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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Professor R.B.Y. Scott

"The Correlation of the Wise with the Righteous, and of
Fools with the Wicked"

(Thursday, 1 June, 1972)

Since the presidential address is to appear in print in the near future, it has not been reproduced in the Bulletin this year. It will be published in: --

P.A.H. de Boer, (ed.) Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel
(Leiden: Brill, 1972)
(Supplement to Vetus Testamentum)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS: ANNUAL MEETING, 1972

A. Old Testament and Ancient Near East

1. "Faithful to the Bible in its Fashion: MacLeish's J.B."

To read a play like J. B. in the light of données from theology is to read reductively, and to risk dangerous conclusions: that J.B. is not a modern equivalent to Job in that it evinces no God-consciousness, that it demonstrates only the light of human love, that it fails to affirm Christian truth. To read it with a literary awareness, and with the techniques of literary criticism, is to read expansively and to find it redolent of the Bible, offering through a precise and subtle manipulation of Biblical archetype and symbol as much Christian affirmation as a work of the sceptical twentieth century can muster.

Elizabeth Bieman, University of Western Ontario

2. "Egyptian BRT and the Hebrew Covenant"

This paper is speculative to some extent, being based on the use of the word brt in certain Egyptian texts (principally the Nauri Decree of Seti I and the Inscription of Ramses III at Medinet Habu: reference is also made to the 15th century Syrian Qatna document.) The hypothesis,

briefly, is that though the Hebrew covenant form (*viz.* certain passages in Exodus, and the book Deuteronomy) may be influenced by the Hittite treaty pattern (perhaps via Egypt?), the religious significance is to be found in one of the Egyptian uses of *brt* meaning "corvée" (Nauri Decree). The Exodus, then, may mark the liberation of the Hebrews from Egyptian corvée (*brt*), followed by a religious submission to Yahweh in the covenant (*brt*).

P.C. Craigie, McMaster University

3. "New Insights in the Formation of Historical Traditions in the Ancient Near East"

The writer intends to discuss several patterns in the formation of historical texts in ancient Mesopotamia which seem to emerge from a study of Assyrian royal inscriptions, and which may shed new light on the study of Old Testament texts. The documents chosen for the purpose are the Calah inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II, king of Assyria (883 - 859 B.C.). The aspects to be discussed are verbatim copying of earlier inscriptions in later texts, principles of abridgement, revision and expansion of basic texts as these were adapted for use in varying circumstances, and some clues of a form-critical nature that were helpful in the analysis of the texts in question.

W. de Filippi, Toronto

4. "The Original of British Museum Tablets 90984, 90979, and 92985 and the Oldest Part of the Main Inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II"

This paper edits an alabaster slab of Ashurnasirpal II in possession of the University of King's College at Halifax, N.S., the original of British Museum tablets 90984, 90979, and 92985, reviews its history since its discovery, and investigates its significance in the context of Ashurnasirpal's historiography.

It concludes that the "King's College Slab" presents a text of year six of Ashurnasirpal's reign, i.e., the oldest part, so to say, the backbone or "master text" of many inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal, including all of his major products, such as "Annals", "Standard Inscription" and Wiseman's "Sandstone Stela", with the exception of the "Kurkh Monolith" only, the latter being the embellished duplicate of the "Annals" report of latter date on the king's campaigns in the course of year five.

B.W. Dombrowski, Dalhousie University

5. "Narrative Structure in Genesis 7"

The flood story (Genesis 6 - 9) is generally taken as affording a clear example of the source critical method. While the conclusions of the documentary hypothesis are still widely held so far as the delimiting of literary sources (or traditions) is concerned, the literary phenomena of the text which led to the hypothesis are seldom considered. In this paper Genesis 7 is studied without regard to reputed sources, from a structure analytical perspective, in an attempt to find an alternate solution to the literary problem of the text in its present form.

Martin Kessler, Clarkson College of Technology

6. "Understanding the 'P' Document"

Scholars have tended to treat the priestly document with a kind of distant charity, without being able to find its secret or bring it to life. However an exact stylistic analysis reveals procedures in writing which are so tirelessly dull that a new explanation is demanded. Comparison with techniques used in writing for pre-school aged children reveals a most striking parallel. Without presuming to make any conclusions about the original *Sitz-im-Leben* of P, it is possible to use this comparison as a key to uncover the force and charm of the priestly narrative.

Sean McEvenue, Toronto

7. "The Classification of Semitic Roots"

(This paper is being revised: no abstract)

F.S. North, Tuller School

8. "The Vision of Tin in Amos 7:7 - 8"

This paper offers a review of critical opinion on the difficult passage in question and emphasizes the fact that Hebrew *nāk* can only mean "tin", and not "lead". The realistic content of the vision is then sought on the basis of archaeological and iconographic evidence. It is suggested finally that the vision borrows its language from the *kalû* ritual.

J. Ouellette, Sir George Williams University

9. "The Role of Variants in the Literary Criticism of the Pentateuch"

While variants or parallel accounts in narrative have often been used as a basis for source analysis or tradition-history in the Pentateuch, seldom is a careful comparison made of such variants. Nor have biblical scholars made any attempt to enunciate criteria for evaluating such variants to determine if one is dependent upon the other in book-prose fashion, or is the free creation of a common motif on the level of oral prose. Since the existence of variants is a common feature of primitive and ancient world literature in both written and oral works, it should not be too difficult to suggest some basic guidelines for the treatment of variants which would have far-reaching consequences for literary criticism of the OT.

John Van Seters, University of Toronto

B. New Testament

1. "The Self-Understanding of the Church in the Gospel of Matthew"

(Abstract not Available)

D. Hawkins, McMaster University

2. "The Story of the Adulterous Woman -- Where does it belong in the New Testament?"

Scholars have long recognized the fact that the Pericope Adulterae did not rightly belong to John's Gospel. The manuscript evidence places it in five different places, i.e. at John 7:52; 7:36 and at the end of chapter 21. It is also found in Luke, i.e. 21:24; 21:38. The conclusion seems to be that by the time John and Luke had been written in their final form the "Pericope Adulterae" had become detached from its original source, was a "floating unit" with its true locale forgotten and unknown. It is the purpose of this paper to attempt to restore it to its original place in the New Testament literature. Was it originally a part of the Gospels? Or was it a floating tradition inserted later into one of them? If it was originally a part of one of the Gospels -- then which one? Why was it detached? These questions will be considered along the lines of (1) Manuscript evidence, (2) Linguistic evidence, (3) Early Church tradition, and (4) an attempt to discover its Sitz im Leben. It is the hope of the author that what is presented here marks a departure from traditional answers and represents something new in the long quest of a solution to the problems of the Pericope Adulterae.

Robert Osborne, Carleton University

3. "A Hebrew MS of the Gospel of Matthew"

In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris there is a Hebrew MS (#132) entitled "A Hebrew Manuscript of the Gospel according to Matthew" which seems to be independent of both the Vulgate and Greek texts and may represent a very early Christian source for the first gospel.

Papias and others referred to a Hebrew Matthew but no complete text was known until this MS was found in 1553. A Latin translation of it was published in 1555, along with the complete text and an English translation with notes was published in 1927 by H.T. Schonfield.

There are many significant variant readings: e.g. in Mt. 1 the name missing from column three is given and in Mt. 17 the Hebrew word for transfigure is the same as the word in Joshua 9:4, previously untranslatable, which as pointed out by Schonfield for the first time, means "they disguised themselves".

These variants and many others indicate that this MS deserves greater attention than it has formerly received.

W. Harold Reid, Montreal

4. "A Hermeneutical Hinge"

In the "new hermeneutics" attention is often paid to the role of the Biblical material as a fundamental part of the problem. However, these discussions rarely recognize a critical issue built in to New Testament hermeneutical approaches -- the importance of the Holy Spirit for the early church's freedom to initiate developments which often go well beyond the position of Jesus. The early church's experience of the Spirit provides the context for its hermeneutical flexibility, and constitutes an important part of the "structure" of Biblical interpretation, which is often neglected in the present concentration upon language and event. An attempt is made to suggest a flexible approach to hermeneutics now.

