

MARVIN A. SWEENEY

Form and Intertextuality
in Prophetic and
Apocalyptic Literature

*Forschungen
zum Alten Testament*

45

Mohr Siebeck

Forschungen zum Alten Testament

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Preface

This volume presents a selection of my essays on the study of the prophetic literature of the Hebrew Bible and related apocalyptic and proto-apocalyptic texts. As the title of the volume indicates, they reflect fundamental concerns with the continued development of form- and literary-critical exegetical methodology as well as the burgeoning interest in intertextuality in biblical scholarship. Many of these essays have been published elsewhere over the course of some seventeen years, but a number of the essays in this volume appear in print for the first time.

I would like to express my deep appreciation to two friends and colleagues who have been instrumental in instigating the publication of this volume and seeing it through the press. Professor Dr. Hermann Spieckermann, Editor of the *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* series, initially invited me to contribute this volume to the series, and he has provided a number of welcome suggestions during the course of our collaboration on this and other projects. Dr. Henning Ziebritzki, Lektor in Theologie for Mohr Siebeck Publishers, has provided invaluable support and assistance in the preparation of this volume for publication. Conversation with both of these gentlemen has ranged over a variety of issues in relation to the publication of this volume and other areas of interest. Thanks are due to Ms. Tanja Mix for her careful work on this volume.

I would also like to thank Brill Academic Publishers, Continuum Publishing Company, the William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Peeters Publishers, *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Jewish Studies*, the Society of Biblical Literature, and the Walter de Gruyter Publishing Company, for permission to republish essays in this volume.

I am indebted to my student assistant, Danny Zelaya, whose keen eye saved me from many embarrassing and confusing errors. Any errors that remain are my own responsibility.

I am especially indebted to my wife, Muna, and our daughter, Leah, who make all things possible with their love and support, and who constantly remind me what is most important in life.

I regret to say that my father, Jack H. Sweeney of Decatur, Illinois, passed away on November 3, 2004, during the final editing of this volume for publication. My father was the sixteenth of seventeen children born to my grandfather, Walter Issac Sweeney, a West Virginia coal miner, and to my grandmother, Callie

Beth Stanley Sweeney, a descendant of the Mataponi Indians. Because I have already dedicated my first book (*Isaiah 1–4 and the Post-Exilic Understanding of the Isaianic Tradition* [BZAW 171; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988]) to my father and the memory of my mother, I would like to honor the paternal side of my family by dedicating this volume of nineteen essays to my grandparents and to their seventeen children.

San Dimas, California
March 2005 / Adar Sheni 5765

Marvin A. Sweeney

N.B. In keeping with some streams of Jewish tradition, the terms YHWH, G-d, L-rd, etc., are employed to express the sanctity of the Divine Name.

*Dedicated to the Memory of
my Grandparents*

Walter Issac Sweeney, z"l
Callie Beth Stanley Sweeney, z"l

And to their Children

Samuel Sweeney, z"l
Sylvia Cunningham, z"l
Harry Sweeney, z"l
Bess Hight, z"l
Mae Farley
Maude Turner, z"l
Joe Sweeney, z"l
Mary Sweeney, z"l
Ruby Sweeney, z"l
(died in infancy)
Dock J. Sweeney, z"l
(killed in action near Remagen, World War II)
Mamie "Tootsie" Smith
Leonard Sweeney, z"l
Lakie Smith
June Atkinson
Audrey Miles
Jack H. Sweeney, z"l
Norman D. Sweeney

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
BDB	Brown, Driver, Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of The Old Testament</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974)
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des Antiken Judentums
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibSem	The Biblical Seminar
BibThS	Biblich-Theologische Studien
BJS	Biblical and Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAT	Commentaire de l'ancien Testament
CBQ	<i>The Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
ContCom	Continental Commentaries
CR:BS	<i>Currents in Research: Biblical Studies</i>
CTM	Calwer Theologische Monographien
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EB	Études bibliques
EvT	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>

FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
Fest.	Festschrift
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
<i>HAR</i>	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IBT	Interpreting Biblical Texts
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IDB</i>	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
<i>IDB[S]</i>	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Supplementary Volume</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplements
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KHAT	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
LXX	Septuagint
<i>MGWJ</i>	<i>Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschafts des Judentums</i>
MT	Masoretic Text
NCeB	New Century Bible
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OPIAC	Occasional Papers of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OTS</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
SAC	Studies in Antiquity and Christianity
SB	Sources bibliques
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series

