as well as by the Arabist Johann Jakob Hess (1866–1949), who worked at the University of Zurich as an extraordinarius for Living Oriental Languages and Islamic Cultures (1918–1936). After his studies, Maag initially worked as a pastor in Mellingen as well as at the Predigerkirche in Zurich. During his time in Zurich as a pastor he also taught Hebrew at the canton school and at the Faculty of Theology, which drew him further toward

kehrte er in die Schweiz zurück. 1951 folgte er einem Ruf als Ordinarius für Altes Testament an die Universität Göttingen, wo er bis zu seiner Emeritierung blieb. Zimmerli verstarb 1983 in Oberdiessbach (Kanton Bern).

Zimmerlis beiden Hauptwerke, die in Göttingen entstanden und mehrfach aufgelegt wurden, waren sein Ezechielkommentar, der in exemplarischer Weise das Phänomen der Fortschreibung in alttestamentlichen Schriften analysierte und beschrieb, sowie sein Lehrbuch «Grundriß der alttestamentlichen Theologie». Anerkennung fanden seine wissenschaftlichen Leistungen durch Ehrenpromotionen der Universitäten Strassburg und Edinburgh und 1972 durch die Verleihung der Burkitt Medal vonseiten der British Academy. Zimmerli amtierte als Rektor der Universität Göttingen (1964–1966) und als Präsident der Göttinger Akademie der Wissenschaften (1970–1978).

1947 wurde Victor Maag als Nachfolger Ludwig Köhlers auf dessen Lehrstuhl berufen. Er war 1910 in ein positiv-christliches Haus geboren worden, besuchte in Birmensdorf die Schulen und absolvierte an der «Minerva» die Matur. 1929 immatrikulierte er sich an der Medizinischen Fakultät, doch bald faszinierte ihn die Theologie; also bereitete er sich auf die Ergänzungsprüfungen in Griechisch und Hebräisch vor und begann 1930 mit dem Theologiestudium. Prägend wurden für ihn vor allem Jakob Hausheer und Ludwig Köhler, wie auch der Arabist Johann Jakob Hess (1866–1949), der an der Universität Zürich als Extraordinarius für «lebende orientalische Sprachen und islamitische Kulturen» wirkte (1918–1936). Nach dem Studium war Maag zunächst Pfarrer in Mellingen sowie an der Predigerkirche in Zürich. Während seiner pfarramtlichen Tätigkeit in Zürich unterrichtete er auch Hebräisch an der Kantonsschule und an der Theologischen Fakultät, was ihn

academia. Following his doctorate (1945) and habilitation (1947) he was appointed in the same year to the chairs for Old Testament, Religious History and Orientalia. Throughout the decades of his research and teaching activity, Maag understood in a unique way how to combine biblical and religious historical questions. Maag's working method was especially remarkable in light of the dominance of dialectical theology at the time, which regarded religion and religious history as irrelevant for Christian belief. Maag retired in 1978 and died in 2002 at a ripe old age.

Maag's colleague at the faculty was Hans Wildberger (1910–1986), with whom he worked almost congruently. It was already apparent in 1950 that the Old Testament professor Walther Zimmerli, who had been Hausheer's successor since 1935, would accept an appointment in Göttingen. He recommended Wildberger to be his successor, not least due to his belonging to the positive school. Born in the same year as Maag, Wildberger attended the humanistic high school in Basel and then studied theology in Zurich, Marburg and Bonn. His doctoral thesis, "Jahwewort und prophetische Rede bei Jeremia" (Yhwh's Word and Prophetic Speech in Jeremiah), was accepted in 1941 (published in 1942). He also authored a commentary on Jeremiah for the Zurich series "Prophezei" (which, however, remained unpublished due to difficulties at the publisher). His life's work was the large Isaiah commentary for the series "Biblischer Kommentar," which appeared in partial deliveries between 1965 and 1982 and was also translated into English. For over two decades, Wildberger officiated as the president of the Concordat Review Board. He was also fascinated by the non-Christian religions and attended multiple trips to the Near and Far East.

weiter in die Wissenschaft hinein zog. Nach der Promotion (1945) und der Habilitation (1947) wurde er noch im gleichen Jahr auf den liberalen Lehrstuhl für Altes Testament, Religionsgeschichte und Orientalia berufen. Über die Jahrzehnte seiner Forschungs- und Lehrtätigkeit hinweg verstand es Maag auf einzigartige Weise, biblische und religionsgeschichtliche Fragestellungen miteinander zu verbinden. Maags Arbeitsweise war besonders bemerkenswert angesichts der damaligen Dominanz der Dialektischen Theologie, die Religion und Religionsgeschichte als für den christlichen Glauben irrelevant ansah. 1978 wurde Maag emeritiert, 2002 verstarb er in hohem Alter.