Peter Richardson, Loyola of Montreal

5. "Jésus nouvel Elie dans l'Évangile de Saint Luc"

L'attente d'Elie à l'époque du NT. Le rôle qui lui est dévolu. Jésus reconnu comme Nouvel Elie par la foule (Lc 9, 8. 19) et dans la communauté primitive (Act 3, 19 - 21). Luc évite d'identifier Jean-Baptiste et Elie (cp. Mc 1, 6; 9, 13; Mt 11, 14 et textes parallèles de Luc; problème de Lc 1, 17?) et dépeint Jésus sous les traits d'Elie

(Lc 4, 14 - 30; 7, 11 - 17 et 1 R 17, 17 - 24; 9, 51 et 2 R 2, 11; 1 Mac 2, 58; Sir 48, 9; 9, 54 et 1 R 18, 37s; 2 R 1, 10.12; Sir 48, 3; 9, 61s et L R 19, 19 - 21; 12, 24 et 1 R 17, 4s; 12, 50 et Sir 48, 1; 12, 54 et 1 R 18, 44; 22, 38 et 1 R 19, 4; 22, 43 et 1 R 19, 5 - 7; Act 1, 6 - 11 et 2 R 2, 1 - 13). Luc a repris à la tradition, à ses sources, cette première christologie et l'a utilisée pour dépeindre Jésus comme Nouvel Elie pendant sa vie sur terre.

Gérard Rochais, Université de Montréal

6. "The Apostolic Decree in the Book of Acts and the Jewish Parallels"

There can be no doubt that the apostolic council in Jerusalem was one of the most important events in the history of the apostolic age. Yet the reconstruction of the details of this event is one of the most difficult tasks of critical scholarship. One of the key questions is an understanding of the so-called apostolic decree in Acts 15 and 21. How does it relate to what St. Paul reports in Galatians 2?

In this paper a new approach to the problem is proposed by the introduction of new comparative material from Talmud and Midrash. This forces us to reconsider the possibility that the Western text of the decree was the original one and preserves the actual decision reached at Jerusalem. Its relation to the decisions concerning the three deadly sins in the early church will appear in a new light.

G. Strothotte, Burnaby, B.C.

C. General Sessions and Sections: Annual Meeting, 1972

1. Panel Discussion: "Teaching the Bible in Canadian Universities"

On the opening night of the meeting of the Canadian Biblical Society was held a general session to which approximately sixty people attended. The topic that was discussed was: The teaching of the Bible in Canadian universities. The problem was presented by Prof. Jean Ouellette (Sir George Williams University), who used for this purpose the recently published symposium on the teaching of Judaica held in the U.S.A. Although this did not come out clearly from the discussion, it would appear nonetheless that Biblical studies in Canada are still taught, with a few exceptions, within a non-secular context. The fact, for example, that students of the Bible show little interest for the disciplines of the Ancient Near East (including languages) or even for non-biblical Hebrew might be an indication that their concern does not exceed the boundaries of the traditional Canon.

The question arose as to the reasons why Bible should be taught at all in modern Universities and it was interesting to see the variety of answers suggested by the participants.

Jean Ouellette, Sir George Williams University

2. Textual Criticism Group:

(a) Report on Textual Criticism Group

The attendance at our first meeting was twelve and it is hoped that the number will remain constant or increase. The only concrete decision reached at this time was to send out a combination questionnaire-registration form to the membership of the CSBS.

(b) Paper-Abstract: "Textual Criticism and Stylistic Analysis"

In one of his axioms of Septuagintal textual criticism Paul de Lagarde indicates the necessity of the text critic's acquaintance with the style and translation methods of any given book. Though the importance of stylistic analysis has been recognized ever since, ample room for improvement exists, as is illustrated from a) Rahlfs' text of LXX Genesis and b) the collations of Bohairic Deuteronomy in Brooke-McLean's The O.T. in Greek. It is demonstrated not only that certain mistakes in BM are due to insufficient stylistic analysis but also that Rahlfs' text of Genesis can be improved upon along the same lines.

Detailed, sensitive analysis of a given book on the one hand and examination of linguistic developments evident in manuscript traditions on the other can often unlock the critic's door to original readings.

A. Pietersma, University of Toronto

3. Hebrew and Ugaritic Studies Section

A lunch-meeting was held to discuss subjects for discussion at next year's annual meeting.

The next newsletter of the section will be mailed at the end of October, 1972, to all members on the mailing list for the section.

P.C. Craigie, McMaster University

THE COUNCIL ON THE STUDY OF RELIGION

A Report from Norman E. Wagner

The Council on the Study of Religion is a federation of Learned Societies in the field of Religion in North America. The Council was organized in 1969 after leaders in a number of the Societies saw the need for coordinating efforts. For several years the organization was relatively informal with the main tangible output being the Bulletin published five times per year and furnished free of charge to all members of the participating Societies.

Although originally an independent study, the report by Claude Welch, Graduate Education in Religion became a CSR project and is now regarded as the first major publication of the Council.

Another major project is the Los Angeles Congress held September 1-5, 1972.

In March, 1972, a decision was taken to establish an Executive Office for CSR to give leadership in further coordination of efforts. This office is now organized and functioning at Waterloo, Ontario. The decision to locate in Canada is largely due to the choice of an Executive Director, but should be taken as an indication of the North American nature of the Council.

The first concrete act of the Executive Office has been to coordinate the main business functions of the Societies. Since there is considerable overlap in membership, the potential saving in labor can be seen. Keeping up with changes of address and collection of member dues was becoming such a large job that few scholars were willing to devote the countless hours required on a voluntary basis. All of this is now done in the Executive Office.

Sales of publications, including back issues, monographs, occasional papers etc. is an attractive business but one which is also very time consuming. As a result, most Societies have farmed out these jobs to commercial houses. The consequences might have been predicted. Costs have escalated, all at the expense of the individual scholar. These activities are gradually being returned to the Societies themselves by using the facilities of a central office.

The next steps to be taken will return the actual production of scholarly works to the Societies. After all, we are the people who write the books and we are also the best customers of our works. Surely we don't need a middle man to force up the prices. Inexpensive forms of

publishing have brought the potential of producing moderately priced books to our door step. Now all we need is the initiative to make it work.

This is a time in which team research is increasingly necessary. With more sophisticated technology at our disposal, completely new forms of research are emerging. Such large-scale endeavours require substantial funding. Granting agencies are becoming more concerned with the fragmented character of many disciplines. Therefore, the Council on the Study of Religion appears to be an appropriate vehicle for coordinating efforts in this area as well. Only on a large scale can we justify the massive support needed for projects such as major reference works, encyclopedias, collections of primary texts and similar projects which we all feel are desperately needed in our day. The CSR is hoping to launch joint projects in the near future.

What does all of this have to do with the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies? Hopefully, it will provide a vehicle for improved member involvement in the wider field of research. Members of the CSBS who are also members of SBL are already recipients of the Bulletin. We hope, however, that all Canadian scholars in our field will push for full participation in the Council. Not only will they stay informed of developments on the broader scene, this contribution to the field as a whole will be seen and appreciated.

In all such developments, the smallest groups inevitably benefit most. Canadian publications such as SR might well become integral parts in larger packages offered on a world-wide basis.

An administrative arrangement will be necessary to ensure that Canadian members already in AAR or SBL will not wind up paying twice. These matters are best handled by means of rebates, thus recognizing the true total of Canadian members. If SR accounts are also integrated in the future, all the more reasons exist for having full participation on the part of Canadian scholars. This in no way affects the true Canadian integrity or identity of our Society. In fact, it makes visible on a larger scene the presence of a Society now some 40 years in age.

RECENT PUBLICATION

C.P. Anderson (ed.)
University of British Columbia

Guide to Religious Studies in Canada (1972)

Published by: The Corporation for the Publication of Academic Studies
in Religion in Canada / La corporation pour la publication
des études académiques en religion au Canada

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The 40th annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies/Société canadienne des études bibliques was held concurrently with the 33rd annual meeting of the Canadian Section of the Society of Biblical Literature, May 31 - June 2, 1972, at McGill University, Montreal, as part of the 1972 Learned Societies Conference. The meetings of the Society shared a joint program with the Canadian Theological Society and the Canadian Society of Church History. The Canadian Society for the Study of Religion was also meeting from May 29th to June 2nd.

The business meeting was opened by the Vice-President, John C. Hurd, at 3:30 p.m. on Friday, June 2nd, 1972.

The minutes of the annual meeting of 1971 were adopted.