SBLSym	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SPB	Studia Post-biblica
SSN	Studia semitica neerlandica
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
<i>TSK</i>	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
UUÅ	Uppsala universitets årsskrift
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZRGG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte</i>

Introduction

The study of prophetic literature over the past century has changed markedly since the 1892 publication of Bernhard Duhm's ground-breaking commentary on the book of Isaiah.¹ Working under the influence of the prevailing concerns with source-critical analysis and literary-historical reconstruction, Duhm revolutionized the study of the book of Isaiah and prophetic literature in general with his identification of Proto-, Deutero-, and Trito-Isaiah within the present form of the book. Although earlier scholarship on the book of Isaiah had long posited the work of the eighth century prophet,² Isaiah ben Amoz, in chapters 1–39, and the work of an anonymous exilic period prophet beginning in Isaiah 40, Duhm's commentary finally signaled the acceptance and legitimacy of efforts to reconstruct the purported "original" forms of Isaiah's prophetic oracles as well as those of later anonymous prophets and writers whose work appeared elsewhere in the book.

Subsequent scholarship showed similar concerns in the study of all the prophetic books. Duhm himself followed up his work on Isaiah with a 1901 commentary on the book of Jeremiah that concentrated on identifying and analyzing three distinct groups of materials, including the true prophecy of the prophet Jeremiah largely in Jeremiah 1–25; 30–31, Baruch's life history of the prophet in Jeremiah 26–29; 32–45, and later supplements to the book in Jeremiah 46–51; 52 and elsewhere.³ Mowinckel's monograph on Jeremiah refined Duhm's work by identifying key sources, including source A, the words of the prophet in Jeremiah 1–25; source B, the biographical prose purportedly written by Baruch ben Neriah in Jeremiah 19–20; 26; 28–29; and 36–44; source C, the sermonic prose material, much like the sermonic prose of Deuteronomy, that appears throughout the book;

¹ Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja* (HKAT 3/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1892). For surveys of the study of prophetic literature, see Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Prophetic Literature* (IBT; Nashville: Abingdon, forthcoming); Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996); David L. Petersen, *The Prophetic Literature: An Introduction* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002).

² See Marvin A. Sweeney, "On the Road to Duhm: Isaiah in Nineteenth Century Critical Scholarship," *As Those Who are Taught: The Reception of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL* (ed. C. Mathews McGinnis and P. Tull; SBLSym; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, forthcoming).

³ Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia* (KHAT 11; Tübingen and Leipzig: Mohr Siebeck, 1901).

and source D, the late supplementary material in Jeremiah 30–31; 46–51; 52; and elsewhere.⁴ Gustav Hölscher's 1924 monograph on Ezekiel likewise applied source-critical tools combined with his all too common view of the fundamental incompatibility of prophetic and priestly identity to argue that only about one-seventh of the book represented the authentic poetic oracles of the ecstatic prophet.⁵ Otherwise, the book had been heavily edited by later redactors who presented Ezekiel as a priestly ritualist and legalist to serve as a model for the later Jewish community. Such a contention of course represents the anti-Semitic stereotypes prevalent among many scholars of the time, but it also points to the concern to identify the authentic oracles of the prophet that were embedded in the work of the later redactors of the prophetic books. A host of studies pursued similar concerns among the individual books of the Twelve Prophets.⁶

Of course, these early studies produced rather fragmented readings of the prophetic literature as scholars focused almost exclusively on the individual prophetic oracles in an attempt to sift the later writings of the prophets' redactors for the gems of authentic prophetic sayings. In these early studies, materials identified as the work of later redactors tended to be pushed aside as irrelevant and even distorting as redactors were seen as figures that did not fully understand the authentic work of the prophets and even modified or misrepresented their work in order to present the prophets in relation to later conceptualizations and needs. But through the course of the twentieth century, scholars began to recognize the need to pay close attention to the tradents and redactors of earlier traditions. Von Rad's study of the J-stratum of the Pentateuch and Noth's study of the Deuteronomistic History demonstrated that later compilers and editors must also be recognized as creative authors and theologians even when they shaped and reworked the earlier works of "original authors."⁷ Such work had its impact on the study of prophetic literature as well as scholars began to reexamine the redactional compositions found within the prophetic books and to take them quite seriously as theological literature.