Maags Fachkollege mit nahezu deckungsgleicher Wirkungszeit an der Fakultät war Hans Wildberger (1910–1986). Bereits 1950 hatte sich abgezeichnet, dass der Alttestamentler Walther Zimmerli, seit 1935 als Nachfolger auf dem Lehrstuhl Hausheers, einem Ruf nach Göttingen folgen würde. Für die Nachfolge empfahl sich, nicht zuletzt wegen seines positiven Profils, Hans Wildberger. Im selben Jahr wie Maag geboren, hatte er in Basel das humanistische Gymnasium durchlaufen und in Zürich, Marburg und Bonn Theologie studiert. 1941 war er mit einer Arbeit zu «Jahwewort und prophetische Rede bei Jeremia» promoviert worden (sie erschien 1942), ausserdem hatte er für die Zürcher Reihe «Prophezei» einen Jeremia kommentar verfasst (dieser blieb allerdings wegen Schwierigkeiten des Verlags ungedruckt). Sein Lebenswerk war der grosse Jesajakommentar in der Reihe «Biblischer Kommentar», der von 1965 bis 1982 in Teillieferungen erschien und auch ins Englische übersetzt wurde. Über zwei Jahrzehnte hinweg amtierte Wildberger als Präsident der Konkordatsprüfungsbehörde. Er war auch von den nichtchristlichen Religionen fasziniert und begleitete mehrere Studienreisen in den Nahen und Mittleren Osten.

New Testament professor Paul Schmiedels was followed by Werner Georg Kümmel (1905–1995). Kümmel came from a wide-ranging family of scholars. He studied theology in Heidelberg, Berlin, and Marburg (1923–1928) and attained his doctorate under Martin Dibelius in Heidelberg (1928). Following his assistant position under Hans von Soden in Marburg, he was appointed in Zurich in 1932. Here the faculty applied to the Directorate of Education to expand his teaching remit to include the Science of Judaism and Elementary Hebrew Education (13 March 1943). The Directorate rejected this “because Hebrew Education was not a university subject” and the “Science of Judaism” was to be dealt with “according to the associations with the Old and New Testaments by the lecturers who were responsible for those areas” (30 August 1943). Kümmel moved from a personal ordinariate to full professor of New Testament on 30 June 1949. From Zurich he moved to Mainz (1951–1952) and finally, as the successor of Rudolf Bultmann, to Marburg (1952–1973), where he most famously produced the new edition of the “Einleitung in das Neue Testament” (“Introduction to the New Testament”) (1965), first produced by Paul Feine and Johannes Behm; the first run of Kümmel’s version was actually the 14th edition of the work that continued until 1983 in 21 editions.

Through the middle of the 20th century, New Testament scholarship at the Faculty of Theology was heavily influenced by Eduard Schweizer. Born in Basel in 1913, he studied through the 1930s in Marburg with Rudolf Bultmann, in Zurich with Emil Brunner and in Basel with Karl Barth. Schweizer received his doctorate in Basel in 1938 and then worked for eight years as a pastor in Nesslau in Toggenburg. He com-

Auf den Neutestamentler Paul Schmiedels folgte Werner Georg Kümmel (1905–1995). Kümmel stammte aus einer weitverzweigten Gelehrtenfamilie. Er studierte Theologie in Heidelberg, Berlin und Marburg (1923–1928) und wurde bei Martin Dibelius in Heidelberg promoviert (1928). Von seiner Assistenz in Marburg bei Hans von Soden wurde er nach Zürich berufen (1932). Hier stellte die Fakultät Antrag an die Erziehungsdirektion, sein Lehrgebiet um «Wissenschaft vom Judentum und Hebräischen Elementarunterricht» zu erweitern (13. März 1943). Der Erziehungsdirektor lehnte dies ab, «weil Hebräischunterricht nicht als Universitätsfach» angesprochen werden könne und die «Wissenschaft vom Judentum» «je nach Zugehörigkeit zum Alten und Neuen Testament von den Dozenten, denen diese Gebiete zugewiesen sind, zu behandeln sei» (30. August 1943). Kümmel wechselte nach siebzehn Jahren von einem persönlichen Ordinariat auf den ordentlichen Lehrstuhl für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft (30. Juni 1949). Von Zürich aus gelangte er nach Mainz (1951–1952) und schliesslich, als Nachfolger von Rudolf Bultmann, nach Marburg (1952–1973), wo er vor allem durch die Neubearbeitung der «Einleitung in das Neue Testament» (1965) von Paul Feine und Johannes Behm bekannt wurde; die erste Auflage dieser Neubearbeitung zählt als 14. Auflage des Werks (seit seinem Ersterscheinen), das bis 1983 in 21 Auflagen erschien.