The following members had sent their regrets at not being able to attend: F.H. Allen, B.Jean Angi, C.E. Amerding, J. Berridge, E.C. Blackman, J.R. Brown, W.G. Brown, T.A. Burkill, R.M. Clark, O.C. Edwards, P. Fast, W.O. Fennel, J.T. Forrestell, R.W.E. Forrest, D.J. Fox, P.F. Gilbert, D.W. Hay, T.R. Hobbs, J.J. Jackson, S. Jellicoe, H.E. Kassis, W. Morrison Kelly, C. Kiker, R.S. Mackenzie, W.S. McCullough, A.A. McDonald, V.E. McEachern, H.A. Merlinger, D. Mueller, M.T. Newby, D. Newlands, N.A. Perry, W.H. Reid, E.J. Revell, E.R. Riegert, Mary E. Russell, J. Sandys-Wunsch, B. Schalm, C.H.H. Scobie, E. Segelberg, E.G. Smith, W. Soble, D. Stanley, R.F.G. Sweet, G. Taylor, L.E. Toombs, A.A. Trites, F.V. Winnett, B.G.M. Wood, D. Wotherspoon,

E.G. Clark, H. Poettcker, and M. Kessler were appointed as a Nominating Committee.

J.C. Hay and S. McEvenue were appointed auditors.

A report from the Secretary had been circulated to the members attending but most of these were items which would come up later on the agenda. The Secretary reported that for purposes of submission to the Canada Council for Travel grants, only paid up members of the CSBS/SCEB resident in Canada may be counted. Calculated according to this system, the membership of CSBS/SCEB as of September 1971 was 73. An added 15 non-residents would make the figure 88. The latest list of members of the Canadian Section of SBL gave the number as 127.

The Secretary also reported that CSBS/SCEB had been awarded a travel grant from the Canada Council of \$793.00 for travel to Montreal.

All of this had been disbursed but a final accounting would have to wait until later. Some requests could only be met in part and some requests could not be met at all. Assistance was offered to twelve persons, the largest amount being \$150 and the smallest being \$20.

The auditors reported that the books of the society were in good order and the following is a summary of the financial position of the society as of the end of May, 1972.

Report of the Treasurer

<u>Income</u>	<u>Expenses</u>	(SBL)
Balance	178.65	Exec. Meetings 91.80 (70.00)
Dues 1971-	37.00	Mailing 90.09
1972-	278.80	Bulletin 151.14 (73.65)
	315.80	
Bank Int.	.12	Section Ug. & the Bible 25.00 (25.00)
SBL	168.65	Misc. 26.17
	<u>\$663.22</u>	\$384.20 (168.65)
		on hand 279.02
		<u>\$663.22</u>

It was pointed out by the treasurer that anticipated outstanding expenses such as prize essay, joining the corporation, and expenses connected with the annual meeting could reduce the present balance to a figure lower than that of last year at this time. The cash on hand last year in January was less than \$25.00.

It was reported that a mail vote had been taken in the fall of 1971 as to whether the dues should be increased to \$8.00 to include a subscription (at a reduced price of \$5.00) to Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses. Only 23 replies were received with 4 opposed and 19 in favour. The executive had postponed a decision until the annual meeting at McGill. After considerable discussion it was decided to put the question for a final decision.

It was duly moved, seconded and carried by a large majority of those present that the dues of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies/Société canadienne des études bibliques be raised to \$8.00 to include a subscription to Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses for all members except those whose membership of another society already includes a subscription to the journal, in which case such a member would only pay \$3.00.

It was recommended that a full explanation be made to the members when this change is announced.

It was moved, seconded, and duly carried that the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies/Société canadienne des études bibliques apply to associate itself with the Corporation for the Publication of Academic Studies in Religion in Canada/La corporation pour la publication des études académiques en religion au Canada, naming six persons who will become members of the Corporation, with one of these designated as a director, and forward a sum of 36.00 dollars (\$6.00 per member named) to the Corporation.

A discussion was held on the future relationship of the society to the Humanities Research Council and the Council on the Study of Religion.

It was agreed that the executive continue to explore the relationship with the Humanities Research Council and, if it appears necessary for the good and welfare of the society, to apply to join the Humanities Research Council and find the necessary funds by raising the dues of the Society.

It was agreed that the relationship with the Council on the Study of Religion be pursued in similar terms.

It was announced that the executive had accepted invitations to meet with the Learned Societies Conference at Queen's University in 1973 and at the University of Toronto in 1974 and there were no objections raised to this action.

The nominating committee brought in their report and the following were elected:

1. Executive 1972-73

President: John C. Hurd, Trinity College, Toronto

Vice-President: C.H. Parker, Queen's University

Secretary-Treasurer: Robert C. Culley, McGill University

Members-at-large: Kevin Cathcart, University of Ottawa
Paul E. Dion, Massey College, Toronto
G.P. Richardson, Loyola College

2. Six members nominated by the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies to the Corporation for the Publication of Academic Studies in Religion in Canada/La corporation pour la publication des études académiques en religion au Canada:

C.H.H. Scobie, Mount Allison University
Adrien M. Brunet, Montreal
Joseph P. Cahill, University of Alberta
Edgar M. Baird, Union College of British Columbia
Norman E. Wagner, Waterloo Lutheran University
*Robert C. Culley, McGill University
(designated as a Director)

3. Nominating Committee to prepare nominations for 1973-74 at annual meeting of 1973:

G. Parke-Taylor, London
Henry Poettcker, Winnipeg
Gérard Rochais, Montreal

The following new members of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies/Société canadienne des études bibliques were received:

K. Cathcart, Ottawa, Ontario
P. Ellis, Montreal, Quebec
C.M. Foley, Hamilton, Ontario
D. Hawkins, Hamilton, Ontario
M. Horsnell, Toronto, Ontario
A.A. McDonald, Morin Heights, Quebec
S. McEvenue, Toronto, Ontario
J. Miller, Montreal, Quebec
A. Patzia, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, U.S.A.
A. Pietersma, Toronto, Ontario
N.J. Threinen, Winnipeg, Manitoba
S. Wilson, Ottawa, Ontario
Joyce Wood, Hamilton, Ontario

The prize for \$25 for an essay by a graduate student was awarded to Gérard Rochais, Etudiant en rédaction de thèse (Ph.D. études bibliques), Faculté de théologie de l'Université de Montréal. The paper was read in the New Testament Section where the prize was officially presented. The essays submitted were of high quality and the decision of judges was a difficult one. The judges reported that all who submitted were to be congratulated for their work.

It was agreed unanimously that letters of thanks should be sent to the Humanities Research Council, the University of McGill, and the local staff of the Learned Societies Conference for all the work put into what turned out to be a very successful series of meetings.

It was also agreed that a letter should be sent to Harold Reid to express thanks for the paper he submitted but was unable to read because of illness and that the wish and hope be expressed for a speedy recovery.

It was noted that the Corporation has made a proposal to publish past articles on biblical studies from the Canadian Journal of Theology in a single volume. The executive was requested to look into this matter as well as the question of the use of articles in both French and English.

In a general discussion some comments are to be noted for future reference. It was suggested that the business meeting of the society be set at a more suitable time in order that more members might be able to attend. It was also suggested that more time for discussion of papers would be useful and could be made possible if some of the papers were distributed ahead of time.

Respectfully submitted

Robert C. Culley
Secretary-Treasurer

Note on the Appendix: Humanities Research Council of Canada/Le Conseil Canadien de Recherches sur les Humanités

The Appendix has been inserted to provide members of the C.S.B.S./S.C.E.B. with fuller information about the Council; this information will be important when a decision has to be made concerning the relationship of the Society to the Council.

For C.S.B.S. files

From V.T. Supp. XXIII, 1972

(corrected copy)

WISE AND FOOLISH, RIGHTEOUS AND WICKED

BY

R. B. Y. SCOTT

Toronto

Our understanding of the history, literature and theology of ancient Hebrew Wisdom is hampered by certain unanswered and possibly unanswerable questions. Was wisdom at first primarily an intellectual and cultural phenomenon which gradually changed until it could be made the vehicle of religious teaching? Was its original objective moral training or intellectual development, or both? Was it directed primarily to the preservation of an established system of values in family and community life? If so, whence and in what degrees were these values derived? From common social experience? From the wisdom tradition of older neighboring civilizations? From the special beliefs of Mosaic Yahwism? And finally, was the "old wisdom" of the early monarchy an unitary affair, or did differing kinds and understandings of wisdom co-exist in some degree of tension?