Ultimately, this work led to the recognition of the defining role that redaction plays in the presentation of prophetic literature. The prophetic books were the products of later redaction, insofar as the books' editors selected, reworked,

⁴ Sigmund Mowinckel, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia* (Kristiana: Jacob Dybwad, 1914).

⁵ Gustav Hölscher, *Hezekiel, der Dichter und das Buch. Eine literarkritische Untersuchung* (BZAW 39; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1924).

⁶ See, e. g., the commentaries that nevertheless treated the Book of the Twelve as individual books collected into their present context, Karl Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton* (KHAT 13; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1904); A. Van Hoonacker, *Les Douze Petits Prophètes* (Paris: Gabalda, 1908).

⁷ Gerhard von Rad, "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and other Essays* (London: SCM, 1966) 1–78; Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTSup 15; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981).

arranged, and supplemented the authentic oracles of the prophets in an effort to present a portrayal of the prophet that would articulate a coherent historical and theological understanding of the significance of the prophet's life, work, and conceptualization of G-d, the people of Israel/Judah, and the major events of the prophet's time.⁸ Von Rad's celebrated *Old Testament Theology* played no small role in alerting scholars to the need to consider the reading of past tradition by the both the prophets and their tradents.⁹ Studies on Isaiah by Barth, Vermeylen, and Clements pointed to the influence of the so-called Assyrian or Josianic redactions in Isaiah;¹⁰ studies on Jeremiah by Thiel, Nicholson, H. Weippert, and others, pointed to the influence of Deuteronomic theology in the shaping of the book;¹¹ Zimmerli's commentary on Ezekiel uncovered a tradition-historical process by which both the prophet and his tradents engaged in the reading and interpretation of past tradition to produce the present form of the book;¹² Wolff's commentaries on various of the Twelve Prophets likewise points to the inter-relationship between tradition-history, redaction, and inner-biblical exegesis in the formation of prophetic books.¹³ Such understandings of the redaction of the prophetic books resulted in the recognition that the redactors were indeed the major theologians of the Bible who shaped the presentation of the prophets into the present forms of the prophetic books.

The renewed focus on the redaction-critical study of the prophetic literature in latter half of the twentieth century naturally raises a much broader set of literary-critical concerns. If indeed the final forms of the prophetic books – and perhaps the earlier stages of prophetic composition that might stand behind the present form of the books – are the product of redaction, the first question must focus on the role played by the final form or shape of the book itself in the book's interpre-

⁸ For discussion of the place of redaction-criticism within modern critical exegesis, see Rolf Knierim, "Criticism of Literary Features, Form, Tradition, and Redaction," *The Hebrew Bible and its Modern Interpreters* (ed. D. A. Knight and G. M. Tucker; Chico: Scholars Press, 1985) 123–65.

⁹ Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (2 vols.; New York: Harper and Row, 1962–65).

¹⁰ Hermann Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit* (WMANT 48; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1977); Ronald E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39* (NCeB; London: Marshall, Morgan, and Scott; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980); J. Vermeylen, *Du Prophète d'Isaïe à l'apocalyptique* (2 vols.; EB; Paris: Gabalda, 1977–78).

¹¹ Winfried Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25* (WMANT 41; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1973); idem, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45* (WMANT 52; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1981); E. W. Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles: A Study of the Prose Tradition of the Book of Jeremiah* (New York: Schocken, 1970); Helga Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches* (BZAW 132; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1973).

¹² Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (Hermeneia; 2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979–83).

¹³ Hans W. Wolff, *Hosea* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974); idem, *Joel and Amos* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977); idem, *Obadiah and Jonah* (ContCom; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986); idem, *Micah* (ContCom; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1990); idem, *Haggai* (ContCom; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988).