Die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft an der Theologischen Fakultät wurde in der Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts stark durch Eduard Schweizer geprägt. Er wurde 1913 in Basel geboren. In den dreissiger Jahren studierte er in Marburg bei Rudolf Bultmann, in Zürich bei Emil Brunner und in Basel bei Karl Barth. Schweizer promovierte 1938 in Basel und arbeitete dann acht Jahre als Pfarrer in Nesslau im Toggenburg. Von dort aus

pleted his habilitation in New Testament there in 1941. In 1946 he was appointed to the University of Mainz, and then in 1949 to Bonn, only to transfer to Zurich in the same year.

Schweizer's appointment was marked by some turmoil as a minority of the faculty had favored Christian Maurer, a Privatdozent from Zurich, for the position; Maurer was later appointed to the Kirchliche Hochschule Bethel near Bielefeld and then to Bern. Schweizer developed an international reputation, teaching, in 1959/1960, in Rochester (New York), in 1964/1967 in San Francisco, in 1966/1968/1971 in Kyoto and Tokyo, in 1975 in Melbourne and in 1980/1982 in Louisville (Kentucky). Between 1964 and 1966 he officiated as rector of the University, which, according to rotation, was the responsibility of the Faculty of Theology; Fritz Blanke and Arthur Rich were also discussed but both declined. Schweizer earned an honorary doctorate from Mainz (1950), from St. Andrews (1963), from Vienna (1972) and from Melbourne (1975).

Schweizer worked as the editor of the journal *Evangelische Theologie* (1952–1985) and, together with Rudolf Schnackenburg, founded the ecumenical commentary series "Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament" ("Evangelical-Catholic Commentary of the New Testament") (1969). Schweizer authored commentaries on Matthew, Mark, and Luke as well as Colossians and 1 Peter. Besides many other studies, Schweizer participated in a ten-volume reference work "Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament" ("Theological Dictionary of the New Testament"). His talent lay in combining exegetical and historical precision with hermeneutical perspectives. The importance of the biblical message for the contemporary human experience was one of his central

habilitierte er sich 1941 für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft. 1946 wurde er an die Universität Mainz berufen, 1949 nach Bonn, von wo aus er noch im selben Jahr nach Zürich wechselte.

Schweizers Berufung war von einigen Wirren geprägt, hatte sich doch eine Minderheit der Fakultät für die Berufung des anderen Zürcher Privatdozenten für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Christian Maurer, ausgesprochen; Maurer wurde dann an die Kirchliche Hochschule Bethel bei Bielefeld berufen, später nach Bern. Schweizer entfaltete eine international beachtete Wirksamkeit: er lehrte, jeweils semesterweise, 1959/1960 in Rochester (New York), 1964/1967 in San Francisco, 1966/1968/1971 in Kyoto und Tokio, 1975 in Melbourne sowie 1980/1982 in Louisville (Kentucky). Von 1964 bis 1966 bekleidete er das Amt des Rektors der Universität, das turnusgemäss der Theologischen Fakultät zustand; diskutiert wurden damals auch Fritz Blanke und Arthur Rich, die jedoch beide das Ansinnen ablehnten. Ehrendoktorate erhielt Schweizer von Mainz (1950), von St. Andrews (1963), von Wien (1972) und von Melbourne (1975).

Zusammen mit Rudolf Schnackenburg begründete Schweizer die ökumenische Kommentarreihe «Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament» (1969). Er wirkte als Mitherausgeber der Zeitschrift «Evangelische Theologie» (1952–1985). Schweizer verfasste Kommentare zum Matthäus-, Markus- und Lukasevangelium sowie zum Kolosser- und ersten Petrusbrief. Neben vielen weiteren Studien, die er verfasste, beteiligte sich Schweizer am zehnbändigen Standardwerk «Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament». Seine Gabe bestand darin, exegetische und historische Präzision mit hermeneutischen Perspektiven zu verbinden. Die Bedeutung der biblischen Botschaft für die gegenwärtige menschliche

concerns, which he also expressed through a lively and successful preaching ministry. In his lectures, he would repeatedly descend from the lectern and stand before the windows, as if he were addressing the people in the street instead of his students in the lecture hall. He retired in 1979 and died in 2006.

In 1954 Hans Conzelmann (1915–1989) was appointed Associate Professor for New Testament and to full professor in 1956. Conzelmann was born in Tailfingen in Württemberg and studied theology in Tübingen and Marburg between 1934 and 1938. Injured in the war, he returned to Tübingen and took the second theological exam in 1946. He received his doctorate in Heidelberg in 1951 and his habilitation in 1952 with an influential study on the theology of Luke. After his time in Zurich he worked in Göttingen from 1960 until his retirement. Together with Andreas Lindemann he authored a widely-used textbook on the New Testament.