Such questions cannot be fully answered because the surviving literary evidence in the Old Testament is insufficient and much of it is ambiguous. References to wisdom and wise men in the narrative books, in certain of the prophets and psalms are useful indicators, but in most cases are only incidental to other concerns of the writers. Esther, Daniel, Tobit and Baruch make relatively minor contributions. Our principal sources remain the five major "wisdom works"—Proverbs, Job, Qoheleth, Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon. Of the last three of these, the thought and general tenor, the literary structure, the *Sitz im Leben* and the approximate period of composition are fairly clear. There is more room for disagreement with respect to Job, and still more so with respect to Proverbs. The last-named work gathers together wisdom materials that are widely divergent in literary form, viewpoint and thought content, and—especially in the two sections entitled "Proverbs of Solomon"—in an almost haphazard arrangement. Proverbs is an accumulation of variegated materials old and new, apparently assembled for use as a source-book in a school for youth,¹ and edited by the principal author of the discourses and poems

¹ Cf. Prov. i 2-6; xxii 17-21.

in chapters i-ix. Its content ranges from popular adages lacking any moral or religious content—such as "To a hungry man everything bitter tastes sweet"—to a profound theological exploration of the relation of wisdom to the divine work of creation.¹ The rhetorical discourses in chapters i-ix differ in literary form from the "Thirty Sayings of the Sages" in xxii 17 ff., with its Egyptian background. The distinction of both from the intervening body of discreet and heterogeneous couplets is striking, even with the recognition that here and there occur couplets which echo the teaching of the opening chapters. Equally remarkable is the great variety among the couplets themselves, in the topics treated and in the presence or absence of ethical emphasis and religious language.

It is therefore clear that the Book of Proverbs in its present form is the end result of a long process of compilation. The common denominator of the highly various materials of many origins and periods is that all could be used in one way or another for the purpose of instruction in wisdom. The problem arises as to how such variegated materials without contextual connections can help our understanding the history and nature of Israelite wisdom. In particular—to what extent and in what ways was this wisdom "religious," and in what respects and to what degree was it "secular"?

These are question-begging terms. Religious beliefs and resulting attitudes in one form or another were so all-encompassing in the ancient world that no aspect of human life and thought lay outside its concern. Yet VON RAD can speak of "the sphere of the rational and empirical... (where) Jahweh could only be comprehended as limitation."² This sphere may be called "secular" without prejudice to the larger question of a writer's or speaker's comprehension of and attitude to his total spiritual environment. The plain fact is that many of the "proverbs of Solomon" are secular in the sense that in themselves they neither express nor necessarily imply religious belief. This corresponds to the fact that the terms *hokmah* and *hakam* connote not only ethical and religious wisdom but technical and artistic skills and even the reasoning faculty.³ They may be used pejoratively of the craftiness of the wicked.⁴

¹ xxvii 7b; viii. This adage appears also in *The Words of Ahiqar*, xii 188; see ANET, p. 430.

² G. VON RAD, *Old Testament Theology*, vol. i, (1962), p. 440.

³ Ex. xxxv 31-33; Is. xxviii 24/26; Jer. ix 16; Job xxxviii 36; xxxix 17.

⁴ Job v 12-13; xxxvii 24; cf. Prov. xii 2, 5; 2 Sam. xiii 3.

Nevertheless, in VON RAD's view, even in the sayings of "old wisdom" that seem most secular the Israelite was struggling to understand and relate himself to a meaningful order of existence which he sensed behind the multifarious experiences of daily life. This order was trustworthy and good. It tended toward life. Failure to relate oneself to it was evil and turned a man toward trouble and death. This unseen order was not identified with Yahweh, though Yahweh might act through it and it was he who set limits to what man could do. Hence, even in sayings which have no overt religious content a religious attitude toward the whole experience of life is to be presupposed.¹ VON RAD grants that the theological exploration and evaluation of wisdom belongs to post-exilic Judaism.²

A very different picture of "old wisdom" has been drawn by MCKANE, who envisages it as "primarily a disciplined empiricism engaged with the problems of government and administration."³ This was the self-confident wisdom of the royal counselors attacked by the prophets because it took no account of Yahweh's sovereignty over events in history. More recently MCKANE has analysed the wisdom sentences of Proverbs x 1-xxii 16; xxv-xxix according to language and content, distinguishing from sayings which express religious belief or a pious moralism, others which "are set in the framework of old wisdom and are concerned with the education of the individual for a successful and harmonious life."⁴ The latter envisage a wider group than young men aspiring to careers at the royal court, but there is the same suggestion that old wisdom had no *necessary* religious ingredient or foundation. The sayings marked by religious language or by a "moralism which derives from Yahwistic piety" are thought by MCKANE to represent a later re-interpretation of the "old wisdom" material; he argues that terms having a positive meaning in the older educational framework are used pejoratively in the framework of later piety.⁵

It would appear that VON RAD and MCKANE differ so radically in their interpretation of the "Solomonic" sayings in Proverbs because they have reached their conclusions about the nature of old wisdom in Israel on other grounds, and then have read the sayings in the light of these conclusions. The former declares that "empirical and gnomic

¹ *O.T. Theol.*, i, pp. 419-41; *Weisheit in Israel* (1970), pp. 80 ff., 106 ff., 123 ff., 165 ff.

² *O.T. Theol.*, i, pp. 441-53.

³ W. MCKANE, *Prophets and Wise Men*, (1965), p. 53, *passim*.

⁴ W. MCKANE, *Proverbs*, (1971), pp. 11, 415.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

wisdom starts from the unyielding presupposition that there is a hidden order in things and events... and this order is kindly and righteous." Israel's "'world' was a sustaining activity of Jahweh," and "the insights attained into the world surrounding her were in the last analysis (of) orders apprehended by faith." Teachers and pupils were members of the same cultic community, and hence "the starting point of this education is knowledge of God, and of his revelation and commandments." "This wisdom teaching... passes over into theology where the subject-matter contains some kind of pointer or reference to Jahweh, his activity, or what pleases or displeases him,"¹—(this MCKANE refers to as "God-language").

MCKANE takes his cue from the story of the court counselors Abishai and Ahithophel in 2 Sam. xvi 15-xvii 23, and from the profane and calculating self-assurance of their successors in Isaiah's and Jeremiah's times that brought them into conflict with these prophets.² Many of the proverbial sayings, he finds, give no indication of the underlying religious assumptions which VON RAD discerns, but seem to be concerned rather with preparing youth "for a successful and harmonious life." Only toward the end of the monarchy did the sages begin to come to terms with the affirmations of Yahwist faith.³

Before deciding which of these two divergent readings of the evidence is on the right track we must revert to the fact that the materials incorporated in the Book of Proverbs have a wide range both chronologically and in the nature of their contents. The issue of the religious constituents or presuppositions of pre-exilic Israelite wisdom cannot be settled simply by quoting the famous maxim in i 7: "The fear of Yahweh is the beginning of wisdom," if for no other reason than that this represents only one of several different views of the matter to be found in the book. Nor is the issue to be settled by analysing the contents of the several "collections" of wisdom sentences, as SKLADNY has done in his in many ways valuable study of x-xv, xvi-xxii 16, xxv-xxvii and xxviii-xxix.⁴ These bodies of material are not homogeneous, and there is overlapping between them in subject matter, phraseology and literary forms. The differences among them are mainly differences in proportion of the several elements of their contents.

¹ *O.T. Theol.*, i, pp. 421, 427, 433, 437.

² *Prophets and Wise Men*, *passim*.

³ *Proverbs*, pp. 11, 19.

⁴ U. SKLADNY, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel*, (1962). For convenience, these divisions of the text are designated A, B, C, and D, following SKLADNY.

To call these divisions of the text "collections" is again to beg the question. It is a methodological error to take for granted that the divisions marked off by titles (as in x 1, xxii 17, xxiv 23, xxv 1) represent neat parcels of sayings of distinct character and independent origin which can be arranged in chronological sequence and dated approximately, as SKLADNY has attempted to do. The present Book of Proverbs is better seen as the end result of a centuries-long process of composition, supplementing, editing and scribal transmission, a process which has blurred some lines of demarcation between its component parts.