tation, viz., how do we interpret synchronic literary form, both of the prophetic books as a whole and of the literary components that comprise those books?¹⁴ The question of the unity of the book of Isaiah plays an important role in this debate particularly since acceptance of Duhm's tripartite reading has become so widespread.¹⁵ How did Isaiah come to form a single book that included the work of three or more historically distinct prophets and their redactors? Early interpreters, such as Elliger and Mowinckel had already begun to raise the question of the interdependence of Isaiah's major components,¹⁶ but later scholars such as Becker, Clements, Steck, Melugin, Conrad, Williamson, the present writer, and others began to pursue the question of the formation of the book of Isaiah with great intensity.¹⁷ Lundbom, Holladay, Carroll, and Seitz wrote influential studies and commentaries on Jeremiah that probed the role of redaction in producing the final form of the book,¹⁸ and studies by Tov, Stipp, Goldman, and Stuhlman have taken account in the advances in the both the textual and the literary study of the LXX version of Jeremiah to point to the importance of considering the final forms of both the Masoretic and Septuagint versions of the book.¹⁹ Greenberg's "holistic" approach to Ezekiel, Levenson's reconsideration of Ezekiel's traditio-historical dimensions, and Darr's literary-theological commentary have

¹⁴ Marvin A. Sweeney, "Formation and Form in Prophetic Literature," *Old Testament Interpretation: Past, Present, and Future. Essays in Honor of Gene M. Tucker* (ed. J. L. Mays et al; Nashville: Abingdon, 1995) 113–26.

¹⁵ Marvin A. Sweeney, "The Book of Isaiah in Recent Research," *CR:BS* 1 (1993) 141–62.

¹⁶ Karl Elliger, *Deuterjesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaja* (BWANT 4/11; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1933); Sigmund Mowinckel, "Die Komposition des Jesajabuches," *AO* 11 (1933) 267–92.

¹⁷ J. Becker, *Isaias – Der Prophet und Sein Buch* (SBS 30; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1968); Ronald E. Clements, "The Unity of the Book of Isaiah," *Int* 36 (1982) 117–29; Odil Hannes Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr. Jesaja 35 als redaktionelle Brücke zwischen dem Ersten und dem Zweiten Jesaja* (SBS 121; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1985); Roy F. Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40–55* (BZAW 141; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976); Edgar W. Conrad, *Reading Isaiah* (OBT 27; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1991); H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4 and the Post-Exilic Understanding of the Isaianic Tradition* (BZAW 171; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988).

¹⁸ Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah: A Study in Ancient Hebrew Rhetoric* (SBLDS 18; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975); William L. Holladay, Jr., *Jeremiah* (Hermeneia; 2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986–89); Robert R. Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986); Christopher R. Seitz, *Theology in Conflict: Reactions to the Exile in the Book of Jeremiah* (BZAW 176; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989).

¹⁹ Emanuel Tov, "Some Aspects of the Textual and Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah," *Le Livre de Jérémie* (ed., J. Lust; BETL 54; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1981) 145–67; Yohanan Goldman, *Prophétie et royauté au retour de l'exil* (OBO 118; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992); Hermann-Josef Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches* (OBO 136; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994); Louis Stuhlman, *Order Amid Chaos: Jeremiah as Symbolic Tapestry* (BibSem 57; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

played important roles in pointing scholarly attention to final form, structure, and theological perspective of Ezekiel as a whole.²⁰ The redaction-critical study of Nogalski, Jones' analysis of the textual versions, and the present writer's commentary likewise raise the questions of the formation and form of the Book of the Twelve.²¹

The second question pertains to the role of intertextuality, particularly the role played by the reading and interpretation – or reinterpretation – of earlier texts and traditions within the prophetic literature. Again, von Rad's *Old Testament Theology* plays an important role in stimulating consideration of the prophet's and tradent's interaction with earlier tradition, e. g., Isaiah and the Davidic tradition, Jeremiah and the Mosaic or Levitical tradition, and Ezekiel and the Zadokite tradition.²² Clements, Vermeylen, Melugin, and Kratz pay special attention to the role of inner biblical exegesis in the book of Isaiah as later redactors read the earlier oracles of the prophet and interpreted them in relation to later times and concerns.²³ Other works examine Second Isaiah's reading of biblical tradition outside of Isaiah, such as Anderson's and Kiesow's studies of Second Isaiah's use of the Exodus tradition, and the general intertextual studies of Second Isaiah by Willey (a.k.a., Tull) and Sommer.²⁴ Noteworthy intertextual work on Jeremiah appears in the monograph by Wendel,²⁵ and Zimmerli's work on Ezekiel has been noted above.²⁶ Willi-Plein examines inner-biblical readings by Hosea, Amos, and Micah; Wolff and Bergler emphasize Joel's intertextual readings; and a string of studies by Mason, Larkin, Tai, and others take up intertextual refer-

²⁰ Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20* (AB 22; Garden City: Doubleday, 1983); idem, *Ezekiel 21–37* (AB 22A; New York: Doubleday, 1997); Jon D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40–48* (HSM 10; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976); Kathryn Pfisterer Darr, "Ezekiel," *The New Interpreter's Bible* (ed., L. E. Keck et al; Nashville: Abingdon, 2001) 6:1073–1607.