The long history leading up to Conzelmann's election – originally a liberal Swiss candidate was being considered, but he was not able to complete his dissertation in time – had the positive side effect that Rudolf Bultmann, who had already retired from Marburg in 1953, taught for one semester in Zurich. After Conzelmann had transferred to Göttingen, Siegfried Schulz (1927–2000) was appointed to his chair as an associate professor. He had studied theology in Wuppertal, Tübingen and Kiel and received his doctorate in 1953 for his work on the Son of Man Christology in the Gospel of John. He completed his habilitation in Erlangen in 1957 with an investigation regarding the composition and origins of the Johannine speeches. Due to receiving an offer from Germany, he was made full professor in 1964. He worked at

Lebenswelt war ihm ein zentrales Anliegen, das er auch in einer regen und erfolgreichen Predigtstätigkeit vertrat. In seinen Vorlesungen stieg er jeweils wiederholt vom Katheder hinunter und trat ans Fenster des Hörsaals, als ob er sich den Menschen auf der Strasse statt den Studierenden zuwenden würde. 1979 wurde er emeritiert, er verstarb 2006.

1954 wurde Hans Conzelmann (1915–1989) zum ausserordentlichen Professor für Neues Testament gewählt, 1956 wurde er zum Ordinarius befördert. Conzelmann, in Tailfingen in Württemberg geboren, studierte von 1934 bis 1938 in Tübingen und Marburg Theologie. Als Kriegsverletzter kehrte er 1944 nach Tübingen zurück und legte 1946 das Zweite Theologische Examen ab. 1951 wurde er in Heidelberg promoviert, 1952 habilitierte er sich daselbst mit einer einflussreichen Arbeit über die Theologie des Lukasevangeliums. Nach seiner Zeit in Zürich wirkte er von 1960 bis zu seiner Emeritierung 1978 in Göttingen. Gemeinsam mit Andreas Lindemann verfasste er ein weitverbreitetes Arbeitsbuch zum Neuen Testament.

Die lange Vorgeschichte von Conzelmanns Wahl – man hatte ursprünglich einen liberalen Schweizer Kandidaten im Auge, der aber seine Dissertation nicht rechtzeitig beenden konnte – hatte den positiven Nebeneffekt, dass der in Marburg bereits emeritierte Rudolf Bultmann im Jahr 1953 für ein Semester in Zürich las. Nachdem Conzelmann 1960 nach Göttingen gewechselt hatte, wurde 1961 Siegfried Schulz (1927–2000) als Extraordinarius auf dessen Lehrstuhl berufen. Er hatte in Wuppertal, Tübingen und Kiel Theologie studiert und war 1953 mit einer Arbeit über die Menschensohn-Christologie des Johannesevangeliums promoviert worden. 1957 habilitierte er sich in Erlangen mit einer Untersuchung über die Komposition und Herkunft der johanneischen Reden. Aufgrund

the University of Zurich until his premature retirement in 1987. He pursued a strictly fact-critical interpretation of the New Testament text and made both theologically concise and, historically speaking, highly controversial distinctions between early Protestant and early Catholic positions in the New Testament.

Wildberger and Maag, the Old Testament professors of similar age, left the academic office within a short period of time. This resulted in the traditional church-political orientation being reversed when the chairs were filled: Hans Heinrich Schmid succeeded to Wildberger's positive chair and Odil Hannes Steck to Maag's liberal chair.

Hans Heinrich Schmid, the son of a pastor's household, was born in 1937. At the time, his father Gotthard Schmid (1909–1968) was the pastor in Oberwinterthur; he later transferred to Zurich-Oerlikon and then to St. Peter Church in Zurich; he also worked as a church official and was responsible for the revision of the Zurich church legislation in 1943–1967. Hans Heinrich Schmid studied theology in Zurich and Göttingen. He received his doctorate in 1965 on "The Essence and History of Wisdom" and his habilitation in 1967 on "Justice as World Order". He was employed in Zurich as an assistant professor. He accepted a professorship at the Kirchlichen Hochschule in Bethel near Bielefeld in 1969. He returned to Zurich in 1976 and succeeded Hans Wildberger. He officiated as rector of the University of Zurich (1988–2000); in this capacity he secured the university's independence under public law, which is expressed in the new University Law of 1998. After his resignation he was elected to the Zurich Constitutional Council and worked on the new translation of the Zürcher Bibel,

eines Rufes nach Deutschland wurde er 1964 zum Ordinarius befördert. Er wirkte an der Universität Zürich bis zu seiner vorzeitigen Emeritierung im Jahr 1987. Er verfolgte eine streng sachkritische Auslegung der neutestamentlichen Schriften und unterschied theologisch prägnant – und gleichzeitig historisch höchst umstritten – zwischen frühprotestantischen und frühkatholischen Positionen im Neuen Testament.