The evidence for this statement is threefold:

a) *The titles are not reliable indicators* of the beginnings and contents of the following sections. The same title, *mišle šelômô*, is used in i 1 as a general title of the present book, in x 1 at a point where there is a marked change in form and substance from what has preceded, and at xxv 1 where the opening verses 2-10 are more appropriately to be associated with the preceding "further words of the sages" than with the adages that follow in xxv-xxix.¹ If, on the other hand, those scholars are correct who take xvi-xxii 16 (B) and xxviii-xxix (D) to be distinct collections, these are without titles, (as are also the distinct sections beginning at xxx 7 and xxxi 1). Indeed, all the titles in the present form of Proverbs appear to be editorial with the exception of those in xxx 1 and xxxi 1. The fact that some sections have titles while others do not leaves unsettled the question as to how much of what follows each title was intended by the editor to be included under it. In any case the titles provide no proof that the sections they introduce have not subsequently been added to, or otherwise altered.

b) *Apparent displacements of the Hebrew text*, whether due to scribal error or to the insertion of additional material, are more apparent in the introductory nine chapters² than in the "Solomonic collections,"

¹ It is not clear where the section ends which begins at xxii 17 and shows literary dependence on Amen-em-ope. The declaratory sayings in xxiv 29 appear intrusive in their context. Further, the short supplementary section in xxiv 23-34 with its separate title contains only three verses of "instruction" like that found in xxii 17 ff.; this second title would more suitably apply to xxiv 27-29 together with xxv 2-10. The title in xxv 1 may originally have preceded xxv 11.

² Note the insertion of the first poem of the personified Wisdom between the first and second of the hortatory discourses (i 8-ii 22); the negative precepts with motive clauses in iii 11-18, 25-26, 31-32 which resemble the form of the Thirty Precepts of xxii 22 ff. more than anything else in chapters i-ix; the interruption at vi 1 of the series of discourses, by short poetic essays on topics common to the Solomonic sentences but unmentioned elsewhere in chaps. i-ix; the intrusion of the miscellaneous verses ix 7-12 between two parts of the same poem.

where the succession of heterogeneous sayings would make them hard to identify. Nevertheless there are a few oddities that blur the distinctions between the different divisions of the present text, and affect—even if slightly—the characterization of their contents. For example, xiv 1 stands out from its surroundings like an erratic boulder: Wisdom and Folly are here metaphorically personified as in i 20 ff., viii 1 ff., ix 1 ff. and 6 ff. but nowhere else in the book; the archaizing spelling *hokmot* is found only here and in i 20, ix 1 and xxiv 7; and Wisdom's building of her house recalls ix 1. Again, the pedagogical address "my son" appears inexplicably in xix 27 (B) and xxvii 11 (C); this is characteristic, rather, of the preceptorial discourses in chapters i-vii and of the "Thirty Sayings." In the admonition inserted at xx 13 (B), the word *šenab* is elsewhere confined to chapters iii-vi and to xxiv 33 (= vi 10). Conversely, a few declaratory adages are found among the "Thirty Sayings" at xxiii 24 and xxiv 3-9.

c) The occurrence of *duplicate and variant couplets and single lines* has customarily been explained as pointing to their origin in distinct collections, on the analogy of similar phenomena in the Pentateuch and the Psalms. The argument loses its force when it is observed that the duplicates and variants are found not only between but also within the supposedly distinct collections, and even within a single chapter (xxviii 12b, 28a). Three types of duplicates and variants can be distinguished:

i) Identical or virtually identical couplets: xiv 12 (A) = xvi 25 (B); xviii 8 (B) = xxvi 22 (C); xix 24^(B) = xxvi 15^(C); xx 16 (B) = xxvii 13 (C); xxi 9 (B) = xxv 24 (C); xxii 3 (B) = xxvii 12 (C).

ii) Couplets in which very similar thoughts are differently expressed: x 1 (A) & xv 20 (A); cf. xiii 1a (A), xvii 21, 25 (B), xix 13a, 26^(B) (B), xxix 3a (D).

xi 15 (A) & xvii 18 (B); cf. xx 16 (B) = xxvii 13 (C).

xiii 14 (A) & xiv 27 (A); cf. x 11a (A); xvi 22a (B).

xiv 20 (A) & xix 4 (B); cf. xix 6 (B).

xvi 2 (B) & xxi 2 (B); cf. xvii 3 (B), xxvii 21 (C).

xix 1 (B) & xxviii 6 (D); cf. x 9a (A), xix 22 (B).

xxi 19 (B) & xxi 9 (B) = xxv 24 (C); cf. xix 13b (B).

xxviii 12 (D) & xxix 2 (D); cf. xxviii 28 (D), xxix 16 (D).

iii) Identical single lines attached to different second lines: x 2b (A) = xi 4b (A); x 6b (A) = x 11b (A); x 15a (A) = xviii 11a (B); xi 13a (A) = xx 19a (B); xii 14a (A) = xiii 2a (A) = xviii 20a (B); xv 33b (A) = xviii 12b (B); xvii 3a (B) = xxvii 21a (C); xix 1a (B) =

xxviii 6a (D); xxvi 12b (C) = xxix 20b (D); xxviii 12b (D) = xxviii 28a (D).

Note also that xi 14b (A) and xxviii 21a (D) are found also outside the A, B, C, D divisions at xxiv 6b and xxiv 23b respectively, and that vi 10-11 re-appears in xxiv 33-34.

This plethora of repetitions cannot wholly be explained on the analogy of a theory of "collections." For one thing, too many of them are found within the same divisions and in some cases quite close together. For another, the variants do not show peculiarities of viewpoint and vocabulary which link them to their present contexts and distinguish them from their counterparts elsewhere. What is striking is that in some cases a variant has been produced by introducing specifically *religious* terminology;

- (A) xiii 14a "The teaching of the wise is a fountain of life (*meqor hayyim*)"
- (B) xvi 22a "Good sense is a fountain of life to its possessors (*meqor hayyim*)"
- (A) x 11a "The speech of a righteous man is a fountain of life (*meqor hayyim*)"
- (A) xiv 27a "The fear of Yahweh is a fountain of life (*meqor hayyim*)"
- (x) xv 17 "Better is a dinner of herbs where love is than a fatted ox and hatred with it" [cf. xvii 1 (B)]
- (B) xvi 8 "Better is a little with righteousness than great revenues with injustice"
- (A) xv 16 "Better is a little with the fear of Yahweh than great treasure and trouble with it"
- (D) xxviii 21 "To show partiality (in judgment) is not good; a man may be at fault over a morsel of food" (cf. xxiv 23-25)
- (B) xviii 5 "To be partial to a wicked (guilty) man is not good, or to deprive a righteous (innocent) man of justice"
- (B) xvii 15 "He who pronounces a guilty man innocent and he who pronounces an innocent man guilty are both abominable to Yahweh"

- (A) x 15a = xviii 11a (B) "A rich man's wealth is his strong city"
- (B) xviii 10 "The name of Yahweh is a strong tower"
- (C) xxvii 21 "As a melting-pot is for silver and a smelter for gold, so praise tests a man"
- (B) xvii 3 "As a melting-pot is for silver and a smelter for gold, so Yahweh is an assayer of (men's) hearts"¹

These examples suggest that couplets using "religious" or "wisdom" terms sometimes were composed on the basis of traditional sayings in which these notes were lacking. The old and the new are immediately adjacent in xv 16-17 and xviii 10-11. It is noteworthy that these parallel "religious" and "secular" sayings are widely distributed among the four divisions A, B, C and D. Furthermore, they are to be compared with the many other sayings which characterize the righteous and unrighteous, speak of the active concern of Yahweh with men's lives or use the phrase "the fear of Yahweh" with the meaning "piety." MCKANE is surely correct in segregating those sayings which utilize "religious" terminology as a distinct type of material in x 1-xxii 16 and xxv-xxix, rather than as evidence for a religious element in four "collections" of different origin. For example, although the greatest concentration of sayings mentioning Yahweh is found in chapters xv (A) and xvi (B) and only one is found in xxv-xxvii, they are otherwise broadly distributed and speak everywhere with the same voice.²

Another suggestive fact is that in the antitheses of "wise man" and "fool," "righteous" and "wicked" the contrasted terms, their synonyms and equivalent phrases, are not interchangeable. Each pair, broadly speaking, is associated with its own vocabulary and set of ideas. Of approximately 145 antitheses in chapters x-xv, only in one or two instances (x 31; xi 9) is the righteous associated with wisdom, and only once is contrasted with the fool (x 21). In no case is the wise man contrasted with the wicked. Both sets of antitheses present alternative ways of life and divide men into two classes accordingly, each with its appropriate destiny. But these contrasted groups remain distinct.³ As has often been noted, these antithetical sayings are found

¹ Cf. also xv 18 (A), xxix 22 (D) and xxviii 25 (D); xviii 18 (B) and xvi 33 (B).