²¹ James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 217; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1993); idem, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 218; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1993); Barry Alan Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon* (SBLDS 149; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995); Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets* (Berit Olam; 2 vols.; Collegeville: Liturgical, 2000).

²² See note 9 above.

²³ Clements, *Isaiah 1–39*; Vermeylen, *Du prophète*; Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40–55*; Reinhard Gregor Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterocesaja-Buch* (FAT 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1991).

²⁴ Bernhard W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage* (ed. B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson; London: SCM, 1962) 177–95; Klaus Kiesow, *Exodustexte im Jesajabuch* (OBO 24; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979); Patricia Tull Willey, *Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Previous Texts in Second Isaiah* (SBLDS 161; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997); Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

²⁵ Ute Wendel, *Jesaja und Jeremia* (BibThS 25; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1995).

²⁶ See note 12 above.

ences in Zechariah.²⁷ Indeed, more general studies of prophetic conflict note that prophets frequently disagree, and they are not afraid to cite or name each other when they do so.²⁸ We have become accustomed to think of prophets so named as false prophets, but in fact Jeremiah's confrontation with Hananiah, a prophet whose message reflects the Isaian tradition, suggests that they included prophets that tradition might regard as true. Indeed, such prophetic conflict or dialog appears between books, as Steck's or Bosshard-Nepustil's studies on the parallels between Isaiah and the Book of the Twelve might suggest.²⁹ Past scholars were taught to think of inner-biblical exegesis as the mark of late composition or even apocalyptic concerns, but the fact of the matter is that intertextuality, including inner-biblical exegesis, pervades the entire prophetic corpus and frequently serves as an indicator of the engagement, debate, and disagreement that so frequently took place between the prophets and their tradents.

Finally, a word must be said about apocalyptic and proto-apocalyptic literature. Based on its use of mythological and heavenly themes and motifs and the reading of the book of Revelation in Christianity as a pointer to the second coming of Jesus, apocalyptic literature purportedly focuses on the world beyond.³⁰ To a large extent this is true, insofar as it employs heavenly images and mythological patterns to make its points. But this must not blind us to the historical and social impact that such literature was meant to serve. The book of Daniel employs heavenly visions and readings of the portents to point to the anticipated victory of the Hasmoneans and their supporters against the Seleucid monarch Antiochus IV. The War Scroll from Qumran employs similar means to call for the victory of the Sons of Light, Jews who held to the covenant, over the Sons of Darkness, the wicked of the world led by the Roman army. Rabbi Akiva's martyrdom, suffered at the hands of the Romans in the aftermath of the failed Bar Kochba revolt, was read as an indication that Jews of future genera-

²⁷ Ina Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese innerhalb des Alten Testaments* (BZAW 123; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1971); Wolff, *Joel and Amos*; Siegfried Bergler, *Joel als Schrift interpret* (BEATAJ 16; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1988); Rex Mason, "The Use of Earlier Material in Zechariah 9–14: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis," *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion in Zechariah 9–14* (ed., M. J. Boda and M. H. Floyd; JSOTSup 370; London: Continuum, 2003) 1–208; Katrina J. A. Larkin, *The Eschatology of Second Zechariah. A Study in the Formation of a Mantological Wisdom Anthology* (CBET 6; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1994); Nicholas Ho Fai Tai, *Prophetie als Schriftauslegung. Traditions- und kompositionsgeschichtliche Studien* (CTM 17; Stuttgart: Calwer, 1996).

²⁸ E. g., James A. Sanders, "The Hermeneutics of True and False Prophecy," *Canon and Authority* (ed., G. W. Coats and B. O. Long; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 21–41; James L. Crenshaw, *Prophetic Conflict* (BZAW 124; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1971).