Die gleichaltrigen Alttestamentler Wildberger und Maag schieden innerhalb kurzer Zeit aus dem akademischen Lehramt aus, wobei sich bei der Besetzung der Lehrstühle die traditionelle kirchenpolitische Orientierung zunächst umkehrte: Hans Heinrich Schmid folgte auf Wildbergers positivem, Odil Hannes Steck auf Maags liberalem Lehrstuhl.

Hans Heinrich Schmid wurde 1937 in einen Pfarrerhaushalt geboren. Sein Vater Gotthard Schmid (1909–1968) war damals Pfarrer in Oberwinterthur, er wechselte später nach Zürich-Oerlikon und dann an die Kirche St. Peter in Zürich; er wirkte auch als Kirchenrat und war für die Revision der Zürcher Kirchengesetzgebung in den Jahren 1943–1967 verantwortlich. Hans Heinrich Schmid studierte in Zürich und Göttingen Theologie. 1965 wurde er mit einer Arbeit über «Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit» promoviert, 1967 habilitierte er sich zum Thema «Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung» und wurde in Zürich als Assistenzprofessor angestellt. 1969 folgte er dem Ruf auf eine Professur an der Kirchlichen Hochschule in Bethel bei Bielefeld. Im Jahr 1976 kehrte er nach Zürich zurück und trat die Nachfolge Hans Wildbergers an. Er amtierte als Rektor der Universität Zürich (1988–2000); in dieser Funktion erwirkte er die öffentlich-rechtliche Selbständigkeit der Universität, die Ausdruck im neuen Universitätsgesetz von 1998 fand. Nach seinem Rücktritt wurde er in den Zürcher Verfassungsrat gewählt



which was published in 2007. He died in 2014 after a long illness.

Hermann Spieckermann (b. 1950) held the chair for Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern History of Religion from 1989 to 1991, before he succeeded Rudolf Smend in Göttingen, where he still teaches to this day.

Spieckermann was succeeded by Thomas Krüger (b. 1959), who studied theology in Munich and received his doctorate on the book of Ezekiel in 1988. His habilitation was on the book of Qoheleth (1991), which appeared in a revised form as a commentary in German (2000) and in English (2004). Krüger's work focusses on Wisdom Literature, Hebraic studies and ancient Near Eastern studies.

Maag's successor, Odil Hannes Steck, was born in Munich in 1935. Following his theological studies in Neuendettelsau, Wuppertal and Heidelberg he received his doctorate in 1965 under Günter Bornkamm and Gerhard von Rad. His dissertation questioned the centuries-long transmission – from the time of the Old Testament to the time of early Christianity – of the Deuteronomistic presentation of history, which already demonstrated his fundamental interest in processes of tradition and, with that, the observable spiritual transformations. He also completed his habilitation in Heidelberg in 1967, on the Elijah/Elisha narrative. He acquired his first professorship in Hamburg in 1968, then transferred to Mainz (1976) and then to Zurich (1978), where he died while still employed in 2001. His work on the redaction history of the prophetic books had a significant influence on research; Steck understood this to reflect an inner-biblical history of reception and a model for present-day theological ways of thinking. His exegesis on Isaiah stands out in light of the redactional importance of

und arbeitete an der Neuübersetzung der Zürcher Bibel mit, die 2007 erschien. 2014 verstarb er nach längerer Krankheit.

Von 1989 bis 1991 bekleidete Hermann Spieckermann (geb. 1950) den Lehrstuhl für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft und altorientalische Religionsgeschichte, bevor er als Nachfolger von Rudolf Smend nach Göttingen berufen wurde, wo er seither lehrt.

Auf Spieckermann folgte 1992 Thomas Krüger (geb. 1959), der in München Theologie studierte und mit einer Arbeit über das Ezechielbuch promoviert wurde (1988). Er habilitierte sich über das Koheletbuch (1991); die Habilitation erschien in umgearbeiteter Form als Kommentar sowohl auf Deutsch (2000) als auch auf Englisch (2004). Krügers Arbeitsschwerpunkte liegen in der Weisheitsliteratur, der Hebraistik und der Altorientalistik.