² See below, p. 164

³ Contra SKLADNY, *op. cit.*, p. 12. Cf. x 9, 17; xii 15; xiii 3, 4, 18, 20, etc.; xi 5, 19; xii 26, 28; xiii 6, 22, etc.

❧ xi 9	<i>tób (la)šebet ('al pinnat gag) me'ešet midyaním (šbét háber)</i>
xxv 24	<i>tób šebet ('al pinnat gag) me'ešet midyaním (šbét háber)</i>
xxi 19	<i>tób šebet (b'eeres midbar) me'ešet midyaním (waka'as)</i>

The original saying with five-accents would include one of the two first variants but neither of the final ones, which have been added to create a couplet. Other apparent examples of folk proverbs which have been expanded similarly are xviii 22a, xix 4a and 13b, xxv 25.

At this point the remark must be made that not all these non-literary sayings are necessarily the product of remote antiquity in Israel like "the proverb of the ancients" in 1 Sam. xxiv 13. Similar sayings might emerge among the common people at any time. Alternatively, some may have been coined by the teachers themselves to illustrate and enforce their instruction in wisdom. The distinction here being made is of four types of non-religious sayings is according to their content, form and apparent *Sitz im Leben*, leaving open the question of their date of origin.

The differences among the four types can best be illustrated by quotation:

1) *Folk sayings* (or derivatives) *representing not moral instruction but adult comments* on persons and social situations, expressing scorn, sarcasm, resentment of the rich and powerful, pleasant or sad experiences:

xi 16	A gracious lady clings to honor as ruthless men cling to wealth
xi 22	Like a gold ring in a pig's snout is a pretty woman who lacks good taste
xvi 26a	A worker's appetite works for him
xviii 23	A poor man entreats, a rich man answers harshly
xix 7a	All a poor man's brothers hate him
xix 4a	Wealth brings many new friends
xxii 13	The sluggard says, "There is a lion outside! I shall be slain in the streets!"
xix 13b	A quarrelsome wife is like a ceaseless dripping (cf. xxvii 15)
xv 30b	Good news refreshes the body ¹

2) *Folk sayings* (or derivatives) *which embody moral instruction* of the home or community but *not in terms of formal instruction in wisdom* and warnings against of folly. Examples are:

¹ Other sayings which may belong to this category are: x 15a; xiii 8, 23; xiv 4a, 20; xv 15; xviii 22a; xix 6b; xx 25; xxi 9 and parallels; xxv 20; xxvii 10c; xxviii 19a; xxix 5, 24a.

xi 2a	First comes presumption, then disgrace
xiii 24a	(A father) who withholds punishment hates his son
xvii 1	Better a dry crust with concord than a house filled with feasting and strife
xvii 13	If one returns evil for good, evil will not leave his house
xvii 14a	The beginning of a quarrel is like starting a flow of water
xx 29	Young men are honored for their strength, old men for their gray hairs
xxvii 5	Open rebuke is better than concealed approval ¹

3) *Teaching proverbs* in couplet form comprise a major element in x-xxii 16 and xxv-xxix, so much so that they give their tone to the whole body of material. Nevertheless, this group of sayings with its clear objectives of distinguishing wisdom from folly and of training youth in the former and teaching them to despise the latter, has its own features of thought, literary form and vocabulary. These features in general sufficiently differentiate the Wisdom-Folly sayings from the other categories, although there is some overlapping and conflation which blurs the lines of the distinction.

The special terminology of this group of sayings is most evident in the antitheses which predominate in x-xv, in comparison with the "Righteous-Wicked" antitheses in the same chapters. The *hakam* or *hakam leb* is called also *nabôn*, *'iš* (and) *rab tebúnab*, *maskíl*, *'iš me'zimmot*. His characteristic qualities are that he is *'arúm*, *harús*, *šannu^a*, *'erek*, *'appayim*, *šómer mûsar*. Contrasted with him is the *kesíl*, *'ewil* or *h^asar-leb*, with the sub-types *petí*, *leš*, *bóged* and *'ašel*. Among his typical characteristics are *kap remiyyah*, *sin'ab*, *ka'as*, *mirmah*, *hemmah*, *qin'ab*. He is *hóreš ra'*, *'ózeb tókahat*, *me'raddep reqím*, *rob de'barím*. The wise man accepts, the fool rejects the discipline of instruction in wisdom—*mišwab*, *tórah*, *dabar*, *mûsar*, *g^earah*, *tókahat*.

The same or related ideas and vocabulary are continued in the less frequent "wisdom-folly" antitheses in xvi-xxii 16 and xxviii-xxix,² and are found also in the other categories of parallelistic couplets.³ In the later chapters three forms of wisdom instruction other than the simple declarative sentence are more frequent than in x-xv: (i) Proverbs of comparative value like xv 17⁴; (ii) Precepts in the imperative mood like xiv 7⁵; (iii) Similes in which the different kinds of fool are stereo-

¹ Other possible examples are: xvi 18; xvii 6; xviii 3a, 9, 19, 24; xx 11a, 17, 19a, 20; xxv 27a.

² xxvii 12 is a duplicate of xxii 3.

³ E.g. xi 25, 29; xvi 21; xvii 21; xxvi 24-26; xxvii 17; xxviii 22; xxix 20.

⁴ xvi 16; xvii 10, 26; xix 1, 27; xxi 9, 19; xxvii 10c; xxviii 6.

⁵ xix 20, 27; xxv 17, 21-23; xxvi 4-5; xxvii 1, 2, 11 etc.

~ 22a/

typed, as in x 26; xv 12.¹ Double or triple similes like x 26 are specially frequent in xxv-xxvii. Favorite words are *kabôd*, *'aferet*, *marpeh*. Other words—*'ûs*, *šîr* (messenger), *'atam*, *mab^{al}lumôt*, *nirgan*, *tâšiyab*—are peculiar to this group among the sayings.

What it means to be a wise man or a fool is brought out less by the use of attributive adjectives than by descriptions of their behavior and its effects on others and on themselves. The one brings pride to his parents, the other, shame. The one takes pleasure in good behavior, the other finds his fun in recklessness, slander, deceit and quarreling. The fool is passionate, the wise man self-controlled, especially in speech. The one is violent, the other cautious and patient. The one makes trouble, the other strives for harmony. The one shows intelligence and foresight, the other is self-satisfied in his stupidity and refuses to learn.²

The behavior described is accompanied by certain effects which are of a piece with it rather being rewards or punishments, social or divine. The deed or attitude correspond with these effects in an orderly structure of experience.³ A father always is glad when his son displays wisdom, and conversely. A fool is familiar with beatings because of his wild talk. A gentle answer deflates anger as surely as a harsh word arouses it. A tranquil mind or a passionate nature have contrary effects on bodily health.⁴ But there are other instances where consequences become sanctions supporting the teacher's incitement to wise conduct "Poverty and disgrace come to him who refuses correction, but he who accepts reproof will be honored." "A man who remains obstinate after much reproof will suddenly be broken beyond repair."⁵ It is in the nature of things that folly brings ruin, but there is no intimation that this is a judgment of God.

A group of subjective reflections, somewhat philosophical in tone, may or may not belong with the instructional sentences considered above. "Even with laughter the heart may be grieving, and joy may turn to sorrow in the end." "A man's spirit may sustain him in illness, but if his spirit is cast down who can raise it (by himself)?"⁶

4) The fourth group of sayings appertains to *training for professional service in government*—as counselors at the royal court and in diplomacy,

¹ xvii 2, 12; xviii 2, 6, 7; xix 10, 19, 24; xxvi 1 ff.; xxvii 3; xxix 11.

² x 1; xv 21; xii 18; xi 12; xxvi 17-21; xii 16, 23; xiv 16-17; xvi 32; xxii 3, etc.

³ See H. GESE, *Lehre und Wirklichkeit in der alten Weisheit*, 1958, pp. 33 ff.

⁴ x 1; xiv 3; xv 1; xiv 30. Cf. xvi 24; xvii 9; xxv 23; xxix 8, 21.

⁵ xiii 18; xxix 1. Cf. x 8b; xiii 13; xv 10; xxi 21; xxviii 20.