²⁹ Odil Hannes Steck, *The Prophetic Books and their Theological Witness* (St. Louis: Chalice, 2000); Erich Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1–39 im Zwölfprophetenbuch* (OBO 154; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997).

³⁰ See the discussion of apocalyptic in John J. Collins, *Daniel, with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature* (FOTL 20; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984) 2–24, esp. 4, where his definition of apocalyptic indicates its supernatural, otherworldly, and eschatological dimensions.

tions should emulate his qualities *in this world in order to sanctify it* so that they too could enter Pardes or appear before the heavenly throne. Issues of literary form and intertextual relationships play important roles in apocalyptic literature, but ultimately, apocalyptic literature employs its heavenly images to address the needs of this world. In contrast to Hanson's reading of proto-apocalyptic literature as the work of visionary groups, Cook demonstrates that it is the work of priestly circles who employed the images and concepts of the heavenly realm made manifest in the Temple to articulate their understandings of the times in which they lived.³¹

It is in relation to this growing interest in the study of the formal characteristics of the prophetic literature and its intertextual relationships that the present writer's essays have appeared over the course of nearly two decades. This volume does not include a complete set of essays, but it presents a representative sample of key studies – most previously published, but some unpublished – on each of the major prophetic books and selected apocalyptic and related works from the Bible, Qumran, and Rabbinic literature. Each study, in some manner or another, takes up the fundamental questions of formal literary analysis and intertextual study in an effort to apply these methodological standpoints to the interpretation of the literature at hand.

The first section deals with the book of Isaiah, which has stood at the center of debate concerning the implications of reading a work written by multiple writers as a single, coherent work of literature. "The Book of Isaiah as Prophetic Torah," originally published in *New Visions of Isaiah* (ed. R. F. Melugin and M. A. Sweeney; JSOTSup 214; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 50–67, examines the implications of reading the final form of the book of Isaiah as an example of prophetic Torah or instruction. "On Multiple Settings in the Book of Isaiah," originally published in *Society of Biblical Literature 1993 Seminar Papers* (ed. E. H. Lovering, Jr.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993) 267–73, examines the impact of reading Isaiah as a single work on the interpretation of the royal oracles in the various diachronic segments of the book. "On *ûmêšôš* in Isaiah 8:6," originally published in *Among the Prophets: Language, Image and Structure in the Prophetic Writings* (ed. P. R. Davies and D. J. A. Clines; JSOTSup 144; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) 42–54, examines the reading of the enigmatic imagery of Isa 8:6 in the textual versions of the book of Isaiah and in Isa 66:10–14. "Prophetic Exegesis in Isaiah 65–66," originally published in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretative Tradition* (ed. C. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans; VTSup 70/1–2; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 1:455–74, likewise focuses on the interpretation of earlier Isaian tradition within the so-called Trito-Isaiah.

³¹ See Paul Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975); Stephen L. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting* (OBT; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995).

The second section takes up the book of Jeremiah, which brings the study of the Septuagint version of the book to the question of its formation as well as its interaction with the Isaian tradition. “The Masoretic and Septuagint Versions of the Book of Jeremiah in Synchronic and Diachronic Perspective,” previously unpublished, examines the distinctive literary forms of both the Masoretic and Septuagint versions of Jeremiah with an eye to discerning their distinctive perspectives and socio-historical settings. “The Truth in True and False Prophecy,” originally published in *Truth: Interdisciplinary Dialogues in a Pluralistic Age* (ed. C. Helmer and K. De Troyer; Studies in Philosophical Theology 22; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2003) 9–26, examines the reading of the Isaian tradition in the book of Jeremiah with an interest in elucidating the question of true and false prophecy in the Bible. “Structure and Redaction in Jeremiah 2–6,” originally published in *Troubling Jeremiah* (ed. A. R. Diamond, K. O’Connor, and L. Stuhlman; JSOTSup 260; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999) 200–16, examines the final literary form of Jeremiah 2–6 in an effort to reconstruct an earlier form of this text and the hermeneutical perspectives that led to the rereading of an oracle concerned with the downfall of the northern kingdom of Israel to one concerned with Judah. “Jeremiah 30–31 and King Josiah’s Program of National Restoration and Religious Reform,” originally published in *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 108 (1996) 569–83, engages in a similar study of a text concerned with the restoration of both Israel and Judah.