Der Nachfolger Maags, Odil Hannes Steck, war 1935 in München geboren worden. Nach dem Theologiestudium in Neuendettelsau, Wuppertal und Heidelberg wurde er 1965 bei Günter Bornkamm und Gerhard von Rad promoviert. In seiner Dissertation fragte er nach der jahrhundertelangen – seit der Zeit des Alten Testaments bis in die Zeit des Urchristentums – erfolgten Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes; schon darin zeichnete sich sein grundlegendes Interesse an Traditionsprozessen und den dabei beobachtbaren geistigen Wandlungen ab. 1967 erfolgte die Habilitation über die Elia- und Eliaerzählungen, ebenfalls in Heidelberg. 1968 erlangte er eine erste Professur in Hamburg, 1976 wechselte er nach Mainz und 1978 nach Zürich, wo er 2001 im Amt verstarb. Massgeblichen Einfluss auf die Forschung hatten seine Arbeiten zur Redaktionsgeschichte der Prophetenbücher, die Steck als innerbiblische Rezeptionsgeschichte und auch als Modell für heutige theologische Denkbemühungen verstand.

Trito-Isaiah and the function of Isaiah 35 as a bridging text between first and second Isaiah. His views on the methodology for Old Testament exegesis are presented in the often used text book “Exegese des Alten Testaments.”

Konrad Schmid (b. 1965) was chosen as Steck's successor. Following his theological studies in Zurich, Greifswald and Munich he worked as the Professor for Old Testament in Heidelberg from 1999 until he returned to Zurich in 2002. His major research interests lie in the area of the literary history of the Old Testament.

Eduard Schweizer's chair for New Testament was granted to Hans Weder (b. 1946). He studied theology from 1966 to 1972 at the University of Zurich and then became ordained. He spent the academic year of 1972/1973 in St. Andrews, where he earned a Bachelor of Philosophy. He received his doctorate from Zurich in 1977 and then his habilitation in 1979. He was the Professor for New Testament at the University of Zurich from 1980 until 2000. During this time, he developed his “Neutestamentliche Hermeneutik,” and became known to a wider audience due to his interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount. He served as rector from 2000 to 2008, following Hans Heinrich Schmid.

Weder was followed by Samuel Vollenweider from 2000 to 2018. He received his doctorate from the University of Zurich with a study on Patristics, and his habilitation was completed in 1987 in the field of New Testament. In 1988/1989 he taught as a guest lecturer at the theological faculties of Doshisha University in Kyoto and the University of Nishinomiya (Japan). He then worked as Professor for New Testament in Bern until 2000. His successor in Zurich is Stefan Krauter, who took over in 2019.

In der Jesaja-Exegese ist er mit der redaktionellen Deutung von Tritojesaja und von Jesaja 35 als Brückentext zwischen Erstem und Zweitem Jesaja hervorgetreten. Seine Sicht der Methoden alttestamentlicher Exegese hat er in dem oft verwendeten Lehrbuch «Exegese des Alten Testaments» dargestellt.

Als Nachfolger Stecks wurde Konrad Schmid (geb. 1965) gewählt. Nach seinem Theologiestudium in Zürich, Greifswald und München hatte er ab 1999 eine Professur für Alttestamentliche Theologie an der Universität Heidelberg inne, bevor er 2002 nach Zürich kam. Seine Forschungsschwerpunkte liegen im Bereich der Literaturschichte des Alten Testaments.

Auf Eduard Schweizers Lehrstuhl für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft wurde Hans Weder (geb. 1946) gewählt. Er studierte von 1966 bis 1972 an der Universität Zürich Theologie und wurde danach ordiniert. Das akademische Jahr 1972/73 verbrachte er in St. Andrews, wo er einen Bachelor of Philosophy erwarb. 1977 wurde er in Zürich promoviert, 1979 habilitierte er sich. Von 1980 bis 2000 war er Professor für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft an Universität Zürich. In dieser Zeit entstand seine «Neutestamentliche Hermeneutik», einem breiteren Publikum wurde er auch durch seine Auslegung der Bergpredigt bekannt. Er stand, wie schon vor ihm Hans Heinrich Schmid, der Universität als Rektor vor (2000–2008).

Auf Hans Weder folgte von 2000 bis 2018 Samuel Vollenweider. Er wurde in Zürich im Jahr 1983 mit einer patristischen Arbeit promoviert, habilitierte sich dann aber 1987 im Fach Neues Testament. 1988/89 verbrachte er als Gastdozent an den Theologischen Fakultäten der Doshisha-University in Kyôto und der University of Nishinomiya (Japan). Von 1989 bis 2000 wirkte er als Professor für Neues Testament an der Universität Bern. Sein Nachfolger in Zürich ist seit 2019 Stefan Krauter.