⁶ xiv 13; xviii 14. Cf. xii 25; xiii 12; xiv 10; xv 13; xxvii 19, 20.

in the administration of justice and in the bureaucracy. Here the emphasis is no longer on the distinction between two ways of life and two kinds of people, but

(i) on accommodation to the king's absolute power, as in xvi 14: "A king's wrath is an intimation of death, and a wise man will appease it";

(ii) on the best ways to deal successfully with the powerful, as in xxv 15: "With patience a chief man may be persuaded, and a soft tongue will break a bone";

(iii) on true justice as essential to stability of the kingdom, as in xvi 12: "Wrongdoing is hateful to kings, for right is the firm base of a throne."¹

The references to the operation of courts of justice seem to belong with this group, together with some at least of the sayings about false witnesses.² The same is true of the infrequent references to the national community in xi 14; xxviii 15; xxix 18, which stand out the mass of sayings dealing with individuals. One curious point is that the trainees are warned that they may be confronted by powerful men intent on feathering their own nests.³ In xxix 4 the meaning seems to be that the king's justice may be undermined by the venality of a judge.

The vocabulary of these passages favors their distinction from the teaching sentences discussed under 3) above. The word *hakam* occurs only twice, and the words *maskîl* and *tebûnah* once each; *nabal* is found once here and once in section 3), and the words *kesîl* and *'ewil* not at all. Even more striking is the disproportionate occurrence here of words unique or rare in Proverbs: *'ôpan*, *'emab*, *gerem*, *dob*, *hagab* (remove), *badar* (Hit.), *hadarab*, *zakab* (Pi.), *za'ap*, *zarab* (Pi.), *ṭabar*, *ṭal*, *yadab* (Hi.), *le'om*, *kepîr*, *malqôš*, *mešaret*, *mattan*, *nabam* (vb.), *nabam* (n.), *sîg*, *sa'ad*, *'ab*, *šalah* (Hi.), *qabab*, *qesem*, *qašim*, *raḥab* (Hi.), *raḥam* (Pu.), *šaqaq*.

In considering these four types and groups of sayings it can be said with confidence that no positive religious note is struck in them. At the same time only the first and fourth can be regarded as secular in content, since the others affirm moral values which were affirmed also by Yahwist religion.

Three further types and groups of sayings must now be examined

¹ Further examples of (i) are xvi 10, 15; xix 12; xx 2, 8, 26; xxi 1; of (ii), xiv 35; xvi 13; xviii 16; xxi 14; xxv 6-7; of (iii) xx 28; xxv 4-5; xxix 4a, 14.

² xvii 23, 26; xviii 5, 17; xxi 7; xxv 26; xxviii 1, 21. In distinction from the Righteous-Wicked antitheses the same words carry here their older meanings "innocent" and "guilty."

³ xxii 16; xxviii 2, 15-16; xxix 12.

from /

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which quite specifically relate the teachings of wisdom to those of religion and make use of religious language. These are:

- 5) Sayings which exhibit the contrast between the *ṣaddîq* and the *raša'* as in the third group the *ḥakam* is contrasted with the *kesîl*/^{ewîl};
- 6) Sayings which portray Yahweh as a present, active and determining factor in the life experience of individual persons;
- 7) Sayings which introduce the phrase "fear of Yahweh" with the meaning "piety, religious belief."

Each of these groups of "religious" sayings has recognizable characteristics:

(5) As has often been noted, the "righteous-wicked" antithesis is particularly prominent in chapters x-xv, alongside the "wise-foolish" antithesis. This at once suggests that the two are analogous, as indeed they are. But that does not mean that they are equivalent and interchangeable. In what sense, then, are the former paired terms used?

The words *ṣaddîq-raša'* clearly do not have here the forensic meaning "innocent-guilty," that they have in subsequent sayings about proceedings in courts of justice, such as xvii 15, 26 and xviii 5.¹ In two verses only—xi 10-11—the contrast is drawn apparently between parties or political factions in the community, as later in xxviii 12, 28; xxix 2, 16. The labels are applied from the standpoint of cultic orthodoxy.² With this exception the antitheses in chapters x-xv (and a few comparable ones in later chapters³) either (i) pronounce the opposite consequences for the *ṣaddîq* and the *raša'*⁴, or (ii) indicate the moral and religious differences between them, largely through the substitution for these terms of synonymous words or phrases.

The commonest equivalents of *ṣaddîq* are *yašar* and *ṭôb*.⁵ Others are *tamîm*, *ṭabôr*, *zak*, *meraddep* *šedaqab*, *šôper* *ṭôb*, *hôlek* *betummô*, *hôlek* *beyašrô*, *tam derek*, *nôšer darkô*. The synonyms of *raša'* are *ra'*, *bôged*, *ḥôte'*, *ḥaṭṭa'*, *'iqqeš leb*, *me'aqqeš darkô*, *ne'qaš derek*, *sûg leb*, *ḥanep*, *ne'lôz* *derakaw*, *'iš 'avel*, *ḥô'el 'aven*.

In the vast majority of the contrasting statements about the *ṣaddîq* and the *raša'* in Proverbs the reference undoubtedly is to religious

¹ Cf. xx 26; xxi 15; xxv 26; xxviii 1.

² Cf. Pss. xxxii 10-11; xxxiii 1-3; xcii 13-14; cxviii 15, 20.

³ xxi 12, 18, 26, 29; xxviii 5, 10, 18; xxix 6, 7, 27.

⁴ E.g., x 2, 3, 6, 7, 16, 21, 24, 25, 28, 30.

⁵ xi 3, 6, 11; xxi 18; xxix 27, etc.; xiii 22; xiv 19; xv 3.

belief and non-belief and corresponding character and behavior, —as repeatedly in the Psalms and elsewhere in the Old Testament.¹ The criterion for the division is acceptance or rejection of obedience to Yahweh's commandments, both cultic and ethical. This is an extension of the meanings "innocent" and "guilty" according to the laws of the community as determined in a court of law.

The distinction, however, is not the same as that between the wise man and the fool, even though in practice the two groupings might broadly coincide, especially with regard to moral rectitude. Wisdom was an accomplishment to be acquired in varying degrees through the discipline of learning, even though it might also be seen as a divine reward for this discipline. Righteousness was different. It was a status before Yahweh resulting from what VON RAD calls "an act of avowal," a pledge to serve and obey him. "A man was either *ṣaddîq* in the eyes of Jahweh or he was not."² Hence there is a distinction between the *ḥakam-kesîl* sayings and the *ṣaddîq-raša'* sayings in Proverbs that goes beyond the differences in vocabulary. In the former a teacher seeks to persuade youth to seek wisdom, by emphasizing its values for the experience of living and the unhappy consequences of folly. The wise man finds a richer and longer life, material prosperity and social approval; the fool suffers corresponding penalties.³ These and similar results come also to the *ṣaddîq* and the *raša'*, but with a difference. The latter's fate often is simply the negation of what the former can expect.⁴ Their respective destinies are stated in the abstract generalities of dogma rather than with the particularities of concrete and familiar experience.⁵ Whereas the wise and the foolish are recognizable human beings in imaginable situations, the qualities and behavior of the righteous and the wicked are described in a curiously colorless fashion, e.g., xi 5:

The righteousness of the blameless keeps his way straight, but the wicked falls by his own wickedness.⁶

(6) The recurrent sayings in chapters x-xxii 16 and xxviii-xxix⁷

¹ Cf. Pss. i, xi, xxxvii, cxxv, and note 2, p. 160. Cf. Ezek. iii 18 ff., xviii 19 ff.

² *O.T. Theol.*, i, pp. 380-82.

³ x 14, 17; xi 2, 15, 29; xiii 20; xv 7; xvii 2; xix 29; xxi 17, 22, etc.

⁴ x 3, 9, 16, 28, 31; xi 6, 7, 8, 18; xii 3, etc.

⁵ xi 28, 31; xii 3, 7, 12, 21, 28; xiii 6, 21; xiv 9, 11; xxi 12, 18 etc.

⁶ x 2, 6, 20, 28, 32; xi 3, 9, 28, 30; xii 5, 6, 13, 20, 26, etc. A partial exception is xii 10.

⁷ In xxv-xxvii Yahweh is named only in xxv 22. In xxv 2 "God" and "the king" are correlated, as are "Yahweh" and "the king" in xxiv 21.

which speak of Yahweh's free and determining participation in the life experience of individuals provide the strongest possible evidence for a religious dimension in Israelite wisdom, and have been made to bear the chief weight of proof by scholars who lay stress on this element. If the whole body of teaching wisdom couplets were a single entity representing views held in common by the wisdom teachers, the question being discussed in this paper would not arise. But if, on the other hand, the sentence literature of Proverbs is an anthology from various sources accumulated over a considerable period of time—as seems evident to the present writer—one cannot assume that the religious factor was equally accepted by all its contributors, yet articulated only by some.