The third section takes up the book of Ezekiel, which entails recognition of the prophet’s identity as a Zadokite priest in relation to the literary and theological interpretation of the book and its components. “Ezekiel: Zadokite Priest and Visionary Prophet of the Exile,” originally published in the *Occasional Papers of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity* (Number 41; Claremont: Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, 2001) and in an earlier version in the *Society of Biblical Literature 2000 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 728–51, focuses on the implications of Ezekiel’s Zadokite identity in interpreting the literary structure and theological perspectives of the book. “The Destruction of Jerusalem as Purification in Ezekiel 8–11,” previously unpublished, examines Ezekiel’s use of the Yom Kippur scapegoat tradition from Leviticus 16 as a means to interpret the significance of the destruction of Jerusalem. “The Assertion of Divine Power in Ezekiel 33:21–39:29,” previously unpublished, examines the literary form, priestly ideology, and intertextual relationships of Ezekiel 33:21–33:29 in an effort to demonstrate its rhetorical character as an argumentative text that asserts divine power in answer to questions raised by the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple.

The fourth section takes up the Book of The Twelve Prophets, which only recently has been recognized by modern scholars as a coherent book rather than only a collection of Twelve Minor Prophets. “Sequence and Interpretation in the Book of the Twelve,” previously published in *Reading and Hearing the Book of*

the Twelve (ed. J. D. Nogalski and M. A. Sweeney; SBLSym 15; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 49–64, examines the different orders of books in the Masoretic and Septuagint versions of the Book of the Twelve in an effort to identify their distinctive hermeneutical perspectives. “The Place and Function of Joel in the Book of the Twelve,” originally published in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve* (ed. P. L. Redditt and A. Scharf; BZAW 325; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003) 133–54 and in an earlier version in *Society of Biblical Literature 1999 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999) 570–95, examines the literary form and intertextual relationships of the book of Joel in an effort to discern its overall concerns and place within the MT and LXX sequences of the Book of the Twelve. “Micah’s Debate with Isaiah,” originally published in *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 93 (2001) 111–24, presents a slightly revised comparative examination of the so-called “swords into plowshares” oracle in Isaiah 2:2–4 and Micah 4:1–5 in an effort to discern the distinctive reading of this oracle in each prophetic book. “Zechariah’s Debate with Isaiah,” originally published in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century* (ed. M. A. Sweeney and E. Ben Zvi; Grand Rapids and Cambridge: William Eerdmans, 2003) 335–50, examines the literary form of the book of Zechariah and its intertextual relations with the book of Isaiah in order to elucidate its very distinctive presentation of the prophet Zechariah.

The fifth section takes up Proto-Apocalyptic and Apocalyptic Literature, which is so frequently read as in relation to otherworldly concerns but in fact very pointedly addresses the concerns of the human world. “The Priesthood and the Proto-Apocalyptic Reading of Prophetic and Pentateuchal Texts,” originally published in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic, and their Relationships* (ed. L. L. Grabbe and R. D. Haak; JSPSup 46; London: Continuum, 2003) 167–78, examines the importance of recognizing Zadokite priestly perspective in the intertextual reading of earlier biblical tradition in the so-called proto-apocalyptic works of Joel; Ezekiel 38–39; and Zechariah. “The End of Eschatology in Daniel? Theological and Socio-Political Ramifications of the Changing Contexts of Interpretation,” originally published in *Biblical Interpretation* 9 (2001) 123–40, examines the literary form, priestly character, and mythological imagery of the book of Daniel in an effort to read the entire book as a critique of Antiochus IV. “Davidic Typology in the Forty Year War between the Sons of Darkness and the Sons of Light,” originally published in shortened form in the *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Division A: The Bible and its World* (ed. D. Assaf; Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1990) 213–20, examines the portrayal of the war between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness in relation to the career of King David as portrayed in biblical literature. “Pardes Revisited Once Again,” originally published in *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Jewish*

Studies 22/4 (Summer 2004) 43–56, examines the intertextual references in the well-known Talmudic legend concerning the four who entered Pardes in an effort to identify the overall concerns of the narrative.

Altogether, the papers presented in this volume point to a fundamental interest in a close, methodologically-controlled reading of the prophetic books and the apocalyptic literature. It is the present writer's hope that readers will find in them a stimulus for their own continuing engagement in this theologically creative and profoundly important literature.

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