The successor of Siegfried Schulz was Jean Zumstein (b. 1944). Following high school in Biel/Bienne (1960–1963), he studied theology in Lausanne (1963–1965, 1966–1967), Strasbourg (1965–1966), and Göttingen (1967–1968), obtaining his Licentiate in theology from Lausanne (1968). Afterwards, he worked as an assistant at the “Institut des sciences bibliques” in Lausanne (1968–1970) and completed a research year in Heidelberg (1970–1971). He attained a Doctorat d’Etat with *venia legendi* from Lausanne in 1974. In 1975 he was appointed Professor for New Testament at the University of Neuenburg, where he taught and did research until 1990; from 1981 to 1985 he was also the faculty Dean. He became the Professor for New Testament at the University of Zurich in 1990. He received an honorary doctorate from the Faculté libre de théologie protestante de Paris in 2010. His most significant publication is a two-volume commentary on John.

Jörg Frey (b. 1962) succeeded Zumstein in early 2010. He studied theology in Tübingen and Erlangen as well as in Jerusalem. In 1992/1993 he completed his vicariate in the Evangelischen Landeskirche in Württemberg. He received his Dr. Theol. (1996) and habilitation (1998) from the University of Tübingen, both in the field of New Testament; these two works deal comprehensively with the eschatology of the Gospel of John. He became the Professor for New Testament at the Faculty of Theology of the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena in 1998 and full professor from 1999 at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich, with a focus on ancient Judaism. In 2010 he transferred to the University of Zurich. His research concentrates on Johannine literature, ancient Judaism (Qumran and apocalypticism), Jewish Christianity and apocry-

Nachfolger von Siegfried Schulz wurde Jean Zumstein (geb. 1944). Nach dem Gymnasium in Biel/Bienne (1960–1963) studierte er Theologie an den Universitäten Lausanne (1963–1965 und 1966–1967), Strassburg (1965–1966) und Göttingen (1967–1968), das Lizentiat in Theologie erwarb er in Lausanne (1968). Danach wirkte er als Assistent am «Institut des sciences bibliques» von Lausanne (1968–1970) und absolvierte ein Forschungsjahr in Heidelberg (1970–1971). 1974 erlangte er in Lausanne das Doctorat d’Etat mit *venia legendi*. 1975 wurde er zum Professor für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft an der Universität Neuenburg gewählt, wo er bis 1990 forschte und lehrte; von 1981 bis 1985 stand er der Fakultät als Dekan vor. Ab 1990 war er Professor für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft an der Universität Zürich. Im Jahr 2010 verlieh ihm die Faculté libre de théologie protestante de Paris die Ehrendoktorwürde. Sein Hauptwerk ist ein zweibändiger Johanneskommentar.

Im Frühjahr 2010 trat Jörg Frey (geb. 1962) die Nachfolge Zumsteins an. Er studierte Theologie an den Universitäten Tübingen und Erlangen sowie in Jerusalem. 1992/1993 absolvierte er das Vikariat in der Evangelischen Landeskirche in Württemberg. Er wurde in Tübingen zum Dr. theol. promoviert (1996) und habilitierte sich dort für das Fach Neues Testament (1998). Seine Qualifikationsschriften behandeln in umfassender Weise die Eschatologie des Johannesevangeliums. Ab 1998 war er Professor für Neues Testament an der Theologischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena und ab 1999 Ordinarius für Neues Testament mit Schwerpunkt Antikes Judentum an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, bevor er 2010 nach Zürich wechselte. Seine Forschung konzentriert sich auf die Johanneische Literatur, das antike Judentum (Qumran, Apokalyptik), das Juden-

phal literature, as well as the methodology of New Testament exegesis and theology.

The comparative study of the history of religions has traditionally held an important status at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Zurich. It was recognized by Furrer, Hausheer, Zimmerli, Köhler, Maag, H. H. Schmid and others, until the decision was made by the Faculty of Theology to create a Professor for General History of Religions and Religious Studies in 1980. The faculty appointed the Old Testament scholar Fritz Stolz (1942–2001) to this chair, who creatively helped to shape his new field and who himself became a foundational figure in modern Religious Studies. Fritz Stolz had studied theology and oriental studies in Heidelberg and in Zurich. He received his doctorate on the cult in Jerusalem in 1969 and his habilitation in 1971 on the interpretation of divine war in the Old Testament. Stolz had worked as a lecturer for Old Testament and Hebrew at the Kirchlichen Hochschule Bethel near Bielefeld from 1972 and was the rector there from 1979 to 1980.