Four pieces of evidence suggest that those sayings which specifically affirm Yahweh's active presence represent an annotation or editing of an already existing collection of wisdom couplets of the various types already discussed.

(i) These may be identified by their characteristic ideas and vocabulary: *ḥakam-ke'sil* sayings—"A man's mind plans his way but Yahweh orders his steps," xvi. 9. Other examples are—xvi 1, 3, 20; xix 14, 21; xx 12, 24, 27; xxi 30; xxviii 25. Possibly xvii 3, cf. xxvii 21; xix 3.

"professional school" sayings—"The horse may be arrayed for the day of battle, but the victory is Yahweh's," xxi 31. Another example is xvi 33.

ṣaddiq-raša' sayings—"Yahweh does not let a righteous man go hungry, but he rebuffs the craving of the wicked," x 3. Other examples are x 29; xi 20; xv 8, 9, 26, 29; xviii 10; xxviii 5.

ii) The fact that many of these sayings seem designed either to correct views expressed in other proverbs, or to put them in a new light by adding a religious dimension. Often the "Yahweh sayings" are found in the immediate context of the saying they correct or supplement. For example—"The name of Yahweh is a strong tower into which the righteous man may run and be inaccessible," xviii 10. "A rich man's wealth is his strong city, like an inaccessible wall so he supposes," xviii 11. Other examples are x 3, cf. x 4, 22; xi 20, 21; xv 9, 10; xvi 1, cf. xv 23; xvi 3 and xix 21, cf. xv 22, xx 18, xxi 5; xvi 9 and xx 24, cf. xvi 30; xvi 33, cf. xviii 18; xxii 2, cf. xxii 7.

iii) The introduction of topics and thoughts not found in chapters x-xxii 16 and xxv-xxix except in the "Yahweh sayings". Most of these follow naturally from the introduction of the deity by name—Yahweh as the creator of all (xvi 4; xx 12; xxii 2; xxix 13); the divine watch-

fulness (xv 3, 11); Yahweh's concern with men's inner thoughts and motives (xvi 2b; xvii 3b; xx 27; xxi 2b). The offering of sacrifice is mentioned only here (xxi 3, 27¹), and also the offering of prayer (xv 8, 29; xxviii 9). More surprising is it that the obligation to use honest scales, weights and measures is mentioned nowhere else than in connection with Yahweh's concern (xi 1; xvi 11; xx 10, 13).

iv) There is some vocabulary peculiar to these sentences in the "Solomonic" sections of Proverbs, although in some cases appearing also in chapters i-ix, xxii 17-xxiv, or xxx-xxxi: *'almanab*; *'ebyôn* (cf. *dal*, x 15, etc.; *maḥsor*, xxi 17; *'ani*, *'anaw*, xv 15, xvi 19, etc.; *raš*, xiii 8, etc.); *'ôyeb* (cf. *šaneb*, xxv 21, etc.); *ṣarab*; *kuppar* Pu.; *migdal*; *nēšamah*; *ša'ad*, *miš'ad*; *šāḥab* *'amūqab*; *takan*; *tō'abat* YHWH.

Yahweh is named in 61 of the approximately 500 couplets or larger units of x-xxii 16, xxv-xxix (plus two references to him as "the Maker"), so that this supplement of "Yahweh sayings" is extensive as well as distinctive. Together with the introductory chapters i-ix it amounts to a working over and recasting of the traditional gnomic materials to bring them within the compass of religious literature.

(7) The last and least significant of the three groups of sayings marked by religious terminology is that in which *yir'at* YHWH is used as a conventional term for piety and *yere'* YHWH for the pious individual. The distinction from Group vi is that here the reference is to a quality or attitude of man rather than to Yahweh's presence and activity.

That *yir'at* YHWH had become a conventional name for piety is evident from the thrice-repeated description of Job as

tam weyašar yere' 'elohim wešar mera' (Job i 1, 8; ii 3; cf. xxviii 28). Both parts of this stock phrase are found in Proverbs xvi 6b (cf. iii 7; viii 13), in an extended form in xiv 27, and, defectively, in xiv 16. Elsewhere in the body of sayings *yir'at* YHWH appears in x 27; xiv 2, 27; xv 16, 33; xix 23; xxii 4; and *yere'* YHWH in xiv 2, 26.² The second half of the conventional phrase appears by itself in xvi 17.

The supposition that these sayings belong in Group v, with *yir'at* YHWH as a synonym of *ṣedaqab* and *yere'* YHWH as a synonym of *ṣaddiq* seems to be ruled out by the fact that these terms appear to be deliberate substitutes in variants of couplets in both Groups iii) and v):

¹ Reading *ṣepillat* YHWH with LXX in xxi 27. The same is implied in xxviii 9.

² In xiv 26 as emended to *biyre'* YHWH to provide an antecedent for *l'banaw*. In xiv 16 "YHWH" is omitted and *yere'* here seems to mean simply "cautious"; cf. xiv 15; xxii 3; xxviii 14.

distinctive of

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xiii 14	<i>tôrat hakam meqôr hayyim lasûr mimmoqeše mawet</i>
xiv 27	<i>yir'at YHWH meqôr hayyim lasûr mimmoqeše mawet</i>
xvi 8	<i>šôb me'at bišdaqah merob tebû'ot...</i>
xv 16	<i>šôb me'at be'yir'at YHWH me'ôšar rab...¹</i>

The possibility that these sayings were introduced in a late editorial annotation of Proverbs i-xxii 16, (i.e., after chapters i-ix had been prefixed to chapters x ff.), is raised by the obvious gloss in viii 13, coupled with the fact that in several instances where *yir'at YHWH* appears the Hebrew text is uncertain or awkward. In xv 33, for example, the reading in the first half-couplet is dubious and the second half-couplet has been transferred from its original setting in xviii 12. Other instances of awkwardness in the Hebrew text (some minor only) are found in xiv 26; xvi 6; xix 23 and xxii 4—a total of five of the nine occurrences of *yir'at* or *yere' YHWH* in chapters x-xxii.

CONCLUSIONS

1. There is no firm evidence that the sentence proverbs in chapters x-xxii 16 (or, x-xv, xvi-xxii 16), xxv-xxvii, xxviii-xxix once existed as independent "collections" corresponding to these divisions of the text. The titles in i 1; x 1 and xxv 1 are editorial only and have no evidential value. The contents of the divisions are not homogeneous in subject matter, literary forms or vocabulary; on the contrary, there is a high degree of homogeneity in several types of sayings distributed in two, three or four of the generally accepted divisions. Evidence of duplicate or variant couplets and half-couplets and of real differences between types of sayings points to the origins of the corpus of wisdom sayings through a process of accumulation, supplementing and editorial modification over a long period of time.

2. MCKANE's distinction between sayings with or without religious content and terminology is justified,² but can be carried farther. Seven types of sayings have been isolated in the foregoing analysis; only the last three of these display a positive religious content. This is without prejudice to the question whether and to what extent the authors of the four types of "secular" sayings were themselves religious believers. The point at issue is not the presuppositions of the speaker—which can only be guessed at—but the content of what he actually says. Examples of the seven types of sayings are to be found distributed as

¹ Cf. also xix 23 with x 16 and xi 19; x 27 with xxviii 16b.

² See above, p. 148.

follows among the four customary divisions of the text (A = x-xv; B = xvi-xxii 16; C = xxv-xxvii; D = xxviii-xxix);

- Group 1—A, B, C, D
- Group 2—A, B, C
- Group 3—A, B, C, D
- Group 4—B, C, D
- Group 5—A, B, D
- Group 6—A, B, C, D
- Group 7—A, B.

It must be emphasized that what is here proposed is not a "documentary theory" of composition from seven written sources. The process envisaged, rather, is that of the gradual and piecemeal growth of a nucleus of written material through additions and modifications representing the views and language of different wisdom teachers.

3. The use of sentence sayings from Proverbs in discussions of the nature of "old wisdom" in Israel and of its religious content and premises cannot be indiscriminate, but must take into account the differences in viewpoint and objectives among the various contributors to the corpus of wisdom sayings. Questions remaining to be determined are the possible interrelationships of the different elements, their external literary connections and chronological order, the contributions of scribal editors and glossators and the bearing of this and other investigations on the history of Wisdom in ancient Israel.