Christoph Uehlinger (b. 1958) was appointed as Stolz's successor in 2003. He studied theology in Fribourg and Jerusalem from 1977 to 1982, and he also studied Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Fribourg, Bern, and London. He received his doctorate on the Tower of Babel story (Genesis 11) in 1989, and his habilitation in Old Testament and the Biblical Environment from Fribourg in 1993. From 1984 to 2003 he worked as an assistant and senior assistant at the Biblischen Institut/Department for Biblical Studies at the University of Fribourg and distinguished himself academically primarily in the area of Northwest Semitic iconography. He chaired the Swiss Society for Oriental Studies (1993–2003) and, as co-president,

christentum und die apokryphe Literatur sowie die Methodenlehre der Exegese und Theologie des Neuen Testaments.

An der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Zürich hatte die allgemeine Religionsgeschichte traditionell einen wichtigen Stellenwert. Sie wurde von Furrer, Hausheer, Zimmerli, Köhler, Maag, H.H. Schmid und anderen wahrgenommen, bis sich im Jahr 1980 die Theologische Fakultät entschloss, eine eigene Professur für Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte und Religionswissenschaft einzurichten. Die Fakultät berief den Alttestamentler Fritz Stolz (1942–2001) auf diese Professur, der sein neues Fach kreativ mitgestaltete und selbst zu einer Gründerfigur der modernen Religionswissenschaft wurde. Fritz Stolz hatte Theologie und Orientalistik in Heidelberg und Zürich studiert; er war 1969 mit einer Arbeit zum Kult in Jerusalem promoviert worden und habilitierte sich 1971 über die Vorstellung der Gotteskriege im Alten Testament. Stolz wirkte seit 1972 als Dozent für Altes Testament und Hebräisch an der Kirchlichen Hochschule Bethel bei Bielefeld, 1979–1980 war er deren Rektor.

Im Jahr 2003 wurde Christoph Uehlinger (geb. 1958) als Nachfolger von Fritz Stolz gewählt. Er studierte von 1977–1982 Theologie in Fribourg und Jerusalem sowie ergänzend Ägyptologie und Altorientalistik in Fribourg, Bern und London. 1989 wurde er mit einer Arbeit über die Turmbaugeschichte (Genesis 11) promoviert, 1993 habilitierte er sich in Fribourg für Altes Testament und Biblische Umwelt. Von 1984 bis 2003 wirkte er als Assistent und Oberassistent am Biblischen Institut/Departement für Biblische Studien der Universität Fribourg und profilierte sich wissenschaftlich vor allem im Bereich der nordwestsemitischen Ikonographie. Er stand der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Orientalische Altertumswissenschaften vor (1993–2003) und ebenso, als Co-Präsident

the Swiss Society for the Study of Religions (2006–2011).

In recent years, the Faculty of Theology has initiated several major projects in the broader field of Hebrew Bible studies and archaeology, such as “The History of the Pentateuch: Combining Literary and Archaeological Approaches” (funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation, 2016–2019), “Stamp Seals from the Southern Levant: A Multi-faceted Prism for Studying Entangled Histories in an Interdisciplinary Perspective” (funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation, 2019–2023) and “How God became a Lawgiver: The Place of the Torah in Ancient Near Eastern Legal History” (funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation, 2020–2024).

(2006–2011), der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Religionswissenschaft.

In den letzten Jahren sind an der Theologischen Fakultät mehrere Grossprojekte im weiteren Bereich der hebräischen Bibelwissenschaft sowie der Archäologie initiiert worden, so etwa «The History of the Pentateuch: Combining Literary and Archaeological Approaches» (gefördert durch den Schweizerischen Nationalfonds, 2016–2019), «Stamp Seals from the Southern Levant: A Multi-faceted Prism for Studying Entangled Histories in an Interdisciplinary Perspective» (gefördert durch den Schweizerischen Nationalfonds 2019–2023) sowie «How God Became a Lawgiver: The Place of the Torah in Ancient Near Eastern Legal History» (gefördert durch den European Research Council, 2020–2024).

For a detailed history of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Zurich, see Konrad Schmid, *Die Theologische Fakultät der Universität Zürich. Ihre Geschichte von 1833 bis 2015*, Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2015 (Open Access: <https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/115367/>)

Eine ausführliche Geschichte der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Zürich bietet Konrad Schmid, *Die Theologische Fakultät der Universität Zürich. Ihre Geschichte von 1833 bis 2015*, Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2015 (open access: <https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/115367/>)



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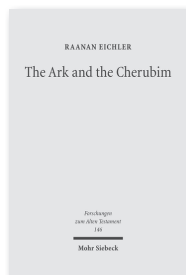
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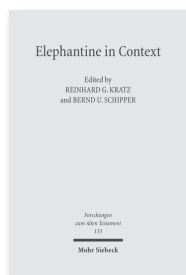
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